INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.

5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms
300 North Zeob Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106
YUSOF, Abdul Maulud bin Mohd, 1940-
CULTURAL ADAPTATIONS IN AN URBANIZING
MALAY COMMUNITY.

Rice University, Ph.D., 1976
Anthropology, cultural

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

© Copyright

Abdul Maulud bin Mohd Yusof

1976
RICE UNIVERSITY

CULTURAL ADAPTATIONS IN AN URBANIZING MALAY COMMUNITY

by

ABDUL MAULUD YUSOF

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THESIS DIRECTOR'S SIGNATURE:

HOUSTON, TEXAS

MAY 1976
CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ........................................ iii
LIST OF TABLES ............................................. iv
LIST OF MAPS ................................................ v

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION ....................... 1
A. Anthropology and the Study of Complex Societies ...... 1
B. Studies of Complex Societies in Malaysia .......... 3
C. The Problem ....................... 7
D. Methodology ....................... 10

CHAPTER TWO KAMPONG SUNGEI PENCHALA .... 22
A. The History of the Village ....................... 22
B. The Inhabitants of Kampong Sungei Penchala .......... 28
C. The Village's Rural Characteristics ................ 34
D. The Village's Urban Environment ................. 40

CHAPTER THREE VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION:
AN INTRODUCTION ....................... 52
A. The Village as a Social Unit ....................... 53
B. Kinship and Marriage ....................... 67
C. Land Ownership and Inheritance ................ 88
CHAPTER FOUR

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE 114
A. Occupations and Wages 115
B. Entrepreneurship 129
C. The Rubber Producers 138
D. Land Transactions and Values. 142

CHAPTER FIVE

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES 151
A. The Mosque 152
B. Religious Gatherings and Festivities 158
C. Feasts and Feastings 165

CHAPTER SIX

LEADERSHIP 178
A. Village Leadership and the National Administrative Structure 178
B. Political Parties and the Village 185
C. Traditional Leadership 189
D. The Youth Organization: Activities and Leadership ... 192

CONCLUSION 196
GLOSSARY 204
BIBLIOGRAPHY 208
Acknowledgements

Many people had helped me in conducting the research and completing this dissertation. I am most grateful to Dr. R. Cushman, director of my dissertation and chairman of the committee, who spent much of his invaluable time in advising me on the dissertation. His patience, understanding and ideas are greatly appreciated.

I would like to thank former chairman of the committee Dr. E. Norbeck, who had encouraged me to complete the degree. I am extremely grateful to Dr. R. Provencher who, in his own special way, had contributed to my training as an anthropologist. Other members of the committee, Dr. D. Uzzell and Dr. F. Von der Mehden, had given me invaluable guidance. A friend, Dr. P. Tobias, read a portion of the thesis, and I am thankful to him for his suggestions.

Without the cooperation of the residents of Kampung Sungei Penchala, this study would not have been possible. I am grateful to each and everyone of them. Their contributions have turned out to be my professional gain.

My graduate study at Rice was made possible due to the generous financial support from my employer, The National University of Malaysia, a fellowship from Rice University and a travel grant from the Asia Foundation.

Most of all I am thankful to my wife and children who have been my main source of inspiration and to them I dedicate this work. 

Abdul Maulud Yusof.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Types of Adult Employment</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Consanguineal Kin and Rank Terminology</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Affinal Kin and Rank Terminology</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Types of Households</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Occupations of Household Heads</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Youth Employment</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Business Experiences of Village Entrepreneurs</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Rubber Land Ownership</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Feasting Households</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Peninsular Malaysia</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The New Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Location of Kg. S. Penchala in Relation to Kuala Lumpur and</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petaling Jaya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sketch Diagram of Kampong Sungei Penchala</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Map 2

The new Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur
Sketch Diagram of Kampong Sungai Penchala.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with some of the anthropological literature that specifically focuses its attention on rural and urban sub-cultures. A brief review of such studies on Malaysian culture is given, as well as a discussion of the theoretical concerns of the present study.

My study focuses on the sub-culture of a Malay village situated within the city of Kuala Lumpur. In the chapters that follow, I shall describe the institutions, patterns of behavior, and other adaptive measures utilized by the inhabitants of an environment that is becoming increasingly urbanized. The final portion of this chapter contains a discussion of the methodology I used to gather information for the description.

A. Anthropology and the Study of Complex Societies.

Traditionally anthropologists have concentrated their efforts on the study of cultures of tribal and primitive groups. The history of anthropology as a science has always been mostly the history of the study of these groups, and the theoretical formulations and orientations of the science are usually introduced to
students of anthropology through the extensive literature on the subject of tribal and primitive cultures. However, anthropology is more broadly defined. It is the study of man and his culture, from prehistoric to modern and metropolitan times.

In the last forty years, anthropologists have begun to honor that portion of this broad aim and definition that includes complex societies and cultures. Anthropologists have undertaken studies of rural groups and studies of relationships between rural inhabitants and their urbanized counterparts. Robert Redfield (1930) created a framework within which studies of urban and rural sub-cultures could be integrated with each other. All societies, he argued, could be grouped along a theoretical continuum the ideal of which represented the extremes of a "folk culture" and an "urban culture". According to Redfield, population density and cultural homogeneity act as independent variables, which affect changes in a number of cultural elements. This conceptualization, he referred to as the "folk-urban continuum".

Redfield's continuum continued to attract the attention of anthropologists for sometime, but "It was not until the 1950's that criticism of the theory, coupled with adequate case material and alternative theoretical positions began to make themselves felt" (and presently), "The heuristic value of Redfield's work is to be witnessed
by the contributions of his critics" (Adams 1965:7).

Redfield's formulations focussed attention upon rural
and urban societies as parts of a larger society.
Kroeber (1948) continued this theoretical trend when he
pointed out that 'peasant societies' are part societies.
In recent decades most anthropologists have reinforced
the notion that communities can be understood only within
the context of complex societies. There has also been
considerable debate on the concept of a complex society,
but a comprehensive definition of complex societies has
been suggested by Gamst (1974:3) when he contends that
"Complex societies and their peasantry may be viewed as
extending along a developmental continuum of modernization
from a polar type of agricultural civilization to another
type of industrial urban civilization".

B. Studies of Complex Societies in Malaysia.

Nearly all anthropological studies of complex
societies in Malaysia recognize that rural communities
exist within a larger society. However, only a few
ethnographers have recognized the significance of the
Malaysian national culture which affects the sub-cultures
that they have studied (Firth 1946; Swift 1965;

---

1 There is considerable disagreement about what makes
a rural person a peasant or even whether the term has
universal application. Because of this I shall avoid
the term 'peasant' and speak only of rural inhabitants
or dwellers.
Provencher 1971; and S. Husin Ali 1975). Firth explores the dependence of Malay fishermen on the market system of the complex Malaysian national culture. Several technological changes and innovations in the marketing system have occurred as a result of the influence of the bureaucracy and the economic system of the complex society. Provencher contends that the urban Malay communities retain several significant traditional values, even though they depend on the urban economic system for a living. S. Husin Ali relates briefly the importance of the national political system of the complex society to the leadership pattern of rural communities. Wilson (1967) describes the relationships of a village to the national society and the manner in which the latter has imposed certain changes in the name of rural development.

Other ethnographers who have conducted research in Malaysia emphasize certain aspects of Malay culture rather than the relationships between the rural sub-culture and the urban sub-culture. Nagata (1974) discusses the significance of Malay customs in an urban environment. She, however, rejects the idea that urbanism (size, density of population) is the most important factor in culture change among the urban Malays. She contends that the supra-urban forces such as the government, have a strong influence on the behavioral patterns of Malays in the cities. Government has specific programs for Malays
in the urban areas. She argues further that understanding the sub-culture of an ethnic group in a particular city requires an understanding not only of the national culture, but also the particular city as a whole.

A study by Swift (1965) focussed its attention on the role of modernization in a Malay rural community. It is obvious that he regards the super forces of the state as significant variables in bringing about changes in the rural community. Swift contends that the international market system has major effects on the rural sub-culture, because as rubber producers, the inhabitants not only have become dependent upon the world rubber market, but they also have changed institutions which previously were functional in a non-cash economy. For example, in a traditional system no individual from the same sukun (clan) could get married, but because there is a cash economy this prohibition has now become ineffective. This is because individuals who defy the prohibition can settle and earn a living in the nearby town or in another village.

My study centers around a Malay village, known as Kampong Sungei Penchala, which is situated about twelve miles from the city of Kuala Lumpur and six miles from the new township of Petaling Jaya as shown on map 2. Kuala Lumpur and the township of Petaling Jaya form the urban environment of the village of Sungei Penchala.
However, though surrounded by an urban environment, Kampong Sungei Penchala has many characteristics normally associated with rural villages. For example, its houses are made of planks and thatch. The houses are widely dispersed and the streets do not form a grid. Also, some of the residents are rubber producers and the rubber trees grow within the village. For the past few decades the urban areas have been moving towards the village. Finally, in 1974, Kampong Sungei Penchala was officially incorporated into the city of Kuala Lumpur.

Thus, Kampong Sungei Penchala can be considered as a community in transition from a rural to an urban situation. As such it provides an opportunity for collecting data on a sub-culture that increasingly must adapt to an urban environment. Most of the adult residents of the village work in the city and the surrounding areas. This tendency will be accelerated by a project now being planned by the Urban Development Authority of the national government. The project will develop the village into a modern housing estate.

I have classified residents of the rural community of Kampong Sungei Penchala into three major categories. They are the rural rubber producers (a small percentage), urban wage earners and the village entrepreneurs. These three categories are interdependent in the village sub-culture. The villagers perceive the importance of their
relationships among themselves for both personal and communal interests. They try to place common communal interests above the individual good. This is one of the many ways the people adapt to the national culture and their urban situation.

C. The Problem.

The Malaysian national culture consists of the form of government, the religious systems followed by the people, the complex bureaucracy which is the instrument of the government, the economic structure, the ideals, the national language and the other languages used in the nation. A unique feature of the Malaysian national culture is that it is composed of three distinctive ethnic cultures namely the Malay culture, the Chinese culture and the Tamil culture. Each of these ethnic cultures has different religious, linguistic and historical patterns. One of the unifying factors which promotes the creation of a national culture is the political and administrative systems which cut across ethnic lines. However, these are dominated by elements of Malay culture. The other factor is the economic structure, which also supercedes ethnic identities, but this structure is dominated by foreign corporations and the Malaysian Chinese.

The national culture also includes the government owned and operated radio and television communication
systems, and the modern educational organization, which consists of elementary and secondary schools and colleges. The urban elements in these aspects of national culture are many and through mass communication and contacts with officials they have also become part of the sub-cultures of the rural inhabitants. However, traditional Malay sub-culture exists in urban centers.

The Malay sub-culture is more distinguishable in the rural localities than in urban localities because the majority of the Malays live in rural areas. For the past few decades Malay culture has become increasingly dominant in the urban sub-culture, intertwined with the western-style political and administrative infrastructures, the Chinese culture and to some extent the Tamil culture.

A major goal of my study is to analyse the institutions, informal and formal organizations, and patterns of institutional interactions in the village. I regard these elements of the rural sub-culture of the village as important adaptive mechanisms which probably enable them to live both in rural and urban sub-societies. I was especially interested to know the structure of occupations and vocations of the adult population of the village, assuming that a large portion of the adult population of the village work in the city and the surrounding areas. I have posed several questions and problems regarding the relationships between the types of occupa-
tions and the patterns of interactions in village life. For example, how do individuals who hold urban jobs interact with their neighbors or fellow villagers who are not urban workers, or with individuals who earn their living by operating the village stores? It is necessary, for that reason, to describe the network of relationships among village rubber producers, urban wage earners and village entrepreneurs living within the same well-defined geographical community.

This study also deals with the religious institutions villagers have inherited and continued to practice and how these religious activities affect their daily lives. For the analysis of the religious systems of the villagers I am posing several questions. How significant is religion in everyday life of the villagers? What are the general and specific religious practices and taboos which the villagers follow seriously or neglect? What kinds of festivities are celebrated and how are these festivities conducted? When such activities are carried out, who among the villagers participates and how does each individual participate?

Since this village has a sub-culture which includes the presence of some form of leadership (which is typical of Malay villages), how is leadership formed or established and what kinds of legitimacy exists? Also, what relationships exist between village leaders and the
leadership organization of the national culture?

One theoretical assumption of this study is that the urban sub-culture of the city is more dominant in a few aspects of the village life, namely in politics and bureaucracy. This is because powers are concentrated in the city, but the same political machinery depends to a large extent on the rural communities. It is reasonable to ask how urban based politics affect villagers and at the same time to find out how villagers influence politics of the national culture. Finally, in an urbanizing situation, how does a Malay sub-culture adapt itself in order to retain its ethnic identity as a Malay community?

D. Methodology.

Between June and August 1972 I searched for a suitable research site in Malaysia. I visited several villages and communities, concentrating on those near urban areas, those selected rural localities and a few fishing villages on the coast. My major aim was to choose a totally Malay village situated close to an urban locality in order to study a rural Malay community adapting to an urban situation. I chose Kampong Sungei Penchala for several reasons. It is an exclusively Malay community whose inhabitants possess Malay culture. It is situated only twelve miles from the city of Kuala Lumpur and six miles from the industrial-residential
township of Petaling Jaya. A large portion of the inhabitants work in the city.

The community is very rural because the village has no electricity and tap water. There are small grocery stores which are typical of rural scenes. There are more rubber trees and orchards than there are houses. Houses are located in an unorderly fashion. The other villages I visited were unacceptable either because they were too far from a city or because they possessed a multi-ethnic population of Malays, Chinese and Indians and elements of "modernism": secondary schools, electricity, tap water, and a relatively high standard of living.

Kampong Sungei Penchala authorities, especially the village headman and other elders, had no objections to my proposed study. I was told I would not have to obtain any clearance from higher authorities since I am a Malay and since I hold a teaching position at the local university. A few older inhabitants joked that if I misbehaved I would not be chased out of the village, but I would be made a son-in-law!

During the preliminary visits to Kampong Sungei Penchala the inhabitants seemed willing to cooperate. In addition, my own home was about five miles from the village so I could travel there daily. Living at home did not make me an outsider. Some of the villagers knew where I live because they work in the industries around my house.
Full-scale research began in March 1973. I was formally introduced to the community by a young villager who has worked at the university where I am employed. The youth was the secretary of the village mosque. He was able to introduce me to several such important inhabitants as the village headman, the mosque officials, the village policeman and members of the village development committee. I presented an official letter of introduction from my university to the village headman. He appeared pleased that the university authorities "respected" him enough to address a letter to him. Since he and several other village elders did not understand what a doctoral research project was, I explained I was a university lecturer who was writing a book, but that I needed more background material about the village.

The village headman introduced me to other villagers. A few stopped at his house when they saw us talking on the steps. Some stayed to listen to our conversations. At first these conversations concerned general topics; my role in the university, Malays in the country, fruit seasons in the village and the price of rubber. At times villagers stopped me as I was walking in the village and asked me what I was doing. I explained. Others joined the conversations and eventually the residents spread the word of my presence to their friends and neighbors.

At this early stage I began to gather information
about the village. Later on the village coffee shops, grocery stores, assistants' homes and the prayer houses became part-time research centers. After five in the evening many of the working villagers stop at these village shops to rest or to purchase essentials for their families. The workers talk about their jobs, friends who have lost jobs, increases in food prices and other general "gossip". When asked my opinion about such subjects I thought it best to reply that these events were beyond our control.

After meeting several villagers I decided to hire two young residents who appeared to know a lot about the village and its people. At first they were to help me carry out a census and to identify individuals I should meet and interview at a later stage in the research. Both men were unemployed Kampong Sungei Penchala bechelors with secondary educations. One was twenty years old, the other 27 years old. They were highly recommended by the village headman, and impressed me that they understood what I wanted to do and that they were to be hard working assistants. During the later stage of the study I found that the younger assistant was not working out. I kept him on because I believed that if I fired him he might cause problems for me with other villagers. I avoided the problem by limiting him to mechanical job such as enumerating and classifying inhabitants from census data
we had collected. I relied heavily on the older assistant who continued to do excellent work throughout the study.

I spent about four weeks training the assistants to do their job. I taught them how to obtain people's cooperation and avoid resentment. I also taught them how to write down notes after each meeting or interview. When I conducted formal or informal interviews I often brought my assistants with me so that they could learn the proper techniques. I explained, in detail, some of the topics I planned to discuss with each informant and told them to either write notes during or immediately after the interviews. I also taught them to watch people's reactions to a note book during interviews. If a respondent showed some discomfort they were to conduct the interview as informally as possible, using the preprepared outline of questions they had memorized. At the earlier stages of work I tried, as far as possible to conduct interviews with my assistants; later I realized that some villagers were not comfortable talking about certain 'village affairs' in front of the assistants. Towards the end of the study, I conducted the research more or less on my own.

To guarantee accuracy I cross-checked nearly all the information which my assistants collected. I interviewed the same respondents and used the same outline my assistants had been using. We then compared
notes. I would point out their weaknesses and strengths. I also found that some of their data were more detailed than mine. Perhaps some informants would not disclose some details to me that they would to their fellow villagers, my assistants. In many instances my data were superior; as a trained researcher, who originated the field problem, I was able to create new topics and techniques on the spot. Given the new thrust, still within the scope of the study, respondents were rather keen to prolong discussions.

By conducting a census at the beginning of the study I was able to enumerate the village population, the number of households, the ages and sex of the villagers, their occupations, and a brief history of the heads of households and their families. I conducted the census with my assistants. After covering about half of the village I began to conduct informal interviews and left the census operation to the assistants. By then they knew what I wanted to do and what types of information I wanted to collect. I continued to check the accuracy of the data by visiting homes of people who have already been enumerated. This enabled me to engage the heads of household or members of their families, in informal talks. I wanted to convince the villagers that I was responsible for the whole project and to assure them that the assistants were just helping me. I also wanted to find out if my assistants had caused any problems.
The census was a very important tool for data collection. It indicated who was important in village affairs and who I should meet as soon as possible to avoid alienating sensitive inhabitants. From census data I was able to classify villagers into several categories that became the focus in the study. I pinpointed the village entrepreneurs, the urban workers and the small-scale rubber producers, both formal and informal leaders, and youth organizations and their leadership.

After I thought I had been accepted by the villagers, I began participating in communal affairs such as clearing the village cemetery. In that instance I donated some drinks and cookies for the other participants; a few of the others had also brought food and drink. As we worked I was able to talk to a few people about the cemetery, the village's history, the earliest inhabitants and the acreage of the village. I was also able to observe a cooperative effort. While some individuals cleared the undergrowth others boiled water and prepared the snacks. It was an informal activity, but participants seemed serious about the affair. Some spent most of the time talking, but others kept clearing. Everyone seemed to know what to do. No women participated in this particular event because, as the villagers said, it was hard work to cut down trees and slash the undergrowth. Some participants sat under the shady trees and talked about
the movie they had seen the previous evening. I moved from one group to another to observe the participants' varied behaviors which are thought to show a single objective --- the display of respect for the dead by cleaning the cemetery. I was able to collect substantial amount of information during the work session dealing with the nature of mutual self-help activity.

I also participated in village affairs by attending wedding feasts, prayer house congregations, village level celebrations. In most of these occasions I played the roles of guest as well as ethnographer. I made it my business to move from one spot to another and to mingle with as many guests and household members as possible. I also found it useful to act as an unofficial chauffeur for the villagers. During these rides I was able to ask them questions relevant to my work. On one occasion I was driving the former headman and three other elders to the birthday celebration of the Sultan in the city. Along the way the passengers were able to tell me about the Malays' attitudes toward the monarch, the city, and the village. The former village headman pointed out a large tract of land adjacent to the village that had been levelled for a modern housing project. He feared that one day the people of Kampong Sungei Penchala would have to move out as the bulldozers moved in. He said that he preferred the present style of life in the village,
where people know each other, where they pay no city taxes and where mutual assistance is common. He also believed that most of the people of Kampong Sungei Penchala liked the existing way of life where houses are not congested.

In addition to conducting formal and informal interviews, I observed life in the village through participation or casual visits at homes, with groups of individuals in grocery stores and while conducting formal interviews. I walked around the village as often as I could, especially in the morning when I could observe the activities of rubber producers, the crowds at the bus station and the continuous flow of cyclists to their jobs. In one case, I was able to observe the indifference of the villagers towards politics. A few hours before the annual general meeting of the political party in the village, I stopped by the coffee shop and inquired if the small crowd was going to the meeting. Some of them laughed on hearing the word "political meeting". They said that it was time wasting to attend such meetings. Politics are meant for rich people. Even if the villagers hold political meetings everyday, their fate would not change.

Note taking is an important tool in any ethnographical research. When I conducted formal interviews, I always took notes. A few villagers were wary of the technique, but every time I completed a formal interview the respondent asked me to read back what he had said
and what I had written down. One respondent, who would not talk to me, went so far as to take my note book to write what he wanted to tell me. He said he was surprised that the others were able to tell me so much and that I would be able to write a book from my notes.

As is to be expected, I found that inhabitants were more uninhibited when I conducted informal interviews. In those cases I wrote up my notes after the interviews. I did not use a tape recorder because I believed that it would become an obstacle. When I experimented with one I found that it became an object of curiosity rather than a useful instrument. Young boys would crowd around me and the recording session turned into shouting contests.

I selected key informants during the fourth month of the project, after we conducted the census. The census data showed three general categories of people who lived in the village; urban wage earners, village rubber producers and village entrepreneurs. I chose those individuals who, I believed were knowledgeable about the village and its inhabitants, and persons who held important positions in the village --- the headman, former headman, the chairman of the village elementary school board, the school teachers, committee members of the village mosque, the businessmen and about ten per cent of the urban wage earners. A few individuals did not cooperate fully, but that did not affect my research adversely. Not all of
my informants were able to give me the information I needed, but by talking to other individuals I discovered bits of information on matters such as family income, life histories of household heads, youth problems and other information I could later piece together. At times I checked with inhabitants who were not my usual key informants. Several versions of the same story came out. I am convinced, however, that most people tried to tell me as much as they could without compromising their positions in the village. My own impressions and knowledge of rural and urban life situations helped me evaluate the different versions of the "truth". For example, I could estimate the income of rubber producers and urban wage earners rather accurately. Consequently, I dropped informants whose answers I found were not usually in line with other's ideas.

My informants were keen to talk about their "plight" as "poor people of the village". During informal interviews dealing with life histories all respondents talked in generalities and claimed that their families were poor, the village had been neglected, their children were not properly educated and their future to be very uncertain. During formal interviews respondents were keen to talk specifically about themselves and others. At times they tended to be overpolite by asking me if they were boring me with their "trivial" stories. I told them
that I was interested in everything about them and in
everything they knew about the village. Life histories
provided a useful check on other techniques and contain
rich information about kinship patterns, land inheritance
and transactions, relationships between workers and
employers, and the reasons of inhabitants for maintaining
that they were still rural dwellers.

For this study I realized that I had both the
advantages and disadvantages of being a local, or native
ethnographer. My greatest advantage is a knowledge of
Malay, my mother tongue and the language of the people of
Kampong Sungei Penchala. I was able to grasp the fine
linguistic distinctions that might have escaped someone
who is not a native speaker. Jokes and casual remarks
became information I could use. For instance, young men
might use proverbial or colloquial remarks to tease
young girls during a wedding or a feast. To the foreign
ethnographer these usages, which must be translated,
may be less meaningful.

Being a Malay and sharing a common cultural back-
ground with my informants, I may have overlooked some
ethnographic materials which may be important in the
analysis. To the foreign ethnographer all the "strange
things" are data. However, the foreigner is always
an outsider in the community, even though he has estab-
lished rapport.
CHAPTER TWO

KAMPONG SUNGEI PENCHAIA

The following sections are intended to introduce the reader to the village of Sungei Penchala. I begin by presenting a short history of the village, including a brief account of its foundation, of the major developments which have occurred since, and of the physical relationship of the village with the city and the surrounding areas. I then discuss the inhabitants and describe the two major sub-ethnic groups which have settled in the village. In the final two sections I examine the nature of the village's rural and urban sub-cultures and isolate the physical characteristics which define each.

A. The History of the Village.

Kampong Sungei Penchala was apparently opened for settlement in the early 1900's. According to land deeds that are in the possession of the present inhabitants, land was first alienated for occupation in 1912. Villagers assert that the earliest settlement also took place at this time. The land was gazetted as "Malay Reserve" land. Legislation was passed in 1913 and supplemented in 1933 which provided for the creation of such land. Basically these laws required the state to set aside lands all of which were located in rural areas, for exclusive ownership and cultivation by Malays.

22
At the time of the legislation the British authorities believed that the Malays were not property conscious and that there was consequently a need to create laws to ensure that Malays continued to own land. Land which was gazetted as Malay Reserve land could not be sold to, or owned by, non-Malays. The laws have remained in effect to this day. The British also assumed that the Malays were basically rural and agricultural (Winstedt 1961), and that it was therefore doubly fitting that this law be passed. The Malay Reserve Enactment indirectly discouraged Malays from owning land and living in such urban areas as Kuala Lumpur and other state capitals despite the fact that Malay participation in commerce, interisland trading and urban living predated the appearance of the Europeans by many centuries.

When Kampong Sungei Penchala was opened for settlement about seventy years ago, British planters began to cultivate rubber on a large scale to the south and west of the village. A few large rubber plantations around the village are still owned by the British. One group of plantations, however, has been sold to Malaysian real estate developers and during the course of the research they began to have the area just south of the village cleared in preparation for the construction of modern housing estates.

A majority of the settlers of Kampong Sungei Penchala were of Sumatran origin and had earlier migrated to
Peninsular Malaysia. This migratory activity took place steadily in the 1920's and continued until the beginning of the Second World War. During the war several of the villagers moved back to Sumatra because living conditions were more tolerable there; such basic needs as rice were particularly scarce at this time. As the village had no rice fields, a few families had little choice but to return to their former homelands in Sumatra. When the war was over they moved back to Kampong Sungei Penchala from Sumatra. Those who had remained in Kampong Sungei Penchala had worked with the Japanese authorities and, like most Malaysians, they had lived at a bare subsistence level, with tapioca as their basic food.

Kampong Damansara, which is situated just south of the village and was also opened for settlement in the 1900's offers an interesting contrast. It was more than a village since it functioned as a service center for the workers of the surrounding rubber plantations. Most of the residents are of Tamil origin, although a few are Chinese shopkeepers or Malays. This village is not a Malay Reserve land. It is leased to the occupants for a period of thirty years at a time and the lease is renewed at the end of the lease period. The occupants of the land pay a nominal land tax to the state government. During the Communist insurgency between 1948 and 1960 Kampong Damansara was gazetted as a new village. This meant that
the villagers were regarded as security risks by the
government and the whole village was fenced in with barbed
wire. Of the several Malay families in the village, most
were migrants from Sumatra, Java and other parts of the
Malay Peninsular who work in the rubber plantations. A
few of the earlier Malay residents managed to purchase land
outside the village primarily in the Petaling Jaya area.
Some of these individuals later moved to Kampong Sungei
Penchala, where they already owned several acres of rubber
and orchard plots.

Some of the Sungei Penchala village elders, especially
those over sixty years old, can still remember the time
when they first moved into and cleared the original forest.
Lands which were situated close to the main road were
cleared for rubber plots and homesteads, whereas lands in
the interior were planted with durian orchards. The
villagers then were more or less forced to plant rubber
and fruit trees because the land was alienated to them on
the specific condition that they cultivate rubber and
fruit.

Because Kampong Sungei Penchala has had no rice
fields since the beginning of its settlement, the residents
have always depended on the city of Kuala Lumpur for the
supply of this and other basic needs. From the inception
of the village to post World War II times rubber tapping
and the sale of latex formed the major source of the income
which was used to purchase basic economic needs. Only a few families, however, were engaged by the surrounding rubber plantations as rubber tappers. A few other families contained smalltime businessmen who sold village produce in the city, as a type of enterprise which persists today.

This pattern of rubber dependent economic activities continued into the 1950's when, during the Korean War, the price of rubber was at its highest in the history of the country. A pound of village standard rubber was sold for about M$2.00$\(^1\). In contrast, the present price of rubber is about M$0.30\$ a pound. During the height of the rubber boom almost all the adults, including the women, of Kampong Sungei Penchala tapped rubber and earned good incomes. It was during this period that many villagers built the fine timber houses which are still in use today. A few thrifty individuals were able to purchase comfortable household furniture and motorcycles. A few individuals, using the extra income from their rubber sales, opened grocery stores in the village. During this period no males wanted to work in the city as wage earners.

The main road leading from the city to the entrance of the village was originally built in the 1920's to serve

\[^1\] M$1.00$ was equivalent to about US$0.35\$ in the 1950's. Presently M$1.00$ is equivalent to about US$0.40\$. 
the needs of the British plantations surrounding the village. This road inevitably became the significant communication line between the people of Kampong Sungei Penchala and the surrounding areas, particularly Kuala Lumpur and the village of Damansara. The road enabled villagers to travel to Kuala Lumpur not only to purchase their basic needs but also, in the cases of those few villagers who worked in the city at that time, to reach their places of work.

The road leading from the main road into the village was not constructed until just before the Second World War and it was not paved. Villagers claim that at that time there were no motor vehicles, except bicycles, so the twelve foot wide unpaved road was more than sufficient for the villagers to travel to Kuala Lumpur or any other destination in the area.

According to the inhabitants of Sungei Penchala, their village was named after the small stream which passes through the village. This stream, called the Sungei Penchala (Malay for the Penchala River), is the main source of water for the villagers. Some families claim rightly, that the water from the river is not clean because some families in the upper reaches use the river to bath and wash clothes. Most of the families boil their drinking water because they believe that the water from the stream is not clean.
B. The Inhabitants of Kampong Sungei Penchala.

All of the people who live in Kampong Sungei Penchala are Malays and they belong to the Islamic religion. However, they see themselves as belonging to one of two sub-ethnic groups, the Sumatrans or the Javanese. The majority of the older villagers were born in Sumatra and migrated to Malaysia (then known as Malaya) during the early 1900's. About 25% of the households in Kampong Sungei Penchala are of Javanese origin, most of whom came after the Second World War.

Although there are two sub-ethnic groups in the village, and although the Sumatran Malays arrived earlier, the status of the Javanese Malays is not significantly lower. Nor do the Javanese Malays feel themselves to be inferior to the Sumatran Malays. Both sub-ethnic groups claim that they are Malays (orang Melayu). While both groups speak the Malay language fluently, their accent in each case is strongly influenced by their original mother tongue, whether it be the Javanese language or the Sumatran Minangkabau\(^1\) dialect.

The Javanese language is quite different in structure from the Malay language. All Javanese have learned

\(^1\) Minangkabau is a region in central western Sumatra where the people, unlike most Malays, maintain a matrilineal kinship system. It is also the origin of a large number of Malays who are now resident in Malaysia.
the Indonesian language, however, because it is the national language of Indonesia. The Indonesian language, in contrast, is based on the Malay language which has its roots in Sumatra. Minangkabau forms a distinct dialect in Northern Central Sumatra and its structure is similar to the present day Malay spoken in both Indonesia and Malaysia. The inhabitants of Kampong Sungei Penchala who are of Javanese origin speak Javanese among themselves or speak Malay with a Javanese accent. The Sumatran Malays in the village speak in a similar way. But when members of the two groups converse with each other they speak standard Malay. There are fewer traces of Javanese or Sumatran accents among the younger generations of the village who speak standard Malay as their native language.

The Sumatran Malays in the village do not express their negative attitudes openly towards the Javanese Malays. There are indications that the Sumatran Malays consider themselves slightly superior than the Javanese Malays. This is because the Sumatran Malays arrived earlier and they consider themselves as pioneers. During feasts or social gatherings, the wealthy Sumatran Malays are given high status by the hosts by seating the guests in the serambi (front portion of the main house).

One economic difference between the Javanese and Sumatran sub-ethnic groups is that the former own most of the lands in the interior of the village while the latter
own the lands close to the main road. Land which is situated close to the main road is more valuable and the owners of such are considered more wealthy. Several members of the urban Malay elite who have had the intention of purchasing land in the village as an investment have contacted Sumatran Malay owners. A few families of Javanese origin were able, however, to purchase land close to the main road during the rubber boom of the 1950's.

A second difference between the two groups is that all of the twelve grocery stores in the village are owned and run by the Sumatran Malays. Villagers claim that Sumatran Malays have long tradition of business enterprise, whereas the Javanese community in general is often stereotyped by other Malays as physically hard-working. It is because they are Javanese that they concentrate on such manual work as is performed by plantation workers and factory employees. The Sumatran Malays in the village assert that the Javanese Malays in the village are not so well off as the Sumatran Malays because they arrived much later and did not have the capital necessary to start a business. Furthermore, even if a Javanese Malay were to open a shop in the village, he would face several problems. First, the majority of the inhabitants are Sumatran Malays. Second, stores owned by Sumatran Malays are already well established.
The first place of settlement in Malaysia for most of the early migrants was not Kampong Sungei Penchala, but several other places around Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya, most notably Kampong Damansara. Several villagers used to own a few acres of land which has now been developed into one of the most modern industrial and residential areas of Petaling Jaya. One former headman of the village, for example, sold his valuable land to a cigarette company in 1955. He sold another piece a few years ago and used his profits to go to Mecca on a pilgrimage.

The inhabitants admit that Kampong Sungei Penchala is not a typical rural village. They point to the fact that they have to purchase such basic needs as rice and fish from the city or from the village vendor. There is a store in the village which specializes in the sale of fresh fish and vegetables. The owner of the store obtains these items daily from the city central market and sells them to the villagers. Furthermore, they compare their lives unfavorably with the lives of their relatives in other rural areas of the country such as Tanjong Karang Selangor. In that village, in contrast, the people produce vast quantities of rice and fresh water fish.

Most of the rubber tappers in the village have to take up odd jobs in the neighboring rubber plantations and factories to supplement their incomes. About ten
percent of the rubber tappers are women who are either widows or whose husbands are too old to work. They also have to rely on their children to work to supplement the family income.

The inhabitants are convinced that, without the city or the industrial region of Petaling Jaya, they could not survive economically. Few agreed with the researcher that higher education for their younger children would enable them to adjust well in an urban environment. They insisted instead that poverty and lack of education formed a vicious circle. This attitude is close to the concept of the culture of poverty suggested by Oscar Lewis (1966). Lewis argued that once poverty sets in in a particular society, it becomes a part of the culture of that society which prevents poor people from developing certain positive behaviors and attitudes which would bring about beneficial changes in their community.

The people of Kampong Sungei Penchala assert that they do not have enough education to enable them to secure well-paying jobs. They do not have large tracts of land which could be used to mobilize capital for businesses or related purposes. Their one or two acres of housing lots are too precious to be turned into any form of capital investment. A few who sold their land and became instantly rich have found that their money is worth less than formerly.
The following table shows the occupational pattern of the village household heads interviewed during the study:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Employment</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban employment</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>69.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village rubber producers</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurs</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total                    | 201     | 100.0 |

The table clearly shows that urban employment is the major source of income for the people of the village. Only twelve per cent of the household heads depend on rubber tapping and about eleven per cent are village entrepreneurs.
C. The Village's Rural Characteristics.

The village today comprises approximately 716 acres, only a fifth of which is developed into housing lots. The rest consists of rubber plots and fruit orchards, mainly durian\(^1\) and rambutan\(^2\). Of the three crops rubber is dominant. It provides a living for about twelve percent of the inhabitants of the village. The other two crops merely supplement the incomes of about sixty percent of the inhabitants.

The inhabitants of the community maintain that the environment in which they live is still that of a rural village. The land office in Kuala Lumpur similarly claims that the area concerned is still rural. In fact,

\(^1\) Durian (Durio zibethinus) grows in the lowland areas of Malaysia and neighboring countries. The ripe fruit can vary in size from as small as a baseball to as large as a soccer ball and weighs from 3 to 10 pounds. When it is ripe it has a sweet taste and a distinctive smell. There are many sub-varieties of Durian. The quality, and therefore the price, of any sub-variety depends primarily on the size of the fruit, and the color and thickness of the pulp surrounding the individual seeds.

\(^2\) Rambutan belongs to the genus Melphelium of which there are about 70 species in Asia and Australia. There are 16 known species in Malaysia alone. The size of the ripe fruit is about the size of a golf ball with a hairy reddish peel enclosing a large seed surrounded by white or yellowish sweet pulp.
owners of land in the village pay a nominal land rent or tax to the state government of Selangor, and the rate of this tax is the same as that paid by other rural villagers in the state.

Kampung Sungei Penchala is located twelve miles from the city of Kuala Lumpur and six miles from the industrial and residential area of Petaling Jaya. A reasonably good paved road today reaches the village from the city and the new town of Petaling Jaya. The main communication line begins in front of the mosque of the village and from here villagers can travel to the city or other parts of the country. There is bus service to the city of Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya every day. Occasionally, taxis drive to the village to bring or pick up passengers. Almost everyday small trucks bring supplies to retailers in the village.

Another major rural characteristic of the village is the scattered situation of the houses. Many of the houses are built along the road, but quite a number are built within two or three plots of land away from the main road. Although there are no proper roads to these houses, the villagers have constructed access roads of their own using the road reserve\(^1\) provided by the government.

\(^1\) Land set aside exclusively for the purpose of road construction and belonging permanently to the state.
A third rural characteristic is that, unlike the situation in Kampong Baru, another urban Malay neighborhood in Kuala Lumpur (Provencher 1971), the houses in this village are not numbered and the sandy access roads or footpaths leading to the various houses away from the main road are neither named nor numbered. Houses, did, however begin to be numbered in the early months of 1974 when the state government approved supplying electricity to the village.

When electrical service was approved, the authorities stipulated that the villagers must be prepared to cut down some of their coconut and fruit trees to provide sufficient room for the power lines to pass through. In the beginning certain villagers, claiming that this would deprive them of their free supply of coconut (which is used daily to cook some foods), refused to cut down some of the trees involved. The village headman was ultimately able to convince the affected families that it was for their own safety that their coconut trees were being cut down. By late 1974 and early 1975 electricity began to be installed in the village for those families which could afford it. The basic fee for installation was M$145.00. During the early period about sixty percent of the households installed electricity in their houses.

A fifth rural feature is that there is still no piped water supply to the village, even though the village is
only twelve miles from the capital city. The absence of electricity and piped water, combined with the pattern of land usage described below, gives Kampong Sungei Penchala the characteristic appearance of other rural communities in the country.

The nature of land ownership and use could be used as a sixth criteria of ruralness of the community. Most families possess large areas of land for their young children to move around in without 'intruding' into the privacy of others. There is no fencing of individual homes, except in a few wealthy cases. Several families have herds of cows or goats which, when they graze openly around the village, are herded by young adolescents.

Another major characteristic of the community is that all houses, except one, are built out of wood, raised on stilts, and have a typically Malay design. In the city, in contrast, dwellings are commonly constructed with bricks, on a concrete pad, have tiled roof, and are designed in an anonymous, de-ethnicized house, belonging to one of the richer men, is to be found in the village. According to the owners, villagers can build or extend houses without having to submit plans to any higher authority. The Penghulu\textsuperscript{1} asserts that Kampong Sungei Penchala

\textsuperscript{1} The Penghulu is a government official who oversees the administration of several adjoining villages and he is directly responsible to the District Officer.
is a village and therefore the inhabitants need not submit any plans to build houses. When electricity was about to be installed in the village, the owners of houses were advised by the village headman and the electricity board officials to build with more care in order to avoid fire hazards. However, there is no official regulation that owners should submit proper plans before constructing a house or an extension that is to be supplied with electricity.

An eight reason why the people of Kampong Sungei Penchala claim that their village is still very rural is that they build their own houses. An owner obtains the unpaid labor of his relatives and neighbors in building and repairing his house. Houses are constructed by owners on any part of the plot of land they own.

The fact that Kampong Sungei Penchala has no rice fields constitutes the final, typically rural, characteristic. The reason there has never been any attempt to plant rice, according to the villagers, is simply that there is no low lying land suitable for the purpose. Instead, the village is located in hilly terrain which is well suited to the planting of rubber and durian trees. A few landowners who own durian plots claim that those who plant durian earn much more than those who plant rubber trees. The father of one of my research assistants owns about four acres of durian orchards
and most of the trees are about fifty years old. The quality of the fruit is so good that in a very good season, the owner can earn as much as M$3,000, although durian bears fruit only once a year. Kampong Sungei Penchala is well known to the people of Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya because of the high quality of the durian grown in the village.

A few of the folk characteristics suggested by Redfield (1956) fit quite well with the rural nature of Kampong Sungei Penchala. One of the characteristics is the homogeneity and commonality of the population. The people of Kampong Sungei Penchala belong to one ethnic group, Malays. They are Muslim by religion. They speak the Malay language. There also exists the non-secular and conservative aspects of the rural community. Behavioral patterns of the villagers are determined by customs and traditions. For example, the people construct houses in traditional ways. They are not bound by city laws.

The folk model of Redfield also postulates that the customs of rural dwellers do not change rapidly. This does not necessarily apply to Kampong Sungei Penchala, because of continuous urban influence since the founding of the settlement. The village economy, the tapping of rubber and the purchase of rice and other basic needs, is dependent on the market system of the city.
D. The Village's Urban Environment.

There are two ways in which Kampong Sungei Penchala is situated with respect to urban environments. In the first place, elements and representatives of urban culture intrude themselves into the village through the various media and through the presence of a number of what previously were essentially urban institutions. The relevant media consist of television, radio and newspapers while the relevant institutions are the school and the health clinic, both of which appeared in the village before the extension of the city limits, as well as the police. In addition, city officials and various urban dwellers visit regularly. In the second place, the village is physically located close to two urban centers, the city of Kuala Lumpur and the town of Petaling Jaya, and villagers are continually extruded to these centers for a wide variety of reasons.

The chronological order in which the three media were introduced into the village coincides with the size of public each reaches. Newspapers, which appeared first, also enjoy the widest audience and are followed by radio and television in that order. Those households which have television sets often turn their homes into little 'movie houses' when an old Malay film is being shown. Such movies are often shown during the prime viewing time between eight and ten in the evening.
There are several television programs which can be considered urban in character and purpose; one such program is doktor kita (Our Doctor) which is normally shown once a week at six in the evening. This program is not very popular among the villagers even though its aim is to help educate viewers especially people in the rural areas, about modern medical practices by discussing some of the illnesses found in the nation and by providing information on preventive measures. Nearly all adult viewers, in contrast, are interested in watching the news. The countrywide Koran reading competition is held annually at a stadium in Kuala Lumpur and this cultural activity, which is televised live, attracts the older men and women.

For the younger generation the most popular programs are such detective series as "Ironside", "The Streets of San Francisco" and "It Takes a Thief". Even though many of them do not speak or understand English, they can still enjoy the programs because Malay sub-titles are supplied. A children's program called pok amai amai (clap clap hands) is televised once a week at four in the afternoon, but this program is not popular among the children of the village. There are several other programs, such as discussions of agriculture, the arts, religion and politics, which are related to government policies. Normally these programs take the form of panel discussions conducted by
people who are considered by the officials of the Information and Broadcasting Department to be experts in their fields and who are sympathetic to government policies. These programs attract a large number of adults in the village.

About 40% of the households own battery powered radios. The programs which are aired include news, traditional Malay music, modern pop songs, Koran reading and discussions of government policies and programs by ministers and officials. Among the older people there is a preference to listen to the Koran reading program and traditional Malay music. Their children prefer pop or modern music. Very few people, however, listen to the news on the radio. They prefer the daily newspapers instead because of their broader coverage in reporting events. Some of the villagers follow the discussions on government radio programs such as kebun kita (Our Farm), which considers various aspects of agriculture and suggests to listeners in rural areas ways to improve production.

The third media to be produced and managed in the city are the venacular newspapers. The literate villagers, especially those who are working in the city, read the Berita Harian and the Utusan Melayu. The Utusan Melayu is more popular among the older people whereas the younger people show no clear preference for either. These news-
papers are not sold in the village, but many villagers obtain them through their relatives or friends who work in the city. These newspapers are normally read in the evening. One of the entrepreneurs who sell fresh fish and venetables in the village purchases an extra copy of the Utusan Melayu daily and this attracts villagers who are not working in the city to his store to read the papers as well as to purchase various daily needs. Among the unemployed youths, the news items of special interest are the advertisements of vacant positions.

Among the urban institutions in the village, the primary school is the most important because of its contributions to the socialization of the young. The curriculum of the school is prepared by the central ministry of education in Kuala Lumpur and is designed essentially to fit the needs of urban children. Courses in such subjects as geography, history, mathematics and art do not provide training of immediate or obvious relevance for youngsters who will be looking for jobs in the rural areas. The teachers are trained in urban teachers' colleges and this again, necessarily influences their interaction with the pupils. Examples of progress and modernization are always taken from the urban environment and include factories, the expensive cars on the city streets, and the construction of tall buildings and the existence of rich people in the city.
About 90% of the male elders who consider themselves as household heads went through primary school before the Second World War and are able to to read and write. They read the Malay newspapers quite regularly. Sometimes a group of older people share in reading the newspaper in their favorite coffee shop. A few urban workers make a point in the evening of bringing home the Malay newspapers which they bought in the city in the morning. Literacy among the women elders is very low compared with their male counterparts. Most of them cannot read or write. Both males and females who were born just before the Second World War, however, have attended schools and can read and write.

Since primary education is free in Malaysia, most of the children of school going age in the village attend school. Nevertheless, the dropout rate is quite high among the children of rubber producers. Among all 25 of the families which depend on rubber tapping and sales for their living, income is very uncertain. During the rainy season, which normally covers the months of October to January rubber cannot be tapped. Rubber producers have to depend instead on odd jobs which can barely support their families. Consequently, the parents of dropout children usually claim that they cannot afford secondary education for their children because they cannot afford the requisite bus fares and textbooks.
All parents who earn wages attempt to encourage their children to finish secondary school despite the fact that there is no secondary school in the village. Those who attend secondary school have to travel about eight miles to one which is situated on the southern fringes of Petaling Jaya. None of the village youngsters so far has reached the university level, although a few have taken the university entrance examination. One of my two research assistants, for example, has taken the examination each year for the last three years, but has to date been unsuccessful.

Parents who own businesses encourage their children to further their education beyond the primary and secondary levels. They hope that one or two of their children can reach the university which is situated only six miles from the village. Besides attending school, some of the children in these families participate in the family business, especially in the evenings and on weekends.

The majority of those who possess basic primary and secondary education seek employment in the city and the nearby industrial town. By gaining a primary and secondary education, the youngsters are actually participating in the urbanization process. The education and training they receive in schools do not prepare them for jobs in the village, nor does the village generate a significant
amount of self-employment since the low price of rubber discourages youngsters from participating in rubber production. Such are some of the factors which lead young people and adults in the village to seek urban jobs. The close proximity of the village to the city and industrial areas also provides the villagers with alternatives which further increase their participation in urban ways.

The health clinic is another major urban element, being staffed by urban trained nurses and midwife. The ideas about health propagated here are in sharp contrast to traditional rural ways. The midwife stationed in the health center practices modern and scientific methods in the handling of childbirth. However, all births which she attends to in the village take place in the homes of the families concerned. The center does not handle modern family planning practices, but the nurses at the center will encourage the village women to visit a family planning office in the city if they desire more information on the subject.

A policeman is stationed in the village and has been living there for the last six years. His main task is to see that law and order are maintained among the villagers. Before the policeman arrived there were several petty thefts in the village such as the losses of bicycles and rubber. There were also incidents of fighting between
youths. Since the policeman was appointed these activities have been reduced. The policeman has essentially become one of the villagers. He bought a piece of land and built a house close to the center of the village and the villagers have come to regard him as one of themselves rather than as a government official. He is invited to all the functions in the village where he participates, not as a guest, but simply as another villager.

The village is connected to the city and the industrial and residential areas by paved road. The short distance to both these areas facilitates the growth of urban culture within the village. Regular bus service to and from the village further enhances the easy communication between the people of the village and the surrounding urban areas.

Two buses leave the village every half hour, one bus leaving for the city of Kuala Lumpur and the other travelling to the town of Petaling Jaya. At the same time, a bus will depart from each of these two urban centers for the village. The bus service begins at six in the morning and ends at twelve midnight. After six in the evening, however, bus service is available at hourly intervals. The bus fare from the village to Kuala Lumpur is M$0.40¢ per adult and M$0.20¢ per child under twelve years of age, while the fares to Petaling Jaya are half the fares to the city. More buses are run at peak hours in the mornings
and evenings to the city. Between six and seven in the morning there are three buses which leave the village at each scheduled departure to accommodate the urban workers and school children. The same pattern is repeated in the evening when three buses leave the city to bring home the urban workers. During this peak hour there is only one bus from the village to Petaling Jaya because there are fewer people from the village working in Petaling Jaya and because some of the villagers travel to work more by riding their motor bikes or bicycles.

Most of the urban workers are employed in the city of Kuala Lumpur and the industrial area of Petaling Jaya. A large number of these workers are young people, ranging in age from fifteen to thirty years old who work as laborers in the Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya government administrations and in the manufacturing industries. Some of them are drivers and conductors for transport industries. About 70% of the youths are employed in the industrial sector in Petaling Jaya and hold primarily unskilled positions at salaries of from M$80.00 to M$150.00 a month.

In the course of this study, 114 out of 348 young people claimed that they had no employment. They depend on their parents for their daily needs. During the morning and evening hours they either sit around the coffee shops or cycle to Petaling Jaya to pass their time. A few
asserted that, whenever they go to Petaling Jaya or Kuala Lumpur, they visited the Labour Exchange, a government department which registers the unemployed and provides information regarding employment opportunities. Of the 114 unemployed young people about 10 per cent possess secondary education, while the rest terminated their studies after the primary level.

The total number of men working in Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya is 345; the total number of salaried women is 288. These adults travel daily to their places of work. Five individuals have salaried jobs in the clinic and the primary school of the village. Except for the school teachers, who earn more, all of the salaried adults in the village earn less than M$300.00 per month. About 10 per cent of these individuals own mostly durian orchards, however, which give them an annual average income of M$1,500.00. None of the salaried adults, regardless of sex, can be classified as executives or highly paid. Rather, they are clerks, typists, office-boys, watchmen, unskilled factory laborers and household servants.

The urban workers, who form the majority of the working adults in the village, have some influence on the village. In a sense they form a minor group of cultural brokers. They bring home information on the availability of jobs in their respective establishments for their
unemployed adult relatives and friends. The urban workers have also reorientated themselves to suit urban requirements. Punctuality, for instance, has become part of their lives. Not only are their working hours strictly defined, but they cannot even spend more time than allowed for their lunch or coffee break.

The daily commuting of the villagers to the city also has some influence on the village inhabitants. A new factory or a new housing estate close to the village becomes a topic of casual discussion in the surau (prayer house) in the evening. The construction of new shopping complexes in the town also enters the casual discussions of the villagers. Some of them compare their standard of living with that of the Chinese and Malays who work and live in the city. The working commuters also compare the efficiency of the urban factories with that of such government departments as the land office. They claim that government officials are slow, whereas the executives of corporations are seen as more efficient and strict. The commuters also recognize, however, that working conditions in the factories are more stringent.

While relaxing in the surau or during a khenduri, the urban workers often remark on the presence of so few Malay executives in the factories where they work. They feel that there should be more Malay executives so that they can help other Malays to obtain jobs in the factories.
During these casual discussions they also blame the government for not providing the village with a secondary school. Such a school, they claim, would provide their children with better opportunities to enter the higher level income group. Discussions often end with a self-pitying remark such as "Well, we are not educated in English, that is why we are poor".

Most of the people of Kampong Sungei Penchala claim that their village is unique, because the village is so close to the city and surrounded by developed areas, and yet there is no electricity and tap water. Nor is there a secondary school for their older children. They are aware that in other, more remote, villages in the country, these facilities are available. They claim that their (Chinese) political leaders in the past neglected the village. The village has not been able to elect a Malay as their political representative in the State Legislature because Damansara constituency, in which the village is situated, covers large areas populated mostly by Chinese and Indians. The people are also aware that their village is surrounded by urban elites and wealthy communities. To the east is the newly developed Damansara Heights which is a bustling diplomatic and elite urban community. To the south is Petaling Jaya which was developed for industries and modern housing estates about twenty years ago. Furthermore, the growth continues.
CHAPTER THREE

VILLAGE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: AN INTRODUCTION

In any community, rural or urban, social organization includes the primary institutional means of integrating the activities of individuals, validating claims of leadership, and organizing such basic needs as protection, food, shelter and the biological perpetuation of the community. The social organization of a village consists of that total set of structured arrangements comprising social actions, interactions, rights, obligations, economic activities, marriage and residence rules, and patterns of leadership.

In a rural community, social organization is firmly based on kinship and territory. Kin relationships determine many of a villager's rights, obligations and roles. Territory in the form of land may become common property if a group finds that economic resources are too scarce. Where land is abundant in relation to the size of the rural population, individual property ownership is a common feature. Foster has suggested that, in a peasant community, economic resources are usually regarded as limited (1965:239-315). In such a community members tend not to orient their economic activities toward more productivity or expansion because they believe that no amount of hard work or resourcefulness on the part of the individual can produce more without depriving another.

52
In the following pages I begin the discussion of social organization with a general discussion of the village as a social unit, particular stress being placed on the ways in which residents interact with each other in an increasingly urbanized social space. In the next two sections of the chapter I consider the topics of kinship and marriage, and land ownership and inheritance. I then review the nature and scope of the sub-ethnic associations and conclude with a survey of social network. The chapter as a whole is intended to acquaint the reader further with the village and to lay out the background material necessary for the more detailed discussion of economic, religious and political institutions presented in the following three chapters.

A. The Village as a Social Unit.

A Malay village has a territorial basis, most of which consists of land for cultivation or for homesteads. The Malay concept of a village, however, is often derived from the existence of institutions such as the mosque, surau (prayer house) or the primary school. A villager may claim that he belongs to a certain village where a mosque or a surau is located even though he resides in another locality. There is, then, some difficulty in defining a Malay village. Approached, geographically, however, the Malay village may be linear, nucleated or scattered.
A village is linear if homesteads are erected along river banks, a ridge or a road. There is frequently no clear boundary between one particular linear village and another. The nucleated Malay village is a cluster of homesteads surrounded by rice fields or rubber plots, or both, with another similar village located some distance away. There are also villages whose constituent households are scattered about the landscape with no fixed pattern. In this type of village, homesteads are founded on a ridge, on the banks of river mouths, or along the edges of rice fields. Kampong Sungei Penchala generally fits the first pattern, that of a nucleated village with well defined boundary. Several houses, however, especially in the interior, are scattered randomly among the orchards.

S. Husin Ali has suggested that "The Malay village appears to be a community or a coherent social unit within which all kinds of ties and interactions occur; and although its territorial basis may not be very clearly defined, nonetheless it is quite often definable" (1975:42). Kampong Sungei Penchala is a coherent social unit that is clearly defined by distinctive patterns of cooperation, leadership and entrepreneurship. Its territorial basis is well-defined. The village mosque, surau, primary school, and health clinic are institutions which bind the people as a coherent social unit. Even though the inhabitants belong to two major sub-ethnic
communities, namely those of Javanese origin and Minangkabau origin, they call themselves orang Sungei Penchala (people of Sungei Penchala). Finally, there is intensive interaction among the rubber producers, urban wage earners and the village netpreneurs.

Subethnic identity does not correlate with occupational status except as regards entrepreneurship. In this village all the grocery stores are owned and run by Sumatran Malays. This is due to incidental historical factors rather than to some sort of ethnic specialization. Sumatran Malays moved into the village much earlier than the Javanese Malays; by the time the Javanese arrived, the Sumatran Malays had already established their business in the village. Since the village is relatively small and located quite close to the city, the Javanese did not initiate their own enterprises. They can easily purchase goods from the village shops and the stores in town. There is also no evidence of discrimination against the Javanese by the Sumatran businessmen in the village.

The village entrepreneurs do, however, discriminate against the non-urban working inhabitants. Rubber producers and unemployed persons do not obtain credit easily from the village store owners. In contrast, urban wage earners, irrespective of whether they are Javanese Malays or Minangkabau Malays, easily obtain credit from the storeowners. The urban workers are also politely
treated by the village storeowner when they patronize their stores. Entrepreneurs claim that it is very difficult for them to extend credit to the rubber producers or the unemployed because they have no ready means of repaying their debts. On the other hand, the urban workers have to be treated politely because they constitute the major buying force in the village. The urban workers can also purchase goods from Petaling Jaya if the village storeowners do not give them good treatment. There are a few cases of urban workers who have changed their regular village suppliers. These individuals claim that their former supplier, by asking them to pay their debts, had insulted their integrity.

There is also no correlation between subethnicity and urban employment. Sumatran Malays and Javanese Malays have attained essentially the same level of education. Employers in both the government and private sectors do not discriminate between the two groups. Employers regard them only as Malays. Since both groups possess only a low level of education they are absorbed into the unskilled factory and low paying government jobs.

The urban workers obtain their jobs, not on the basis of education, but on the basis of prior knowledge about the availability of unfilled positions. There is a strong tendency to assist members of one's family in obtaining jobs before passing the same information on to
relatives and neighbors. The headman of the village, who works as a security guard for a steel industry in Petaling Jaya, obtained a job for his son as an unskilled laborer in the same plant. A driver of a tobacco processing company likewise obtained a job as salesman for his younger brother in the same industry. These individuals claim that it is only fair for one to help one's kinsmen first before extending such assistance to others in the village. Employment for kinsmen means a lightened burden on the working heads of household or other supporting adults. Urban workers also try to befriend the personnel officers of their establishments so they can more readily secure positions for their kinsmen and friends.

One of the major elements of the social organization of the village is cooperation among its inhabitants. They cooperate in projects and social activities in a manner usually considered to be typical of rural communities. They call these activities gotong royong (mutual self-help), kerja sama (working together) or tolong menolong (being helpful). The inhabitants claim that gotong royong is part of the Malay way of life and they consider it a religious duty for members of the community to help each other in as many ways as possible. Since gotong royong benefits many people, such cooperation falls well within the Malay definition of virtuous acts.
Some of the visible products of *gotong royong* activities are a water tank constructed several years ago, the construction and regular maintenance of the five foot paths which connect the main road with households in the interior, the clearing of the village cemetary, and the construction of small bridges and prayer houses.

In 1968 the village development committee managed to persuade the state government to provide them with materials to construct a water tank. Labor was provided by the villagers and the work was supervised by a technical officer of the Public Works Department. This water tank serves about a third of the population of the village. It was constructed more or less in the center of the village and close to the river bank. Water is pumped up into the tank, which rests on a twelve foot platform, so that there is sufficient pressure for the water to flow into the pipe stands situated along the main road. A few families which could afford to buy steel pipes installed them between their houses and the main water line. Most families, however, obtain their water from the communal pipe stand on the side of the road.

The villagers have also constructed roads on a *gotong royong* basis to connect the interior with the main road. Trucks and simple equipment such as shovels have been provided by the government and the villagers have provided the labor. Most of the road construction and
and repairs has been undertaken on Sundays when most adults are not working. Such roads are not paved.

During the course of the study, a new prayer house was constructed on a gotong royong basis. The state government provided a grant of M$10,000.00 to purchase such materials as cement, planks, and steel. Labor was again provided free by the adults of the village, but some of the construction was contracted out to a Chinese builder because the inhabitants could not find the time to complete the job themselves. Nevertheless, nearly all of the male adults of the village participated in the construction of this particular prayer house.

Gotong royong activities are also organized during wedding feasts and khenduri (ritual feasts). Weddings are more elaborate and expensive than an ordinary feast like the khenduri arwah (feasting the soul of the dead). Preparation for a wedding requires more labor and time and includes the erection of guest tents, the furnishing of a bridal room, the preparation of cooking facilities, and the collecting of firewood and decorative trimmings. In all the wedding feasts which I attended, the adult inhabitants of the village participated as volunteers in such activities as waiting on guests, serving food, cooking and washing. Villagers assert that they participate in these gotong royong activities because it is their tradition (adat) to help each other, to contribute to activities for the common good and thereby to enhance
village life (hidup sekampung). They believe that village life necessarily entails cooperation with each other on all appropriate occasions. To a large extent they have lived up to this ideal. The richest man of the village even received free labor during his daughter's wedding despite the fact that he was more than able to pay for the help required.

In spite of such cooperation among the inhabitants, there are cases of conflict between them. Some of the conflicts take the form of minor fights between youths. Older people show their disagreement with others by boycotting certain events or avoiding certain families. There are also conflicts of opinion between youths and elders. Villagers claim that these conflicts are quite normal in any community. There have been no conflicts between the two major subethnic groups, the Sumatran Malays and the Javanese Malays.

The minor fights between youngsters took place mostly before the stationing of the policeman in the village in 1968. In one case, a few youths were alleged to have stolen some chickens from a family. The youths were also alleged to have disturbed some young girls. The youths denied the allegation. Later a fist fight broke out between the youths and the young sons of the affected families. The village headman managed to restore peace between the conflicting parties by having a small
khenduri in his house. Although peace was reestablished, a few families and individuals considered themselves enemies of each other for some time thereafter.

Elders claim that young people have generally lost respect for them and the customs of the village (adat kampong). The elders cite, in support of their contention, occasions when young people, both boys and girls, hold birthday parties in their homes and play loud Western music and local pop music. The youths react by saying that the elders are narrowminded and that, while they hold parties to have fun, they do not miss Friday prayers.

The village elders also claim that the girls, especially those who are working in the city, have become too modern by wearing mini-skirts and flirting with boys. The elders resent young people who spend their weekends or holidays in the movie houses or at the various recreational grounds in the city. They would prefer teenagers to do productive work in the village such as clearing house compounds or family orchards. The young people, however, reply that it is only fair for them to relax in their own ways on the weekends after putting in six days of work in the factories. Nevertheless, if there are gotong royong activities in the village such as weddings or cemetery clean up, most of the young people participate actively even though all of these
activities take place during the weekends. Some young men also participate in ritual feasts in the prayer houses during the fasting month to show the elders that they are not totally modern or discarding the old ways.

Some families do not visit each other. A few claim that some families have arrogant children. Others say they do not visit certain households or families because they once quarrelled and have not made up. Most of these family feuds are caused by petty quarrels among the young boys in which parents side with their children, thus bringing the other parents into the conflict. There have not, however, been any cases of physical violence between individuals or families, except for a few fist fights between young boys on the school playground.

A few inhabitants do not visit the homes of some of the storeowners because they claim that the village entrepreneurs are rich and arrogant people. They even try to avoid the local businessmen whenever there are such gatherings as feasts in the surau or weddings. Storeowners claim that individuals who do not speak to them owe them money for goods bought on credit and that the debtors only became unfriendly after the storeowners asked them to pay their debts. Debtors feel that storeowners belittle them when they ask for repayment of their money. Storeowners, however, assert that as businessmen they have to ask for repayment so that they can
continue their business. They claim that they need the cash to replenish their inventories and that it is not their intention to belittle anybody in the village. Moreover, they feel strongly that the villagers who owe them money are obliged to repay them.

Most of the individuals who are indebted to the storeowners are rubber producers. The urban workers do owe them some money, but on the whole, they quickly pay off their debts. Most urban workers feel that they should repay debts as soon as possible. They say that they feel ashamed (malu) if they do not repay their debts since they earn money and also recognize that the village entrepreneurs are doing them a favor by providing them with goods on credit.

Leadership in the village does not greatly affect the lives of many villagers because the majority of the adults work in urban areas and are therefore accustomed to respecting those in positions of authority much more than their village headman or the elders. Both formal and informal leadership exists in the village. Formal leadership is represented by the village headman who is popularly elected by the residents and endorsed by the state government. Another type of formal leadership is to be found in the political parties. There are branch organizations of two major political party in the village,
namely UMNO\(^1\) and PAS\(^2\). The majority of the adult inhabitants of the village are members of UMNO.

There has not been very much political activity in the village. The people attribute this to the fact that the majority of the residents are poor urban workers who are more concerned about their jobs and salaries than political activities. Another reason given is that both political parties are Malay political parties. Residents believe that if they involve themselves too much in party politics, they stand to lose because the state government may not provide them with development projects. The government will only provide these amenities if the villagers as a whole show some form of solidarity among themselves. The people of the village have been successful in showing the government their support in the form of gotong royong activities such as the construction of secondary roads and prayer houses. These activities save government money and serve the common good.

Popularity was a major criterion for the selection of the present headman. There was an election in late 1972 which was contested by five individuals, including

\(^{1}\) UMNO is a Malay political party and is presently the ruling party in the coalition running the Federal Government. It emphasizes economic development and the redistribution of wealth.

\(^{2}\) PAS is the abbreviation for the Pan Malayan Islamic Party, a political party for Malays in which Islamic teachings form the basis of its political philosophy.
the present headman and a businessman. The businessman is the son-in-law of the former headman. He lost to the winner only by a narrow margin. The occupation of the winner is merely that of a security guard in the steel industry in Petaling Jaya.

The people of Kampong Sungei Penchala found it difficult to explain why they chose the security guard rather than the businessman to be their leader. Apparently the loser is quite wealthy by village standards and his father-in-law was head of the village for more than thirty years. The businessman is also the *imam* of the village mosque and a member of all the important committees in the village. Both candidates are about the same age. The village *imam* has more education. He studied in both Malay and Arabic schools, whereas the security guard only went through the fourth grade of the Malay primary school. Both are long time residents in the village and both were born in the village of Damansara.

In daily conversation with both men, it was found that the present village headman in fact knows less of affairs outside the village and in the city. He expressed only vague ideas about urban jobs and related matters. The *imam*, in contrast, knows about urban jobs and related matters such as unemployment, inflation, and prices of goods because he is a businessman.

Status and ranking are important in rural Malay
society. In the village high status is accorded to these individuals with an extensive religious background. The imam enjoys great respect from the people, even though he is not the village headman. During feasts and weddings he takes precedent over other individuals. During such ritual feasts as circumcisions (bersunat) he leads the group in the ceremonies and in offering prayers. The village headman just mingles with a few guests under the trees, and only joins the whole group when the feasting begins.

The village headman seems to play the role of showing young people how to conduct themselves during important ceremonies. For example, during the grand wedding of the daughter of the retired village headman, the present headman played the role of receptionist and coordinator of activities so that guests were properly seated and fed.

The surau religious leader known as the bilal is accorded high status when there are various celebrations in the surau, mosque or private homes. He usually sits in the serambi, the most prestigious corner of the house. This is normally in the front room of the house and to the far right as the guests enter the house through the main door. Village elders also given high respects and they are also seated in the serambi area during a ritual feasts and other related events.
B. **Kinship and Marriage.**

Kin relationships consist of that network of social relations determined by either blood ties or marriage arrangements. Relationships between individuals instituted by marriage are known as affinal, whereas relationships determined by blood ties are known as consanguineal. The table below shows the various terms for consanguineal relatives in the village; the terminology is Hawaiian.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Female Referant</th>
<th>Male Referant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd Ascending</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>moyang</td>
<td>moyang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ascending</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>nenek, nenek saudara</td>
<td>datok, datok saudara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ascending</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ibu, ibu saudara</td>
<td>ayah, ayah saudara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same-older</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>kakak, kakak saudara</td>
<td>abang, abang saudara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ego (male or female)**

| Same-younger   | 1    | adek perempuan, adek saudara perempuan | adek lelaki, adek saudara perempuan  |
| 1st Descending | 2    | anak prempuan, anak saudara perempuan  | anak lelaki, anak saudara perempuan  |
| 2nd Descending | 3    | Chuchu perempuan, chuchu lelaki, chuchu saudara perempuan | chuchu lelaki, chuchu saudara perempuan |
| 3rd Descending | 4    | chichit                                | chichit                              |

The people of Kampong Sungei Penchala recognize three
distinct ascending and descending generations and four
different ascending and descending ranks. The fourth
descending rank and the third descending generation term
chichit (great grandson or great granddaughter) is not
applicable to anyone among the 201 households. The fourth
ascending rank and third ascending generation term moyang
(great grandparent) is also not applicable to anyone.
Another kin term which is absent among the 201 households
is angkat (adopted). This normally refers to such adopted
relatives as the bapak angkat (adopted father) and emak
angkat (adopted mother).

Inhabitants often use the term saudara which ordina-
rily refers to collateral, as opposed to lineal, relatives.
The saudara may be younger or older than ego. The use of
the term saudara does not necessarily indicate specific
kin. Bapak saudara, for example, may mean a mother's
brother or a father's brother. Among the matrilineal
Malays of Negri Sembilan, however, the term for mother's
brother is buapak (Swift 1965), while among the Minang-
karbau Malays, the term is mamak. Ibu saudara can mean
either mother's sister or father's sister and is also
used to refer to female cousin of a parent.

Ego regards his mother's brother's son or daughter
as his saudara sepupu (first cousin). If this individual
is younger than ego, he or she is referred to as akek
saudara sepupu. If he or she is older than ego, he is
referred to as abang saudara sepupu, and she as kakak saudara sepupu. Second and third cousins are also referred to as saudara sepupu. If the relationships between cousins is affectionate, they regard each other as siblings; if not, they simply regard each other as saudara or relatives.

**Table 3  Affinal Kin and Rank Terminology**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Female Referant</th>
<th>Male Referent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd ascending</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>nenek mertua</td>
<td>datok mertua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st ascending</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ibu mertua</td>
<td>ayah mertua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same-older</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>kakak ipar</td>
<td>abang ipar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ego (male or female)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same-younger</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>adek ipar perempuan</td>
<td>adek ipar lelaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st descending</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>anak adek ipar perempuan</td>
<td>anak adek ipar lelaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>menantu</td>
<td>menantu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Malay society and in particular in this village, the most common affinal terms are the mertua and the ipar. A third common term is the bisan, used reciprocally between the parents of a husband and wife. Kakak ipar means spouse's sister and abang ipar means spouse's older brother. Ibu Mertua is the affinal term for ego's mother-in-law, and ayah mertua is ego's father-in-law. In Kampong Sungei Penchala, the mothers-in-law, the
fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law, and sisters-in-law are the affinal relations which are of greatest importance to a married person. This is because nearly all of these affinal relatives live in one household.

In this village inhabitants use rather formal kin terms both on special social occasions and during routine interactions. A man or a woman often addresses a slightly older male acquaintance as abang or by the abbreviated form of bang. If the acquaintance is a female and slightly older, she is addressed as kakak or kak. If ego is about twenty years old or slightly younger and the addressee is forty or more, he or she is addressed as pak or mak so-and-so. If ego is addressing individuals one or two generations below him, however, he does not use any prefix before the name of the individual. He simply addresses younger individuals by name. The use of nicknames, based on rank and generation, to address individuals is common in Malay society and is also found in Kampong Sungei Penchala. The most common term is long, which is derived from sulong (oldest sibling or individual). The oldest sibling is often referred to as bang long and the oldest uncle is referred to as pak long. Another common nickname is ngah, derived from the word tengah (middle); thus a third sibling in the family would often be referred to as bang ngah by his or her younger siblings.

In all known societies, kin relationships exist
because people marry or enter into some form of socially approved relationship in order to perpetuate the species. The nuclear family as a basic social unit consisting of a married couple and their unmarried children is found in many societies around the world\(^1\). Linton (1936:152) describes families as the "...internally organized cooperative units intermediate between the individual and the total society of which he is a part". In Malay society, the nuclear family is the most important kin group and is responsible for a number of social functions. It is the fundamental reproductive unit in the social system. It protects and socialize the young, so that they become accepted members of the community. The family is also a primary economic unit.

Children in Kampong Sungei Penchala are taught and guided by parents and older siblings in all the essentials of becoming a member of the community. The basic vocabulary for, and knowledge of appropriate usage of kin terms such as ayah (father), emak (mother), abang (brother), adek (younger sibling), and kakak (older sister), are taught to individuals from the time they are babies.

Folk stories, such as *Batu Belah Batu Bertaup*

---

\(^1\) The Nayar of India constitute the most obvious of a growing number of exceptions known to anthropologists (cf. K. Gough in JRAI 52:71-88).
(a cave which opens and closes), are often narrated to inculcate the proper feeling of respect for parents. Such stories also portray the love of parents for their children. *Batu Belah Batu Bertaut* is the story of a child who is extremely naughty and ungrateful. One day his mother is so hurt by his thoughtlessness that she runs away from home and enters a cave whose entrance disappears completely as soon as she has entered. This young boy has an older sister who loves her mother and younger brother dearly. When their father is killed by lightening, both the boy and the older sister are brought up by an old lady who works as a part time palace maid. In her dreams, the older sister meets the mother who tells her that if she or her brother ever need help desperately, they should visit her in the cave and she will help. The boy grows up and marries a princess, but is taken seriously ill because of a charm placed on him by a rejected suiter of the princess. The boy and his sister accordingly visit their mother's grave in the cave. The spirit of the mother blesses her son and he is cured and lives happily ever after.

The concept of God, respect for parents, parents' responsibilities, and good neighborliness are slowly taught to the children as soon as they can speak and communicate with older people. Sometimes a mother develops feelings of love in the child by giving him most of the things he wants. At times she enlists the assistance of
her husband if the child is too demanding. In this community, children are more afraid of their fathers than their mothers. There are times when a father will hit a young son with his bare hand or with a stick if the boy disobeys him. A young girl, on the other hand, seldom gets beaten by the father. If she misbehaves, she is usually scolded by her mother or older siblings.

Togetherness and basic manners are often inculcated during such family gatherings as lunch or dinner. On these occasions the father sets the example. He washes his fingers in a bowl of water and is the first to put some rice, fried fish or vegetables onto his plate. He is followed by his older children who in turn will be followed by the younger ones. It is considered bad manners if the children begin to eat before the parents do. In this village, the mother and daughters often eat separately in the kitchen. They seldom join the males, but walk back and forth between the kitchen and the major eating place to replenish the food. If there are guests eating with the family, it is considered unusual for the wife and daughters or toddlers of either sex to join the husband and his guests.

Good behavior, eating technique, respect for older people, and responsibility are taught indirectly but consistently. The father does not joke with the mother in front of their children because it is considered
improper to joke with members of the opposite sex. A mother acknowledges a neighbor politely in front of her young children hoping that her children will do the same when they are older. In this village a father is more strict than the mother, and often children take shelter with the mother when their fathers are upset or angry.

An older sibling is obliged to assist the parents. In Kampong Sungei Fenchala, there seems to be a clear division of help by sex. An older daughter assists her mother in the kitchen. The male children assist their father in repairing the house or clearing the house compound. The older daughters, especially if they are not married or working, sometimes play the role of mothers by looking after their younger siblings. If a family has no older female children, then the older sons assume the duties such daughters would have been responsible for. In such cases the older sons both assist their parents and sometimes look after younger siblings if the parents need to be away to attend a khenduri or some other affairs outside the home.

There is a tendency for a male child to be affectionate with his older brother and a female child to be affectionate with her older sister. This is because older males prefer to take a younger brother along for a walk to the coffee shop or the grocery store. A male child tends to be more affectionate with his mother than his
father. He often tries to persuade his mother to get what he wants and in most cases he succeeds. A female child also tends to be more affectionate with her mother and often persuades her mother to act as intermediary if she wants something from her father.

The father in a family is usually regarded as the symbol of authority and leadership. All major decisions regarding family matters such as deciding whether a child should continue in school or not, are made by the father. The father, however, often consults his employed older sons on many matters such as the sale of land or purchase of household items.

The family provides all basic economic needs, including food, clothing and shelter, for its members. The 201 heads of household in the village constitute the sources through which the goods are obtained, except in the cases of the 14 household heads who are not employed. The families of the unemployed heads of households are subsidized by their working children. Wages, profits from business, and incomes from rubber tapping and the sale of fruit are used to purchase goods. The urban worker uses nearly all his salary to purchase rice, cooking oil, clothes, and other needs. The storeowners obtain their supplies, especially food, at a slightly cheaper price from their own stores. The rubber tapping families use money obtain from the sale of latex to sustain their families.
Unmarried working members of a family contribute to the family in many ways. Some of them buy text books for their younger siblings. Others give cash to their mothers to buy family and daily needs such as fish and vegetables. Sometimes they help their father to purchase materials to repair the house.

Working individuals seem to manage their own financial affairs. An unmarried working female often has put aside substantial savings from her salary. Her male counterpart, on the other hand, has practically no savings. A man's savings are often expended to cover the cost of a wedding or other major family events. However, an unmarried male, whose father was unemployed, constructed a new house for his parents.

Marriage creates affinal relations, not only between two individuals, but also between their families. The couple in turn produces children and this process creates consanguineal relations between the children and their parents. When a man marries, he creates a network of such kin relations. This network of relations introduces new obligations, rights and expectations. At the same time, these relations widen the circle of possible kin ties to whom he can expect to give, and from whom he can expect to receive, assistance when the need arises. These relations also broaden his possibilities for new personal contact.
For example, the marriage of a bus conductor in Kampong Sungei Penchala to a very distant cousin in Singapore has established new social ties between the groom's family and his wife's kinsmen. Previously distant relationships have been changed and made closer. He is obliged to visit his parents-in-law (mertua) in Singapore. From the Islamic point of view it has become his duty to care for his wife and he is now responsible for her behavior. He expects affection and care from his wife and at the same time he expects to be treated as a son-in-law (menantu) should by his parents-in-law. He also expects respect from his wife's younger siblings (adek ipar). Finally, honor and shame in his wife's family equally affects himself.

The obligations, rights and expectations which have resulted from this marriage are reciprocated. The parents-in-law in Singapore and other affinal relatives are obliged to visit the new relatives in Kampong Sungei Penchala. In this particular case family ties have been strengthened since the couple are distant cousins. The bridegroom and his wife now live in Kampong Sungei Penchala with his parents.

The presence of the bride in this household has also introduced a new pattern of relationships between her and the rest of the household. The siblings of the groom have a new 'sister'. The parents of the groom have a
new 'daughter'. The bride addresses her father-in-law as *bapak*, or *pak* and sometimes *ayah* (father). She addresses her mother-in-law as *emak*, or just *mak* (mother). The younger siblings of the groom she addresses as *adek* and the older siblings as *abang* or *kakak*.

In another situation, a young man has married a girl from Kuantan in Pahang and settled there. In this case the man's parents in Sungei Penchala feel that they have lost a son. Before marriage their young working son used to send money home every month and visited the family regularly. Since the marriage there has been less money and fewer visits. The young man has new obligations and responsibilities and his parents understand the situation.

Parents have very little influence in the choice of spouses for their children, except for their non-working daughters. Would-be husbands usually obtain the services of their parents or other close relatives to formally ask the girl's hand in marriage. The chosen relatives of the man ask the girl's parents in person or through a third party, but never approach the girl directly. After an agreement is reached, the girl's father just informs her of the decision and, to date, there have been no cases of a daughter objecting publicly to such an arrangement.

Among young working people, the initiative to get married is theirs. Often, they meet in places of work or
elsewhere in the city. Young men seem to have more freedom to choose their brides. The working women usually consult their parents and older male siblings after they found a likely candidate for a husband, because they want the blessings of the parents or older male siblings. Without such blessings they might not be able to get married at all. Islamic law requires that the father or an older male sibling give the girl away in marriage. If these two persons are not available, however, the Religious Department official known as the khadi is authorized to give the girl away in marriage.

Parents say that if a son can find a spouse of his own, they have no objection provided that the girl is of good character and the girl's parents or relatives have no objections. If a daughter wants to marry, on the other hand, they want to make sure not only that their future son-in-law is a good person, but also that he has a steady income. They are not prepared to marry a daughter off to an unemployed man since this would likely only add another burden to the family. If a son-in-law is working, he can take care of himself and his wife, and later children, and in this way, the burden on the girl's parents is reduced.

Inhabitants in the village assert that, in respect of marriage, it is sometimes easier to have sons than daughters. If a son marries and later divorces, the parents do not have to worry about having a divorcee in the household.
Young Malay divorcees bring a certain measure of dishonor on their natal families. Relatives and neighbors often gossip about young divorcees to the effect that they have bad manners, are of poor character and were disloyal to their husbands. Gossips seldom talk adversely about divorced male.

There seems to be no strict residence rule after marriage. Any particular decision apparently depends on the relationships between the parents and their children. If there is a mutual understanding between the bridegroom and his parents, and if he wishes to, he may bring his new bride to live with his parents. If he wishes, instead to live with his bride's family after marriage, he is allowed to do so. Any given arrangement depends essentially on mutual understanding between the parties concerned and the availability of housing accommodation.

Older parents prefer their children to live with them after marriage. A neolocal residence pattern is not common among the newly wed individuals of the village. As the majority of the young workers who are getting married earn low incomes, starting a family with either set of parents is considered desirable due to the savings on rent and other related needs. Moreover, young couples realize that they cannot afford to buy or rent houses outside Kampong Sungei Penchala. Young unmarried males say that they would prefer to live with their parents
when they get married. Unmarried females have the same preference, because they believe that their property is still sufficiently abundant to accommodate them in the future.

Peninsular Malays generally have a bilateral kinship system with a slight patrilineal emphasis attributable to Islamic influences. They are also known to be followers of the adat temenggong, with the exception of Negri Sembilan Malays who follow the adat perpatih. The adat temenggong are the customs and rules of marriage and property inheritance which give males a larger share of the family property, and which specify residence to be patrilocal. These customs conform quite closely to the Islamic teaching. The adat perpatih, which is still practiced in Negri Sembilan (Swift 1965), are the customs and rules of marriage and property inheritance which give females total ownership customary land, and which specify residence as matrilocal and descent as matrilineal. Such customs do not, of course, conform with the teaching of Islam.

In Kampong Sungei Penchala, the people claim that they follow Selangor custom (adat Selangor) and the Islamic teachings regarding marriage and the conduct of kin. They neither follow adat perpatih nor do they use the term adat temenggong. They believe that adat Selangor is in conformity with the teachings of Islam and that it is the best
set of customs for them. An inspection of title deeds reveals that nearly all of the land in the village are legally owned by males. Female siblings are only mentioned in the title deeds as part, and never as sole, owners.

There is no general preference for either male or female children. They are considered equally desirable. There is a tendency, however, for families with more female children to encourage their married male children to live elsewhere. On the other hand, if a family has more males, there is no corresponding evidence that the females are encouraged to live elsewhere after marriage. One reason for this asymmetry, according to the villagers, is that it is easier for males to adapt themselves to new situations. By moving out after marriage there is also more probability of the males acquiring property. Females are not encouraged to live elsewhere because their parents believe that the young couple may contribute financially to the family, especially if their sons-in-law have good jobs. Parents also worry that their daughters may be mistreated in the homes of their began (parents of their sons-in-law). They are also afraid that their future grandchildren will not be properly brought up. Finally, they are convinced that their daughters are closer to the family than the boys in their younger days.
In almost all cases, the head of the family is the father who is regarded as the leader and provider of the household. In one or two instances, the mother plays the leading role, and sometimes when the father is very old or invalid, the eldest married son with children is regarded as the head of the household. If the father is an invalid, and if there is a married daughter with her husband and children living at home, the son-in-law prefers "to discuss things on behalf of his father-in-law", but he seldom behaves as if he is the head of the household.

About 70 per cent of the wives, both young and old, do not work. They stay at home instead and look after the children. A few assist their husbands in their businesses. Children tend to have especially close relationships with such mothers. In such cases, babies and young children are constantly with their mothers, either at home or when they visit neighbors and relatives. During feasts or weddings, for example, these children tag along after their mother wherever she goes. Men regard the care of children as one of the major duties of women. The women bath their children, feed them, clothe them and pay special attention to them when they are ill. The young housewives who work in the city leave their children at home either with parents or parents-in-law. There are very few instances of working couples leaving children with unrelated people or 'baby sitters'.
Since Kampong Sungei Penchala is a village, an initial assumption at the start of my research was that the majority of the households would have an extended family system. It was also assumed that, since this village is close to urban areas and is experiencing urban influence, the nuclear family would be emerging as the predominant type of household. To my surprise I found that the overwhelming majority of households are what I call "elaborate extended family". By this term is meant a married couple with their married children, their grandchildren, and other relatives, close or distant, all living in the same household. The following table shows the four major household types and a residual category of "unusual" family composition:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Household Types</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elaborate-extended</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>66.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuclear</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples/households with no children</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unusual</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>201</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The elaborate extended family in which there are parents, grandchildren, other relatives, and in some cases
close friends of children, exists perhaps because the majority of the people are poor and cannot afford to construct individual houses, even though land for house sites is not particularly scarce. In Kampong Baru, Provencher (1971) found that the majority of owner residents consists of two generation households, whereas in Kampong Sungei Penchala the majority of the households are composed of three generations. The occupants of these households construct rooms adjoining the basic house to provide shelter for distant relatives, brothers-in-law, and friends of working sons.

There are 44 families which can be considered nuclear. In this type of family there are only parents and their unmarried children. One of the major characteristics of the nuclear families in this village is that most of them are young couples. However, they say that they would prefer their children to live with them when the time comes for their children to be married. They contend that, if their married children live with them, they will secure and will be able to save on the cost of housing and food. Among the nuclear families, there are a few which have children of marriageable age. They are not married because they have not yet found the right spouses. A few of them are working in the city and are likely to be married in the near future.

There are seven families which have their married children, either daughters or sons, living with them. In
these cases there is apparently no specific preference to having either daughters-in-law or sons-in-law in their households. If all parties are happy with the arrangement, either solution is easily arranged. Young couples indicate that they prefer to live in Kampong Sungei Penchala for several reasons. One is that their place of work is often close by. A second is that they can save on rent if they live here. A third is that they have close relatives and friends here with whom they grew up.

In this village there are fifteen households which have no children. They consist mostly of newly married couples. Some of them are renters who work in neighboring Petaling Jaya. Some have constructed their own houses on land which has been allotted to them by their parents. Since their parents are still alive, they have not yet been legally deeded the piece of land on which they live. Since there are mutual understandings between children and parents regarding the future allocation of family land the children sometimes build a small two bedroom wooden house to one side of their parents' house.

A striking feature in the village is the existence of two households which I have classified as "unusual". The villagers themselves term these as luar biasa (abnormal or unusual). They consist of two unmarried couples renting two adjoining units in the village. They are all of marriageable age and are somewhere between 19 and 27
years old. The girls are younger than the men. They are not related and come from different parts of the country. They have been renting the two units for more than a year at the rate of N$30.00 a month.

Unmarried individuals living under the same roof are considered very unreligious by Muslims. They are regarded as having committed *khalwat* (living in close proximity), and this offence is punishable with a prison term or a fine by the Religious Department. The people of Kampong Sungei Penchala, however, do not seem to bother them, nor have they reported the matter to the Religious Department.

Many residents of the village regard them as acting in a way unbecoming to Malays and Muslims. These "unusual" individuals do not mix with the rest of the villagers. In the morning they lock their houses and proceed to work, and in the evening they will return and keep to themselves. The youths in the village also do not bother them, claiming that they are not "children of the village". Nor do the owners of the rental units bother the couples, as long as they pay their rent promptly.

The main reason that the villagers do not bother the two couples or report them to the Religious Department seems to rest on economic grounds. The villagers are slowly trying to entice outsiders to rent in Kampong Sungei Penchala and thus bring more income into the
village. In addition, residents perhaps fear that if the "unusual" individuals were to be evicted, they would spread rumours that the inhabitants of Kampong Sungei Penchala are violent people and unfriendly and this might affect employment opportunities in the factories of Petaling Jaya.

C. Land Ownership and Inheritance.

All of the lands alienated to the villagers are Malay Reserve lands and restricted to agriculture and homesteads (pertanian dan kampong). Most of the land was originally divided into four acre lots. At the beginning of the alienation of land in the early 1900's, ownership was limited to males. Ownership has subsequently been transmitted through both males and females, although the principal inheritors in all cases have always been males. Females are entitled to about one-fifth of the total share. A few more plots, however, have been transmitted to females in cases where a family has had no male descendents. Such plots are then handed down to male children in the following generation.

There is no rice land in the village. A large portion of the land is planted in rubber and fruit trees and only about one-fifth of the land has been cleared for housing purposes. Residents have built their homes in the center of their plots or adjoining a main road or path. A few lots are owned by outsiders who are urban
Malays. They visit their property on weekends or occasionally hire workers from the village to look after their land.

One interesting feature of the ownership in the village is that the majority of the owners are not interested in transferring their land to their rightful heirs during their lifetime. As a result, many owners have died and left their rightful heirs to face the difficult task of proving their claims in the Land Office in Kuala Lumpur. In some cases, beneficiaries are living in other parts of the country and some of them have died, thereby prolonging an otherwise uncomplicated settlement. Furthermore, the claims made by the various children of the deceased also make the process of transmission more difficult. In all cases, however, the heirs have had their names printed on the back of the title deeds by the previous owner to indicate that they have a rightful share in the property.

Owners claim that, as Muslims, they should not cheat on property distribution and inheritance. They believe that if a person has no right to the land, he may succeed in getting a share but will not live long enough to enjoy it. Another interesting feature is that, except for those widows who look after their own land, very few women really know the particulars about their holdings. Even if they do, they often consult their male relatives when any action has to be undertaken. If they have adult sons
such normally look after the interests in such matters as the land tax, which is M$12.00 per year for a four acre lot.

During the official hearing on a particular case, the *penghulu* (the government official who oversees several villages in a district) and the village headman testify before the *pegawai daerah* (the district officer) that the rightful claimants are all present and that the plot of land in question is the correct one. If a claimant is absent, the transmission process is normally postponed to another date, unless the district officer is satisfied with a written explanation from the parties concerned.

Very few heirs want postponement of such cases because many of them work and they have to take time off from their employment. For those who earn wages paid daily the owner sometimes has to reimburse them for the loss of earnings to attend the hearing. Some heirs may have to travel for miles if they work and live outside the village. This too costs the owner money. Some landowners claim that they have had to bribe a few low grade officials in the Kuala Lumpur land office to have their files opened for a hearing.

Before the owners and their children proceed to the land office for transmission cases, they normally have a gathering at home to discuss the issues so that they will not quarrel in the land office. Such quarrelling can
influence the officer in his judgement and may lead to postponement. After all matters have been agreed upon at home, the owner seeks the assistance of the village headman and the penghulu. Without their cooperation the land distribution case cannot be settled since they must be present during the hearing.

Although the transmission of land has taken place many times in the village, there has been no subdivision of such land. A four acre plot remains a four acre plot. One of the reasons is that it is very costly to have the plots subdivided. Owners have to pay a fee to a professional survey firm to conduct a proper survey and precisely demarcate the new boundaries. In addition, the government levies several fees for new titles and deeds.

Recently, some discontent has surfaced over the current procedures of inheritance. This is because some young inheritors would like to sell their property, while others like to keep theirs. The price of land is high and this tempts the new "owners" to sell their property. A plot of land that is jointly owned can only be sold if all the owners agree to do so. The plots of about 30 acres which have been recently sold to outsiders were owned individually or by joint owners who managed to come to an agreement.

Owners who have sold land to outsiders are not keen to talk about the exact price of the sale. The village
headman relatives of the previous owners, however, estimate that the price of such land has been just slightly lower than the price of land in Petaling Jaya or other fringe areas of Kuala Lumpur. For example, the owner who sold his property to a syndicate of teachers secured a sale price of M$14,000.00 per acre. The money was divided into equal shares among the legal heirs with the shares for minors being taken care of by their parents. Female heirs received equal shares of the cash from this particular sale even though according to Islamic tradition a female may receive only one-fifth of any property. The property boom in the city and the surrounding areas a few years ago created some excitement among the few young owners. A few of them felt that they could cash in on a good deal if they could sell a piece of land, but were prevented from doing so by their parents.

The head of household or the eldest male normally leads the rest of the household members in discussions about land and its disposal. Females usually just listen and occasionally remark about a sibling who is in Sumatra or in the army who must be contacted. The adult males voice their opinions, often by narrating stories of the profits that their friends have received somewhere else. They also caution the group about the possibilities of being cheated by urban brokers or buyers unless everybody is careful. The village headman or village committee
members are not invited to such discussions.

Land ownership, distribution and sale are directly related to the social organization of the village. Land is owned by individual families. On the average, each family owns about three acres. There are no families which presently own more than eight acres. In each family the males are allotted primary authority over land matters. Even though Islamic tradition dictates that females may receive only one-fifth of the family estate, the males in the village have on the whole been more generous. They usually share the money equally if a piece of land is sold. This has brought about a situation where males are highly regarded by their female siblings. There is also a tendency for working males to allocate equal shares from other proceeds derived from the land, as from the sales of durian or rubber, to their non-working female siblings.

The pattern of land ownership in the village seems to be directly related to the degree of solidarity among family members. Villagers explain that they try to be just (adil) to both their sons and daughters hoping that after they die their children will continue to live harmoniously. Nevertheless, the Islamic tradition of land inheritance is usually applied if children claim their share after their father dies.

There are, however, instances of minor conflict among siblings whose father owns durian orchards. During
the durian season unemployed adult males get a larger share of the fruit. They guard the plots every night, collect and sell the ripe fruit in the morning, and take for themselves more than half of the money from the sale. Parents of such individuals assert that it is only fair that their non-working sons get a bigger share of this seasonal family income, because they have no other source of income. Moreover, the sum they obtain from the sale of the durian seldom amounts to a half of the yearly income of their working siblings. The employed adults complain that they are entitled to an equal share from these family assets and further argue that their income from wages is the product of their labor.

There are also cases of minor feuds between working and non-working siblings in a few families. This is the result of the desire of some of the unemployed youths to sell their share of the land to obtain money. Their parents, as well as their employed and married siblings, invariably oppose the idea. Both parents and female siblings claim that the land is their only asset. They are convinced that, with the money, they will not be able to purchase other lands around the area, and they are not prepared to move out of the village. Informants point out certain brothers who are not on talking terms with each other because of such conflicts of interest over family land.
While it might seem impressionistically that the village leadership has no effective influence over the daily lives of the villagers, the headman does have potentially significant power when it comes to land distribution and inheritance since he has to be present in the land office to testify during transmission proceedings. Most of the families in the village, however, claim that the village headman has no real powers. He has to be present during hearing on land transmission, they say, only because it is his duty to do so. Moreover, he is an elected official and if he does not do his duty and assist people, the villagers can vote him out. The village headman himself, claims that he is not influential or powerful. In fact, all of the several cases of family feuds over land ownership have been settled amiably without the intervention of the village headman or any other villagers.

Status is not related to landownership because no individuals or families own much more than others. On the average, each individual family owns about three acres, with no more than four families owning more than six acres. Except for a few renter families, the rest of the villagers own the houses and lands they occupy. The local rich men are the entrepreneurs and few junior government officials, but their wealth is not so enormous as to put them in the middle class strata.
D. **Sub-ethnic Associations.**

All the residents of Kampong Sungei Penchala are both Malays and Muslims, but they are divided between two major subethnic identities, namely the Sumatrans and the Javanese. There are also in the village a small number of Boyanese, who came from one of the islands off Java. In official matters and everyday life the residents consider themselves as Malays; nevertheless, over the years they have formed very informal sub-ethnic associations.

Malays of Sumatran origin have formed among themselves a very loose organization known as **Persatuan Anak-anak Kuantan** (Association of the children of Kuantan). Kuantan is a Minangkabau area in Sumatra, where the majority of the residents of this village originated. The association does not have any formal constitution or headquarters, nor do its members pay any fees. All who regard themselves as Sumatrans are considered members.

The main objective of the association is to assist members or any other residents who are in difficulty. Members participate in village feasts by contributing labor, cash or goods for the feasts of any member. Cash donations are collected when the need arises. Two reasons are commonly given for the formation of this loose organization: to continue the tradition of mutual help among residents and to maintain one's identity as either
Minangkabau or Javanese. Residents claim that maintaining one's ethnic or sub-ethnic identity is not divisive, but rather it unites people for common purposes.

A major identifying element of these associations are their surau (prayer houses). These prayer houses were jointly built by members of the sub-ethnic community with the assistance of other residents who live close by the surau site. To build these prayer houses they received government assistance in the form of construction materials such as planks and cement. The government did not, however, provide ready made surau. Rather, it was, and is, the aim of the government to unite villagers through some form of mutual help project or common gotong royong work. Gotong royong and the development of village associations have been encouraged by the government as part of its massive rural development programs since independence¹.

Even though the surau was built on government reserve land with government assistance for a certain sub-ethnic group, it is not monopolized by that particular group. It is open to every resident to conduct prayers and other religious activities in, such as Kuran reading classes for children. During the fasting month, Ramadan, residents hold daily feasts to mark the end of a day's fast

¹ G. Ness in Rural Development and Bureaucracy in Malaysia, 1967, University of California Press, provides a detailed analysis of these rural development programs.
or to celebrate the end of the fasting month itself. During these celebrations, members and other participants donate in cash or kind. Only a few individuals donate cash. Most donate cakes, milk, sugar, tea or coffee. Some bring fruits, and raw food to be cooked in the surau kitchen. The women assume the leading roles in the kitchen while the young men participate in collecting firewood in the nearby brush. The youths also prepare the prayer mats and other needs for the occasion.

The minangkabau sub-ethnic association has collected money to buy cooking utensils and other cookery items for use by its members during weddings or other social gatherings. These items are kept in its surau storeroom. They are loaned to members or any other villager without a fee, although if any of these items are missing or broken during the loan period, the member concerned is required to replace them. Since the items are many and heavy, including large cooking pots, heavy frying pans, and about a hundred plates, cups and spoons, the use normally holds a second small khenduri (feast) for the women and young men who help him wash the items and return them to the surau storeroom.

The Javanese sub-ethnic association has more or less the same pattern of organization as the Minangkabau association. All residents of Javanese descent are automatically members and they are eligible for assistance
when they are in need. Mostly they require help when there is a crisis in the family such as death, and in more happy times, when they hold weddings for a daughter or son. They also receive assistance for smaller feasts such as those held for circumcisions.

This association also has its own surau, and it is likewise not exclusively Javanese. Since it is situated in an area dominated by Javanese households, most of the members who frequent the surau do come from this group. When a Javanese holds a khenduri at his home or in the surau, mostly members of his sub-ethnic group attend and assist. Nevertheless, non-Javanese residents, especially neighbors and friends, also participate as guests. As a demonstration of solidarity with the family a few guests help in the kitchen or in the guest area. They eat later with other members of the household.

Each surau committee is in regular communication with its counterpart to make sure that there are no two events scheduled for the same time. This is to enable people of different sub-ethnic group to attend most, if not all, of the feasts in the surau. Because of this, then, it is possible to say that the surau does not constitute a divisive type of organization, but a unifying one.

During feasts such as khenduri tahlil (ritual feast for the dead) the same pattern of cooperation is followed. Normally, the village imam offers the prayers or leads
the congregation in offering the prayers. Prayers typically consists of verses from the Kuran and are recited for about fifteen minutes before the food is served to the guests.

Although the imam is of Minangkabau descent, he does not discriminate against the Javanese. He attempts to attend all the events to which he is invited. Moreover, he has some free time since he does not hold an urban job but runs a grocery store in the village. Whenever he attends to religious affairs his son and wife take care of the store. After each feast ceremony is over the head of the household formally thanks the imam for attending and conducting the affair. Other participants are equally appreciated and each shakes hands with the members of the household before leaving.

There are no regular meetings, formal books or accounts for either association. The bilal (prayer leader) of the surau is often the ketua (head) or the bendahari (financial officer) of these associations. All property of each association is kept in its surau store-room. Each time items are taken out by members for use, the bilal is informed. In several cases, many items were lost or broken and replaced even though promises to replace them were made. Lost and broken items are replaced by members who work to donate to the common good (sedekah).

During the major activities such as weddings, ritual
feasts such as the tahli, or the official opening of the new surau, the young people of both sub-ethnic association pool their resources to provide labor. The girls work in the kitchen. The boys take care of the preparations in the guest areas and other minor details such as the decoration of the building. They also constitute the waiters, receiving guests, finding them suitable seating, and later waiting on them. The older women busy themselves with the preparation of food. A few male elders supervise the youths in caring for guests in the front portion of the building.

The existence of the two major sub-ethnic associations is difficult to deduce from observation of daily life in the village. In no sense do they constitute any kind of dual organization. The youth soccer team and the youth sepak raga team both include members of both associations. Residents do not necessarily patronize stores owned by persons of the same sub-ethnic identity. Storeowners similarly seek clients, not on the basis of sub-ethnic origin, but on the basis of ability to pay. People who own rubber plots rent out their land to anyone who meets their terms.

When a family in the village suffers a death, those who come to the funeral do not ask the sub-ethnic identity of the individual who died. They just want to know who died, when and why. All the preparations for the funeral
are carried out by those who can attend. Residents who work in town usually rush home on hearing the news of a death to provide assistance since it is an obligation for all Muslims to attend a funeral if they can.

During the wedding of the daughter of the retired village headman, both groups pooled their resources to make it the biggest wedding feast ever held in the village. Nearly all of the villagers attended and several guests came from outside the village. Guests began arriving just before noon and continued to do so even after three in the afternoon. The elders of both sub-ethnic associations directed all the preparations. Although the retired village headman is a Minangkabau, all the non-Minangkabau residents responded to his invitation. The young men busied themselves with receiving the guests and collecting the presents. The girls put on their best dresses. The house was lavishly decorated. The village pop music group was in attendance and there was continuous music from the early morning hours to late afternoon to entertain the guests.

Even though the retired village headman is regarded as the richest man in the village, most of the residents provided him with free labor during this wedding as he had held office for more than thirty years. The division of labor on this occasion was based strictly on age and not on sub-ethnic identity. The young people did most of
the hard work while the older ones carried on with the lighter tasks. Those familiar with wedding protocol took care of such formal matters as the akad nikah (solemnization of vows) and the bersanding (presentation of the couple to the guests) ceremonies. The older women simply talked while chewing betel nut and admired the bride and later both the bride and groom.

During the fasting month the sub-ethnic associations carry out certain religious activities such as Kuran reading in their respective surau. Religious discussions are conducted with the participation of guest speakers from outside the village. For these occasions members donate food including cooked rice, cakes and iced drinks. The village mosque also holds such gatherings during the fasting month. If the mosque decides to hold such a gathering, however, surau members will take care to schedule theirs at non-conflicting times since attendance at the mosque is considered more important.

In 1973, a few individuals put up the idea of a common surau for everyone in the village. The main objective was to eliminate the separation because of sub-ethnic origins. Another objective was to attract more young people to religious classes and prevent them from creating mischief in the village as well as outside the village. It was a successful venture because the state government provided a M$10,000.00 grant to build the prayer house.
The idea of a common prayer house was conceived by a few youths who work in the city. They believe that the prayer house would provide opportunities for the residents to meet daily for evening prayers and that in this way the spirit of being Muslims and Melayu (Malays) could be further instilled outside the context of the two major sub-ethnic groups. Mosque attendance is a weekly affair whereby most residents attend Friday prayers. The common prayer house, on the other hand, can only accommodate about 120 persons, but this number is considered sufficient to conduct serious and effective discussions on religion. However, residents continue to participate in both their sub-ethnic prayer houses and the common prayer house. Moreover, the original objective of attracting more youths has not been a complete success. At any particular gathering there are seldom more than ten youths among the usual fifty or sixty participants.

Finally, the sub-ethnic associations have not necessarily provided opportunities for unity even within their own organizations. On the contrary, competitive elements have appeared within each sub-ethnic group, especially in the realm of consumer activities. If a family can buy a generator, to be followed by the purchase of a television set, other families begin to accumulate savings to do the same. If one household begins to expand their house or repair their kitchen, others try hard to do
the same. While petty jealousies in such matters seem to be minimal since there are no extreme differences of economic and social status within either association, it is clear that residents of the village have begun to practice a pattern of consumption often considered typical of urban dwellers.

E. Social Networks and Patron-Client Relationships.

The people of Kampong Sungei Penchala are not just individuals who live by themselves. They are born into families and they have friends and neighbors. Each bread-winner is important to others who depend on him. Whatever he does affects many people around him. He maintains relationships of friendship, consanguinity, and affinity with many persons in the village. The majority of the population have lived in the village for a long time. The community, therefore, has institutions which support the social networks of which each individual is a part.

Economically individuals are quite dependent on family and non-family relations within the village because the majority of them earn very low wages and the cost of living is very high. They are also socially dependent. An individual has numerous responsibilities to his kinsmen, friends and neighbors. There are many events and activities which he has to attend. There are times when he needs the assistance of his kinsmen, his parents, his friends and the members of the community as a whole.
Wolf has suggested that peasant or rural communities which are situated close to complex urban areas can be classified as "closed cooperate... where ... the central power does not or cannot intervene in direct administration, but where certain collective tasks in taxation and corvee are imposed on the village as a whole, and where the local village retains or builds administrative devices of its own natural and social resources" (Wolf 1966:4). Politically the village is part of the state and residents have an obligation to pay land tax. If an owner does not pay his yearly land tax, his land is liable to be confiscated by the state. The peasants in the village also depend on the city markets and bureaucrats. The urban workers are dependent on the city for their wages. When an industry closes down some of them are severely affected.

Even though the village is situated on the outskirts of the city, the influence of the city is at times strongly felt by the people. For example, when the city proposed to develop the land into a new and modern housing area, the people could only express their disagreement, but they could not have stopped the proposed project if the city authorities had really wanted to go on with the idea.

Social networks and kin relations are among the few institutional devices which these fringe urbanites have that enable them to adjust to urban influences in the village. The major focus of kin relationships is that
network of relationships between individuals and their immediate families. Spouses, parents, children, in-laws and siblings constitute the most important points in this network.

In Kampong Sungei Penchala, the individual regards his nearest kinsmen, particularly his siblings and parents as important sources of support in any crisis or during the course of daily life. The degree of support becomes less and less important as one moves toward the outer circle of one's network of kin relationships. These relationships are expressed in the form of personal interaction, such as discussions at evening meals when an individual informs his father that he has just lost a job or has just bought a motor bike.

Strong kinship ties are also expressed in the form of strict obligations to the family. A man brings home his pay and manages the monthly budget. If he needs immediate cash he seeks it from a working sibling or a father who owns a productive rubber plot. The last resort consists of working friends.

The large number of families classified as elaborate extended indicates that the people of this village regard kin ties as important. While they could build a new house separately on their own spacious residential plots, they prefer instead, to build on new rooms to accommodate new members. It costs much less to share the
same kitchen and other facilities and this arrangement enhances kin ties. Unity among members of the same family and among related kinsmen is highly regarded. People assert that the larger families face heavy economic burden when most of their members are young. However, they believe that the larger the family the more security there is for members when the children mature and obtain jobs.

The heads of household who are classified as unemployed are maintained by their married sons or daughters. The young working males and females regard it as their duty to look after their aged parents or unemployed siblings. Some school-going children look to their working older brother or sister as their main source of cash with which to purchase school supplies. People feel that if they were united as a family they will be more respected by unrelated neighbors. This good rating by neighbors often brings about such social gains as immediate assistance when there is a crisis or a need for free labor during a feast.

The villagers have also created strong friendship ties with non-kinsmen in the village. There are four principal types of friendship among the villagers. The first is the friendship relationship between elders of the village; the second is that between young people; the third that between urban working individuals; and the fourth is the friendship tie between women of the village.
Friendship is established and maintained when two or more individuals find these relationships to be mutually rewarding. They may share some common personal characteristics such as age and past experiences. The elders, for example, prefer to maintain friendship ties between themselves because they grew up more or less during the same period. Tales of activities during the war are still discussed in the mosque compound or over tea in the coffee shops. During social gatherings such as feasts, people of the same age tend to gather in their own corner and share special jokes. These types of interactions and relationships bring personal satisfaction and thereby contribute to the mutual maintenance of ties of friendship. In these situations friends often become 'temporary kinsmen'. Friendship ties can also be observed in operation when an individual stops by the roadside to talk earnestly to other individuals and such conversations may continue for some time with interspersed laughter.

The people of the village claim that they cannot spend too much time talking to or visiting friends because each person is busy with his or her own work. An urban worker may be too tired to entertain his friend after work, or the shopkeeper may be too busy attending to customers to spare time to discuss frivolous matters with his friends. During the morning, however, several non-working individuals may gather together around a coffee
shop table and have a newspaper reading session. Since there is only one issue of the newspaper and everyone is eager to read it at the same time, each individual takes a page and starts reading quietly, occasionally bursting into laughter over funny or unusual stories such as the death of a farmer who swallowed a live fish while fishing in his rice field. The youths always take the page that contains listings of job openings and they normally sigh or murmur words of discontent because they do not meet the qualifications of advertised positions. The older individuals browse through the front pages of national headlines and a few of them comment heartily when a high government official is being investigated on charges of corruption.

The affiliation of individuals with particular friendship groups depends on initiative and some common interest. A few individuals in Kampong Sungei Pencala seem to be loners. Some with very large families rarely mix and unemployed youths often have little to do with their employed peers. There are not, however, any clear cut criteria for deciding who is to be included in, and who excluded from, a particular circle of friends.

A few older individuals are not accepted by their peers because of certain personality characteristics. For example, an unemployed elderly man is shunned by others because he talks too much and boasts that his children have good jobs in the city.
Friendship between working males and females seems to be common. They do not feel uninhibited when they joke at the bus terminal or pass petty remarks with each other during social gatherings. Friendship between older and younger people, however, apparently does not exist and their patterns of interaction tend to be rather formal. Younger people always address their elders with the term abang (brother) or pak chik (uncle). If the older person is a female she is addressed as kakak (sister) or mak chik (aunt).

There is, surprisingly, no evidence of any clearly established patron-client relationships in the village. Village entrepreneurs have the most wealth and rubber producers have the least, but entrepreneurs have not become patrons who provide for the well-being of the rest of the community. The urban workers receive their salaries in the towns and they purchase some essential goods in the city. But since their wages are low, some of them cannot obtain credit from city stores. About half of the urban workers purchase most of their basic needs in neighboring Petaling Jaya or Kuala Lumpur. The other half does not regularly patronize the village stores or the city stores. Whenever they have ready cash they buy their basic needs from the city where some of the prices of these items are cheaper, but when they run out of money, they buy these goods on credit from the village store. Thus the relationship between the shopkeeper and
and customer is primarily a simple creditor-debtor one. In a patron-client relationship one groups is totally dependent on the other.

The village stores do not really flourish like the stores in the city do. They open for business in the early morning hours and serve housewives who normally come to buy a few items for the day's meals. There is no bulk buying by these housewives. The volume of total sales is quite small when compared to the overall sales volume of some of the shops in Petaling Jaya.

The village entrepreneur provides services but he does not become a patron and the rest of the community are not his clients. The villagers, either the urban workers or the rubber producers, do not depend on the village entrepreneur for a living. The three groups are quite independent. However, as was pointed out earlier, the village store is part of the culture of rural Malay society and villagers are bound to it by tradition and history. People go to the store not just to purchase food items as sugar or salted fish, but also to maintain relationships with the rest of the community whom they meet there.

The village store can, in a sense, be regarded as a center of interaction among villagers. When an individual goes to the store, he normally talks with other customers for some time. In front of most of these stores there are stools for the customers to sit and chat, either with
each other or with the storeowners. Friendships are further maintained during the long hours of casual talk in the coffee shops where many go after visiting the grocery stores. These activities are conducted in the evenings and on the weekends. During the weekends or on public holidays, there are large numbers of villagers in the village stores. Some villagers make it a point to sit around the coffee shops to talk to each other or to pass time. A few of them claim that they can really relax in the stores or coffee shops. They cannot do so at home because their children disturb them. Storeowners also admit their sales are much higher during these days. Villagers who have earlier gone to the city or other places in the morning during these public holidays also stoped by the stores after alighting from the bus. It is therefore, apparent that the village stores have become important part of the life of the villagers.
CHAPTER FOUR

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Every society has forms of organization which enable members of that society to produce, exchange and consume basic economic needs (Herskovits 1964:143). In rural societies, economic organization is usually based on agriculture. The ownership, cultivation and inheritance of land and the types of food produced thereon constitute an important part of the culture of such societies. Furthermore, in a country where rural communities are closely associated with urban communities through extensive communication and/or close physical proximity, the rural economic organization is complexly intertwined with that of the city.

In this chapter I review some of the major economic strands connecting the village to the neighboring town and city, examine the process by which the village is becoming increasingly urbanized, and discuss the ways in which villagers adapt to such a situation. I begin by examining the various ways by which the inhabitants earn their living and by isolating some of the factors which limit their choice of occupation. In the following two sections I consider in greater detail the two occupations, entrepreneurs and rubber producers, which might be thought to constitute the poles of the rural-urban occupational continuum in so far as such can be found in the village.
I end the chapter with a discussion of land transactions and speculation and of the ways in which an alteration in the pattern of land use may effect the occupational structure of the village.

A. **Occupations and Wages.**

Table 1 indicates that a large proportion of the adult population of Kampong Sungei Penchala consists of urban workers. Most of them work in the factories in Petaling Jaya and the rest work in the city of Kuala Lumpur as drivers, clerks, typists and unskilled workers.

Among the older heads of household who work in the urban areas there is a tendency to stay in one job for a long time. Mobility from one factory to another, or from one government department to another, is rather rare. With their generally low levels of education, they are convinced that they cannot be particular in their choice of jobs.

Of the 140 individual heads of household working in the urban centers, about 70% earn less than M$300 a month. Household income is occasionally supplemented either by income from rubber plots or by the wages of one or more working sons or daughters. Those who hold office or factory employment as office boys or junior clerks in the government department normally proceed to work before seven in the morning. Most urban workers utilize bus transportation to and from the city, but about ten per
cent have transport of their own, mainly smaller and older motor cars, motor bikes, or bicycles.

One feature of urban factory employment is that some of the workers have to participate in 'shift work'. A number of workers from the village proceed to the factories in the evening to work the four to eleven evening shift, while others are employed on the night shift from eleven to eight the next morning.

Those who work in the city of Kuala Lumpur normally wake at five in the morning. They leave home carrying their lunches and thermoses of coffee and by around seven or so in the morning a large crowd has congregated at the bus terminal which is situated more or less in the center of the village. Coffee shops and grocery stores are situated around the bus terminal. While waiting for the buses they purchase cigarettes and pisang goreng (fried bananas) to take to work. A few patronize coffee shops before proceeding to the waiting buses. Most of these commuting workers are young people.

The number of young females working in the city and the surrounding areas seems to equal the number of young males. Both work as machine operators and typists, and other low paying jobs in the factories. There appears to be relatively uninhabited interaction between young people of both sexes. While waiting for their buses, for example, they joke and comment on each other's clothing.
The wages of female workers are slightly lower than what their male counterparts receive. In spite of this, those families which have young women working in the city seem to be more prosperous than the families which have working youths. Villagers explain this situation by pointing out that young men spend a lot of their money on the movies or on new Japanese motor bikes. Young women, in contrast, tend to bring their money home.

Among the older male heads of household who earn wages, there is a tendency to provide their families with new clothes or extra basic necessities immediately upon receipt of their wages. At the end of each month when wages are paid (or, in the case of a few industries, every two weeks) a few pounds of beef or high quality fish are usually purchased for the family. Indeed, the weekend after each pay day is normally a lavish one with special cooking and eating activities. It is also during this period that such basic needs as rice and cooking oil are stocked in quantities which may last for a few days. Most of the wage earners purchase these items from the city or Petaling Jaya where the prices are slightly lower compared to the prices in the village stores. A few workers also buy their families new clothes and shoes. In addition, it is during this period that bicycles are usually repaired and that houses may be partially refurnished. Finally, those few families who have a little
extra money may go on excursions to downtown Kuala Lumpur or Petaling Jaya to shop or to amuse themselves at the zoo, the public parks, sports stadiums or at the movies. All such special activities, however, begin to slacken soon after pay day.

Among the youthful male workers there is a some eagerness to change jobs whenever there is a possibility of obtaining higher wages in a new position. About half of the young men who work in the urban areas secured new jobs during the last five months of the research project. Not all of these, however, obtained higher wages when they secured new appointments. Some had been terminated because of their poor conduct in the factories or because of the partial closure of working establishments.

A few of the youths who possess secondary education and who work in establishments which keep regular hours try to further themselves academically. They attend private classes to improve their performance on the entrance examinations to the Universities, the teachers colleges and higher grades in the government bureaucracy. During this period none of the youths were successful in such ventures.

The young men in the village realize the importance of education in obtaining jobs in the city or in industries. Every time they read the daily newspapers to look for vacant positions, they find that the academic
qualifications for such positions are higher than they possess. Nevertheless, there is no group effort by the village youth associations to assist youths to obtain higher academic qualifications. There are only individual efforts which do not produce results. The teachers in the primary school claim that the youths are not motivated to learn and that parents do not participate in their children's education.

The working youths and household heads often bring home information on vacant jobs for their unemployed friends and acquaintances. Very few of the unemployed succeed in securing such jobs, however, because the level of their education is low compared to those who come from other areas of the country. There is a Labor Exchange Office, whose primary function is to assist people to obtain jobs, in Petaling Jaya, but the office is fully packed by unemployed youths during its daily office. One measure of the size of the unemployment problem is the fact that it is often possible for an applicant to wait all day without even getting to fill out the required forms.

All youths in the village believe that the only possible source of income for them is a salaried job in the city. They claim that those who venture into business do so on a temporary basis while waiting for jobs with more stable and regular income. The young men regard the
village as their place of birth and as a place to live. The village itself does not provide any significant means of livelihood for them. The few who try to tap rubber or sell fruit for an income are regarded as desperate individuals and are often shunned by their peers. Some parents claim that the young men of marriagable age who are not married are those individuals who fail to secure a steady job in the city. There are about 20 youths between the ages of 25 and 30 years who are unemployed and unmarried. The villagers claim that they will find mates quite easily either in the village or outside as soon as they secure a stable job.

The types of urban occupations open to the villagers vary from night watchman in the steel industry to junior governmental clerk in the city. The majority of positions can be classified as either unskilled factory workers or labor, or low level government jobs. The employers in both sectors do not demand high level of formal education from their workers. Most, in fact, have only an elementary education. The following table indicates the types of employment held by household heads.

---

1 Household heads who have more than one occupation are listed in the table below only under that occupation which they themselves identify as the most important.
Table 5  Occupations of Household Heads

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Occupations</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Factory Labor ............</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>49.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Grade Government Employee ..</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneur ......................</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport worker 1 ..........</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine Operator or Repairmen ..</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police ..........................</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security Guard  ..................</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Laborer .....................</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher ..........................</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed .....................</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL 176 100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of these workers, except for the few in government service, believe that they can better jobs in the future. This is because the better paying occupations are now held by people with secondary education who come from all over the country.

Although the majority of the heads of household are urban workers, they do not share the same work schedules.

1 Includes bus, truck and taxi drivers, chauffeurs and a lone bus conductor.
About fifty per cent of them are unskilled factory workers. Most of the factories are in Petaling Jaya and these run a 24 hour operation. The majority of the urban workers from the village have irregular working hours. Some workers begin work at seven in the morning and finish at three in the afternoon. A few of them work a few hours overtime on some days of the month, particularly on Saturday and Sunday afternoons.

Those who work the night shift between eleven at night and seven the next morning spend their daylight hours sleeping at home. Very few of them take advantage of the possibilities of overtime work with extra pay on Thursday evenings since most of them, being Muslims consider Thursday evening to be holy and spend their time at the surau (prayer house) or the mosque. A few heads of household with large families to support work extra hours during non-Muslim public holidays, such as the Chinese New Year holidays and Sundays, to supplement their income.

The largest single category of workers to have regular working hours are the government employees. Their work begins at eight in the morning and ends at four in the afternoon, Monday through Friday. On Saturdays they work for half a day. These employees enjoy more holidays than their friends who work in the factories. Such public holidays are those which fall on the Sultan's birthday,
the prophet's birthday and on Independence day. Government employees have no overtime opportunities, but a few take up odd jobs in and around the village, such as clearing orchards and painting and repairing houses, during the weekends or while on their annual vacations. They receive a gratuity of about M$10.0 to M$20.0 for this type of odd job. The majority of government employees treat these public holidays as real days of rest.

Another category of workers, though small in number, are the school teachers who work from 7.30 in the morning until one in the afternoon, Monday through Friday. On Friday, however, school closes at noon to allow the teachers and pupils to attend prayers in the village mosque. Government offices also close at twelve on Friday for two hours to allow Muslim workers to attend the Friday prayers.

The police and army personnel have irregular working hours. Theoretically they are supposed to work eight hours a day, but during any emergency, such as floods, or riots, they work long hours with short breaks for meals and sleep. During normal times, however, they work eight hours a day on a shift basis. The security guards have similar irregular working schedules of three eight hour shifts since the establishments for which they work are guarded twenty four hours a day.
There are eight heads of household who work as drivers. All of them work for upper level government officials and executives of large corporations in the city. They begin work at seven in the morning, and sometimes earlier, and normally return home at six in the evening. All of them claim that their employers are reasonable and give them overtime pay when they work more than eight hours a day or during public holidays. Because of their generous overtime allowances they earn on the average about one third more than their normal salaries.

The fourteen heads of household who are listed as unemployed are mostly above the age of 55 with the sole exception of one individual who is about 45 years old but in poor health. His family is supported by a son who is working as a clerk in the city. Some households have rubber lands and orchards to support them. In a few households working children support their younger siblings and unemployed parents. Most of the unemployed heads of household were formally laborers in town or rubber tappers on the surrounding plantations, and, because they did not hold government jobs in their young days, do not receive pensions.

There are twelve entrepreneurs who run the village stores, while the remaining ten are engaged in the marketing of vegetables and selling of Malay cakes in Petaling Jaya. There are two major markets in this
satellite town to which they travel daily, and returning to the village in the afternoon to collect products for sale the next morning. Among the village produce they sell are banana leaves, young bananas, bamboo shoots and jack fruit. Most of this produce is grown wild in the durian orchards and rubber plots around the village. The entrepreneurs are discussed in depth in the following section of this chapter.

The following table indicates the occupational pattern to be found among the young people in the village:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Employment</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban employment........</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber producers.........</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurs............</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed...............</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending school.........</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>348</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this village the largest number of young people are employed in the urban sector. The types of jobs they hold are not very different from their older fellow villagers. The majority of them are unskilled factory workers. The high rate of unemployment among the young people, about 33 percent, is due to their low level of
education. More than half of these unemployed youths have only primary education. Those who possess secondary education do not have good grades which are required by employers both in the government and the private sectors. Some of those who should be in school are not because they are poor.

The large percentage of unemployed young men is a constant worry to their parents. Most parents believe that these youths are likely to cause trouble in and outside the village because they are idle and at the same time have no money. If there is any theft or loss in the village, most people point accusing fingers at these youths. This embarrasses their parents and relatives. The older people blame the government for this state of affairs, because the government has not built a secondary school in the village. They also blame the factory owners in Petaling Jaya for not recruiting more of the youths.

The unemployed youths are not keen to tap rubber, even though there are several rubber plots which are not tapped. They claim that the price of rubber is so low that it is not worth the effort and that tapping such rubber will only increase the income of the landowners who are already well off. In addition, the youths regard rubber tapping as a very low status occupation. If they are not working they can at least continue to give the
face saving excuse that they are waiting to be called for an interview in a government department or a factory.

Nearly all the unemployed youths seek employment in government departments. Their second choice is a factory job. They believe that government jobs, however low the pay and position, have more prestige and security, a contention which is not uncommon among the Malays in general.

Young unemployed women in the village have less personal problems. Some parents prefer their young daughters to stay at home and help in the family chores such as assisting in looking after their younger siblings, or helping their mothers in the kitchen. A few parents, however, claim that girls need not work to earn a living. Their lives will be taken care by their future husbands. Moreover, it is customary for the women to wait for suitors, and it does not really matter whether a girl works or not to get a husband. If a girl has good character and family background, it is not difficult to find a husband. Several parents who have secondary educated daughters prefer their girls to work. They claim that they have spent some money on the education, and therefore, the girls should work and bring some money back to the family. These parents make extra efforts to secure jobs for their daughters. They ask senior management officials of their employers about vacant positions for their girls.
There is a batik\(^1\) industry in the village, but none of the workers were recruited from the village. This factory was established in 1970 and is owned by a Malay from Kelantan. The owner bought the site in 1969 for an undisclosed price and brought in skilled batik workers from Kelantan. The management claims that the people of Kampong Sungei Penchala prefer to work in the city or in bigger establishments in Petaling Jaya because these industries pay more. The factory in the village employs nine young workers.

The village headman, who is himself a security guard at a Petaling Jaya steel plant, claims that he has no influence or authority to induce the management to recruit or train young people from the village. The village youths, however, claim that the batik industry is too small and too risky to obtain a job there. The management can terminate a worker if business slacks. This industry has become a small tourist attraction.

---

\(^1\) Batik is a traditional Malay handcrafted cloth used to be manufactured in cottage industries, mainly in Kelantan and Trengganu states. Batik clothing material has become popular with both local and foreign users. For the last 15 years the government has been encouraging the expansion of this industry. Several factories have been set up in Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya to meet both local and foreign demands and it is now common to see Malaysian men and women wearing batik during semi-official functions in the city.
B. Entrepreneurship.

Twenty two heads of household are involved in business in the village and the surrounding areas. Most of them conduct their business in the village. Twelve of them run grocery stores which supply the villagers with such daily needs as rice, cooking oil, kerosine, sugar and salt. One of them runs a coffee shop which also has a mini-market on the premises. The mini-market supplies fresh fish and vegetables, obtained from the city wholesale market, to the village people. This particular entrepreneur goes to the city wholesale market at four in the morning to purchase the fish and produce fresh and normally returns to the village at about seven in the morning. He also sells fresh fish and vegetables to a few households in the Petaling Jaya area and owns a station wagon to assist him in making his rounds. Another entrepreneur, who also works as a laborer for the city government, runs the village barber shop. The rates charged in this barber shop are about 30% less than in Petaling Jaya. Most of the school children and a few adults patronize the shop.

The majority of the entrepreneurs have been residents of the village for a long time. They own their houses and they also own the stores which they run. The following table shows the years of experience in business on the part of village entrepreneurs:
Table 7  Business Experience of Village Entrepreneurs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years in business</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 to 3 years..........</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 to 7 years..........</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 to 12 years.........</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 12 years....</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>40.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the village entrepreneurs have prospered and have been able to buy rubber plots and orchard lands which furnish them with further income. Only two of the village entrepreneurs rent their shops from landowners in the village. The rent is M$60.00 a month.

Some of the entrepreneurs run businesses in the market of Petaling Jaya. A few sell their produce in the market in Kuala Lumpur city. Those involved in business in Petaling Jaya sell mostly village produce such as vegetables, banana leaves, bamboo shoots and other items which upper class urban Malays prefer as specialties for their meals. These entrepreneurs travel daily to the markets by bus or personal transportation (motor bikes and bicycles) and return to the village in the early afternoon. Upon returning to their homes and following a short rest after the noon meal, they continue to collect
village produce for sale the next day. In these activities they are often assisted by their young sons and daughters who have returned from, or who are not attending school.

Actual figures on the capital investment necessary for starting a business were not available to me. All of the village businessmen claim that they started their businesses with a "small" amount of capital. The original aim was not to become rich but to earn a living. It is estimated that an ordinary grocery store in the village requires a minimum investment of M$3,000.00. The barber and the coffee shops probably require the least capital. A village barber, for instance, needs only a chair, a mirror and few scissors to open for business. A coffee shop simply needs a few tables and chairs and a few pounds of sugar, milk, coffee and tea, all of which come to a total of only about M$500.00. During the course of the research one urban worker, by converting his savings into capital, started a grocery store for his father with an estimated M$8,000.00. His father, who owns a two acre plot of orchard, also had some savings from the sale of his durian and he, too, contributed from his savings to provide the necessary capital for opening the store.

Supplies are sent to the village stores by suppliers in the city. The owner of a store normally travels to the city in the morning to order his goods from the
wholesalers. His goods then arrive in the afternoon or, at the latest, on the next day. Every entrepreneur claims that he has to pay cash to the city wholesalers to obtain supplies. Most of the wholesalers in the city are Chinese and the village entrepreneurs say that they are very prompt in sending the required goods. There is one Malay owned wholesale depot in the city, but company is not able to deliver its goods as promptly. Therefore, the Malay entrepreneurs patronize the Chinese wholesalers who give them better service.

One entrepreneur expanded his business from a simple stall in the Petaling Jaya market to a grocery store in the village. He is thirty seven years old and started business in 1969. He was not born in Kampong Sungei Penchala, but married a girl from the village and settled there. He did not have any formal schooling, but he picked up some knowledge of business by observing others in Petaling Jaya and the city of Kuala Lumpur. He earned a living as a construction worker for a few years before starting his own small business. He began by selling Malay cakes at a stall in the Petaling Jaya market, and went on to open a small grocery store in Kampong Sungei Penchala where he and his young family live. His wife looks after the village store whenever he attends to the cake stall for which he is now able to hire a young assistant.
Another successful entrepreneur is a 40 year old businessman with varied experience in the field. He was born in the village, but grew up with his relatives in Sumatra. He started to gain experience in business while he was still in Sumatra. When he returned to his birthplace in 1960 he earned a living as a rubber tapper. With some savings he then opened a laundry shop. Within a year the laundry shop closed not only because many clients in the village did not pay their debts, but also because there was insufficient demand in the village for such a service. Since he was also skilled in hairdressing, he next opened a barber shop. His business has prospered and with the profits from this venture he has since established a grocery store next door to his barber shop. He owns both the shop lots and spends time in both establishments. When a client comes to his barber shop, he leaves the grocery store in the hands of his wife. Most customers come to his barber shop in the evenings and weekends.

Besides handling the business in the grocery store and the barber shop, he spends about four hours every morning hawking fresh fish and vegetables in the village and surrounding areas. He obtains these items from the city wholesale market and the unsold fish and vegetables are sold in his grocery store. He competes with another entrepreneur who also sells fish and vegetables in the
village and Petaling Jaya areas. He uses only an old motor bike for this business. In addition, he constructs houses for rent on the nearby government reserve land. Since this activity is illegal, he and others claim that "we are trying to help people who do not have houses to live in". Owners and renters of such units are very secretive. Even my two indigenous research assistants were not able to find out how much the rent was for one unit. The barber also owns a plot of rubber land and another of durian trees in the village.

One of the village entrepreneurs is a former soldier. He is 29 years old and has just been discharged from the army. He is renting a house in the village and has a grocery store in the Petaling Jaya market. Before he left the army he was given some brief training in the field of business. He hopes that he can expand his business because he believes that customers in Petaling Jaya have more money, and as such buying power, than the people of Kampong Sungei Penchala. As evidence of this he points out that nearly every household in Petaling Jaya owns a motor car. This is because the majority of the people around the Petaling Jaya market are either big businessmen or government technocrats and therefore earn much more than the people of Kampong Sungei Penchala.

He believes that he and his family would have had no future if he had remained in the army. His father is a
businessman in Trengganu, one of the states on the east coast of Peninsular Malaysia. His divorced mother also runs one of the food stalls in the restaurant complex in Petaling Jaya known as medan selera. He contends that every Malay can run a business, even though it is risky. What is needed is some capital, a little planning, initiative, and some good luck. He used his own savings from army days to start the business. As an outsider in Kampong Sungei Penchala, he is baffled by the fact that the people of the village are very poor even though they live close to the city.

The village religious leader, the Imam of the mosque, is another successful businessman. He is 52 years old and has been running a grocery store in the village since 1948. He is married to the daughter of the former headman of the village. He was educated in both Arabic and Malay schools where he reached the fifth grade. Two of his sons assist him in running the grocery store. Besides managing the grocery store and the village mosque, he is also a member of both the village development committee and the prayer house committee. He was born in Damansara village, situated between Petaling Jaya and Kampong Sungei Penchala. He has been a member of the ruling political party in the country, UMNO, since its inception in 1946.

It is difficult to assess the real assets, wealth,
profits, capital, losses and other related financial matters of these businessmen. Discussions of these subjects were politely brushed aside with the excuse that they were "personal and private matters". From general observations and casual remarks, however, some conclusions can be drawn.

It is apparent that, among the village entrepreneurs some are better off than others. Compared to other villagers, the entrepreneurs seem to live very comfortable lives. They own television sets, dining and sitting chairs, well constructed houses and modern transportation such as motor bikes and second hand cars. During the course of the study, the businessman who runs the coffee shop and the mini-market rebuilt his house. His intention was to rent out the extra rooms to laborers who work in Petaling Jaya. The total cost of the reconstruction was M$12,000.00. He expects to gain about M$120.00 a month from the three rental units.

The economic and social activities associated with renting in this village are not as significant as in Kampong Baru, where "The household rental business ... is closely associated with several important characteristics of the urban environment" (Provencher 1971:39). Among the 22 heads of household who were businessmen, only one, who sold his small truck to finance his rental scheme, regards house renting as a major source of income.
He has seven units which are rented out for M$30.00 a month per unit and his total rental income is about double the income from his grocery store. He believes that house renting is less problematic and that the capital investment required brings in quick profits. His grocery store, in contrast, gives him a lot of trouble because many clients are always late in repaying credit. It is difficult for him to turn down requests for credit or requests for postponement of payments from clients who are long time neighbors and distant relatives.

All of the renters in this particular case are outsiders who work in Petaling Jaya. This entrepreneur finds it easy to deal with outsiders because, if a tenant defaults in payments, he just orders him to leave without his belongings. The renters find it difficult to default on rent both for fear of being evicted and because there is no cheaper place to live near Kuala Lumpur or Petaling Jaya.

All of the entrepreneurs claim that they face difficulty in collecting debts during the rainy seasons. During this period, which usually lasts from October to January each year, rubber tappers cannot earn much money from their rubber plots because the rubber trees are wet and the latex which is being tapped runs off in different directions instead of flowing into the collection containers. Supplementary income from relatives
or daily odd jobs are not sufficient to pay old debts and maintain daily needs.

Very few of the villagers are convinced that house renting can be a good business, even though the village is located about four miles from an industrial region. A few landlords who have money and spacious grounds around their houses prefer to open grocery stores. They also believe that running such stores is more prestigious than collecting rents. A few of them tend to view the renting business as vaguely immoral because collecting rent can be viewed as the oppression of poor homeless people. Nevertheless, they are cautious about opening new stores because they realize that the population of the village is not expanding. There is already at present, a stiff competition between existing stores.

C. The Rubber Producers.

Villages around cities and industrial areas are common features of the geographical nature of most developing countries. In such villages marginal peasants or land cultivators are to be found who do not depend totally on the land for a living. They have easy access to the city and this provides an alternative opportunity to earn an easier living. Marginal peasantry are also created when peasants who migrate to cities cannot settle there immediately. Instead, they may set up homes as squatters on the outskirts of the cities. Kampong Sungei Penchala
has a small percentage, compared to the number of people who hold urban jobs, of such so-called marginal peasants who are rubber producers. Out of the total 201 household heads there are only 25 who can be classified by occupation as rubber producers. These individuals tap and sell rubber for a living. They can be considered as marginal peasants since there is a near absence of subsistence food production in the village.

The following table indicates the estimated acreage of the rubber plots these rubber producers own and tap:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rubber acreage</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 acre</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 2 acres</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 4 acres</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more than 4 acres</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the total land area of the village is considered to be about 716 acres, there is no convenient way to find out the exact acreage developed into rubber plots; neither the headman of the village nor the officials of the land office could provide such figures. All the land alienated
was designated as Malay Reserve and restricted to agricultural and village uses (pertanian dan kampong). Some earlier rubber plots have been replanted with fruit trees while others have been cleared for housing.

Replanting of rubber, which is subsidized by the government, has not been undertaken by owners of land because they maintain that it takes too long for rubber to mature. In fact, it is about 6 to 8 years before new rubber trees are productive. The government provides a subsidy of M$900.00 per acre to replant new rubber. The subsidy is made, not as a direct grant to the owner, but rather in the form of fertilizers, seedlings and a small amount of cash. This is not attractive enough to the potential rubber planters in the village.

Rubber tapping and other related activities are undertaken in the morning. Tapping begins usually at five or six in the morning provided that there was no rain in the previous evening. If it rains there will be no tapping because latex will not flow evenly into the cup which is attached at the end of the channel cut around the bark of the tree. Rubber tapping involves considerable expertise, a specially designed scrapper being used to make the channel in the bark of the trees. The rubber tapper takes a small basket to collect the hardened rubber in the channel before cutting a new line in the channel to obtain new latex. The hardened latex or scrap rubber
is sold at about M$0.15 $ a pound and a tapper can earn about fifty to seventy cents a day from its sale.

If there is a heavy downpour while tapping or while waiting for the latex to flow into the cups, the tapper will immediately collect as much latex as possible to prevent rain water from being mixed in. Latex which is mixed with water has very little value. Sometimes the day's earnings are lost if the tapper is not able to collect the latex in time because of a sudden heavy downpour.

All the rubber tappers walk to their rubber plots. They are often assisted in collecting latex and scrap rubber by male children who are not in school. While waiting for the latex to flow into the cups, they either return home for coffee or walk to the coffee shops to rest.

The cups of latex are collected at about ten in the morning. Tappers bring along a pail or an empty kerosene container to carry latex to the sale center. By noon the rubber tapping, latex collection and sale have all been accomplished. The latex is sold to a merchant of the village who also owns a grocery store and the latex purchasing center is located next to his grocery store. In this village latex is not converted into rubber sheets because tappers find it easier to sell such latex. Converting latex into sheets takes more time, and if the
tapper wants a better price he has to dry them. This takes several days and most of the tappers are in need of immediate cash.

Everytime a tapper sells his latex, the rubber dealer will check his records to see if the tapper owes him any money for the purchase of goods from his store. If there is an outstanding debt, he deducts only a portion of the amount so that he continues to perpetuate some form of patron-client relationship with the tapper. Sometimes there is a direct exchange of goods such as rice for latex. There are only about three individuals who are totally indebted to this merchant. Others seem to have some cash left over even after paying old debts and are thus able to purchase goods from other stores in the village. This set of patron-client relations exists because the rubber merchant is the only licensed dealer in the village and therefore has a monopoly on the rubber market. The villagers find it too inconvenient to sell latex outside the village.

D. Land Transactions and Values.

Land in the village is now regarded as 'priceless' by the owners as well as by the people from outside the village who know the village well. This has been especially true since the village was incorporated into the new Federal Territory area. Before that date, the village
land was only regarded as ordinary agricultural land with good durian fruits which were bought and highly priced by urban residents.

The idea of developing the village into an urbanized settlement apparently did not occur until February 1974. Owners, however, were convinced that the village would soon be invaded by such urban elements as city taxes, crowded living, money-minded individuals, expensive goods, and complex administration. This is because the village is situated so close to the city and Petaling Jaya (Map 3 shows the position of the city and Petaling Jaya in relation to Kampong Sungei Penchala). Moreover, the village is encircled by developed areas. To the east is the city of Kuala Lumpur, capital city of Malaysia, to the south is Petaling Jaya, and to the west is the international airport. There is a highly mechanized quarry to the north of the village. The residents of the village have heard rumours that the government plans to establish a new air force complex in the area between the international airport and the village. In addition, new housing estates are in the process of being developed just south of the village.

Plots of land along both sides of the road which enters the village seem to be more valuable than the ones in the interior. Before this study began there had already been a few sales of land to wealthy urban Malays.
None of the owners who sold land was willing to tell me the exact amount of the sales. The residents who know these individuals well, however, estimated that in 1968 the price of land in the village was about M$1,000.00 an acre.

A few individuals, who own land both in Sungei Penchala and Petaling Jaya, sold some in Petaling Jaya in the 1950's and 60's. One of these individuals is the former village headman who sold a two acre plot in Petaling Jaya to a tobacco company for M$60,000.00, but he would not elaborate on what he did with the money. A few villagers claim that the retired headman used part of the money to visit Mecca on a pilgrimage. He clearly used part of the money to repair his house and might have kept the rest as savings. He is considered to be one of the most wealthy men in the village.

Not knowing the exact price of land for a particular sale or transaction makes estimates of increases in value difficult. It is rumoured around the village, however, that in 1970 a very high government Malay official from the city bought a four acre durian orchard at M$4,000.00 per acre. In the 1973, land around this particular piece cost about M$16,000.00 per acre, an increase of 400%.

In 1973 and 1974, there was a boom in the real estate market in Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya. Wealthy urban Malays rushed to buy land in the area of Kampong Sungei
Penchala and Kampong Damansara. The land area of the village of Sungei Penchala is physically free from flooding and this attracts prospective investors. Land in this village is Malay Reserve and as such cannot be sold to non Malays. The value of the land, therefore, is slightly lower compared to the value of land in Petaling Jaya or Kuala Lumpur, because land in these two city areas are allowed to be sold to or owned by anybody, including foreigners.

During this boom period a few Kampong Sungei Penchala owners, especially those who own more than one plot, sold their land. In one particular case, four acres of land adjacent to the main road were sold to a group of Malay teachers and civil servants for M$14,000.00 per acre. This group of Malay wage earners formed a syndicate to purchase this particular piece of land. Their original aim was to subdivide the land into equal plots and later build individual houses. After a few months, members of the syndicate began to realize that the land office in Kuala Lumpur, which has authority over land matters, did not approve their subdivision plans. The syndicate then decided to resell the land at a higher price. There has, as yet, been no sale.

The village headman offered the example of one piece of land which was purchased at a price of M$2,000.00 per acre in 1960. During the property boom the land was
resold for M$15,000.00 per acre. During this period of the boom, the village was visited everyday of the week by city land brokers seeking potential sellers for their clients. In fact, one of the policemen who lived in the village and owned land became a broker. He was able to sell a few lots and received handsome fees for his services. He and others like him, however, are not registered real estate agents. Official transactions are completed in the land office of Kuala Lumpur.

Before the property boom in Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya in 1973, Kampong Sungei Penchala was already known for its durian fruit. Residents of Petaling Jaya and Kuala Lumpur often visited the village in the evenings or weekends to purchase good quality durian. Most of the villagers who own durian trees made good profits. The majority of the visitors were Chinese, but urban Malay residents had also heard of the village and a few official from the city, such as those working in the land office, knew the place very well. When the rush for land started, it naturally included the village and prospective buyers came in their cars to negotiate with owners and brokers.

In 1973 rumours began circulating that the Federal government intended to create a Federal Territory which would serve as the center of the national government. It was further rumoured that this new Federal Territory would include Kampong Sungei Penchala. Such speculations
further increased the value of the land in the village as land brokers began to advertise the village land for sale in the national and local newspapers. A few prospective buyers became friendly with the village headman. Their purpose was to obtain more information regarding the location of certain plots and their rightful owners to avoid complications after sale.

While the village headman did not discourage the city visitors, he did try to discourage the villagers from selling off their land. During informal discussions in his house or in the coffee shops, he advised the villagers that they should not sell their land even though they would become rich by doing so. His primary argument, since land was scarce and becoming more expensive, was that they would have to move to more remote areas in the future. He was able to convince most of his listeners that the urban rich were buying the land, not to develop it for the residents, but for their individual gain. He even cited some cases and names of individuals who visited him and who already own several properties in the city. These officials typically were highly paid government executives, school teachers and managers of corporations.

In February 1974, when the village came officially under the jurisdiction of the new Federal Territory, the person who was mayor and chief executive of the Federal Territory visited the village to open officially the
celebrations marking the occasion. There was a large gathering of Malays and non-Malays on hand to celebrate this historic occasion. The gathering included the residents of Kampong Damansara and workers on neighboring British rubber plantations.

The celebrations were organized by the village development committee and several sub-committees were established to coordinate the activities. There were sports events, games, a wide variety of food stalls, an official tea party, and later in the evening a 'culture show' consisting of folk dances, native martial arts, folk music and a fashion show. The celebrations and subsequent reporting in the local newspapers served to confirm publicly the rumours that the village was now part of the city. The price of land continued to rise and more prospective buyers began negotiations in the houses of potential sellers.

In his speech to the assembled villagers, the mayor advised the people to keep their land and not to sell it, although land values had risen, because the government intended to develop the central part of the village into a fully urbanized residential community. This would include restructuring the road system, furnishing a supply of tap water and electricity, and building concrete shopping centers and residential homes. The development itself would be carried out by the Urban Development
Authority which had been set up by the Federal Government to build new towns and improve old ones.

Land values continued to rise after this announcement and after official visits by officers of the Urban Development Authority. The residents attended a meeting with these officers to discuss the plans, rights and obligations of both the Authority and the owners of the land. During this meeting several questions were raised by the villagers that could not be answered satisfactorily by the officers. These included the problems of the legitimate ownership of land, the types of houses and shopping complexes to be constructed, the contributions of the land owners and the exact commitment of the Authority to the total scheme. The officers made general statements like "The government would like to develop the village into a first class housing estate so that more Malays can become urbanized".

Such developments as proposed by the Urban Development Authority will obviously have far reaching effects on the village environment. Most of the rural characteristics will either be modified or disappear. There will be more houses and fewer fruit and rubber trees. Houses and roads will be numbered. The traditional wooden houses will give way to modern concrete ones with such amenities as tap water, electricity and toilets.

If the program to construct houses for rental
purposes is realized, the future population of the village will consist mainly of two social categories, namely the renters and landlords. The landlords will be drawn from the currently landed inhabitants of the village. The renters will come in from outside to take up residence and thus will contribute to a significant increase in the present population. The entrepreneurs will therefore probably double their business with such an increase.

The Urban Development Authority officials contend that the only way to improve the standard of living of the present villagers is to assist them in the construction of rental units such as found in Kampong Baru. Part of the income from the rental units will then be used to repay the Authority's loan of investment capital.

New houses, new sources of incomes, and, for some individuals, drastic increases in income will have drastic effects on their daily lives. Besides the construction of houses and roads, the Authority plans, in conjunction with other government agencies, to build secondary schools a bigger health clinic, a postal service, and provide other amenities. There will be probably fewer dropouts among the young children in schools. Improve education will, in turn, provide better opportunities for the village youngsters to enter the more lucrative job markets in the city. In the long run the community will be become more urbanized.
CHAPTER FIVE

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES

Every community has some form of religion. Norbeck (1961:127) has defined religion as "... a set of beliefs with practical effect in human affairs and is at the same time a system of action and interaction among human beings with consequences important to culture, society, and the individual". The community of Kampong Sungei Penchala consists not only of Malays, but also of followers of the Islamic religion. As Muslims, they follow the religion as taught by the Prophet Mohammad and as Malays in Malaysia they belong to the Shafie sect.

Religion and religious practices are important to the villagers as members of the Malay community. Islam is a major cultural factor in identifying Malays. In Malaysia, a Malay is officially defined as an individual who belongs to the Islamic faith, speaks the Malay language habitually and follows Malay customs in daily life. In this respect there are many Malaysian born natives who are not Malays because they are not Muslims, even though they speak Malay fluently and follow Malay customs.

In the following pages I examine the importance of religious institutions and practices for the residents of Kampong Sungei Penchala. I begin by presenting an overview of the most important religious institution in the village, the mosque, and then discuss the various ritual
occasions which mobilize the congregation or part thereof, special attention being devoted to the month of fasting (bulan ramadan), and those events which require extensive cooperation to stage the requisite feasts.

A. The Mosque.

The major symbolic focus of the Islamic religion in the village is the mosque. The mosque in Kampong Sungei Penchala was built in 1953 by the State Government of Selangor. It is located more or less in the center of the village, a location which appropriately expresses its unifying function since it assists members of the community in many ways.

The Islamic religion requires every member, among other things, to pray to God (Allah) five times a day and to attend the Friday (Holy Day) prayers with the rest of the congregation in the mosque. A true Muslim prays five times a day. The early morning prayer period just before sunrise, is known as sembahyang suboh. This is followed by early afternoon prayers called sembahyang zuhor, between one and two in the afternoon. The late afternoon prayers are held between five and six and are known as sembahyang asar. The early evening prayers (sembahyang maghrib) take place between 6:45 and 7 P.M., while the last prayer period for the day (sembahyang ishak) can be performed at any time between 8 and 12 P.M. Each prayer session takes about ten to twenty minutes. Those who
pray face the direction of the sunset, assuming that it is the direction of Mecca in Saudi Arabia.

The majority of the adult population of Kampong Sungei Penchala perform these mandatory prayers. Some of the urban workers miss the early afternoon prayers (sembahyang zuhor) because they are at work. Others, however, manage to perform the prayers in one of the Petaling Jaya or Kuala Lumpur mosques. The unemployed inhabitants of the village perform most of the prayers in their homes except the Friday prayers when they congregate in the mosque. Some villagers make use of a nearby surau (prayer house) to perform their daily prayers.

Many of the young urban workers from the village miss the late afternoon and evening prayers claiming that they are too tired to participate or that they cannot find the time to perform them by the time they reach home from work. Before taking part in a prayer session, each individual washes his hands, feet, face and forehead. This is mandatory and near the entrance of every mosque or prayer house there is a concrete tank filled with water for such cleansing purposes.

The mosque is regarded as very sacred. It is unbecoming for a Muslim to show any disrespect to the mosque such as urinating or spitting or quarrelling in the mosque compound. The grounds are well fenced to prevent animals and young children from playing in the
mosque compound. The mosque of this village is built of concrete and cement plaster and has a seating capacity of about four hundred people.

Every Friday noon most of the village adults and a few young boys walk or cycle to the mosque to perform the Friday noon prayers. During these prayers, the imam (leader of the congregation) exhorts those in attendance to be good and true Muslims. His exhortation before the prayers take place is known as the khutbah, the contents of which is prepared by the State Religious Department of Selangor.

The mosque in any Muslim community in Malaysia is not politically independent. Religion is managed by the State and only recognized officials and officers of the community or individuals commissioned by the government can deliver the Friday khutbah. The imam himself is formally appointed by the government. He is not paid any allowance for his services. His main task is to lead the congregation in the prayers and to deliver the official sermons. If the imam is not well, his place is taken over by the nazir, chairman of the mosque committee.

The village mosque is managed by a committee of 21 person. The chairman of the committee and other members are selected by secret ballot by the villagers in an election supervised by the State Religious Department. The imam is also a member of the committee. The tenure of the committee is for five years or more, depending on
the evaluation of their performance by the State Religious Department. The tenure can be shortened or lengthened. If the people express some discontent and the State Religious Department subsequently feels that the dissatisfaction is reasonable, another election is held. The present committee has been in office for more than four years.

If a committee member resigns or dies, he is replaced by a person appointed by the State Religious Department. Normally the nazir, the imam, and the village headman give their views on the candidate to the Department before any decision is reached. The committee of the mosque of Kampong Sungei Penchala has not had to face this problem. Very few people talk about the mosque committee because the committee has no regular functions and its members are not paid any allowance. The committee has a treasurer and an honorary secretary, but no regular books or files. The committee seldom meets and no minutes of meetings are kept.

The mosque of this village does not receive any kind of regular grant from the State Government to maintain the institution. From time to time the committee makes casual repairs, cleans the compound and purchases mats. Funds for these purchases are obtained from donations, often made by well-wishes at the Friday prayers. During Friday prayers, a committee member carries a small basket
and walks from one member to another requesting donations. Some members of the congregation give and some do not. The average weekly collection is about M$10.00. The donations from the Friday prayers are primarily used to pay the siak of the mosque. The siak is a regular member of the congregation who is engaged by the committee to clean the compound, wash the water containers and arrange the mats for Friday prayers. He is paid an allowance of M$15.00 per month. The siak may do other jobs in the mosque if he wishes or if he is directed to do so by the nazir.

The members of the management committee of the mosque are mostly urban workers. The nazir is a pensioner and owns land in the village. Other committee members are the imam and the elders of the village including the village headman. The honorary secretary, however, is a young urban clerk. The committee finds it unnecessary to keep accounts or regular minutes of meetings because they believe that they have nothing to hide from the people. After all, they are serving not only the people but also God (Allah).

The committee held a short informal meeting in 1973 to request the Electricity Board to exempt payment of the power bill for the mosque. Electricity was then about to be installed for the whole village. The request was turned down and the committee has had to continue paying about M$20.00 a month for electricity. This money is
also obtained from the donations of members of the Friday congregation.

The mosque committee members are all males. There are no regular female participants at Friday prayers. This is explained by most people as due to the fact that women in Kampong Sungei Penchala are too busy with household chores. Some older women pray at home and a few of them participate in the surau prayers, especially during special feasts in the surau. A separate section on one side of the surau is partitioned off for women to pray in. However, most inhabitants in the village believe that, in a Muslim community, the males are and should be leaders in all aspects of social life including religious affairs.

Besides the weekly Friday prayers, the mosque committee occasionally organizes other religious functions such as discussions of Islamic teachings. Normally these functions are held during the fasting month or during the month of the birthday of the Prophet. For these special activities, there are usually one or two guest speakers from outside the village. The discussants concentrate on religious matters, such as the basic teachings of the Kuran, the life history of the Prophet and his friends, and the role of modern Muslims in the world. They also exhort their audience to improve themselves economically and to educate their children in the Islamic ways.
The guest speakers are often close friends of the nazir. Sometimes a few urban workers who are devoted Muslims manage to contact the religious leaders in town and invite them to the mosque after obtaining prior permission from the nazir. Strictly speaking, these activities should be approved ahead of time by the State Religious Department, but the committee usually finds it unnecessary to obtain prior permission if the penghulu and the village headman agree to the event. The guest speakers are not paid any honorarium, but they are well entertained after the speeches. Members of the congregation often bring food and non-alcoholic drinks to the mosque to consume while listening to the speeches. On these occasions the women seem to participate earnestly. They bring along food they have cooked and listen quietly in the rear portion of the mosque.

B. Religious Gatherings and Festivities.

There are many religious occasions in the lives of Malay villagers. The birthday of the Prophet is considered to be especially holy in the village, while the fasting month is the most significant period of the year. Then there is Hari Raya Puasa, which follows the fasting month and is a period of rejoicing, thanksgiving and forgiveness. Furthermore, a family holds khenduri arwah to request God to bless the soul of the dead; a resident who has just completed a new house holds a khenduri shukor
to thank God; and family gives a *khenduri selamat* a few
days after the birth of the first child to thank God for
the safe delivery and the addition to the family and the
faith.

The Prophet's birthday, *Maulud Nabi*, a public holiday
throughout the country. Most wage earners in the village
stay at home on that day, except a few who may be required
to work in certain industries having special overtime
allowances. This day is considered to be very holy.
Special prayers are offered in the mosque at noon prayer
period known as *sembahyang zuhor*. The villagers begin to
gather around the mosque compound late in the morning.
A guest speaker is often invited who gives a lengthy
speech about the life of the Prophet and his teachings.
After the noon prayers all participants are feted, the
food and drinks being provided by the congregation.

The fasting month, *bulan ramadan*, is the holiest
month of the Islamic calendar. In the village, most
adults, female and male, fast. A few youngsters below
the age of twelve try, but usually they cannot endure the
fast which lasts til the eating time known as *buka puasa*
at about seven in the evening. A few youths do not fast,
claiming that they have to work hard in the city. These
individuals, however, do not eat in pulic.

The month long fasting period affects the daily
routine of life in the village. During this time reli-
gious activities are more numerous and more faithfully
attended in comparison to previous months. Working adults, who normally visit the coffee shops or the grocery stores after work, go home to sleep after their daily chores. There are hardly any gatherings or festivities in the daytime during the fasting month.

Fasting begins at about five in the morning, and believers who are fasting do not eat or drink or smoke until about seven in the evening. Besides observing the non-eating and non-drinking rules, the believers are not allowed to engage in activities which are considered to be *haram* (forbidden). Among other things, sexual intercourse in the daytime is so considered and is believed to nullify the religious effects of fasting. A believer who is fasting is not supposed to entertain the idea of fun, rejoicing or bad intention. Young people who normally tease each other try to avoid these activities during the fasting month. An attitude of seriousness pervades the village bus terminal, the *suraq* and other places. There is less joking, fewer games, and less movement of people in the village. During the first few days of the fasting month, the believers in the village are not keen to talk and prefer to spend their free time sleeping, especially during the day. Some youths spend their free time sleeping in the *suraq*. Unemployed youths pass their free time by taking a bus ride to Petaling Jaya or Kuala Lumpur in the morning and return to the village
in the afternoon to sleep. A few youths who are not fasting pretend to be tired or hungry during the peak hours of the day to avoid public redecule.

Most households do not cook food in the afternoon unless there are several young children who are not fasting. Some households just heat the leftover food from the previous evening for this purpose. At about three in the afternoon, while the men and youths either sleep or engage in light conversation with neighbors, the women of the household busy themselves cooking for the evening meal. The usual evening meal is preceded by the buka puasa or the breaking of the fast. Most households prepare sweet delicacies and iced cold drinks for the breaking of the fast, after which some adults walk to the nearest surau to perform the evening prayers. Immediately thereafter they return home for the evening meal. Some villagers pray in their own homes and continue to eat for about an hour. At eight in the evening most adults adjourn to the mosque to perform the special nightly prayers of the fasting month known as sembahyang tarawikh.

The fasting month is considered to be very sacred by the villagers and all Muslims in the country. The adult population of the village observe the fasting month strictly. The few who do not fast are construction workers who work hard or young children. Those who do not fast do not eat in public. It is an offence to do so,
although villagers are not worried about being arrested by the village policemen. They are ashamed to be seen eating in public. Young children are encouraged to fast at an early age. They join their parents and older siblings in the early morning meal known as *makan sahur* which is normally consumed before five in the morning. It is a very heavy meal and is supposed to last them until about seven in the evening. Most of the young children who are trying to fast break their fast in the afternoon after school. Some of them try to endure it until about three or four in the evening and parents praise their children in front of others for trying to fast.

During the fasting month all the coffee shops are closed in the day time. Owners, however, open their shops a little after seven in the evening, after the breaking of the fast. The primary reason is not to serve coffee or tea but just to provide clients with services such as cigarettes.

Toward the end of the fasting month, especially on the last day of fasting, villagers busy themselves preparing *ketupat* (rice cooked in coconut leaves). A few households cook *lemang* (glutinous rice cooked in bamboo containers). On this day nearly every household is buys making last minute preparations for the *Hari Raya Puasa* (end of the fasting month celebrations). Village entrepreneurs purchase several cows or buffalos to be slaughtered for sale to the residents. The meat from these
animals is turned into *rendang* (beef stewed in coconut milk with spices). The average household purchases five to ten pounds of beef for this purpose at a cost of about M$3.00 per pound. A few households, who cannot afford to purchase beef, slaughter their own chickens and turn these into several types of delicacies including *rendang ayam* (chicken stewed in coconut milk with spices).

During this period, extra cooking facilities are constructed just outside each household kitchen. A large number of persons do not fast on this day because they need the energy for last minute preparation for the coming celebrations. Some fathers hurriedly cycle or take a bus to town to purchase new clothes and shoes for their children. The cost of these preparations use up a large portion of the monthly budget.

The village becomes a center of festivities and prayers on *Hari Raya* day. This is the day on which the people of Kampong Sungei Penchala and all Muslims all over the country celebrate the end of the fasting month. Villagers congregate in the village mosque at about eight in the morning to perform the *sembahyang Hari Raya* (the prayers to end the fasting month). These prayers take about an hour to perform.

Elders, young people and children in their new clothes and *songkok* (fezes) congregate for these prayers which are followed on the verandah of the mosque by a small feast prepared earlier by the ladies and organized by the village
mosque committee. After performing the special prayers, participants shake hands with each other warmly and ask for forgiveness. They then disperse and return home to visit their friends and relatives. Young people are ideally supposed to ask formally for forgiveness from their parents on this day, but the children in the village are more likely to be seen running toward the buses and taxis to visit the movie houses in town after the prayer session.

Those relatives who are not able to return to the village on this occasion usually send greeting cards by mail. This is a gesture to ask for forgiveness on this auspicious day. On Hari Raya all Muslims are supposed to forgive and forget and therefore they visit each other to perform this ritual.

The people of Kampong Sungei Penchala normally hold 'open house'. This means that all friends and neighbors and friends of friends are welcome. Groups of five or six individuals visit one house after another. On arrival they are received by the head of the household or any male adult of the family. The guests shake hands with the host, wish him and his family Selamat Hari Raya, and ask for forgiveness. If the host is a young adult and the guest is older, the host will shake the guest's hand while bowing. The rounds of visiting continue leisurely for the whole day and on into the next, but at a slightly slower pace. Delicious foods (prepared several days earlier during the fasting month) and drinks are served to visitors.
Some individuals do not visit certain households because of long standing feuds. Some young people participate, but they form their own visiting groups, typically organized by sex, and rarely mix with the older groups. The women have to stay at home most of the time to look after the needs of the guests.

C. Feasts and Feasting.

Nearly every household in Kampong Sungei Penchala has held a feast of one kind or another. The most common feast is the khenduri arwah, the special prayers for the dead. The following table indicates the number of households which have held khenduri between 1968 and 1972:

**Table 9 Feasting Households**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Households</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban wage earners</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber producers</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurs</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of the 140 households containing urban workers, 95 or about 67% have had such feasts, most of which were khenduri arwah. A few of these households have also held marriage feasts. The khenduri arwah is held more often than any other feasts by the villagers because they believe that the spirits of their dead relatives must be blessed by God and it is their duty to request God to do so. In
addition, they also believe that the spirits of the dead must always be cared for as if they were alive. In this way they maintain continuing links with their deceased parents or siblings.

Another common religious feast is the khenduri shukor, that is, thanking God for fulfilling whatever they have wished. A family holds such feast if a son passes the government secondary examination, or if they complete a new house. Besides praising God for his divine assistance, the owner also hopes that the house will not be disturbed by such undesirable supernatural beings as ghosts.

Twenty three rubber producing families had held feasts in their homes. They ranged from an elaborate wedding feast to a small family affair, a khenduri shukor, thanking God for being blessed with a first child. The entrepreneur families also sponsor feasts for similar reasons. Members of this group, however, seem to spend more to stage such affairs. One entrepreneur spent about M$2,000. for his daughter's wedding, the high point of the scale for wedding costs which ranges from as low as M$500.00 Even the unemployed heads of household give feasts, the money being provided by a working son or daughter.

Most of the religious feasts, except weddings, are held on Thursday night (the Malays call it malam Jumaat or Friday Eve). This is because the Malays in the village like Malays in general, regard this night as sacred and auspicious. Weddings, however, are carried out on Sunday,
a public holiday, thus enabling the family to obtain more assistance from neighbors and permitting more guests to attend. A wedding feast requires extensive preparation and therefore considerable time and labor.

At a khenduri arwah, the number of guests varies from as few as four adult males to as many as fifteen, the number of invitations depending on the economic status of the giver and the purpose of the rite. One entrepreneur of Kampong Sungei Penchala spent about M$200.00 for a khenduri arwah, but a typical wage earner spends only about M$30.00 to hold the same feast. The policeman who bought land and built a house in the village held a khenduri shukor to bless his new house. It is estimated that he spent more than M$400.00 to put on a day long affair. A goat was slaughtered, several chickens were bought from the Petaling Jaya market, and several huge pots of rice were cooked to feed the approximately 130 guests who were mostly his neighbors.

Some households which conduct small feasts prefer their guests to perform the evening prayers (sembahyang maghrib) in their house. This means that the guests arrive about ten minutes to seven in the evening. Prayers begin at seven. After the prayers, the participants, led by the imam or some other religious individual requested by the host to attend, will start chanting verses from the Kuran. The entire ritual lasts for about twenty minutes, after which the food is served.
At some feasts the hosts indicate to the guests that they would prefer the ritual to begin after evening prayers. In this case the guests normally pray in their own houses and later proceed to the feasting family. The chanting of Kuran verses is led by the imam or the most religious individual. Sometimes guests arrive just in time for the meal and explain to the host why they arrive late.

In most of the feasts the major participants are immediate neighbors and the imam of the mosque. If the imam is not able to come, the host will ask the man whom he considers to be the most religious to lead the group in chanting the specific Kuran verses. In Kampong Sungei Penchala, most of the older men who are haji (a person who has gone to Mecca on a pilgrimage) are considered very religious and can perform some of the basic religious rites such as the tahlil (reading aloud and by heart specific verses of the Kuran). There are no youths who can perform this ritual in Kampong Sungei Penchala.

During the khenduri shukor for his new house, the policeman invited most of the village elders, the imam of the mosque, the village headman, and people from the fifteen households immediately around his new house. Most of these neighbors come not only as guests, but also as helpers. In this particular case, the imam led the congregation in the berzanji (group reading of the Kuran verses which praises the life of Prophet Mohammad). The
host scheduled the feast to take place during this period
to take advantage of the auspicious birthday month of the
prophet. He hoped that a feast held on such a time would
help prolong his life and the lives of his entire family.
He also hoped that his new house would be blessed by God
and the spirits of his ancestors.

At this particular khenduri shukor all such prepara-
tory work as cooking the food, constructing a guest tent,
and laying the mats in the main guest area of the house
was undertaken by 'volunteers' from the village. The
adult males from six immediate neighboring households
provided free labor for the occasion. The new resident
purchased all the food items, including a sixty pound goat,
rice, cooking oil, and coconut. The people involved in the
feast claimed that the policeman had become orang kita
(a member of our community). This is because he bought
land and built a house in the village and lives as a
member of the village. The policeman attends Friday
prayers with the rest of the villagers in the mosque.
Before his house was completed, he lived in the police
quarters in Damansara, but he visited his new house almost
daily. He had previously been in touch with the people
of Kampong Sungei Penchala for a long time, since, as a
policeman in Damansara, he covered Kampong Sungei Penchala
in carrying out his police duties.

During the khenduri arwah or khenduri shukor, one
common element that is performed by the participants and
led by the imam is the doa selamat (asking God for his blessings). The imam chants Kur\textup{a}n verses while he and the other worshippers hold their hands in front of themselves with open palms facing the head. This posture constitutes a symbolic gesture asking God to grant whatever is requested. After a while the imam and the participants turn their open palms away from their faces asking God to prevent any hardship or bad luck which might be about to befall them, an act known as doa tolak bala. As the next to the last gesture of the ritual, the worshippers hands are returned to the original position while the imam chants the Kur\textup{a}n and the rest in a chorus say amin (amen). The ritual is ended when the imam and other participants each raise both hands to their lips.

While this activity is going on in the serambi (the guest area) of the house, a few female guests quietly follow the ritual in another adjoining portion of the house by murmuring the Kur\textup{a}n verses instead of reading them aloud. Most of the Kur\textup{a}n chanting, however, is done by the male guests while the majority of the women in the household quietly prepare the food in the kitchen. Young children are often scolded for making noise during this ritual. If they continue to disturb the ritual, they are taken away to the back portion of the house by an older sibling.

In all these feasts, the male participants put on a sarong (loose male skirt) and a shirt. Sometimes they
wear the *baju Melayu* (Malay shirt) with *songkok* (fez). The men who have been to Mecca put on the *surban*, a distinctive while cap trimmed with white cloth. Guests usually sit cross-legged on the mat covered floor of the house. In larger scale feasts, such as weddings, however, most of the guests sit on chairs provided by the hosts, although guests who occupy the front portion of the house still sit on mats.

Special feasts are sometimes carried out as joint projects by a congregation. These are held in the *surau* or prayer house when the *surau* committee invites guest speakers for the late afternoon prayers known as *sembahyang asar*. Such prayers are held between four and five in the evening and a feast, which does not in itself have any religious significance, is prepared as a sign of respect for the guest speakers. The speaker normally talks about the teachings of Islam and the role of Islamic community in the modern world. For this *surau* feast, participants jointly share the expenses by bringing cooked food, soft drinks, tea or coffee.

At a wedding party, the only religious ritual that is considered mandatory is the *akad nikah* (marriage solemnizing ceremony). In this ceremony the man and the woman are formally pronounced to be man and wife. The *akad nikah* is performed by the *khadi* (a religious official appointed by the state). The *khadi* who officiated weddings for the people of Kampong Sungei Penchala resides
in Petaling Jaya. Before the wedding he is formally invited by the bride's parents or their representatives. In an Islamic community, the father of the bride can marry off his daughter by conducting the **akad nikah** himself. Nowadays, however, parents prefer to invite the **khadi** to officiate at the ceremony because there are several legal papers to be filled out before and after the **akad nikah**. The people of Kampong Sungei Penchala believe that the presence of the **khadi** makes the occasion grander and more solemn.

Immediately after the **akad nikah**, the officiating individual or the **imam** is formally requested by the host or his personal representative to conduct the **doa selamat** requesting God to bless the couple. The **akad nikah** normally takes place in the bride's house. The **serambi** is again the place where this auspicious event takes place and the **serambi** is specially decorated. The bridegroom sits cross-legged in front of the officiating **khadi**, who is witnessed by three individuals, normally elders of the village. During this occasion the bridegroom is accompanied by a close friend who acts as his **pengapit** (best man).

Feasts at wedding ceremonies are more lavish than other feasts. The wedding of the daughter of the retired headman for example, costs a great deal of money. Several hundred guests came and specially cooked food such as the **nasi minyak** (oily cooked rice), ** rending ayam** (stewed spiced chicken) and other delicacies, were served.
For such an occasion a 'task force' is normally organized by the family to prepare the food, construct the guest areas, decorate the bridal room and recruit helpers. In Kampong Sungei Penchala this 'task force' is normally formed about a week before the wedding takes place. The head of the family concerned invites a few elders and relatives to a small feast in his house and explains his intentions.

In three of the weddings and ceremonies that took place in the village during the study period of research, the bersanding ceremony was also held. For this prestigious ceremony the bride and groom are seated on a specially constructed dais, either inside the house or in the compound of the house close to the guest tent. The bersanding ceremony consists of essentially the formal public display of the newly weds. The couple are lavishly dressed in traditional Malay costumes and heavily decorated with gold ornaments\(^1\).

While the couple sits on the dais, relatives and

---

\(^1\) The most traditional wedding involves a total of eight steps 1) menilek (the selection of the bride); 2) meminang (the betrothal); 3) menghantar belanja dan nikah (the presentation of male dowry and solemnization rite); 4) berandam (the hair trimming of the bride); 5) berinai the staining of the couple with henna; 6) bersanding (public display of the couple); 7) mandi berlimau (the ceremonial bathing); 8) sambut-menyambut (the visitation of the parents' homes).
friends pay their respects and wish them well by sprinkling holy water on the hands and face of the bride and the groom. The bersanding lasts for about forty minutes. In one of the weddings in Kampong Sungei Penchala, the bersanding took place on the grounds of the house while children of the village silat (the Malay art of self defence) group performed for the couple.

At one of the weddings in the village, a related event was included. This was the khatan Kuran (the recitation of the Kuran verses which mark the successful completion of the reading of the whole Kuran under the guidance of the family's religious teacher). This ceremony was conducted by the religious teacher and witnessed by the elders of the community. It was performed just a few hours before the ordinary guests arrived and before the bersanding ceremony began. After the ceremony was over those present was offered yellow glutinous rice and hot tea or coffee. At this particular wedding the groom also participated in the Kuran reading just before the bersanding ceremony.

The families which have held weddings and feasts in the village spend large sums of money, even though their

---

1 Khatan Kuran, while not necessarily a part of the marriage ceremonies, is often celebrated at this time as a way of demonstrating the intelligence and good religious character of the bride and groom.
earning power is low. They maintain that it is their duty to hold such feasts. Feasts are given as a sign of goodwill, generosity and gratefulness. They assert that God provides the faithful with good lives in the form of wealth, children and sufficient food, and that these should be shared with fellow Muslims whenever possible.

Holding feasts to remember commemorate dead relatives is also part of the teaching of the Muslim religion. If the dead are remembered and respected, their spirits will look after the living. Feasting also provides opportunities for people to come together to pray or to do things for the common good. To ask God for forgiveness is considered a holy act. Therefore, if a person is wealthy and does not give feasts, he is considered to be a miser and is often shunned by relatives and potential friends.

The people believe that all events in the world are determined by God. Man is only an instrument who helps to actualize events. If a man holds a khenduri and asks God for His blessing and forgiveness, he is sure to obtain them.

The villagers are poor when compared with the residents of other rural Malay communities. Nevertheless, a few of them are prepared to spend about a month's wages for a feast or a year's savings for a wedding. In order partly to offset this heavy drain on their economic resources, the villagers obtain volunteered labor through the gotong royong system for these occasions.
The people of Kampong Sungei Penchala are frequently engaged in generalized reciprocity. There are no instances when individuals do not cooperate with or assist others because the latter failed to provide assistance at an earlier feast. Some elders explain this by saying that, even if a few individuals are indifferent to others in the village, the inhabitants as a whole are obliged to assist these individuals if and when the need arises. The younger generation, however, claims that there are a few arrogant families which do not deserve assistance. Nonetheless, the young people still provide assistance to these families as required because they all live in the same village (hidup sekampong) and are obliged to help. Thus, while there are differences in the degree of cooperation provided by individuals, these do not affect the essential nature of gotong royong activities. Furthermore, the wives and children of unhelpful individuals often do participate fully.

There is evidence of both a sacred and a secular orientation among residents in the village. The feasts, mutual self-help, elaborate wedding ceremonies, fasting and regular prayers on Friday noon, and the daily participation in the surau can be considered as elements of the sacred orientation. A large portion of the older people adhere to Malay and Islamic traditions. Among the younger people, however, there are indications of none secular attitudes and behaviors. A few of them do not fast during
the fasting month even though fasting is one of the most distinctive Islamic practices. Both youthful males and females seem to mix more freely during social gatherings than do their elders. There are even birthday parties with western music in a few homes. The elders often resent such activities.

Elders claim that urban influences, such as movies, free mixing between the sexes, and stylish clothing have spoilt their children. They assert that the behavior of some of the young people is undesirable (tidak manis, literally meaning "it is not sweet"). The young people counter such statements by claiming that their elders are too conservative. In spite of these differences, young and old seem to get along well during such serious village activities as wedding feasts, mosque events and other gotong royong affairs. The elders tend to focus their daily lives on the village institutions of the mosque and surau, whereas the young people look to the city for new symbols, inspiration and personal satisfaction.
CHAPTER SIX

LEADERSHIP

In the present chapter I discuss the various facets of leadership in the village of Sungei Penchala. I begin by examining the formal institutional political structure of which the village forms a unit at the lowest level of organization and by looking in detail at the office of the headman and its present incumbent. I then take the topic of political parties and the ways in which they involve the villagers in the political process. Next, I discuss traditional leadership by paying special attention to the various types of informal leaders. I conclude with an examination of the activities of the village's youth organization and of its leadership.

A. Village leadership and the National Administrative Structure.

The village (kampong) is the smallest administrative unit in the complex political and bureaucratic structure of the Malaysian nation. The mukim (parish), daerah (district), negeri (state) form the higher levels of political organizations which determine the types of leadership that can exist and function in the village. The village is an integral and fundamental part of the national political system.

The State of Selangor is divided administratively into several districts, one of which is the District of
Kuala Lumpur. The district is likewise divided into mukim, each of which is composed of a group of adjoining villages. Kampong Sungei Penchala is situated in the Mukim of Damansara, which in turn is situated in the District of Kuala Lumpur. The system can be visualized in the following diagram:

```
Selangor                                State Government
   ↓
Kuala Lumpur                           District
     ↓
Damansara                              Mukim
         ↓
Sungei Penchala                        Village
```

The state government is headed by a chief minister known as the menteri besar, an elected executive. The district is headed by a district officer (pegawai daerah) who is, in contrast, a civil servant. At the mukim level the penghulu is the leader, while at the village level there is a ketua kampong (village head).

Traditionally, and during colonial times, the chief minister was appointed by the Sultan (the state royal monarch). Nowadays the chief minister's post is an apolitical one and he is an elected member of the state legislature. Normally he is the chairman of the political party which has the majority of seats in the legislature.
The district officer has always been a civil servant. The mukim office of the penghulu used to filled through appointment by the sultan or through inheritance from father to son. Recently there has been a modification in the ageold system. In some villages the headman is appointed by the government on the recommendation of the district officer. In others, however, the headman is elected by the villagers. Under this new procedure, nevertheless, the elected headman has to be approved by the state government. The present village head of Kampong Sungei Penchala, for instance, was elected by popular vote in late 1972 and received his letter of appointment from the state government in February, 1973. The previous headman, in contrast, had been appointed by the government about thirty years ago.

The village administration of Kampong Sungei Penchala is manifested primarily in the person of the headman. He has no formal building or office in which to conduct his duties. His house or the community hall is normally used for this purpose. Nor does he have any administrative machinery to assist him. He does, however, receive free files and paper from the district officer through the penghulu.

The main function of the village head is to act as intermediary between the villagers and the higher administrative levels. One of his duties is to advise the villagers to pay their yearly land tax regularly to the
district office. In Selangor, the land tax must be paid before the end of the month of May each year and villagers who are late are fined by the state. The headman, himself, however, has no authority to collect any kind of tax from the people. Another part of his duties is to testify at the land office regarding rightful owners and heirs for the purposes of land distribution and inheritance. Furthermore, he is the chairman of the village development committee.

This committee is appointed by the district officer on an yearly basis. The main function of the committee is to plan development projects for the village and to submit such plans to the district officer, who in turn discusses the plans in the meetings of the district level development committee. The village committee is also responsible for seeing that government projects, such as the construction of bridges, are carried out according to plan. The committee met regularly in 1973 and 1974 to discuss a number of issues, including the supply of tap water and electricity.

The headman of Kampong Sungei Penchala is paid an annual allowance of M$130.00, but he does not receive any other monthly income from the post. Even though he is the head of the village, he works in an urban industry to maintain himself and his family. In addition, he does not receive any allowance when he travels to the city on official business.
The ketua kampong of Sungei Penchala is a long time resident of the village. He was born in Kampong Damansara and has lived in Kampong Sungei Penchala since 1937. He received very little formal education, but he can read and write. His economic status is as high or as low as the majority of the people of the village.

He is generally respected by all the residents of the village and is invited to such social occasions as feasts and weddings. Nevertheless, he is not accorded the status of the most important man in the village. During certain weddings or feasts he does not sit with the most important or honored guests like the imam of the mosque or the khadi. Rather, he is to be seen busying himself helping the host and other villagers. On such occasions the imam receives the highest recognition.

The village headman attends to village affairs on the weekends or during his off-duty hours. His house is often visited by a junior officer of the land office. If the penghulu wishes to talk to the villagers, he normally calls on the headman first before proceeding to see the individuals concerned. The village headman also talks to the penghulu about matters concerning the village before proceeding to the land office or any other government department.

One minor role of the headman is to certify application forms for scholarships or welfare aid for the poor school children of the village. In these instances the
parents formally visit the headman in his house to obtain his support and signature. The villagers also seek his support when they want to apply for a license to own and use a shotgun with which to shoot the wild boar and monkeys which destroy their orchards.

In the year of 1974, the village headman was much busier than in previous years, because the villagers sought his views and information about the proposed government housing project in the village. In the evenings and weekends he often hosted several groups of individual land owners who discussed the problems of the project with him. Although he was not able to give satisfactory answers, he did lead several delegations to seek further clarification from several government agencies. He further initiated several dialogues between landowners and the authorities regarding the housing development. During one of the dialogues between the villagers and government officials, he repeatedly urged the people to ask as many questions as they wished, with the result that the landowners seemed more articulate and forceful than the headman in putting forward their inquiries and suggestions. The school teacher, who is also a landowner, and several government clerks are all generally more knowledgeable than the headman.

In another urbanized Malay community, the leader is a person with a wide range of contacts with individuals and institutions outside the community and he holds or
formerly held important government appointments with sound financial standing (Provencher 1971:116-124). In Kampong Sungei Penchala the headman was elected ketua because he was the most acceptable person. He is not a rich man; village entrepreneurs and young government clerks have more wealth. It is probable that he was elected because he was regarded as a simple and honest man even though his socio-economic status was comparatively low.

The people assert that they elect the headman because the government wants them to do so. Moreover, it is a tradition for a Malay village to have a ketua. In 1972, when the election of the ketua took place, there were five candidates in the contest for the post. All of them seem to have shared the same kind of background as most villagers. The only outstanding individual candidate among the five was the village imam. This candidate was the only one who could be considered wealthy, and he had the advantages of being very religious and constantly in contact with the people who patronize his store. Some villagers claim that the imam lost the election for ketua because he offended a number of villagers in his dealings with them as a businessman. When he refused to give credit to certain people, he lost both customers and votes. Even though the imam did not win the election, he was, and still is, regarded as a very important person in the village. He is invited to all of the functions in the village.
B. Political Parties and the Village.

Kampong Sungei Penchala is part of the political constituency of Damansara in the state of Selangor. There are branches of two major political parties in the village, a branch being the smallest unit in party structure. In this village, UMNO (the United Malays National Organization), formed in 1946, is the predominant party. The other branch belongs to the Pan Malayan Islamic Party (PAS). Both UMNO and PAS are Malay-based political parties.

The majority of the villagers are members of UMNO because they believe that UMNO has good leadership and the support of the Malays throughout the country. Moreover, they also believe that, since Kampong Sungei Penchala is a small village surrounded by non-Malay communities such as Petaling Jaya and Kuala Lumpur, it is to their advantage to support the political party in power. However, several villagers have complained that UMNO has cooperated with Chinese and Indian political parties without producing immediate benefits to the village.

Those who belong to PAS claim that UMNO has sold out the Malays to non-Malays and has compromised some of the Islamic teachings. There has been no general annual meeting of the PAS branch in the village since 1969, but individual members were elated that certain PAS criticisms of the government published in the Malay press were taken seriously by the government.
In 1974, UMNO, PAS and other major political parties in the country combined to form the National Front. Such unity and cooperation have not affected the political situation or leadership in the village, because PAS had no large following. Indeed, some of the most religious persons in the village are UMNO members. As a result, by 1974 PAS was almost defunct in the village as a political party.

UMNO branch leaders claim that the majority of the five hundred adult villagers are UMNO members. During the annual general meeting of the branch in 1973, however, only thirty-one men and fifteen women attended the meeting, even though the meeting was held on a Saturday afternoon when most working individuals were at home.

The annual general meeting re-elected the incumbent chairman, secretary and treasurer. Most of the committee members from the previous committee who attended the meeting were also re-elected. Both the village headman and the imam were re-elected committee members, while the majority of the committee members are also on the village development committee. During this meeting there was hardly any debate although several resolutions were passed. These were to be forwarded to the next higher level of the party which would discuss them in a divisional meeting. Among the resolutions were a request for tap water and electricity for the village and a statement of support for the national party leadership.
Many UMNO members of the village are disappointed with the party. They claim that the village has been neglected for many years. Members worked hard to support the non-Malay candidate to the state legislature in the past election, but the village has not been the recipient of any significant development projects. So far only the primary school, which was built in 1964, and the health clinic, which was instituted in 1969, have appeared in the village. Members do not deny the importance of these two institutions, but they still believe that the government has failed to provide them with many other basic needs.

The leaders of the UMNO assert that the basic problem of the village is that it is too small as a political unit to influence the party at a higher level or to pressure the government departments and technocrats to modernize the village. For example, the village is too small for a secondary school to be built there. Furthermore, the village has not been able to produce intellectuals or high level executives in government departments or private firms. The party leadership blames the members for their indifference to political matters but they understand that the villagers are more concerned with earning a living than with participating actively in politics.

Very few youths in the village are members of the party. They are convinced that politics is for rich
people. They also claim that the government has not
given them a fair chance for self-improvement. They can-
not understand why Kampong Sungei Penchala was neglected
when surrounding areas have been fully developed with
schools, industries, good roads, tap water and electricity. The absence of a secondary school in the village
creates a burden for parents who want their children to
attend secondary school. They have to travel to Petaling
Jaya to obtain such education, an expansive matter. Nor
have the political parties been able to obtain jobs for
villagers who accordingly have had to obtain jobs on
their own initiative.

Most of the social gatherings or gotong royong
(mutual self-help) activities in the village are organi-
zed by the surau or mosque committees. Any dialogue
between villagers and government officials is initiated
by the village development committee, and not by UMNO or
any other political party. In day to day life the
people seldom talk about politics, and when they do, they
tend to comment rather negatively regarding progress for
Malays. The villagers prefer to talk about jobs, the
increase of food prices, the low price of rubber and
the poor examination results of their children. They say
that the future of the village will not be determined by
the political leaders of the village, but by the political
and business leaders of the city.
C. Traditional Leadership.

In a rural Malay society, the traditional leaders play an important role. These are either spiritual leaders or elders whom the villagers accord high status. They are normally not recognized by the state. In Kampong Sungei Penchala, the imam is one such spiritual leader who is formally recognized by the state. At the same time he is an informal leader because by tradition a religious person is also a leader.

A few elders and educated individuals are also highly respected by the villagers as a whole. They are often consulted on family matters such as weddings, land inheritance and petty quarrels among children. The people of the village claim that traditional leaders are those individuals whom they regard as wise, honest, knowledgeable and friendly.

Such individuals are often honoured guests at feasts, weddings and other social gatherings. In these gatherings they take precedence over everybody else. For example, at one of the weddings the official headman mingled with the ordinary guests, whereas a number of elderly individuals who are regarded as religious (orang alim) were invited by the host to sit at the end of the serambi, the front area of the house where important guests are seated. From the point of view of any given individual, the traditional leaders usually consist of the village imam, village religious teacher, and the individual's elderly
relatives. These are all very highly respected and accordingly served with the best food available.

In this village, the children's religious teacher is regarded as a very important individual, as are the mosque committee members. Such informal leaders are accorded high status. The imam of the mosque enjoys the dual status of a formal and an informal leader.

The traditional leaders get things done in a very informal manner. One forty-year-old factory worker is considered a leader because he is good at assembling a group of young people to work when a family wants to hold a feast. He also assists many young people in obtaining jobs in Petaling Jaya and Kuala Lumpur. Another example, is a village entrepreneur who is considered a leader because he knows several important people in the land office in Kuala Lumpur. His relationships with these officials have often assisted villagers in the past in settling land problems.

Several individuals who have acquired a secondary education and who work in the city are also respected by the villagers. These are typically youths who join the elders in the mosque prayers and activities. The elders regard them as future leaders. They are able to mobilize youth participation in the mosque and surau activities and other social gatherings. They are also leaders of the village silat (Malay self-defence art) and the kompang (traditional music) groups.
Elders who articulate and amiable are highly respected by others. There are about fifteen such individuals who are accorded this status in the village. The people generally label them as reliable individuals (orang yang boleh diperchayai), and a few of them hold 'part time profession' as dukun or bomoh (folk medicine man). The village dukun is sometimes sought not just for his knowledge to cure illness, but also for his wise advice. Besides village clients, the dukun has many city clients. Villagers go to them when they find that their common cold has persisted for several days. When a child is ill his parents take him to both the dukun and the village health clinic.

The informal leadership role played by the dukun can be seen when a group of villagers go to his house to seek assistance. The dukun receives his guests with casual remarks, asking the guests about general matters like the possibility of a good durian season or the well-being of a son in the army. Being a dukun, however, he knows that visitors come with the intent of drawing on his supernatural abilities. The village dukun does not charge for services, but guests invariably offer him generous gifts in money or kind. In rare cases, a dukun 'makes house calls'. This is done only when the patient is too ill to walk to his house.
D. The Youth Organization: Activities and Leadership.

The young people of the village organize themselves into the Persatuan Belia Gotong Royong (Mutual Self-help Youth Association) which was established about ten years ago under the encouragement of the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports. The main aim of this association was to unite the young people, both employed and unemployed, and to carry out projects which provide some form of skilled training for youths in need of a vocation.

In 1969 the membership of the association totalled about ninety individuals. This represents about twenty per cent of the total youth population of the village. Since then, membership has not increased and the number of the association has to pay an annual fee of M$3.00. Money collected from members is used to finance the activities of the association.

Since the inception of the association in 1964 until 1970 the youth leader of the village was a school teacher. The teacher did not live in the village but he was born there and his parents still live there. He works in Seremban, a town about forty miles south of Kuala Lumpur, and returns to the village on the weekends. He was elected chairman of the association because he was among the few youths in the village then who was considered educated. School teachers are highly regarded by villagers as well as by youths. The youths in the village respected him because he was interested in them and their problems,
especially education and employment. He also believed that the government plans, especially those envisaged by the Ministry of Youth, were good for the youth of the country. He continued as youth leader of the village until 1970, when he reached thirty, the official age limit for a member of the organization.

In 1970 the youth association of the village elected its current chairman, a young man who was working as an unskilled laborer in Petaling Jaya. He resides in the village and is not married. There was no contest for the post of chairman of the association. The new chairman has some secondary education. He is very religious by village standards, never misses the Friday prayers in the village mosque, and attends the evening prayers in one of the village surau. He is currently unemployed. He lost his job in the factory in 1972 due to a prolonged illness.

The youth association of the village has a committee of ten members including a treasurer and an honorary secretary. In spite of government supervision and guidance, this association does not keep regular files or papers such as minutes of meetings. There are also no regular meetings. A meeting is called when there is a project or problem which needs collective discussion and decision.

Some members express dissatisfaction with the association and its leadership. They say that the committee seldom holds regular meetings and that the few projects
which were carried out fail. The leaders, however, claim that the association cannot function properly because members do not pay their annual dues and do not attend the majority of the meetings. In some general meetings there are not enough members to form a quorum. The leadership also blames the members for the failures of the projects. Members, they claim, are more concerned with making a fast profit from a small venture and are not interested in gathering experience from such projects.

In 1969 the Ministry of Youth, Culture and Sports allocated N$400.00 for the youth association of this village to start a poultry farm project. Members erected their own chicken houses on a piece of land temporarily loaned by the owner without a fee. Those involved spent about $100.00 to purchase the building materials and supplied free labor. The balance of the allocation was used to purchase young chicks and feed. Five hundred chicks were purchased and reared. After five months the young chickens were sold. The profits and capital were evenly distributed among the twenty participating members of the association. It was the original intention of the Ministry of Youth to expand the project by reinvesting the proceeds from the sale of the young poultry, but members instead spent their 'earned' money according to their own desires.

The leader of the youth association considered the project a failure because the members did not abide by
their original aims. These were to start and expand the poultry business so that some of the village youth could earn extra money and acquire business experience in poultry farming, experience which could only be gained through the continuous operation of the farm. Most members of the association, however, claimed that the experiment was at least a partial success. It provided them both with money and experience. About six months of work in the project, a few youths earned an extra M$50.00 and this meant a lot to youths who were unemployed.

Another project which was carried out by the association was the screening of a film in the community hall in 1971. The money for such expenses as the rental of the film and the projector was again provided by the Ministry of Youth. This project also failed to meet its objective, which was to collect funds for future use by the members of the association. Money collected from the show was again distributed evenly among those members who worked to put on the show and who paid their annual fees. Many members became dissatisfied with the association because they did not receive any money from this project.
CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

In the above pages I have attempted to sketch out the two sub-cultures to be found in Kampong Sungei Penchala. One sub-culture consists of an essentially modern urban orientation, while the other is based on the older traditional, and primarily rural, Malay way of life. These two sub-cultures merge as an integrated whole, however, because those who participate in the two sub-cultures are the same individuals. The existence of the two sub-cultures is reflected unevenly throughout the structured arrangements of social relations, the means of earning a livelihood, the beliefs and the group activities which the people of the village uphold.

The traditional rural sub-culture continues to exist for many reasons in a village which is surrounded by an urban culture. All the residents are Malays and they are consciously conforming to many traditional Malay customs. Until a few years ago, the village had not been subject to any considerable degree of urban influence. Even though the village is located only twelve miles from the city of Kuala Lumpur, there are no modern facilities such as tap water and electricity. On the other hand, such typically rural characteristics as simple wooden houses, rubber plots and fruit orchards are still very prominent in the village.
The villagers regard ownership of land as a very important part of their lives. They are aware of the value of their land for urban development even though it is designated as agricultural land. They are not agriculturalists, but they earn a considerable amount of income from the yearly production of their rubber and fruit orchards. Their awareness of the encroachment of urban culture and its potential effects on land ownership further strengthens their belief that their land will finally be sold to outsiders unless they unite in their efforts to prevent the loss. When the government agency which is responsible for Malay participation in urban enterprise proposed to develop the land, the people united to oppose it. They held meetings among themselves and with their leaders to discuss the issue. The villagers are not totally opposed to the proposed housing development. They want a clear explanation from the authority concerned regarding their obligations and rights if the housing development materializes. They often express fear that they may lose the land and be forced to move to more remote areas.

The rural sub-culture is most apparent in the village during the evenings and weekends. Most of the feasts, social gatherings, Kur'an readings, weddings and other traditional activities are normally accomplished during this period. The people of the village regard...
these social gatherings as a necessity because they are rural Malays and Muslims. Participants in these gatherings do not regard themselves as guests in the households where feasts are held, but as part of the family. Moreover, participants in these activities consider their contribution to be mandatory. Participation enhances solidarity among themselves. They regard themselves as orang kampong (village people), and they participate in these affairs because their traditions 'dictate' that they do so.

They also believe that, as residents of a rural community, there are many affairs which they as individuals cannot conduct on their own. Weddings, funeral and special prayers for the dead, for example, cannot be conducted by the single family alone. They need the services of others in the village. These common needs are fully realized by the villagers as a whole. Such spontaneous realization and the subsequent social relations form a major part of the rural sub-culture. In cultural affairs such as weddings, funerals and feasts, the villagers are dependent on each other because the majority of them are too poor to conduct these activities with their own economic resources. They have, therefore, strengthened traditional ties by maintaining such cooperative efforts as the surau and subethnic associations.
In spite of such close proximity to an urban environment, the social organization of the village still seems predominantly rural. Families tend to be extended, a type of family structure common in rural Malay society. One major reason for the maintenance of this type of family system is its adaptiveness to other than rural circumstances. Since the majority of the inhabitants are low salaried urban workers, and since the cost of living in an urban environment is high, inhabitants find living in extended families to be one way of coping with their changing environment. Contributions in both cash and kind are equally welcome and useful to the families concerned.

Even though a large majority of the inhabitants of the village work in urban industries, they follow the traditions of rural culture. They participate in activities in the village without asking for rewards. They regard fellow villagers as significant individuals in their daily lives. They have not discarded their traditional values of mutual cooperation. Spontaneous assistance to fellow villagers and kinsmen indicates that they are not urbanites.

Patron-client relationships do not exist in the village. The three major categories, the urban workers, the entrepreneurs and the rubber producers, coexist as equals in the village. The village entrepreneurs provide services, but they are not patrons. The urban workers
are economically independent of the village entrepreneurs. The rubber producers, being a minority, do depend on the village entrepreneurs to a certain extent. But while they sell their rubber produce to the village rubber dealer, they buy their basic needs in Petaling Jaya. This is possible because the village is situated close to the city.

Subethnic associations are formed to retain sub-ethnicity and to provide assistance to members. These subethnic associations are also adaptive to the rapid social change which is occurring in and around the village. A member can always rely on his subethnic association for assistance if the need arises. In an urbanization situation, ethnicity or subethnicity and strong emotional ties between members provide the villagers with mechanisms for maintaining self respect, assurance and security. The individual is not lost in urban anonymity.

Leadership in the village betrays a traditional orientation with a modern legitimation process. The village headman is chosen by the villagers but he is formally appointed by the state. He does not have many specific duties, but he is consulted by families and individuals regarding private matters. He settles petty feuds by traditional means. This formal leadership is complemented by the existence of informal leaders in the persons of the elders of the village. This pattern of informal leadership is typical of a rural Malay village.
The people of the village regard the city as a source of livelihood. At the same time they realize that the city has become a threat to their future well-being. The fact that their village has been incorporated into the city may mean an increase in their obligations to urban officials. They may have to pay higher land taxes in the future. They may also lose their land if city officials find it necessary to develop the land for the future growth of the city. The present government has explicit policies to encourage more rural Malays to participate in urban culture, including participation in commerce and industry, higher education, and executive positions in private firms.

The inhabitants of the community are not full fledged urbanites because they rely heavily on close personal contacts which they utilize in some of the important activities such as rituals. The urban environment basically only provides a means of livelihood. The "closed" nature of the village perpetuates Malay traditions. It is "closed" with respect to subethnic associations, religious activities that are not directly supervised by the officials of the Religious Department, gotong royong activities, and informal and non-governmental leadership. But the village is "open" in terms of government nominated leadership, economic dependence within the urban context and government sponsored projects.
The economic structure of the village is fully urban oriented because the majority of the inhabitants depend on the city for a living. There are no indications to show that villagers are planning to convert their lands into self-sustaining agricultural lands. All individuals look to the city for a living. They continue to live in the village because they own the land and houses and such ownership lessens their cost of living. They are also aware that the state government is in control and that they are not independent.

Government policies and urban economics will play a major role in bringing about change in the community in the future. The price of land, higher taxes and government policies for the urbanization of Malays will affect the village, but it will continue to be homogeneous because the village is a Malay Reserve and non-Malays cannot buy or own lands in the area.

The dual orientation of the village is to a degree reflected in the city of Kuala Lumpur, itself both a modern urban center and a focus of traditional Malay culture. The city is not just a business center, or just the political and bureaucratic heart of the country, but it is also the sacred defender and developer of Malay traditional culture. This is manifested in the installation of the King, the national Kuran reading contest and the Prophet's birthday celebrations.
On the basis of the information reported are clearly adequate adaptive mechanisms in Malay culture for it to survive and flourish in its environment. One of the adaptive mechanisms is the mutual self-help principle which is consci used in the village. This institution reinforces and brings about mutually profitable activities, elaborate or pseudo-extended family organizations, similarly adaptive. Housing facilities for individuals are provided with minimum costs and more potential sources of cash contributions to the family. Religious feasts and social gatherings create solidarity and contribute to the maintenance of personal contacts. The feeling of belonging or a village is also strengthened by membership in subethnic associations. In short, Kampong appears to represent a community which is able to adapt to its increasingly urban environment without the necessity of a drastic rejection of tradition.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abang</td>
<td>older brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adat</td>
<td>customs, customary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adek</td>
<td>younger brother or younger sister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akad nikah</td>
<td>the solemnization ceremony at a Malay Muslim marriage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anak</td>
<td>child or children, as in anak lelaki (son), and anak perempuan (daughter).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arwah</td>
<td>the soul of the deceased person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batik</td>
<td>a traditional Malay handcrafted clothing material.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bendahari</td>
<td>financial officer of an organization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berinai</td>
<td>the act of sprinkling holy water on the newly weds during their bersanding ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bersanding</td>
<td>the formal display of the bride and groom after the solemnization ceremony.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berzanji</td>
<td>group reading of the Kuran verses praising Prophet Mohammad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Besan</td>
<td>the kinship term (of address and reference) for and between two sets of parents-in-law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilal</td>
<td>religious official of a prayer house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bomoh</td>
<td>Malay folk medicine expert, also known as dukun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buka puasa</td>
<td>breaking of the fast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulan</td>
<td>month or moon, as in bulan puasa (fasting month).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doa tolak bala</td>
<td>asking God to prevent bad luck.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dukun</td>
<td>Malay folk medicine man, also known as bomoh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durian</td>
<td>a Southeast Asian fruit which belongs to the genus Durio zibethinus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gotong royong</td>
<td>non-profit or mutual self-help activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haji</td>
<td>a Muslim who has gone to Mecca on a Pilgrimage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haram</td>
<td>forbidden or illegal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hari Raya Puasa</td>
<td>the celebration at the end of the fasting month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imam</td>
<td>the religious official who leads Friday prayers in the mosque.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jumaat</td>
<td>Friday.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakak</td>
<td>older sister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kampong</td>
<td>village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kedai</td>
<td>store, generally a grocery store.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ketua</td>
<td>head or chief, as in ketua kampong (village chief).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ketupat</td>
<td>rice cooked in coconut leaves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khatan kuran</td>
<td>reciting Kuran verses during a wedding or circumcision to mark an individual's successful reading of the whole Kuran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khenduri</td>
<td>ritual feast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khenduri arwah</td>
<td>a ritual feast asking God to bless the soul of the dead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khenduri shukor</td>
<td>a ritual feast thanking God for any good fortune.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khutbah</td>
<td>Friday sermons read by the imam of the mosque.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kompaung</td>
<td>traditional Malay drum music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuala</td>
<td>mouth of a river.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuran (Koran)</td>
<td>the Islamic bible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemang</td>
<td>glutinous rice cooked in bamboo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumpur</td>
<td>mud or muddy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makan</td>
<td>to eat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makan sahor</td>
<td>the early morning meal during the fasting month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malam</td>
<td>night or late evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medan</td>
<td>an open space.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melayu</td>
<td>the ethnic term for the majority Muslim natives of Malaysia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menantu</td>
<td>son-in-law or daughter-in-law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mertua</td>
<td>parents-in-law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minangkabau</td>
<td>a subethnic community in west central Sumatra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazir</td>
<td>the official or chairman of the mosque committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orang</td>
<td>people or population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orang kita</td>
<td>our people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAS</td>
<td>the Pan Malayan Islamic Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pengapit</td>
<td>the best man in a Malay wedding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penghulu</td>
<td>a government official who oversees the administration of several adjoining villages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persatuan</td>
<td>an association or union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pertanian</td>
<td>agriculture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pisang</td>
<td>Bananas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puasa</td>
<td>to fast or fasting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramadan</td>
<td>the fasting month in the Muslim calender.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rambutan</td>
<td>a Southeast Asian fruit which belongs to the genus <em>Nelphelium</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedekah</td>
<td>to donate or to give alms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selamat</td>
<td>to be safe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selera</td>
<td>taste or tasty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sembahyang</td>
<td>to pray or prayers, as in <em>sembahyang zuhur</em> (early noon prayers), <em>sembahyang asar</em> (late afternoon prayers), <em>sembahyang Hari Raya Puasa</em> (end of the fasting month prayers).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sepak raga</td>
<td>a traditional Malay sport, played with a rattan ball and three players to a side.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serambi</td>
<td>the front portion of the traditional Malay house located to far right hand side as one enters the front door.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siak</td>
<td>the janitor of the mosque.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silat</td>
<td>the Malay art of self defence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Songkok</td>
<td>the Malay hat or fez.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sultan</td>
<td>a ruling hereditary Malay monarch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sungei</td>
<td>river or stream.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surau</td>
<td>prayer house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shukor</td>
<td>grateful or thankful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahlil</td>
<td>the reading of the <em>Kuran</em> verses at a ritual feast.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMNO</td>
<td>the United Malays National Organization.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, R.

Anderson, R. T.

Banton, M. (ed.)

Bascom, W.

Beals, R.

Bock, P. K.

Depress, L. A.

Dewey, A.


Djamour, J.
Endicott, T.  

Enloe, C. H.  

Fava, S.  

Firth, R.  


Foster, G.  

Fox, R.  

Friedl, J. and N.J. Chrisman  

Gans, H.J.  


Gamst, F.  

Gullick, J.  
Guyot, J.
1968 Creeping Urbanism and Political Development in Malaysia. Memeograph copy.

Hamzah Sendut

Herskovits, M.J.

Hunter, C.

Kushner, G.

Kroeber, A.

Lewis, O.

Linton, R.

Malaysia.

Mangin, W. (ed.)

McGee, T.G.
McGee, T. G.
1967 The Southeast Asian City. London, G. Bell and Sons Ltd.

Nagata, J. A.


Ness, G.

Norbeck, E.


Pelto, P. J.


Potter, G., M. Diaz and G. Foster (eds.)

Provencher, R.

Ratnam, K. J.

Redfield, R.
Redfield, R.  


Redfield, R. and M. Singer  

S. Husin Ali  

Uzzell, D. and R. Provencher  

Wilson, P. J.  

Winsteadt, R.  

Wirth, L.  

Wolf, E.  

Worsley, P.  