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Interactional Aspects Of Workers' Achievement Needs With Trait Anxiety Levels And Their Relationships To Job Complexity, Job Tension, Job Performance, Job Satisfaction And Workers' Potential

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INTER-CULTURAL SPATIAL PERCEPTION--THE CASE OF MALAYA

by

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ABSTRACT

The dissertation identifies the spatial order of cross-cultural perceptions and attitudes. It uses Philbrick's model of Inter-cultural Perception to analyze cross-cultural relationships of the Malayan peoples: the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians. The hypothesis that a relationship exists between spatial association and favourability of ethnic attitudes is statistically proven on data obtained in field study conducted in 1971. The relationship is examined further where governmental policies and programmes, as well as attitudes of ethnic institutions, are discussed. Ethnic attitudes and perceptions constitute the cultural problem of economic undevelopment and a knowledge of ethnic attitudes and perceptions assists successful planning for economic development.

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I am very grateful to many people whose assistance have made the completion of the dissertation possible. A lot of names cannot be mentioned here. To the Department of Geography, University of Malaya, The Centre for Development Studies of the Prime Minister's Department, Malaysia, the Census Department of the Department of Statistics, the Department of Town and Country Planning, the Department of Survey, the National Archives, the libraries of the University of Malaya, University of Singapore, University of British Columbia, Harvard University, and the Warson Collection of Cornell University, the people of Kampong Pandan and Kampong Pandan Dalam, and last but not least, the Department of Geography of the University of Western Ontario, the cartographic and computer facilities and the library, I express my sincere gratitude.

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The dissertation is dedicated to Papa, my loved ones, and to memories of Mama.

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CHAPTER I

THE METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Cultural Geography

Geography in the social sciences is concerned with spatial analysis of man, either as individuals or as groups of individuals, interacting with one another or with other objects that exist in terrestrial space. Such interactions or spatial "interfaces" as some call them can be studied from different points of view. The geographic approach is the analysis of the relative locations of men and other objects creating specific patterns, forms and arrangements. The geographer looks for regularities in the ways individual men or groups of men interact. Their patterns, forms and arrangements can be mapped and interpreted, with the purpose of predicting at some level of confidence expected spatial developments.

To the geographer, territory is not a neutral phenomenon but has symbolic meanings. Value systems of men of different cultural heritage are reflected in the ways they organize their territory and their life styles. Murray Chapman, in trying to distinguish geography from other social sciences, has correctly put it this way:

> Geography, like any other social science, cannot claim integrity on the basis of the study of particular phenomena; it continues to exist on the basis of its spatial view of man-oriented phenomena. (Chapman, 1969, p. 328)

Distance, meaning how far men and other objects in space are away from one another, constitutes one among several fundamental units of geographic measurement. This measure may take distance as it physically exists between objects, and is measured as it is objectively experienced by man. There is also the study of subjective distance, the measure of which depends upon the variable perception of the respondents. Three aspects of distance either objectively or subjectively studied are relative nearness, separateness and connectedness of men and other objects to one another (Bjorklund, 1972).[1] The distance measures of nearness, separateness and connectedness that exist among men and other objects affect the spatial patterns, forms and arrangements of interactions. The relative locations of men and other objects, therefore, are of fundamental importance to the geographer. Another basic unit of geographic analysis is the element of time. The study of spatial arrangements are accompanied by the study of their spatial change. Geographic analysis is concerned both with the static and dynamic relative locations of men and other objects in space.

We observe men loving, men killing, men agreeing, men quarrelling when they live in the same territory as well as in different territories. Geography can lend its distinctive focus and method to analyse and consequently, with added knowledge, control cultural interactions. The purpose of the dissertation is to record, map and interpret attitudes and perceptions of different groups of people having different cultures and value systems who have come to share a common territory.

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[1]These are concepts presented in one of Bjorklund's courses given in the Department of Geography, University of Western Ontario, London, 1972.

Research Problem and Hypothesis

Whenever an opportunity for people to meet or communicate arises, interactions among them are bound to occur. Interactions among groups of people can be of various kinds: peaceful, harmonious and co-existing or conflicting, with perhaps one group or groups forming a coalition dominating and ruling other groups. The ways interactions occur depend upon many factors. The dissertation investigates the spatial order of interactions among a set of different groups of people, analyses and discusses some of the factors relating to the order. The basic research problem is this: when different groups of people, each possessing a distinct culture of its own and with previously experienced environmental conditions that are different from those of the other groups, come into spatial contact, what spatial configurations related to favorable or unfavorable attitude interactions are likely to occur?

Factors influencing interaction are of many different kinds: geographical, social, economic, political, etc. Systematic analysis of the research problem requires postulating relationships of certain variables and subsequently testing the relationships, holding other variables constant. The author hypothesizes a set of spatial relationships, using nearness or separateness as a measure of the spatial association that is experienced by different ethnic groups in relation to one another.

It is common sense that, among several persons, the opportunity for them to find out about one another may be greater when they are physically near to each other than when they are separate. Other things being equal, the fact of being near to one another as opposed to being separate from one another, given allowance for acceptable personal

distance,[2] the greater is the opportunity for them to develop favourable attitudes toward one another.[3] An example of this is seen in the relationship of members of a family. It is very likely that effective inter-personal communication is dependent upon physical distance.[4] The general truth of the family case with respect to inter-personal space may be applicable to different groups of people with respect to inter-cultural space. It is logical, therefore, to hypothesize that differences in interactions are related to distance. A set of hypotheses are thus set up with respect to the research problem:

(1) When cultural groups reside together in the same neighbourhood, given allowance for acceptable distance in personal space, the opportunity for interaction between the groups is greater than when the groups are separate and reside in neighbourhoods of their own. Therefore, physical nearness is likely to assist interaction among the groups.

(2) The attitudes that are formed among the groups toward one

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[2]For a discussion on personal distance and personal space, see Hall (1966).

[3]"Other things being equal" refers to factors other than physical distance that may affect attitudes. For example, education, occupation and social statuses may be related to attitudes. The analysis presented in the dissertation is to isolate such factors as to focus on the role of physical distance alone in influencing attitudes. Some works have been done on this line. For example, it has been demonstrated by Festinger et al. (1950) that a strong relationship exists between distance and friendship, and by Williams (1964) between population distributions and inter-group relations. Greer-Wootten and Johnson (1972) and Stutz (1972) have also done work on this.

[4]This is not to deny that a lack of personal space may cause conflict. As is pointed out by Abler et al. (1971), the chicken experiments of McBride demonstrate the point that, at the micro level, personal space is essential and the breach of it is likely to result in conflict.

another are likely to be more favourable the more frequent the interactions among the groups.

Favourable attitudes are defined as attitudes that are not hostile and violent, having diminishing feelings of hatred or dislike. They exclude neutral attitudes of the "can't be bothered" type which ignore or do not interfere with the existence of other groups generally. The net effect of favourable attitudes is that they lead to the creation of a sense of security among the groups so that peace and co-existence may become possible. A position of neutrality may exist but it may be discounted in relation to the hypothesis.

The above hypotheses lead to one central hypothesis that, in the absence of overwhelming outside inputs, the greater the proximity of residences within the limit of acceptable personal space, the greater is the opportunity for the residents to interact favourably.

In the dissertation, the hypothesis that is tested is that: heterogeneous cultural groups within a defined space have more favourable attitudes to one another than do separate homogeneous groups from different cultures each in an accordant separately defined space.

Motivation: The Research Problem and Economic Development

The research problem constitutes a cultural component of problems of economic development. Economic development may be defined as planned changes with specific goals to improve the material standard of living of people as well as better human relations.[5] In the case of a

[5]Numerous works have been done on the topic. See, for example, Myrdal (1968), Mountjoy (1971), Beckford (1972), Dumont and Rosier (1969) and Horrowitz (1966).

multi-ethnic society, a knowledge of the cultural problem that it exhibits may be vital to achievement of the goals of economic development. Negative cultural attitudes may lead to conflict, violence or civil war. The case study presented in the dissertation amplifies the problem of a heterogeneous society and examines its ethnic attitudes on territorality. This author holds the opinion that recognizing the cultural problems of economic development and designing strategies to overcome them are as important as the specific plans for economic development themselves.

Measures of Distance

The hypothesis is tested with respect to different kinds of neighbourhoods.

(1) Neighbourhoods where people of different cultural backgrounds reside together; that is, heterogeneous neighbourhoods, and

(2) Neighbourhoods that are ethnically identified, each belonging to only one ethnic group; that is, homogeneous neighbourhoods. Homogeneous neighbourhoods are used as a measure of separateness because the ethnic groups concerned are separated and their residences have different neighbourhood locations. Heterogeneous neighbourhoods are used as a measure of nearness because the ethnic groups concerned are near to one another, living within the same neighbourhoods.

The attitudes and perceptions of the ethnic groups are examined at different levels.

(1) At the individual level: where individuals from each ethnic group are interviewed to find out their attitudes and perceptions toward other groups with respect to certain issues, and

(2) At the institutional level: (a) where programmes of the government are examined to find out whether or not they affect the attitudes and perceptions of the ethnic groups, and (b) where activities of other institutions that are organized by the various ethnic groups themselves are examined to find out whether or not they are related to the attitudes and perceptions of the ethnic groups.

Culture, Perception and Attitude: Theoretical Background

The dissertation is a spatial analysis of the attitudes and perceptions of cultural groups. The principal components of the analysis are attitudes and perceptions. These concepts have been so widely used that the author sees a need to examine them more closely.

Culture

First, the concept of culture itself needs definition. George Murdock (1937, p. 61) defines a culture as consisting of habits that are shared by members of a society. Habits can be divided into two major types: habits of actions and habits of thoughts, or "customs" and collective ideas respectively. Culture is a product of learning. Differences observable in different cultures are the cumulative product of mass learning under diverse geographic and social conditions. It is in this sense that the concept of culture is used in the dissertation.

Perception

To-day, perception has come into the usage of social psychologists, clinicians, sociologists, political scientists, resources managers and planners and many other types of social scientists. The study of perception has been very closely related to sensory processes.

It is mostly centred on human visual functions. The process of perception involves peripheral receptors, afferent neural events and central mechanisms.[6] These act together to form a system of organized interaction. Physiology deals with how neural activities are initiated by the incoming stimulations between the receptor tissues and the higher-order processes in the central neural system. Psychology is interested in perceptual wholes; that is, in the phenomenal experiences which accompany the above-mentioned events. Kai von Fieandt (1966) defines perception thus: "It is an experienced sensation, a phenomenal impression resulting functionally from certain inputs". It is generally agreed that the formation of human precepts is rooted in two classes of determinants: stimulus and behavioural factors. Stimulus factors refers to the properties of the stimuli themselves; they may be other people, a social setting, or words. Behavioural factors refer to any or all internal psychological states or processes of the individual; they may be his needs, his values, his attitudes, his past experiences, and so on. Some psychologists maintain that perception implies the operation of the stimulus factors on the behavioural factors, while others maintain that perception implies the operation of the behavioural factors on the stimulus factors. In theories of cognition, the mental structure is conceived as mediating social structure, cultures and the external world and behaviour. If perceiving an external object means attributing meaning to it, then past experiences of the person are a critical behavioural determinant in perception. Schiff (1972, p. 2) correctly says:

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[6] For a detailed discussion, see Werner and Wagner (1958), Vernon (1962) and Hochberg (1964).

> Social perception is concerned with the impression one has of a social stimulus or a set of stimuli, as that impression is modified by the perceiver's past experience in general, his previous experience with that same or similar stimuli and the individual's state at the moment he is viewing the stimulus of interest.

Her definition corresponds with that of Allport (1955, pp. 278-279) who defines perception as the

> process of apprehending probable significances. In the process of perceiving an object, the past experience of the organism plays an important part. Basic to the perceiving process is the fact that the organism has built up certain assumptions about the world in which it lives. The assumptions which are usually unconscious (result in) the attaching of significance to cues.

That human perception is culturally influenced has long been a proposition entertained by many social scientists.[7] The validity of this proposition is based on certain contemporary philosophical or social scientific concepts, such as that of cultural relativism (Steward, 1963). Much factual material has been gathered in psychological laboratories by students of perception that delineate the important role of an individual's experiences in his subsequent perceptions. This evidence tends to support the proposition.

According to Segall, Campbell and Herskovits (1966), the proposition cannot be considered to be unequivocally demonstrated by many empirical data; especially data on cross-cultural comparisons, partly because of the largely anecdotal character of the cross-cultural evidence available in the literature, and partly because of certain

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[7] See the work of social psychologists like Krech and Cruthfield (1948), Sherif and Sherif (1956), Murphy (1947), Asch (1952), Rivers (1901, 1905), Ray (1952), Michael (1953) and Kluckholn (1954) and the work of anthropologists like French (1963), Triandis (1964), Hallowell (1951), Spindler (1955), Kaplan (1961) and Lindzey (1961).

methodological difficulties inherent in any research on cross-cultural perceptual differences. They have subsequently conducted experiments to amass systematic evidence of cultural differences in perception. Their analysis supports the conclusion of social psychologists such as Murphy (1947, p. 333) who has said that:

> We do not really see with our eyes or hear with our ears. If we all saw with our eyes, we should see pretty much alike; we should differ only so far as retinal structure, eyeball structure, etc. We differ much more widely than this because we see not only with our eyes but with our midbrain, our visual and associative centres and with our systems of incipient behaviour, to which almost all visual perceiving leads.

Their research also supports the conclusion of anthropologists such as Hallowell (1950, p. 168) who has this to say:

> The human organism becomes selectively sensitized to certain arrays of stimuli rather than others.... This is...a function of the individual's memberships in one cultural group, rather than another, whatever other factors are involved.

Attitude

Theoretically, the concept of attitude has been defined in either of these two ways:

(a) a response, or

(b) a predisposition to response.

Treating an attitude as a response is treating it as an acquired behavioural response. Treating an attitude as a predisposition to respond is treating it as a hypothetical construct or an intervening variable to be inferred. Milton Rokeach (1969, p. 132) gives an operational definition to attitude which this author finds the most complete. He states that an attitude is a

> relatively enduring organization of interrelated beliefs that describe, evaluate and advocate action with respect to an

> object or situation, with each belief having cognitive, affective and behavioural components. Each of these beliefs is a predisposition that, when suitably activated, results in some preferential response toward the attitude object or situation, or toward others who take a position with respect to the attitude object or situation, or toward the maintenance or preservation of the attitude itself. Since an attitude object must always be encountered within some situation about which we also have an attitude, a minimum condition for social behaviour is the activation of at least two interacting attitudes, one concerning the attitude object and the other concerning the situation.

If one accepts this definition, one recognizes that in order to understand the concept of attitude, one should first understand the concept of belief. The relationship between beliefs and the human mind has been likened by Rokeach to that between bricks and a building:

> If our human cognitive system can be conceived of as having ourmind as its architecture, the bricks of this architecture are the units of analysis.[8]

According to Rokeach (1969), a belief is a hypothesis or an expectancy. It is very important to recognize that whenever there is an experience toward an object or a situation, an attitude is born. And when we define attitude operationally in this way; that is, toward objects and situations, we can count how many attitudes a person has and we can measure these attitudes.

Model of Inter-cultural Perception

An approach of an anthropologist, for example, to the study of attitudes and perceptions is usually accomplished by interviewing the subjects without using a structured questionnaire. Through their conversations on certain issues, the researcher makes an assessment of the

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[8] From a lecture given by Rokeach in Psychology 560 in the University of Western Ontario, Canada (1972).

subjects' attitudes and perceptions. Analysis can also be conducted through interviews based on a structured questionnaire; the social psychologist designs scaling techniques of varying degrees of sophistication to handle data thus collected.[9] Attitudes and perceptions can further be studied according to conceptual models involving spatial components. The dissertation makes use of a model of inter-cultural perception proposed by Philbrick (1972).[10] Unlike a psychological model of perceptions and attitudes, the concern of which is identifying the psychological states of a person, the inter-cultural model used here conceptualizes attitudes and perceptions that have impact in a spatial context.

The model is concerned with combinatorial classifications of attitudes and behaviour that involve spatial configurations. The model, therefore, has two sets of components in a double matrix form; one, attitudinal and/or behavioural, the other spatial. Figure 1.1 shows the paired matrix of attitudinal/behavioural components of the model. It shows that in an attitudinal/behavioural continuum between two cultural groups, there can be either positive or negative postures with respect to an issue, as well as active or passive attitudes toward action. The model accordingly conceptualizes four combinations of attitude-behaviour.

(a) Active-Positive = Aggressive promotion of something favoured;

(b) Active-Negative = Aggressive opposition of something disliked;

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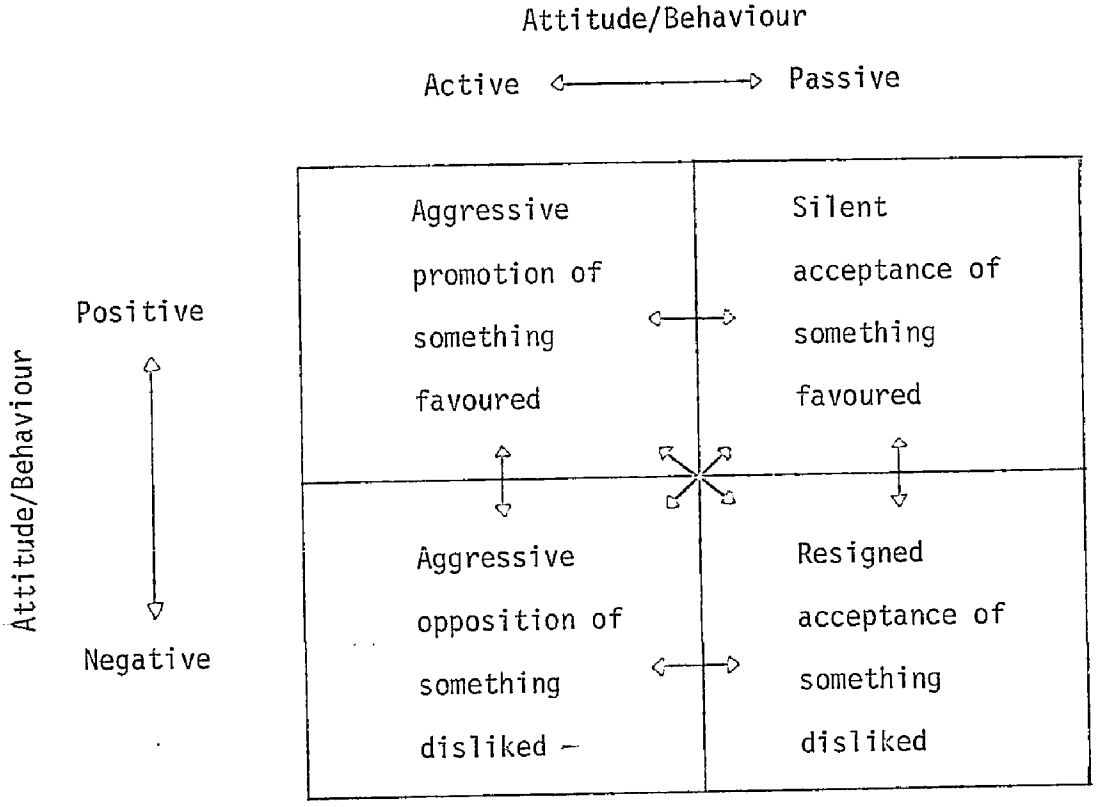
[9]For example, see Likert (1932), Thurstone et al. (1929), Guttman (1944), Ross (1970), Heise (1970) and Shaw (1967).

[10]Philbrick (1972). It will be called the model in the rest of the dissertation.

Attitudinal/Behavioural Component of
Inter-cultural Perception



(Philbrick, 1972)

FIGURE 1.1

(c) Passive-Positive = Silent acceptance of something favoured; and
(d) Passive-Negative = Resigned acceptance of something disliked.
These four combinations will be called the sets of attitudinal/behavioural pairs hereafter. The arrows in the diagram allude to the possibility of change over time.

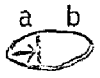
The second set of components of the model is the spatial configurations that are the consequences of the combinations of attitudes conceptualized in Figure 1.1. The spatial configurations are shown in Figure 1.2. The spatial component of the model is based on the following principles:

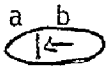
(1) Spatial partitioning and the formation of regions are guided by the perceptions of people who interact with one another.

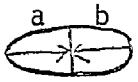
(2) The perception of a person's sensory boundedness determines his responses to other people. Or, as Philbrick puts it, "the function of the social self is dependent on the perceptual permeability of his sensory boundary."

(3) The relative size of a spatial domain or region of one group of people is dependent upon the responses of the group to another group or groups and how they accommodate themselves to one another.

Philbrick conceptualizes spatial configurations in three basic categories: attachment, containment and replacement. That is, interactions among cultural groups, in terms of their spatial consequences, are classified into attachment, containment and replacement. Diagrammatically, they can be presented as:

(a) Attachment: 

or 

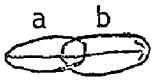
(b) Containment: 

Spatial Configurations of
Inter-cultural Perception

	Passive	Active
Negative	Attachment Containment Replacement	Enslavement Encirclement "Genocide"
Positive	Occupancy Co-existence Integration	Development Acceptance Assimilation

(Philbrick, 1972)

FIGURE 1.2

(c) Replacement: 

The names are arbitrarily selected from the Passive-Negative quadrant of the matrix of Figure 1.2. Attachment means a group simply attaches or is attached to another territorially as indicated by the directions of the arrows; either Group A attaches itself to Group B or vice versa. Containment means the groups physically contain each other in the sense of "keeping at arm's length", a state of mutual territorial stand-off. Replacement means the aggressive and active group replaces the less aggressive or more passive group and thus controls or occupies its territory. Attachment, containment and replacement are dynamic spatial configurations; they are means and stages by which cultural groups expand their territorial control and occupation at either the expense of or with the cooperation of other groups.

In the model (Figure 1.1), the positive and negative attitudes or behaviour were intersected with the active and passive attitudes or behaviour. Now, a second intersection is introduced. The basic spatial configurations of attachment, containment and replacement are shown intersected with the Passive-Negative quadrant of the matrix in Figure 1.1. The counterparts of attachment, containment and replacement are then developed and intersected with the Active-Negative quadrant; they are given names, Enslavement, Encirclement and "Genocide". Similarly, the Passive-Positive and Active-Positive quadrants are intersected with configurations developed from the same three basic ones. These become Occupancy, Co-existence, and Integration; and Development, Acceptance, and Assimilation respectively. The complete sets of these combinations

will be called the spatial configuration pairs hereafter. The spatial element of "development", to take an example from a spatial configuration pair, as seen by the active cultural group, lies in the utilization of territory for the benefit of one or both of the active and the passive cultural groups. The spatial element of its counterpart, "occupancy", as seen by the passive cultural group, lies in surrender of parts of its territory to "foreign" use. To sum, the model of inter-cultural perception has four sets of attitudinal-behavioural pairs: active-positive, active-negative, passive-positive and passive-negative, and six sets of spatial configuration pairs: development-occupancy, acceptance-co-existence, assimilation-integration, enslavement-attachment, encirclement-containment and "genocide"-replacement. As is acknowledged by Philbrick, the twelve words chosen to identify the spatial configuration pairs are somewhat arbitrary. Their importance, however, lies in their ability firstly to define both the attitudinal/behavioural and spatial aspects of cultural interactions and secondly, to label and identify shifts of attitudinal/behavioural positions and therefore, spatial configurations of inter-cultural relations.

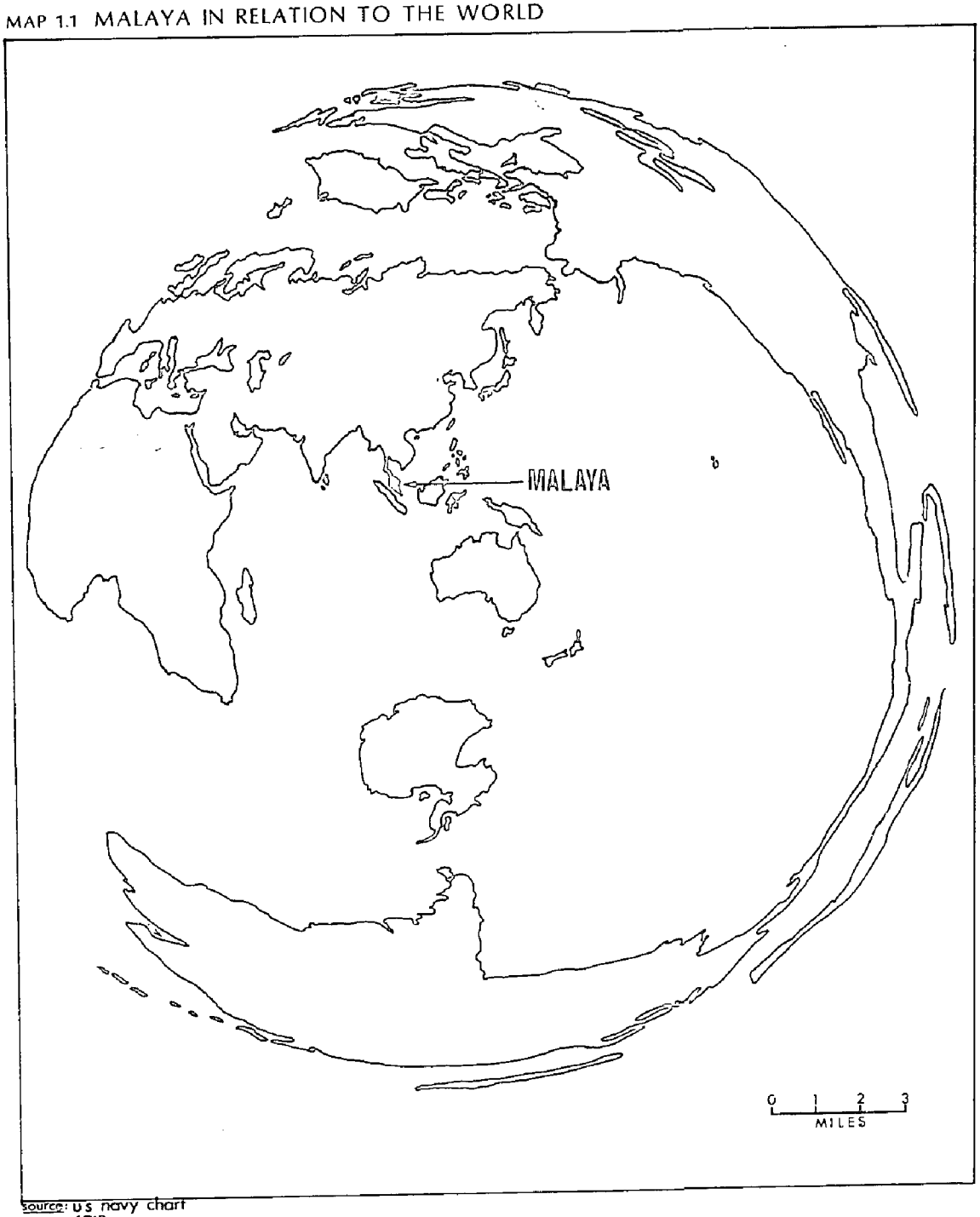
The model has predict ve possibilities. The arrows crossing the boundaries of the matrices of Figure 1.1 indicate the dynamism and capacity of an attitude and behaviour for change, and thus change of spatial configurations. For example, an aggressive cultural group, in favourable conditions, is very likely to want to maintain a passive cultural group in a state of acceptance. When a passive cultural group reacts, however, and becomes actively negative toward its oppressors, it is very likely first, to have developed attitudes with respect to its own

territory which are counter to the attitudes of its oppressors and second, to act so as to change its spatial configuration. In the words of Philbrick, "the complex possibilities of the change of attitudes and the relative strength and direction of change can be assessed" by the model.

This model will be used as a means of classifying and measuring favourable and unfavourable attitudes in the spatial configurations of heterogeneous and homogeneous cultural groupings essential to the thrust of this dissertation.

The dissertation occurs in a Malayan context. The author proposes to analyze inter-cultural relations observable in Malaya. The author is concerned specifically with testing the hypothesis that favourability of ethnic attitudes is related to distance; that is, when ethnic groups are near to one another, their attitudes toward one another are favourable, and when they are separate from one another, their attitudes are unfavourable. To do this, questions in a questionnaire were specifically designed to elicit data concerning inter-cultural relations with the six sets of spatial configuration pairs of Figure 1.2 in mind. The data thus obtained can be identified both with spatial configurations as proposed in the model and with the favourability of ethnic attitudes and perceptions. The author is less interested in the appropriateness of a given stage of development with respect to spatial configurations than with the favourableness or unfavourableness as measured by the attitude/behaviour component of the model. Specific identification of the stages of spatial configurations is, however, undertaken when the author examines in detail policies of the Malayan

MAP 1.1 MALAYA IN RELATION TO THE WORLD



Source: US navy chart 6718.

government toward its ethnic groups. For this reason, both sets of components of the model are considered useful to the analysis.

Research Area

The hypothesis of the dissertation could be tested in any region that contains more than one ethnic group. The author chose to examine an area in Malaya. Whichever area is chosen for analysis is basically irrelevant if the search is for a generally applicable scientific truth, provided the area exhibits the research problem. The dissertation is concerned primarily with making use of the Malayan situation as a step toward testing a more general case than Malaya alone. The problems of a heterogeneous society are not unique to Malaya. A survey shows that out of a total of 134 nations and territories of the world that comprise approximately 3.3 billion people, 92 of them or 68% of the total exhibit cultural heterogeneity based on their ethnic, linguistic or religious compositions. These 68% of the world's nations and territories contain approximately two billion or 61% of the world's total population. The cultural heterogeneity of selected nations are presented in Table 1.1. The nations selected are those that form the largest five and smallest five nations by population in each category of heterogeneity. A complete list for the 134 nations and territories is included in Appendix I. Because of limitation in data, all the nations cannot be classified on a common basis. The table is compiled by using either ethnicity, language or religion as the basis for differentiating the composition of the population. The three categories of heterogeneity--plurality, minority and majority--are also arbitrarily defined. The cultural heterogeneity of the world as is shown in Map 1.2 is dependent upon the

Cultural Heterogeneity of Selected Nations

PLURALITY NATIONS

(Nations with no group having 50% or more of the total population but at least one group with 20% or more of the total population)

Largest 5 Nations	Name	Total Population	Largest Group Name	Largest Group % of Total Population	Ruling Group
1	Indonesia	124,000,000 (1972)	Javanese	40.0	Javanese
2	Nigeria	55,000,000 (1970)	Hausa-speaking tribes	28.0	Hausa-speaking tribes
3	Ethiopia	25,900,000 (1970)	Gallas	40.0	Amharas and Tigrais (25% of total pop.)
4	Canada	21,561,000 (1971)	British	45.6	British
5	Yugoslavia	20,500,000	Serbs	42.0	Serbs
Smallest 5 Nations					
1	Senegal	3,900,000 (1970)	Wolof	36.0	Wolof
2	Sierra Leone	2,600,000 (1971)	Tamne	30.0	Tamne
3	Liberia	1,500,000 (1970)	Mandingos	U.M.*	Mandingos and Kru
4	Bostwana	625,893 (1971)	Banangwato	38.8	Banangwato plus 7 other tribes
5	Gambia	357,000 (1970)	Mandingos	40.0	Mandingos

MINORITY NATIONS

(Nations with one group having 50% or more of the total population and at least one minority group having 10% or more of the total population.)

Largest 5 Nations					
1	India	547,367,926 (1971)	Hindu (religion)	84.0	Hindus
2	U.S.S.R.	246,300,000 (1972)	Great Russians	70.0	Great Russians
3	U.S.A.	210,000,000 (1970)	Europeans	88.0	Europeans
4	Brazil	93,215,301 (1970)	Portugese	62.0	Portugese & Mixed (Indians & Negroes)
5	Mexico	48,381,547 (1970)	Mestizos	75.0	Mestizos
Smallest 5 Nations					
1	Mauritania	1,200,000 (1971)	Moorish (Arabs & Berkers)	<80.0	Moorish
2	Congo	963,000 (1970)	Bakongos	45.0	Bakongos
3	Guyana	721,098 (1970)	East Indians	≏ 50.0	East Indians
4	Gabon	500,000 (1971)	Fangs	51.0	Fangs
5	Equitorial Guinea	300,000 (1970)	Fangs	75.0	Fangs

(Continued)

TABLE 1.1

MAJORITY NATIONS

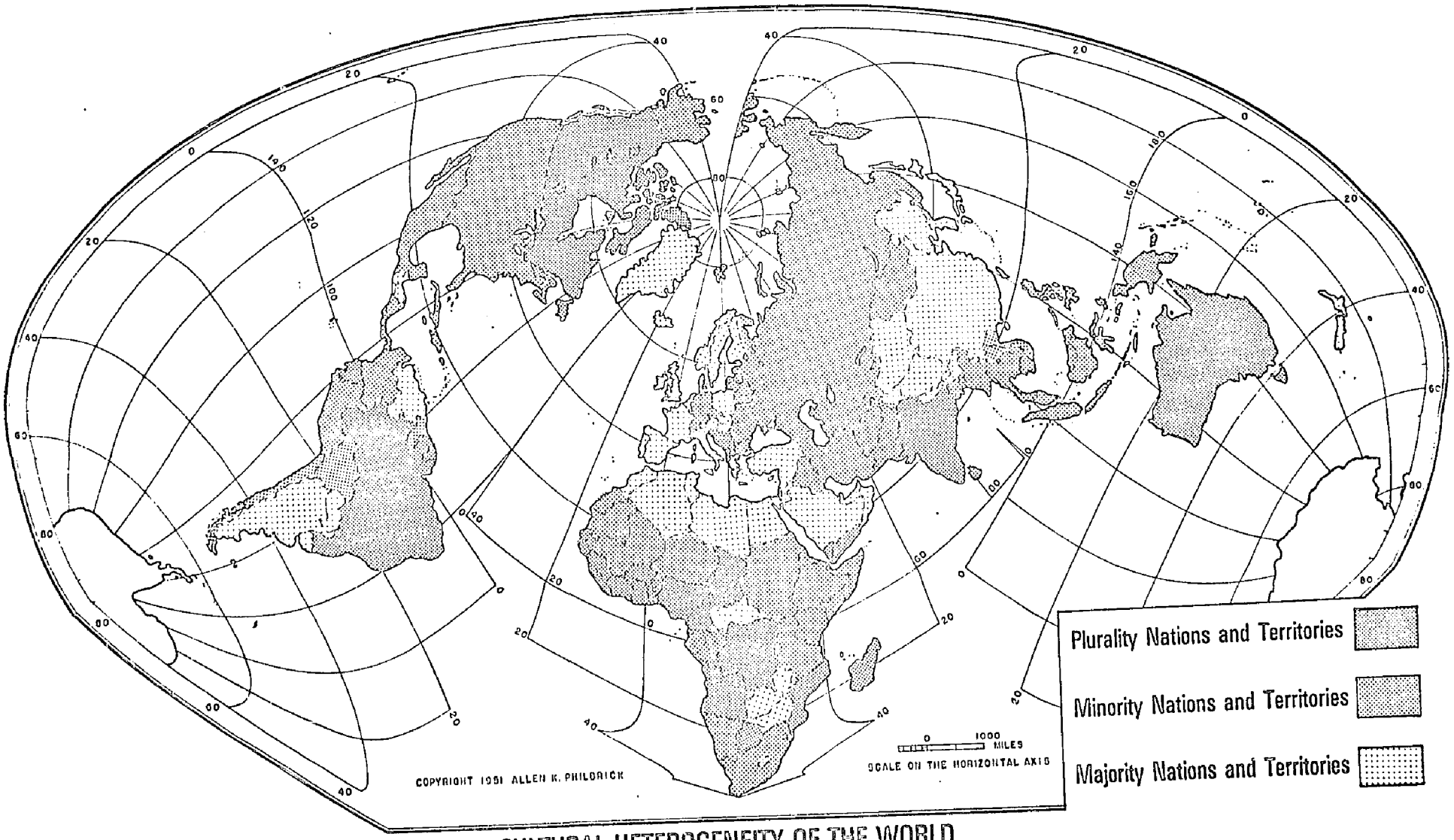
(Nations with one group having 50% or more of the total population and no other group having 10% of the total population.)

Largest 5 Nations	Name	Total Population	Largest Group Name	Largest Group % of Total Population	Ruling Group
1	China	825,875,000 (1972)	Han	94.0	Han
2	Japan	103,700,000 (1970)	Japanese	99.0	Japanese
3	United Kingdom	56,000,000 (1970)	English	85.0	English
4	Italy	53,800,000 (1970)	Italian	98.0	Italian
5	French	50,000,000 (1969)	French	98.0	French
Smallest 5 Nations					
1	Lesotho	950,000 (1969)	Basotho	97.0	Basotho
2	Swaziland	426,000 (1970)	Swazi	96.0	Swazi
3	United Arab Emirates	200,000 (1972)	Ibadhi Muslims	75.0	Ibadhi & Sunni Muslims
4	Iceland	200,000 (1967)	Danes	95.0	Danes
5	Maldives	110,000 (1970)	Aryan desc./ Arab mixture	95.0	Maldivians

*Unspecified majority.

SOURCES: (1) Europa Year Book, Vols. 1 and 2. London: Europa Pubs., Ltd., 1972.
(2) Fact Book of the Countries of the World, U.S. Department of State, Crown Pub., Inc., 1972.
(3) Background Notes, U.S. Department of State, 1969-72.
(4) Paxton, J. (ed.) New Statesman Year Book. London: St. Martin's Press, 1972-73.
(5) Statistical Year Book, UNESCO, 1970.
(6) Encyclopedia Britannica. Chicago: William Bentow, 1972.
(7) India, A Reference Annual, Government of India, 1964.
(8) Fisher, C. A. South-east Asia, A Social, Economic and Political Geography. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1964.
(9) Lipstey, G. Ethiopia, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture. New Haven: Hraf Press, 1962).
(10) Cassell, C. A. Liberia: History of the First African Republic. New Haven: Fountainhead Pubs., 1970.
(11) Census of Canada. Ottawa: The Queen's Printer, 1966, 1971.

TABLE 1.1 (Cont'd)



MAP 1.2 CULTURAL HETEROGENEITY OF THE WORLD

boundaries of nation states as they are defined and accepted today. Interactions within and among the national groups are, therefore, confined by such territorial partitioning.

On the question of partiality, my subjectivity must be acknowledged because I have been "contaminated by breathing the same air as the society" of which I am a part and which I am studying. I agree with the view of Laing (1967, p. 53) that:

> The theoretical and descriptive idiom of much research in social science adopts a stance of apparent 'objective' neutrality. But we have seen how deceptive this can be. The choice of syntax and vocabulary are political acts that define and circumscribe the manner in which 'facts' are to be experienced. Indeed, in a sense, they go further and even create the facts that are studied.

What Laing says is similar to the "Oedipus effect" that Popper writes about (1963, p. 38). Popper observes that, in many instances, a theory or expectation or prediction influences the event that it intends to predict or describe.

Malaya is occupied principally by three different ethnic groups: the Malays (forming 50.1% of the total population), the Chinese (37.4% and the Indians (11.1%).[11] The Malays, the Chinese and the Indians each form an ethnic group, having their own customs, habits, values, languages, and religions (except in the case of some Indians who are Muslims as the Malays are). Prior to large-scale immigration of the Indians and the Chinese as labourers and businessmen and the arrival of the British as the colonizer in the eighteenth century, the Malays occupied the coastal areas, the flood-plains and the foothills of the Malayan

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[11] Population Census of Malaya (1957).

peninsula. The peasantry were ruled by their local chiefs who were in turn ruled by the rajahs and the sultans who today still form the aristocratic class. The forces of colonization in search of potential economic gain created in Malaya a division of power identified with ethnic groups. This division can be treated as follows:

(a) Economic dominance ..... Economic passivity
↓ ↓
British, Chinese and Indians — Malays

(b) Political dominance ..... Political passivity
↓ ↓
British — Chinese, Indians and Malays

After independence in 1957, the political power was handed over to the Malay aristocratic class. Today, the division of power is like this:

(a) Economic dominance ..... Economic passivity
↓ ↓
Chinese and Indians — Malays

(b) Political dominance ..... Political passivity
↓ ↓
Malays — Chinese and Indians

It should be noted that this is an ethnically identified division. In terms of social class today, the wealthy Malays, Chinese and Indians have the economic power and the Malay aristocracy have the political power, with the rich Chinese and Indians as their partners having no real power of control. However, the Malay-controlled government practises communalistic policies so that the division of power in terms of

ethnicity comes closer to reality than the division along social class lines. By communalism is meant a state of mind in which the loyalty of the individual is not given to his nation but to his particular community. The furtherance of this community's interest is more important to him than the furtherance of the nation's interest.[12]

The Malays, the Chinese and the Indians, therefore, each as an ethnic group, occupy different economic and political positions in the country. This conception should be further qualified. Because of the comparative numerical weakness of the Indians, their economic dominance is very much less than that of the Chinese. Indian political passivity correspondingly is very much greater. However, their minority significance lies in the balance of power it can give to the Malays and even more so to the Chinese in times of political decisions such as an election.

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[12]Communalistic practices will be discussed in detail in the dissertation. Sandhu (1957), Means (1969), King (1957), and Esman (1972) have written on communalism in Malaysia.

CHAPTER II

AREA OF FIELD STUDY: KAMPONG PANDAN AND KAMPONG PANDAN DALAM

The author conducted a three-month field study in two kampongs (villages) in the City of Kuala Lumpur in June-September 1971. Kuala Lumpur was chosen from a total number of 36 towns with a population of 10,000 and over, as shown by information in Map 2.1 and Table 2.1. A sample from towns is preferred to a sample from kampongs because a sample of the Malay, Chinese and Indian populations should preferably be taken from a similar locality to ensure environmental similarity as far as possible. And it is in towns the three ethnic groups are present together. Most kampongs are homogeneous areas in terms of the ethnic composition of their population so that kampongs are ethnically identified.

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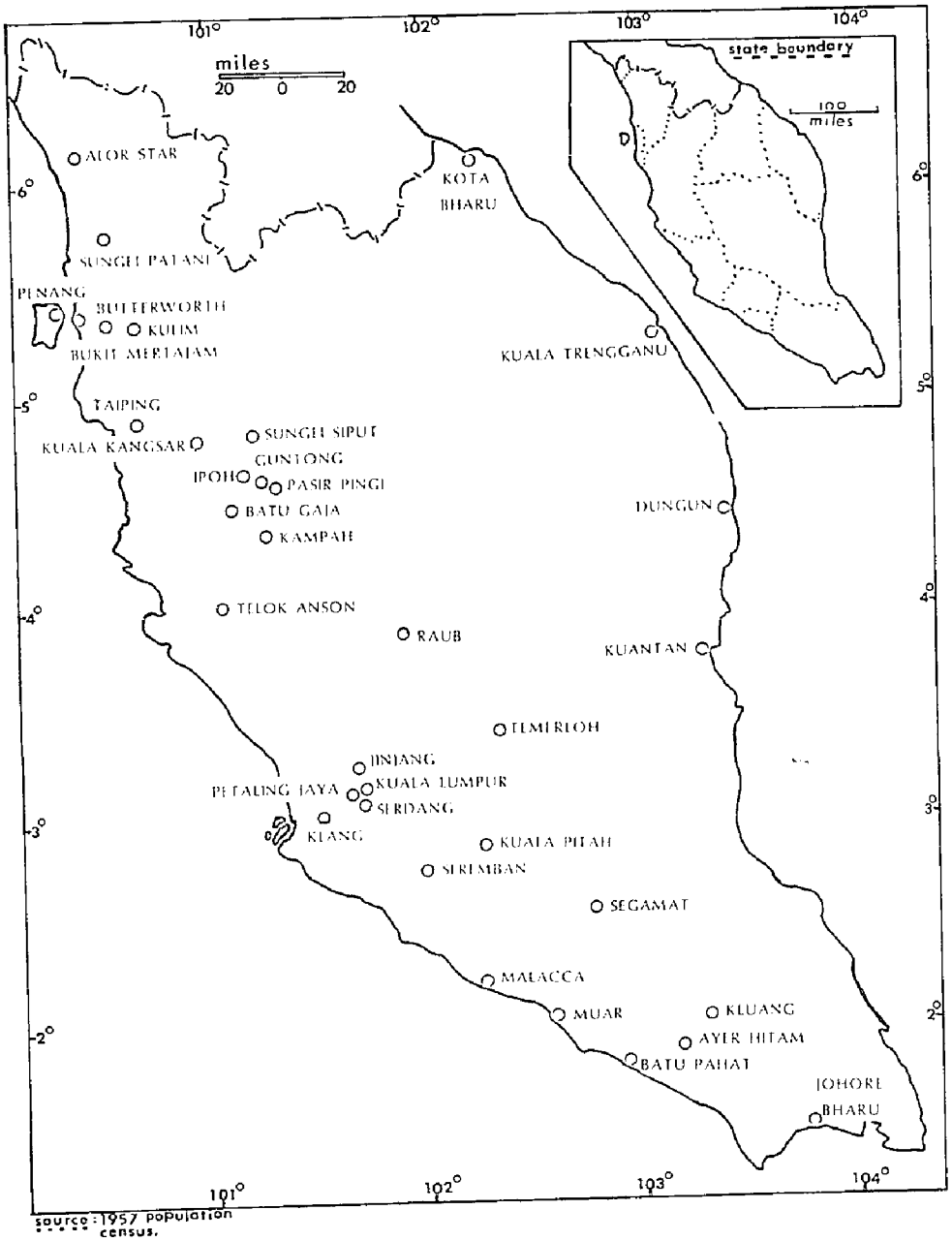
[1]The list of 36 towns was taken from the 1957 Population Census of the country (Report No. 14, p. 8). At the time of field study, the latest Census (1970) was just being completed and no data were then released. In some respects, the selection of the capital city Kuala Lumpur presented problems to the investigation. Most people have the opinion that the capital city affords a good opportunity for research in terms of accessibility and availability of research material. This is not the case. Due to its political importance, information is extremely difficult to come by. Even access to the people, especially to the Malays, is hard to obtain. In short, the author has to face unexpected hardship in randomly choosing the capital city to be the area of field study.

MAP 2.1 MALAYA: CENTRES OF 10,000 AND OVER POPULATION, 1957



source: 1957 population census.

Malaya: Population Centres of 10,000 and Over
1911-1957

Population Areas	Population in 1,000				
	1911	1921	1931	1947	1957
1. Kuala Lumpur	46.7	80.4	111.4	176.0	316.2
2. Georgetown	101.2	123.1	149.4	189.1	234.9
3. Ipoh	24.0	36.9	53.2	80.9	125.8
4. Klang	7.7	11.7	20.9	33.5	75.8
5. Johore Bahru	9.4	15.3	21.5	38.8	75.1
6. Malacca	21.2	30.7	38.0	54.5	69.9
7. Alor Star	6.3	11.6	18.6	32.4	52.9
8. Seremban	8.7	17.3	21.5	35.3	52.0
9. Taiping	19.6	21.1	30.1	41.4	48.2
10. Butterworth	3.9	4.1	13.5	21.3	42.5
11. Batu Pahat	3.2	6.4	13.5	26.5	40.0
12. Muar	5.0	13.3	20.3	32.2	39.1
13. Kota Bahru	12.5	10.8	14.8	22.8	38.1
14. Telok Anson	6.9	10.9	14.7	23.1	37.0
15. Kluang	--	1.4	6.5	16.0	31.2
16. Kuala Trengganu	14.0	12.5	14.0	27.0	29.4
17. Bukit Mertajam	4.0	3.9	5.3	12.3	24.7
18. Kampar	11.6	12.3	15.3	17.5	24.6
19. Kuantan	--	--	--	8.1	23.1
20. Sungai Patani	--	4.6	7.7	13.2	22.9
21. Ayer Itam	1.0	1.2	2.3	13.5	22.4
22. Bentong	--	--	--	7.1	18.8
23. Segamat	--	--	--	7.3	18.5
24. Kulim	--	--	--	9.5	17.6
25. Jinjang	--	--	--	--	16.7
26. Petaling Jaya	--	--	--	--	16.6
27. Raub	--	--	--	3.6	15.4
28. Sungei Siput	--	--	--	6.0	15.3
29. Kuala Kangsar	--	--	--	8.4	15.3
30. Guntong	--	--	--	--	15.1
31. Pasir Pinji	--	--	--	--	14.0
32. Dungun	--	--	--	4.3	12.5
33. Temerloh	--	--	--	5.2	12.3
34. Kuala Pilah	--	--	--	7.3	12.0
35. Batu Gajah	--	--	--	7.5	10.1
36. Serdang Bharu	--	--	--	--	10.0

NOTE: The blanks denote either population unknown or that the particular urban area was not in existence then.

SOURCE: Population Census of Malaya (1957) Report #14.

TABLE 2.1

In the City of Kuala Lumpur, as shown by the data on Maps 2.2 and 2.3, there are several areas identified with specific ethnic groups, i.e. homogeneous neighbourhoods. There are also several heterogeneous neighbourhoods where one or more ethnic groups reside in the same area. The criteria for choosing a desired area within the city for the purpose of the dissertation are:

(a) It should be an area where all the three ethnic groups can be found in neighbourhoods that are physically close to one another;

(b) It should include areas where the three ethnic groups are found living in settlements of their own; and

(c) The ethnic groups of the area should represent different income groups.

Two kampongs were selected in keeping with the aforementioned criteria.[2] Kampong Pandan and Kampong Pandan Dalam are situated in the eastern edge of Kuala Lumpur, with Kampong Pandan falling within the city's boundary and Kampong Pandan Dalam just outside of it. The boundary of this sample area did not follow the 1957 or the 1970 census district boundaries, nor did it follow the election district boundaries. It was drawn with the above three criteria in mind. Kampong Pandan has two sections: a heterogeneous area, containing government quarters for the middle and middle to lower income groups (approximately M$ 250 to $400 and M$400 to $750 per month). It contains two other major areas where the Chinese and the Indian groups are found in neighbourhoods of

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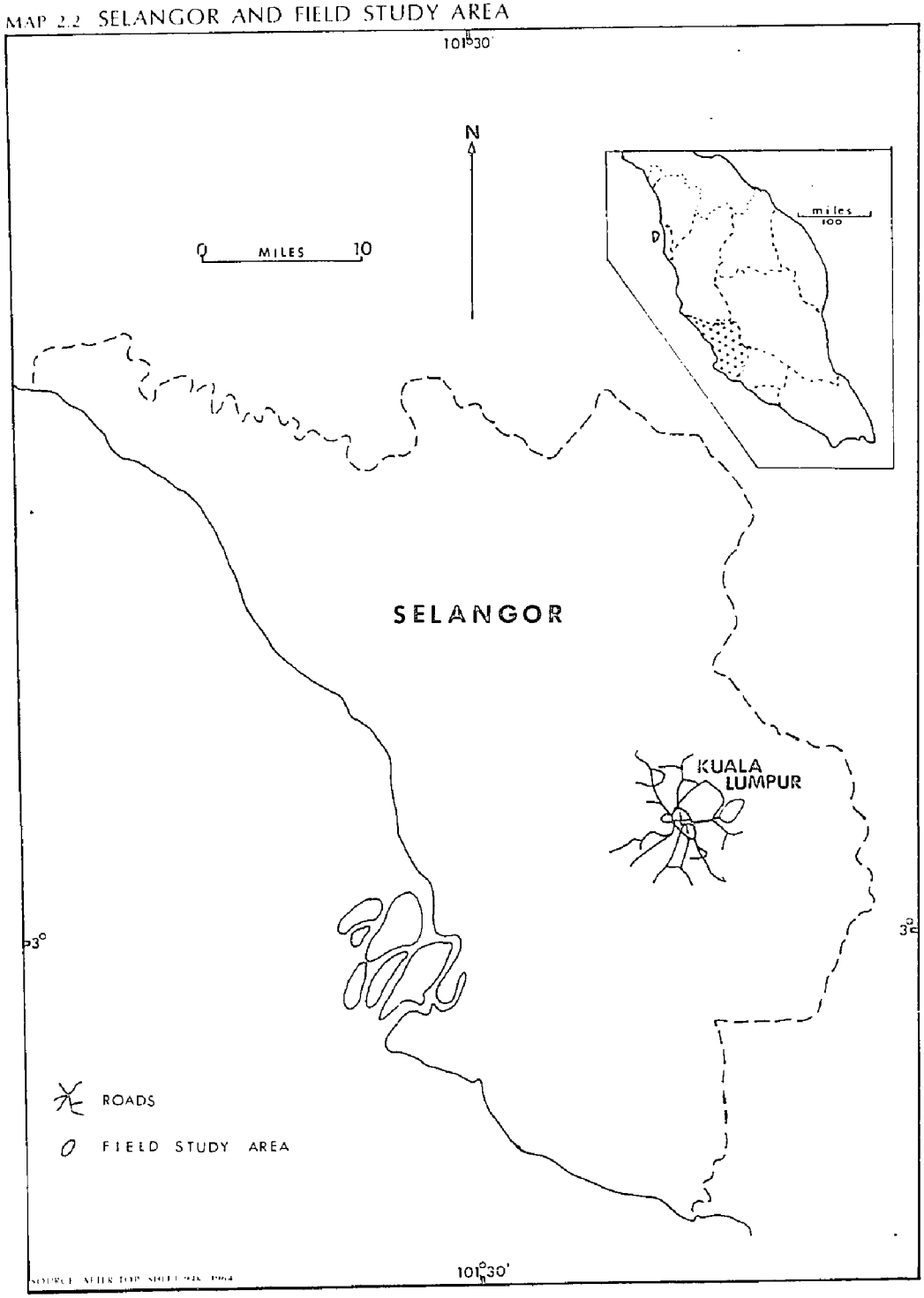
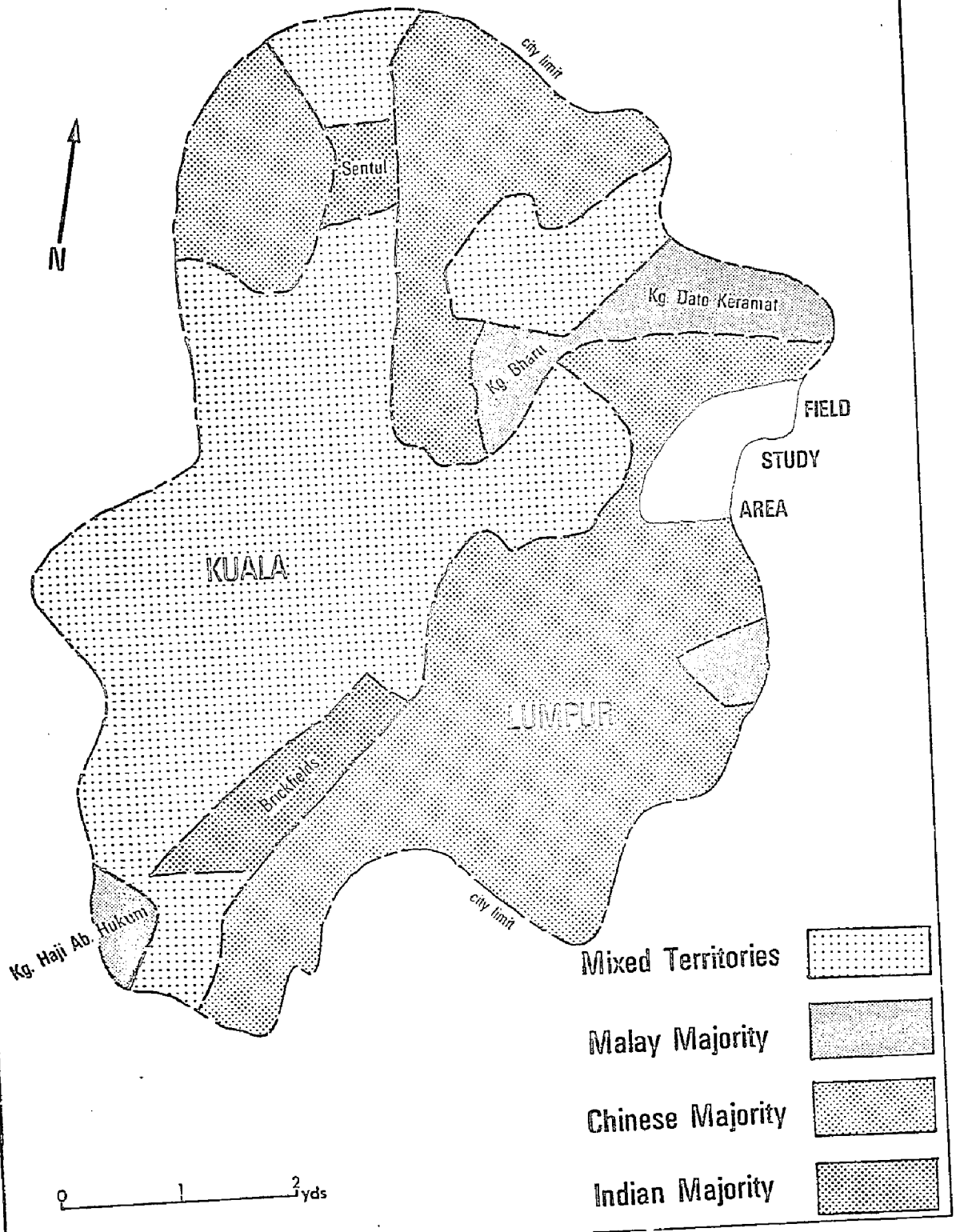
[2]My gratitude is extended to the members of the Department of Geography, University of Malaya, and the graduate students who have helped me in the selection of the kampongs. Their personal knowledge of areas of the city have assisted me tremendously.

MAP 2.2 SELANGOR AND FIELD STUDY AREA



MAP 2.3

KUALA LUMPUR AND FIELD STUDY AREA: ETHNIC TERRITORY



their own. These neighbourhoods are separated by the presence of mining ponds and areas of bush. These groups represent the low income group; the majority of them are squatters there, engaging in occupations such as construction work, work in factories, hawkers, vegetable-growing and poultry-raising.

Kampong Pandan Dalam is a Malay reservation, i.e., it is a government-operated settlement where the houses are built by the government and are assigned to the Malays. The research area, therefore, contains an area that exemplifies the housing policy of the Malayan government. The policy, for certain reasons, is communalistic.[3] In Malaya, certain areas are designed as Malay reserves. The pattern in Map 2.4 shows Malay Reservations in the country. These are areas that are specially set aside for the occupancy and ownership of Malays. The settlement of non-Malays in them is barred. The historical precedence for establishing the reservation areas lies with the British Colonial government policy on agriculture. The Malays are traditionally rice-growers. When the market prices for rubber were mounting in the 1900's, many Malays wanted to convert their rice lands or any other holdings to grow rubber either by themselves or by selling their lands to the Chinese and the Indians for growing rubber. As documented by Radcliffe (1970) in 1912, a member of the Federal Council referred to the economic pressure on the small Malay land owners as almost eliminating the Malay kampongs from the social system and he suggested that a legislative solution should be sought. In the following year, a Malay Reservations

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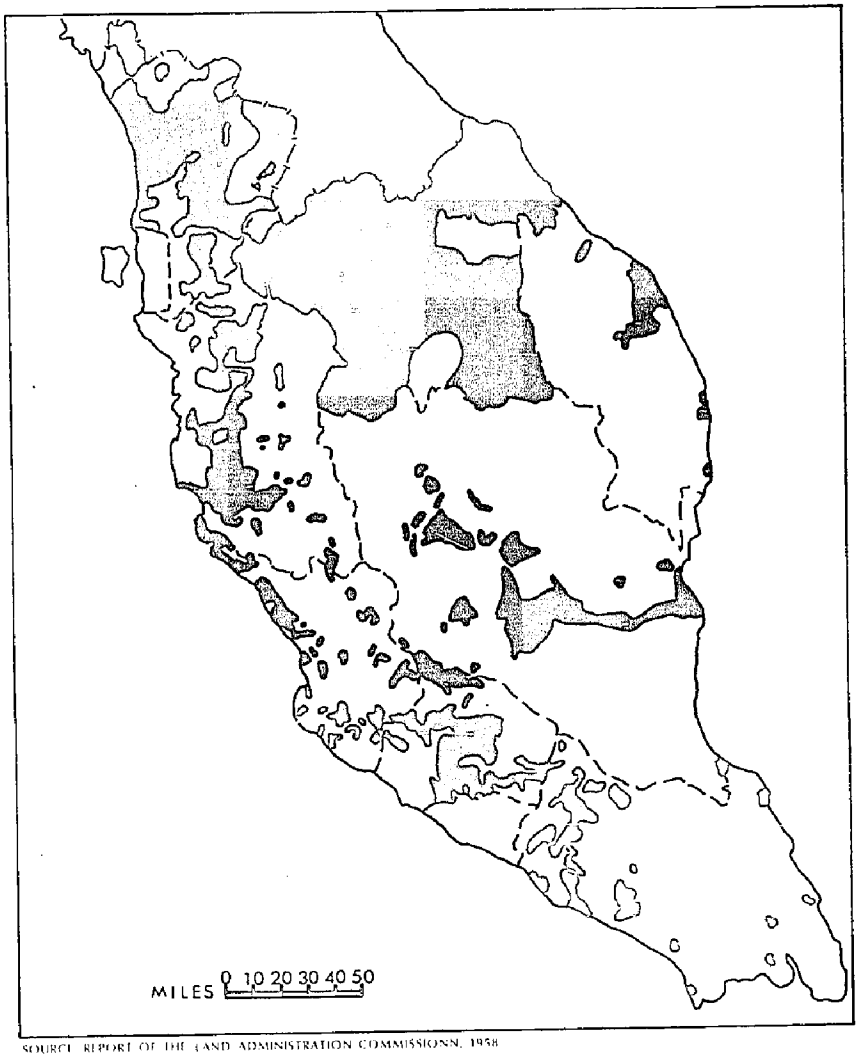
[3]See Chapter I, Research Area, for an explanation on communalism. The author will explain the reasons for communalistic practices in Chapter V.

MAP 2.4 MALAYA: MALAY RESERVATIONS



SOURCE: REPORT OF THE LAND ADMINISTRATION COMMISSION, 1958

Enactment was passed by which the British Resident had power to set aside certain areas of land (primarily rice lands) for exclusive Malay ownership. The legislation also restricted Malays from mortgaging or leasing reservation lands to non-Malays. In 1917, the Rice Lands Enactment was passed to keep the Malays on the land to cultivate their traditional staple. In 1933, a new Malay Reservation Bill was passed to further restrict the sale of land in reservation to non-Malays.

The two kampongs fulfill criteria one and two completely but only partially fulfill condition number three. The area chosen does not have representation from the upper-middle income groups (i.e. income more than M$750 per month). Map 2.5 shows the relative locations of neighbourhoods.

Sample Size: Stratified Random Sampling

The sample area falls under nine census districts of the 1970 population census. The census rolls of these districts were consulted and the following sampling procedure was undertaken:[4]

(a) The serial numbers of the households as appear in the census rolls were taken down and the ethnic origins of these households were recorded;

(b) The Malay households, Chinese households and Indian households were separated and each re-assigned a serial number;

(c) Referring to a random number table, a 10% sample size was taken for each of the three ethnic groups;

(d) The addresses (house numbers and street names) were recorded; and

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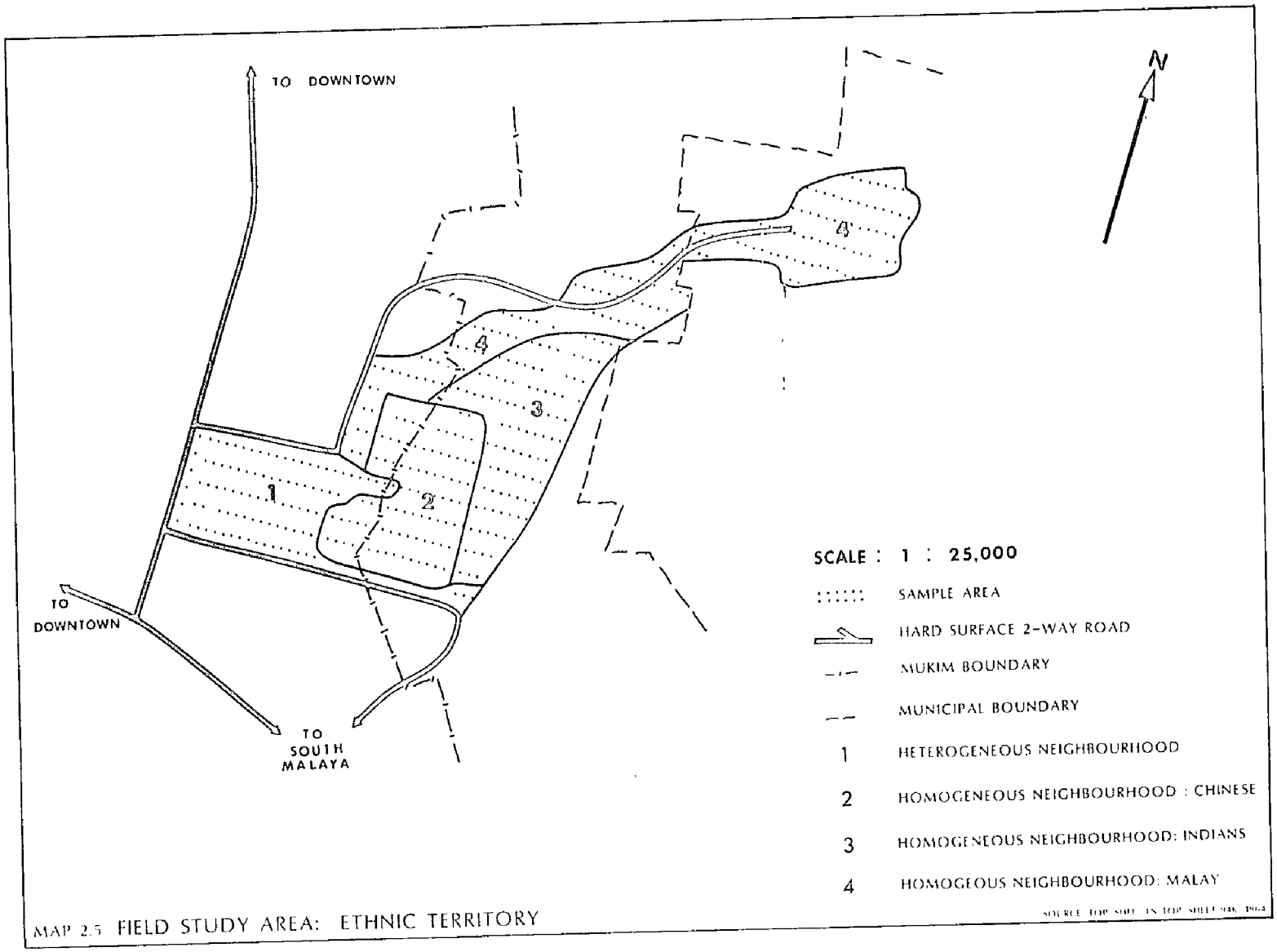
[4]My gratitude is extended to the mapping unit of the Census Department of the Department of Statistics for allowing me to consult the census rolls.



MAP 2.5 FIELD STUDY AREA: ETHNIC TERRITORY

(e) Using the maps of the street directory of Kuala Lumpur and the survey sheets of Kuala Lumpur prepared by the Department of Town and Country Planning, the sample households were identified.

Questionnaire and Interviews

A 59-item questionnaire was designed.[5] It may be referred to in Appendix II. The questionnaire consists of two parts. Part One asks for basic information of the subjects, e.g. ethnic origin, educational and occupational background, nationality, citizenship and religion. Part Two contains questions that were designed, with the model of inter-cultural perception in mind, to assess attitudes of the ethnic groups toward one another.

Interviews of the Chinese subjects were conducted by the author in Mandarin and in dialects spoken by the subjects, mainly Cantonese and Hakka. Interviews of the Indian subjects were conducted in English by the author and in Tamil by an assistant, an Indian who lives in the kampong and who speaks English and Tamil. Interviews of the Malay subjects were conducted in English by the author and in Malay by an assistant, a Malay who lives in the kampong and who speaks English and Malay. Each of the interviews was directed to the head of the household, the bread-winner, whenever possible. When the head of the household was not available after the third visit, his wife was interviewed. In cases when the wife refused to give her opinion or had nothing to say, the

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[5]The questionnaire was designed by the author. It was subsequently changed in several places with the advice of some faculty members of the Geography Department, University of Malaya and the Centre for Development Studies, The Prime Minister's Department. The content of the questionnaire remains the responsibilities of the author.

eldest of the children in the household was interviewed. The average duration of each interview was 35 to 40 minutes.

The questionnaire contains several items that are designed to obtain responses on similar issues. The purpose of this was to make sure that the subjects had given coherent or similar response each time they were asked about an issue. The "similar questions" are spread apart from one another in the questionnaire so as to escape the notice of the subjects. Further discussion on this matter is given in Chapter IV.

A Note on Kuala Lumpur and Kampong Pandan

With an area of 36 square miles,[6] Kuala Lumpur (3^{o} 07', N, 101^{o} 42', E) has 18.60% of Malaya's total urban population.[7] "Kuala Lumpur" means "Muddy River Mouth"; "Kuala" is a Malay word meaning the mouth of a river emptying into a sea or a strait. "Lumpur" originates from a Cantonese dialect meaning a "flood jungle" or a "decayed jungle". It is situated at the confluence of Sungei (River) Klang and Sungei Gombak as shown on Map 2.6. In the 1830's, tin mining activity began, led by some Chinese, with the permission of the sultan of Selangor. The richest tin fields were found in today's Ampang area, which is the mukim (district) immediately north of the field study area. At that time, the capital of Selangor was Klang, which is situated further down the river Klang close to the coast. In 1879, Kuala Lumpur was opened up by tin mining and was made the capital of the state. The British had trade

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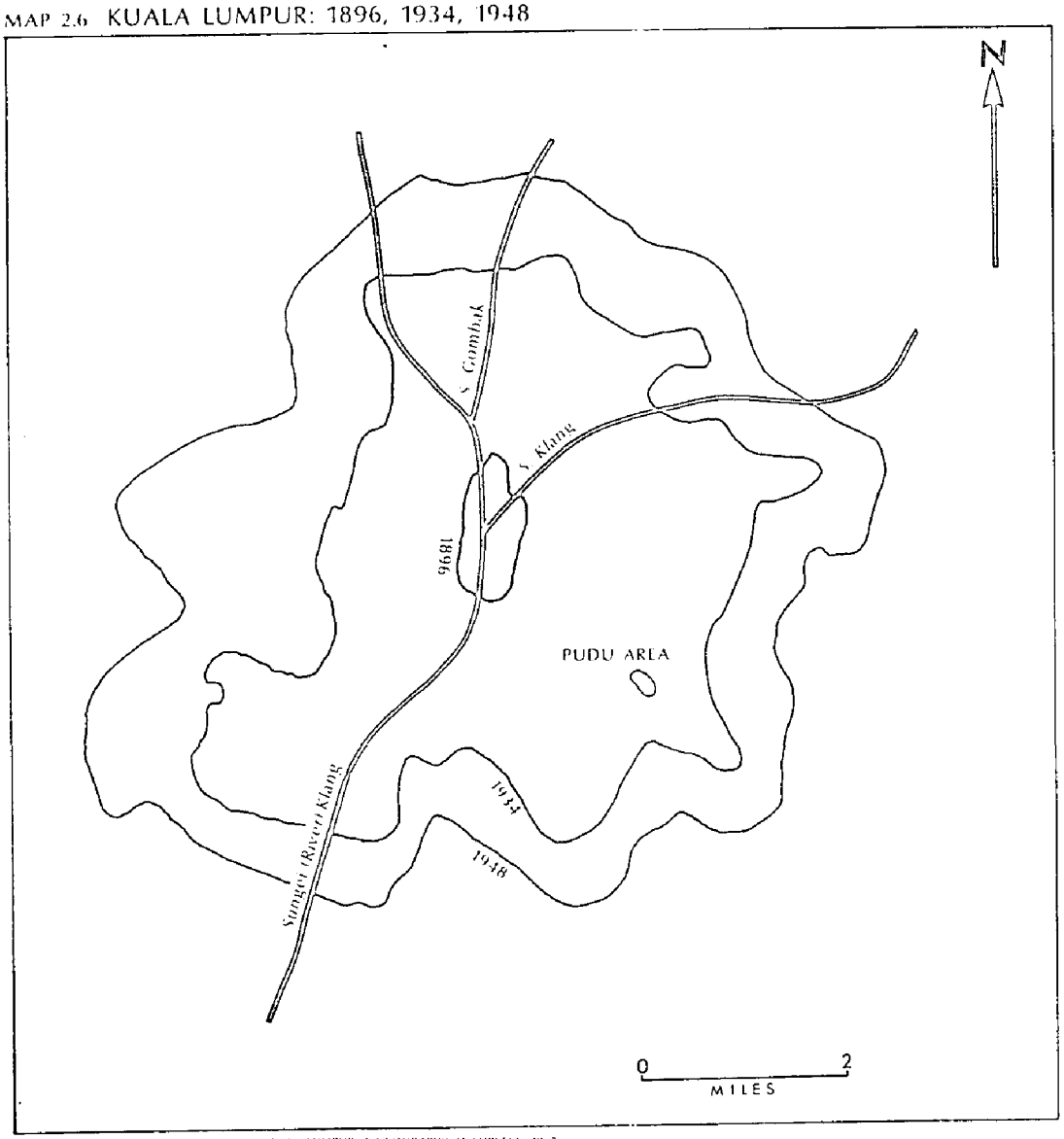
[6] Handbook of Malaysia (1965/66).

[7] Population Census of Malaya (1957).

MAP 2.6 KUALA LUMPUR: 1896, 1934, 1948



SOURCE: [illegible] URBAN LANDSCAPE OF KUALA LUMPUR: A GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY, 1967

treaties with the Malay sultans since 1874 and in 1880, Frank Swettenham was appointed the first British Resident and stationed in Kuala Lumpur. The population of Kuala Lumpur by 1887 was 4,050.[8] Smelting furnaces, foundries and workshops were built to supply the tin mines and the first steam engine came to Kuala Lumpur in 1888. In 1896, Kuala Lumpur was made capital of the Federated Malay States. By 1910, its population had grown to 45,000,[9] as shown by data in Table 2.2. The figures in

Kuala Lumpur: Population Growth
1887-1970

Year	Population
1887	4,050
1896	25,000
1911	46,718
1921	80,424
1931	111,418
1947	175,961
1957	316,230
1964	399,864
1970	451,728

SOURCES: C.T. Pao (1967), p. 24.
Population Census of Malaya (1957), p. 12.
Population and Housing Census of Malaya (1970), p. 15.

TABLE 2.2

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[8] Guide to Kuala Lumpur (1963).

[9] Guide to Kuala Lumpur (1963).

Table 2.3 show the population of the ethnic groups as at 1957.

Kuala Lumpur: Population by Ethnic Groups, 1957

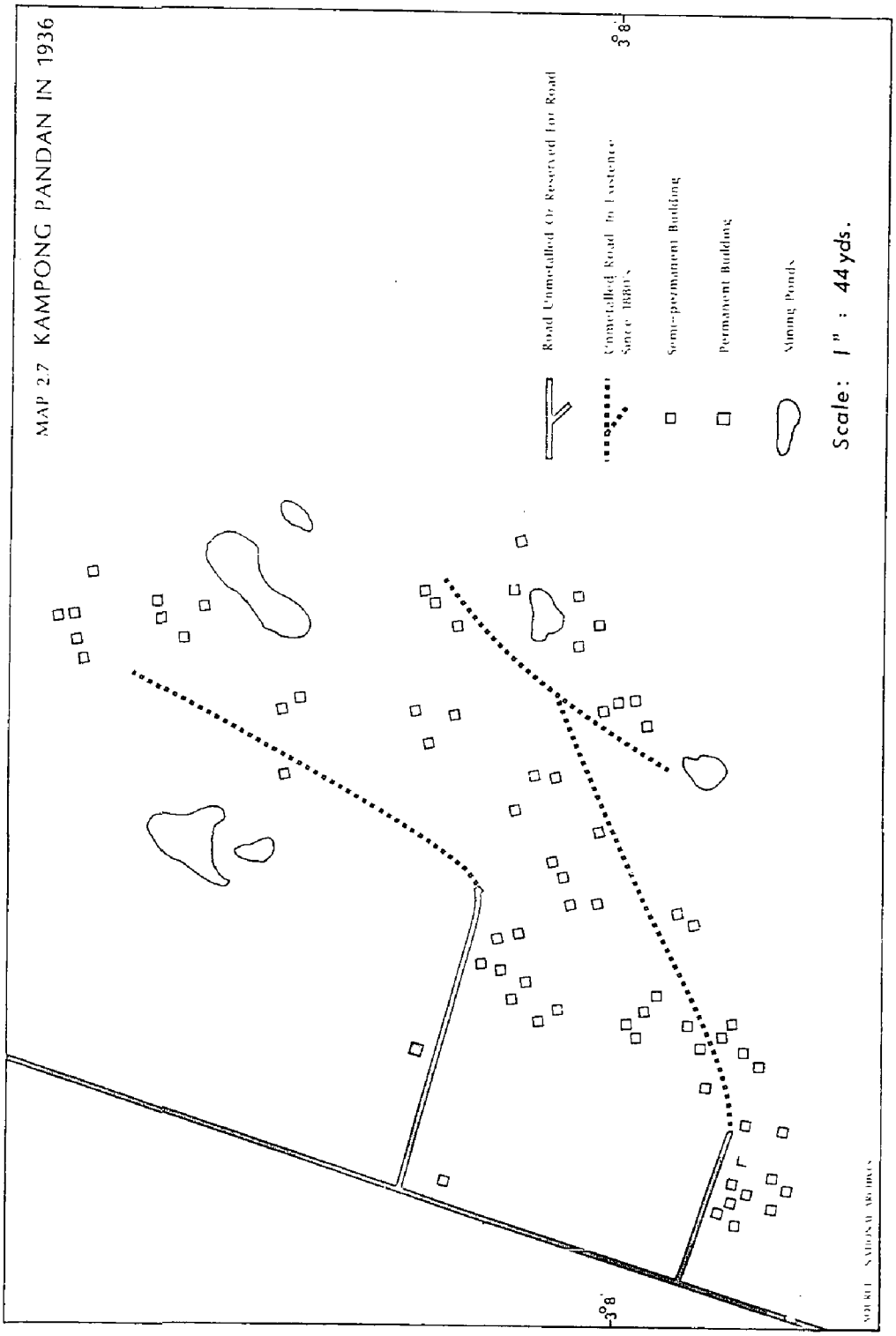
Ethnic Groups	Population	Percent
Malays	47,615	15.06
Chinese	195,822	61.92
Indians	53,505	16.92
Others	19,288	6.10
Total	316,230	100.00

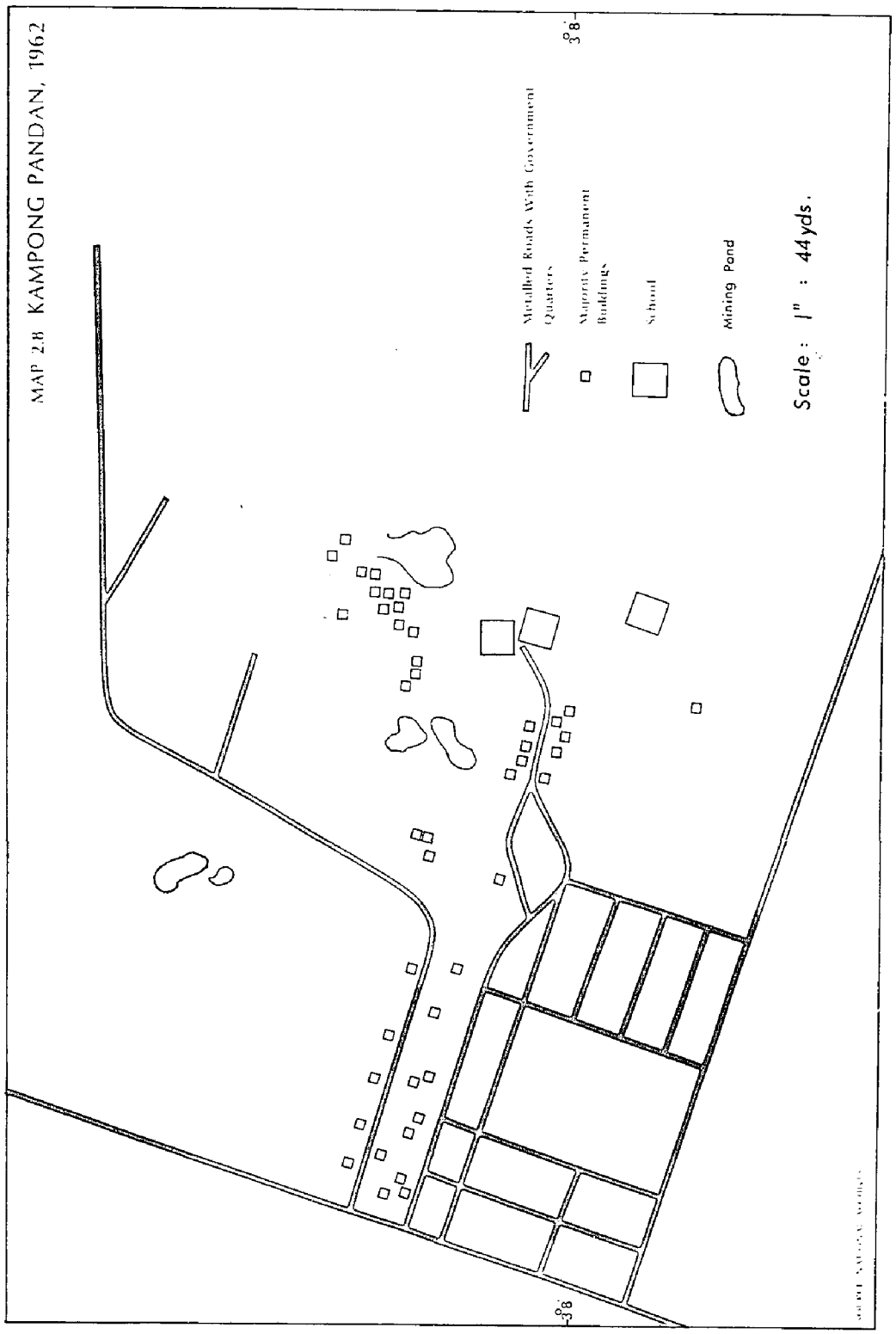
SOURCE: Population Census of Malaya (1957) Report No. 2, p. 10.

TABLE 2.3

The first Chinese school in Kuala Lumpur was built in 1884 with eleven pupils attending it. The first English school came in 1890 and a dozen sons of the Malay aristocracy were educated there. The Japanese occupation started in 1942 and lasted until 1945. In 1948, communist terrorism broke out. It was during the Japanese occupation that squatters began to increase in number.

This author could not obtain any detailed information regarding the growth and development of Kampong Pandan and its squatters. The nearest area of Kampong Pandan is Pudu on the eastern side of the kampong as shown by Map 2.6. Pudu (a Tamil word meaning new) came into existence as early as the 1880's. It may be that the Chinese and Indian squatters came to settle in Kampong Pandan during the period of the Japanese occupation. In one of the interviews, the author learned


MAP 27 KAMPONG PANDAN IN 1936
Road Unmetalled Or Reserved For Road
Unmetalled Road In Existence Since 1880's
Semi-permanent Building
Permanent Building
Mining Ponds
Scale: 1" : 44 yds.
3°8'
3°8'


MAP 2.8 KAMPONG PANDAN, 1962
Metalled Roads With Government Quarters
Majority Permanent Buildings
School
Mining Pond
Scale: 1" : 44yds.

from an old member of the area that some Chinese vegetable growers settled there even before the Second World War. Map 2.7 shows the kampong in 1936 and Map 2.8 shows it in 1962.

"Pandan" is the name of a plant that grows fast in abandoned tin mines. All the three ethnic groups of the country make use of the leaves of the plants (those that are domestically grown) to make cakes; the leaves have a fragrance that is treasured by the people. From talking to a priest who has worked in the kampong since 1961, the author gathered that the idea of setting up separate settlements for the different ethnic groups was that of the British Governor Templer who proposed it during the 1948 Emergency.[10] Until 1969, there was peace among the communities in the general field study area, without at least open disagreement of any nature. During the 1969 May 13-14 riots, a lot of burning and killing took place; Chinese-owned shops and houses and shacks were set afire by the Malays (according to many subjects interviewed). At the time of the field study (1971 June), the scene of burning could still be identified.

The majority of the Chinese squatters are farmers and hawkers. The Indians are petty farmers as well, but the majority of them are employed as low-rank workers in governmental departments. The squatters hold no right to the land nor to the temporary dwelling places they put up for themselves. The municipality of Kuala Lumpur has the authority to remove their settlements at any time. The municipality obviously has

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[10]The author will discuss the Emergency period and squatter settlement in detail in Chapter V.

no clear policy with respect to rental in the squatter area. In 1969 and 1970, it did not take any rent from the settlers, according to some subjects interviewed. In 1971, however, the settlers were told to pay their rent for 1969, 1970 and 1971 all at the same time.[11] In some of the better built-up areas where the Indians live, temporary occupation licences are granted to the settlers while others rent the land from the municipality.

In the Malay reservation of Kampong Pandan Dalam which was established in 1965, the housing units are built by the government and alloted to the Malays at a monthly rental (as repayment) of M$35 for a period of 17 years. After that time, the houses belong to the "renters". Each house has two bedrooms, one kitchen and one verandah. The latter structure is important as it is traditional to Malay dwellings. The house is made of wood. This kampong is situated inside of Kampong Pandan, thus its name Kampong Pandan Dalam (inside). It is also newly completed. Thus, the name Kampong Pandan Bharu (new) is also used. The houses were built hastily to meet housing requirements of the people so it is also known as Rumah Kilat (house built as fast as lightning). The first phase of this kampong was completed in 1964-1965. By 1965, the government had spent about M$6 million. The Department of Town and Country Planning is responsible for the design of the houses in the kampong. The building process is still going on.

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[11]This issue will be discussed in Chapter V.

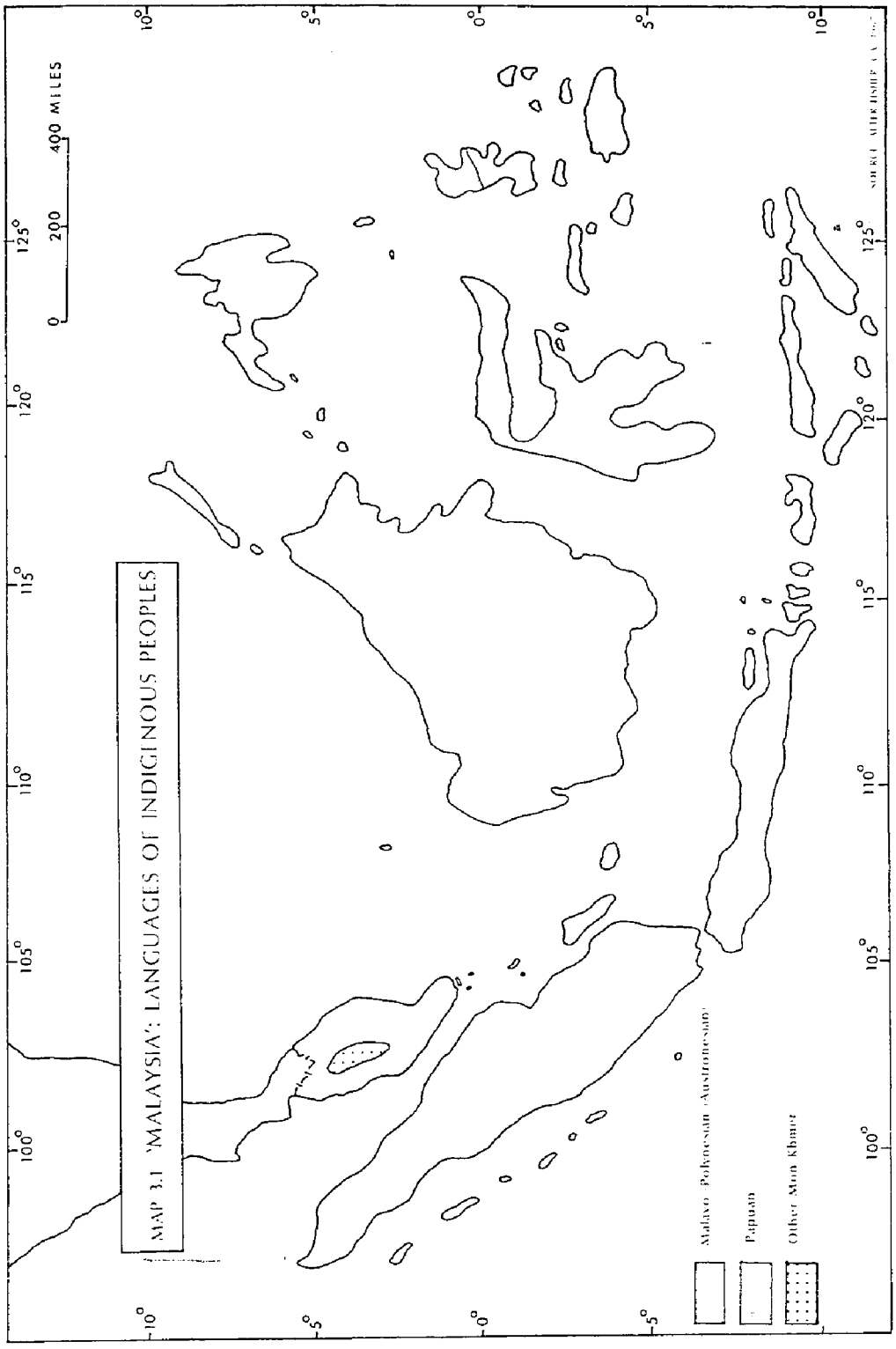
CHAPTER III

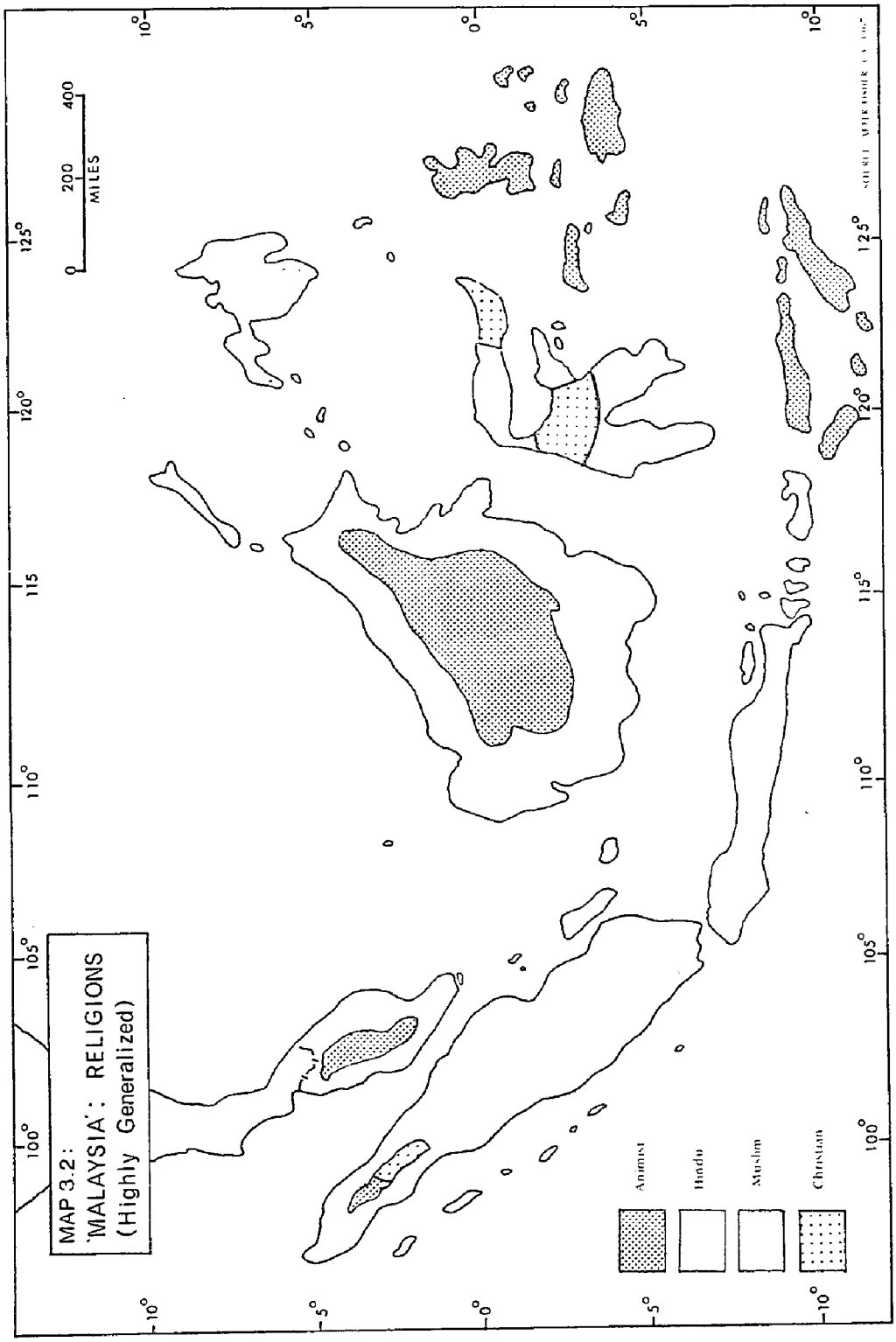
MALAYA

Malaysia

From the nineteenth century to the formation of the Federation of Malaysia in 1963, the word 'Malaysia' was used as a synonym for the Malay archipelago that occupies the southern half of Southeast Asia, from Sumatra to the Spice Islands. This 'Malaysia' had several things in common. All the main languages indigenous to the area were related to Malay. Malay became the lingua franca of trade and communications. The majority of the people shared similar ways of life, similar social and political organizations and similar sets of customs and laws. Also, the people were physically similar and most of them had for at least 400 years shared a common religion--Islam. Maps 3.1 and 3.2 show the Malaysian world of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with respect to its religions and languages.

Today, an ethnic Malay is constitutionally defined as a person of the Malay ethnic group, distinguished by the use of the Malay language and allegiance to the Muslim religion. A Malayan on the other hand is a legal citizen of Malaya; he may be ethnically a Malay, a Chinese, an Indian, a Eurasian, or something else. Similarly, a Malaysian is a person of whatever ethnic origin who is a citizen of the Federation. All these three words--Malay, Malayan and Malaysian--may also be used


MAP 3.1 'MALAYSIA': LANGUAGES OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES
0 200 400 MILES
Malayo-Polynesian (Austronesian)
Papuan
Other Mon-Khmer
10°
5°
0°
5°
10°
100°
105°
110°
115°
120°
125°


MAP 3.2:
'MALAYSIA': RELIGIONS
(Highly Generalized)
0
200
400
MILES
Animist
Hindu
Muslim
Christian
10°
5°
0°
5°
10°
100°
105°
110°
115°
120°
125°

as adjectives in corresponding senses. Before the formation of Malaỳsia, Malaysian was sometimes used to include persons ethnically akin to the Malays, who were Muslims and who spoke a similar language, but who originated from a territory other than Malaya; for example, from Indonesia.

Malaya is part of the Federation of Malaysia, as shown on Map 3.3. Malaysia was established in 1963, comprising the eleven states of Malaya in the Malayan peninsula, two states in the island of Borneo, Sarawak and Sabah, and the island of Singapore. It had a total population of over ten million and an area of about 130,000 square miles. In 1965, Singapore left Malaysia and became an independent nation. The figures in Table 3.1 show the distribution of population and areas of the states of Malaysia.

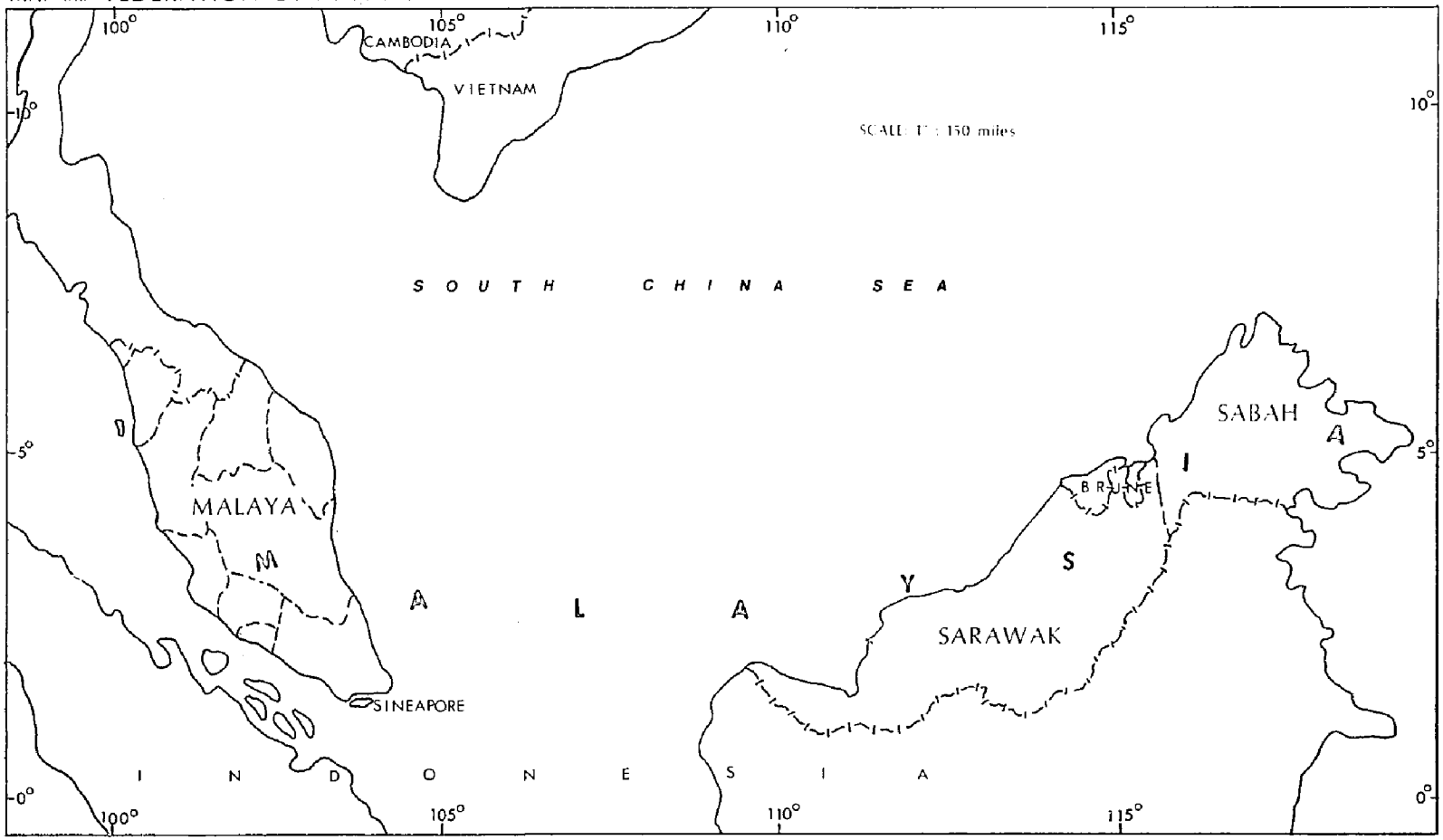
Malaysia: Population and Area,
1961 and 1970

Territory	Area (in sq. miles)	Population (in thousands)	
		1961	1970
Malaya	50,690	7,232	8,801
Sabah	29,390	475	656
Sarawak	47,000	780	977
Singapore	225.6	1,700	--
Total	127,305.6	10,187	10,434

SOURCES: Far Eastern Economic Review Yearbook (1972), and T. E. Smith (1963) p. 3.

TABLE 3.1

MAP 3.3 FEDERATION OF MALAYSIA



SOURCE: MACMILLAN ATLAS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1964

The Malays, together with the Dayaks (from Sarawak), the Kadazans (from Sabah) and all other indigenous groups living in the Federation form the bumiputra (sons of the soil). The aborigines are separately classified as orang asli (original people). The bumiputra are different from the Chinese and the Indians who are immigrant-citizens. According to the 1963 estimates, the bumiputra and the orang asli made up about 46.8% of Malaysia's total population.

Among the bumiputra, the Malays form by far the largest community, consisting of over 80% of its total population. The ancestors of the Malays were immigrants from mainland Southeast Asia, arriving at the Malayan peninsula around 1500 B.C., and from Java and Sumatra, the majority of them arriving in the beginning of the twentieth century. The majority of the Malays are located in Malaya.[1]

Of Malaysia's Chinese population, which in 1963 was estimated to be 36.2%,[2] most of them, about 88.6%, live in Malaya, principally in the western and southern states of Penang, Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Malacca and Johore. The ancestors of Malayan Chinese were from southern China, especially the Province of Kwangtung. Indians in Malaysia are principally located in Malaya and the majority of their ancestors were immigrants from southern India. Chinese contacts with Malaya could be traced as far back as the 1400's A.D. and evidences of Indian influence in Malay culture show that Indian contacts began as early as 400 A.D. However, large-scale Chinese and Indian immigration took place only in

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[1]For a detailed discussion, see Fisher (1968).

[2]Malaysia at a Glance (1967), p. 34.

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Chinese and Indian immigration reflected a series of peaks of influx and withdrawal (Jackson, 1961). The influxes and withdrawals are shown in Figures 3.1 and 3.2. The ethnic composition of the Malaysian population from 1921 to 1970 is shown in Table 3.2. The territorial dominance of each ethnic group is shown in Map 3.4.

The Plural Society of Malaya

(A) Introduction

It is pertinent for the analysis of the research problem to put the Malayan situation in the correct perspective. For this purpose, the growth and form of the Malayan plural society is discussed in detail in this chapter.

The present form of the Malayan plural society began to take shape during the period of British colonization. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, Malaya was forest-clad, sparsely and intermittently peopled. The few centres of population were the Malacca area, the Klang estuary and the Kedah plain on the west coast and the little fort town of Kuala Trengganu and the padi plain of the Kelantan delta on the east. Into this land the British came. One of the results of colonization is the creation of a multi-ethnic society with a division of economic and political power that is ethnically identified. Ethnically, the British controlled the political, administrative and economic power of the country. The Chinese and the Indian merchants and businessmen formed the next active agents of trade. The Malay aristocrats were given in all actuality whatever administrative authority that was seen

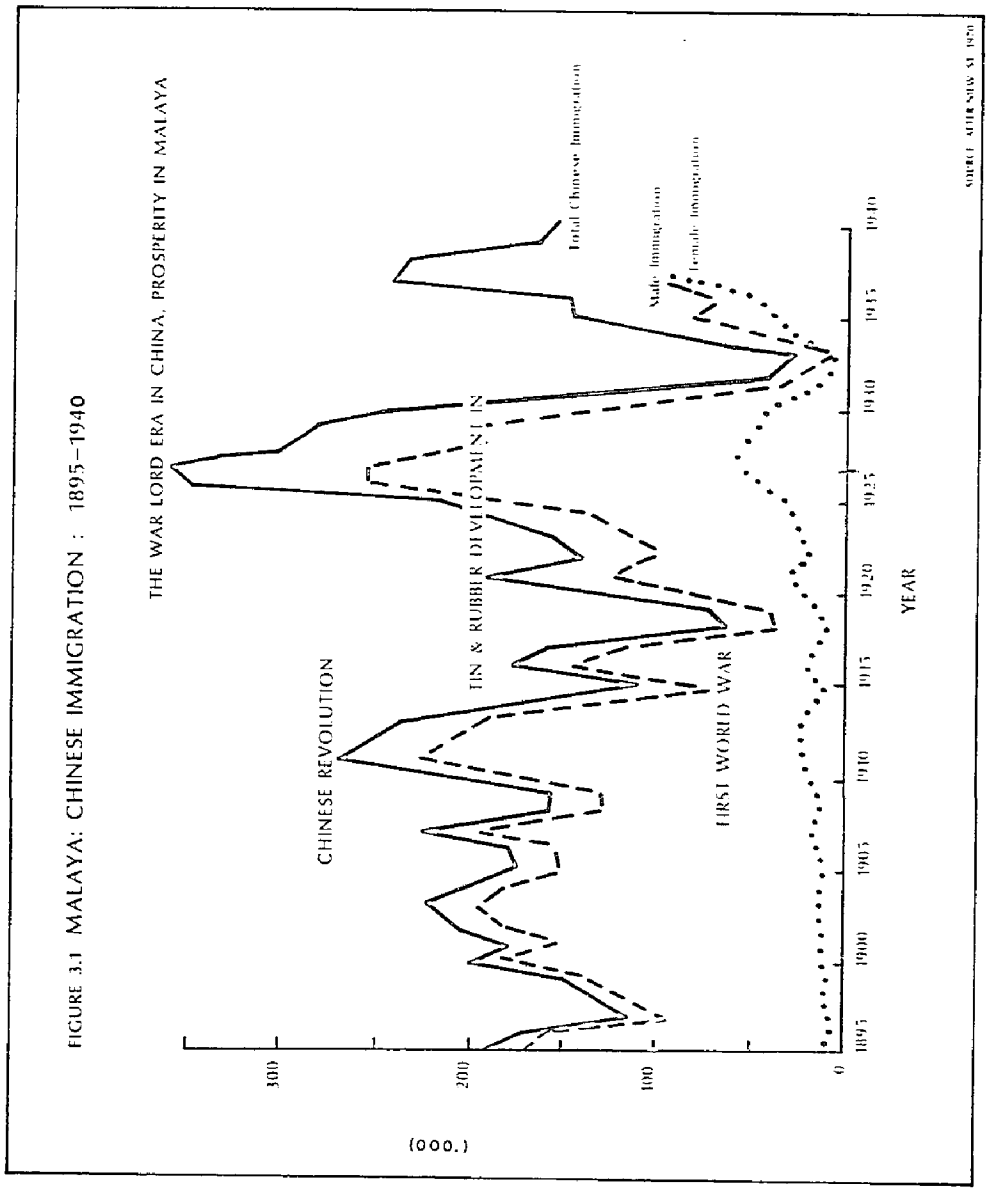
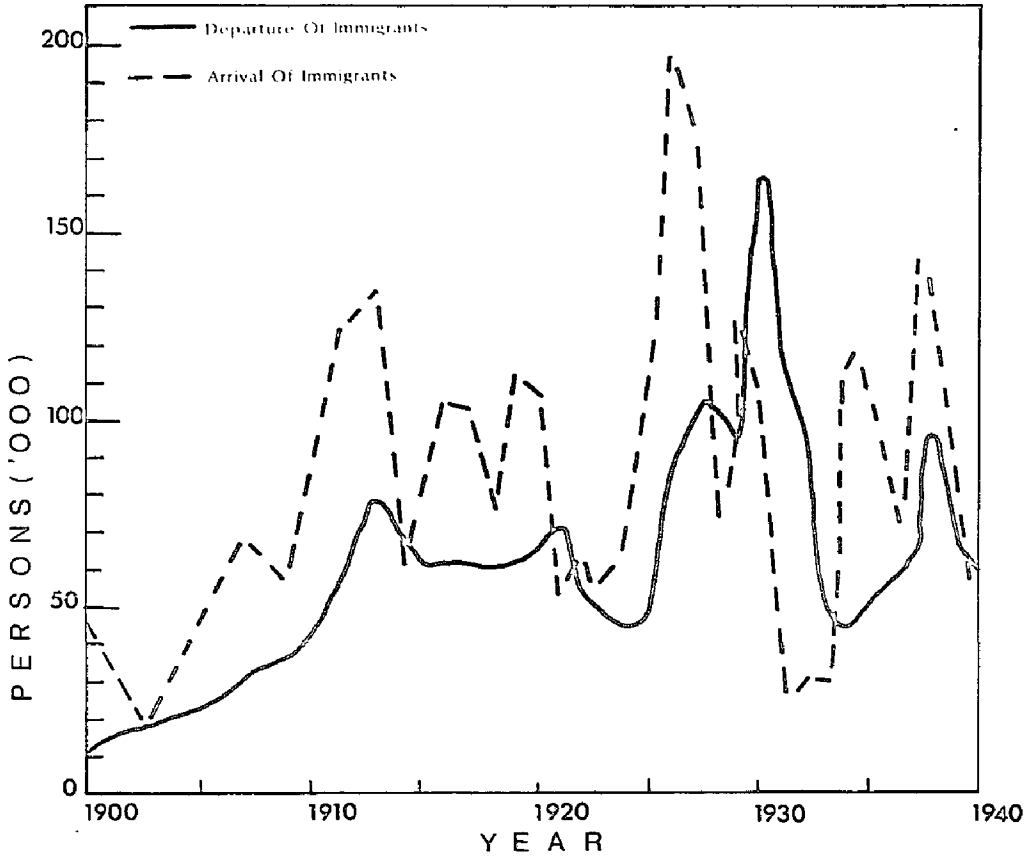


FIGURE 3.1 MALAYA: CHINESE IMMIGRATION : 1895–1940
THE WAR LORD ERA IN CHINA, PROSPERITY IN MALAYA
CHINESE REVOLUTION
TIN & RUBBER DEVELOPMENT IN
FIRST WORLD WAR
Total Chinese Immigration
Male Immigration
Female Immigration
(000.)
300
200
100
0
1895
1900
1905
1910
1915
1920
1925
1930
1935
1940
YEAR

FIGURE 3.2 MOVEMENTS OF INDIANS BETWEEN INDIA AND MALAYA, 1900–1940



SOURCE NEW DELHI INDIANS IN MALAYAN ECONOMY 1950

Malaysia: Population Growth and Ethnic Composition
1921 - 1970

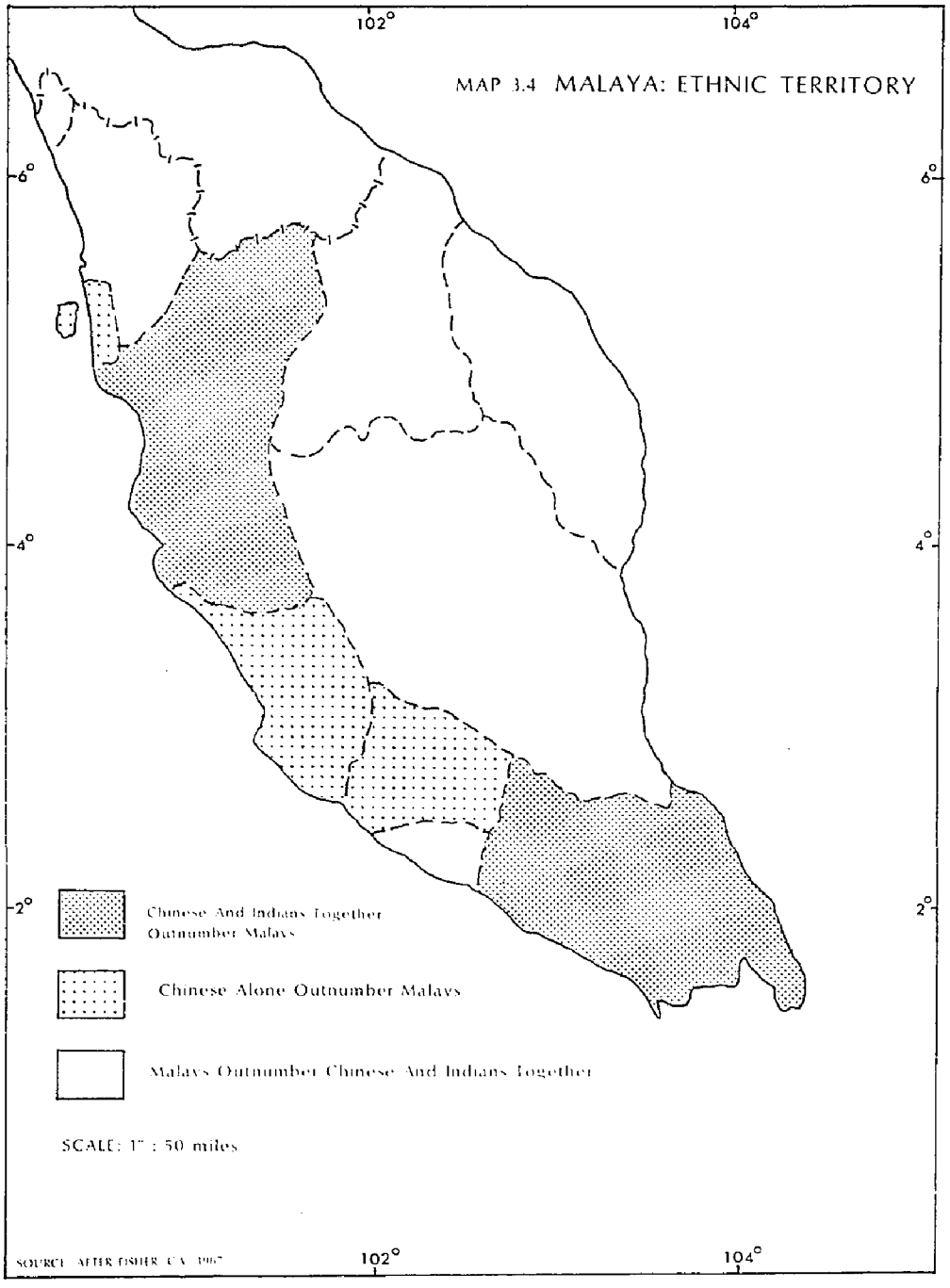
(As a percent of total population)

Year	Territory	Indigenous*	Chinese	Indian**	Total Population (in '000)
1921	Malaya	54.0	29.4	16.6	2,906
1921	Singapore	12.9	75.2	11.9	420
1921	Sabah	77.1	17.0	5.9	263
1921	Sarawak	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1931	Malaya	49.2	33.9	16.9	3,787
1931	Singapore	11.8	74.9	13.3	559
1939	Sabah	75.0	16.0	9.0	277
1939	Sarawak	73.7	25.2	1.1	491
1939	Malaysia	48.8	36.7	14.5	5,114
1947	Malaya	49.5	38.4	12.1	4.908
1947	Singapore	12.3	78.6	9.1	939
1951	Sabah	72.8	22.2	5.0	334
1947	Sarawak	72.8	26.6	1.0	546
1947	Malaysia	47.2	42.2	10.6	6,727
1957	Malaya	49.8	37.2	13.0	6,279
1957	Singapore	13.4	73.9	12.7	1,446
1960	Sabah	67.4	23.1	9.5	454
1960	Sarawak	68.8	30.7	0.5	744
1960	Malaysia	46.8	41.4	11.8	8,923
1967 1968	West M'sia	50.5	35.7	13.6	7,893
1970	West M'sia				8,801
	East M'sia				1,633

*Malays and all those classified as Indigenous in Sarawak and Sabah.
**Including all not classified as Indigenous and Chinese.

SOURCES: T. G. McGee, in Wang Gungwa (1964), p. 68.
1967-68 Socio-Economic HH Surveys (1968).
Field count of Population and Housing Census (1970).

TABLE 3.2


MAP 3.4 MALAYA: ETHNIC TERRITORY
102°
104°
6°
4°
2°
Chinese And Indians Together Outnumber Malays
Chinese Alone Outnumber Malays
Malays Outnumber Chinese And Indians Together
SCALE: 1" : 50 miles
SOURCE: AFTER FISHER, C.A. 1967

fit to be given them by the British, and the peasants maintained their rural, agricultural lifestyle that was traditional to them. Relations that existed between the Malay aristocrats and the peasants were feudalistic, with peasants paying tributes and taxes to their royalties in exchange for protection that they occasionally needed.

(B) The Economic Positions of the Malayan Peoples

Tin and rubber are the most important products of Malaya in terms of both export earnings and employment.

Before the Europeans, principally British, arrived and commenced trading in Malaya, the Chinese had already begun exploiting the tin areas with a crude and labour-intensive technology. When the British started their economic exploitation of the country, they took over the monopoly of trade of the Chinese. Having administrative and legal authorities in their hands, they were able to reap prosperity in their enterprises.[3] In addition to possessing administrative and legal advantages, they had a technological and organizational superiority over the Chinese. The land policies regarding tin mining gave the European firms a legal advantage in their undertaking. Large-scale, highly capitalized western mining methods required extensive land. Title surveys were, therefore, conducted to give the investors the long-term security of tenure they needed in order to make their operations profitable. The colonial government gave repeated consideration to taking back all idle mining lands or lands on which the labour force was not up to the

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[3]For detailed discussion on the British rule in Malaya, see for example, Roff (1967) and Gullick (1958, 1963).

required standard (which were almost completely Chinese-owned), in order to open them up for the big investors. Thus, since the beginning of the century, the mining policy was designed to favour large companies. With the introduction of European capital and organization, the Chinese' share in the industry fell (Wheelwright, 1965).

The legal, administrative and technological advantages possessed by the Europeans also gave them the monopoly of trade on rubber. Rubber seedlings were first introduced by the British to Singapore in 1877. By 1900, small plantations were started in Malaya. After planting, the rubber tree requires six to seven years before it can be tapped, and approximately another three years before it comes into full production. A maturing period of this length requires a substantial amount of capital for the development of the industry. This could be fulfilled principally only by the private joint-stock companies and the merchant houses of western enterprises. By 1932, about half of the Malayan rubber acreage was in the form of estates (areas of more than 100 acres), and they made up more than 1.9 million acres of land. About 1.2 million acres of them were owned by 793 European public liability companies: British, French, Belgium and Danish. As many as one million estate acres were owned by the 479 companies whose estates were larger than 1,000 acres. Regulations such as the Stevenson Scheme (1922-1928) and the International Rubber Regulation Scheme (1934) were passed in favour of large enterprises in this industry (Jackson, 1968). Although the joint stock companies and agency houses had the monopoly in the rubber industry, they were not completely successful in maintaining exclusive control of its production. Small holders sprang up in spite of government discouragement and

prohibition. Generally, the Malays concentrated on holdings under ten acres and the Chinese between 10 and 100 acres. The division of ownership is shown in figures in Tables 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5.

Malaya: Average Size (in '000 acres) of Rubber Estates in Selected Years, 1932-57

Ethnic Origin	1932	1940	1947	1952	1957
European	1.40	1.60	1.60	1.90	2.20
Asian	0.36	0.35	0.38	0.35	0.38
Chinese	0.36	0.34	0.35	0.37	
Indian	0.24	0.24	0.24	0.24	
Malay	0.22				0.38
Japanese	1.61	1.11	1.03	0.76	
Others	0.30				
All Groups	0.82	0.84	0.84	0.83	0.82

SOURCES: Malaya, Rubber Statistics Handbooks (1932, 1940, 1947, 1952, 1957).

TABLE 3.3

The economic policies of the colonial government created an unbalanced economic position for the different ethnic groups as shown in figures in Tables 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8. Economic functions were ethnically distributed so that they had an ethnic identification. Until the late 1960's, the majority of the Malays were engaged in subsistent agricultural activities and the lower ranks of governmental services. Commercial agriculture, trade and higher ranks of governmental services were mostly handled by the Chinese and the Indians. The pattern of identification of ethnic groups with economic functions still exists today.

Malaya: Ownership of Rubber Estates by Ethnic Origin and Size in Selected Years, 1932-1957

Ethnic Origin	Number of Estates					Total Planted Acreage (in '000 acres)				
	1932	1940	1947	1952	1957	1932	1940	1947	1952	1957
European	977	984								
Asian	1,324	1,526	1,408	1,684	1,876	480	541	495	593	721
Chinese	977	1,044	952	1,174		348	351	334	440	
Indian	242	396	393	455		58	94	96	111	
Malay	59				1,876	13				721
Japanese	36	86	63	55		58	96	65	42	
Others	10					3				
All Groups	2,301	2,510	2,316	2,419	2,473	1,878	2,113	1,946	2,009	2,020

SOURCES: Malaya, Rubber Statistics Handbooks (1932, 1933, 1940, 1941, 1947, 1952, 1957).

TABLE 3.4

Malaya: Ownership of Rubber Small-Holdings
by Ethnic Origin and Size, 1953

I. Peasant Holdings Under 25 Acres

Ethnic Origin	Total Acreage (1,000 acres)	Total No. of Holdings (1,000)	Average Size of Holdings (acres)	Average Acreage (percent)
Malay	635.9	199.3	3.2	55.9
Chinese	401.7	78.4	5.1	35.3
Indian	78.4	18.7	4.2	6.9
Others	22.1	3.5	6.3	1.9
Total	1,138.2	299.9	3.8(?)	100.0

II. Medium-Size Holdings of 25 Acres--Less than 100 Acres

Ethnic Origin	Total Acreage (1,000 acres)	Total No. of Holdings (1,000)	Average Size of Holdings (acres)	Average Acreage (percent)
Malay	11.9	0.3	39.7	5.1
Chinese	147.1	3.6	40.9	63.5
Indian	40.7	0.9	45.2	17.6
Others	32.0	0.6	53.3	13.8
Total	231.7	5.4	42.9	100.0

NOTE: All acreage refers to planted acreage.

SOURCE: Malaya: Rubber Statistics Handbook (1953), p. 85.

TABLE 3.5

Federated Malay States: Distribution of Occupation by Ethnic Origin (to nearest 100), 1931

Occupation	Malays & Other Malaysians	Chinese	Indians
Fishing	6,000	7,300	56
Rice Growing	89,100	1,000	1,700
Rubber	51,100	102,300	131,200
Coconut	11,700	1,300	8,000
Tin	1,100	70,900	4,600
Carpenters	492	13,200	300
Builders	350	5,000	500
Railways	570	600	6,000
General Labour	4,300	15,200	21,300
Commerce (excluding clerks)	2,700	50,900	12,200
Clerks	1,500	7,700	3,100
Teachers	2,000	1,300	600
Police	2,600	160	2,000
Govt. Offices	800	80	100

SOURCE: Radcliffe (1970), p. 17.

TABLE 3.6

Percent Distribution of Occupations
by Ethnic Origin, 1967-1968

Occupations	Malays	Chinese	Indians
Agricultural	65.00	22.00	11.90
Mining, Quarrying	15.40	75.60	8.40
Administrative & Managerial	22.10	64.20	9.10
Professional & Technical	46.40	36.00	14.10
Clerical	30.80	51.30	15.90
Sales & Related Occupations	25.70	64.70	9.20
Transport & Communication Occupations	44.80	37.80	15.60
Services	37.70	46.80	14.10
Occupations Not Identified	28.40	37.60	18.40

SOURCE: Report of Employment and Unemployment, West Malaysia (1967-68), p. 100.

TABLE 3.7

Malaya: Approximate Distribution of Total Individual Incomes by Ethnic Origin, 1957

Income	Malays	Chinese	Indians
Total Individual Income (M $m.)	1,150	1,950	475
Percent of Total	31	53	13
Population (m.)	3.13	2.33	0.71
Average Annual Income per Head (M $)	367	837	669
Population of Males 15-59 years (m)	0.786	0.605	0.236
Average Annual Income per Adult Male	1,463	3,223	2,013

SOURCE: Compiled from Silcock (1963), p. 279.

TABLE 3.8

(C) Politics in the Malayan Society

The British took over the power of government from the ruling Malay aristocracy and ruled in all matters except on Malay religion and customs.[4] The British rule soon burgeoned into an elaborate bureaucracy. The educational policy was designed to guarantee that such a need be fulfilled by utilizing "selected Malays of good birth"--the aristocracy. This is also one way of winning the allegiance of the Malay aristocracy to the British regime. Another method was to provide

[4]This is specified in the Pangkor Engagement signed with the Chiefs of Perak and which became the model for all subsequent treaty arrangements with the other Malay states. The full text of the Engagement is contained in Maxwell and Gibson (1924), pp. 28-29.

them with an income to alleviate their previous rank and influence; for example, the rulers were able to live in palaces erected at state expenses. However, the stronghold of the European and Malay aristocratic service was later breached.[5] As the administrative system developed, a large number of workers were required to fill up the subordinate ranks of the bureaucracy. These positions could have been filled by the Malays. However, immigration was encouraged.[6] During the early stages of growth of the Malayan economy; that is, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, employment needs were met by bringing in more and more Indians and Ceylon Tamils.[7] When it became

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[5]In the 1920's, qualified Malays were admitted to the Malayan Civil Service (MCS) without reservation as to status. Although posts were not many, the final result of this structural change was the emergence of a new Malay leadership, English-educated and increasingly influenced by Western ideas of government, drawing its authority in part from inherited social status and in part from its association with the British regime.

[6]One school of thought is that the very nature of the ruling policy, i.e. paternalism and protectionalism which prompted the nurture of the traditional ruling class, required that the Malay peasants should as far as possible be left in their undisturbed conditions of their customary rural way of life. I shall later on discuss this point. Also, as Radcliffe (1970) observed, Malays were deterred from work outside the villages for other reasons. Many of the positions in theory available in the urban centres involved working in occupations already dominated by Chinese and Indians. Training facilities and technical education were only available in urban centres, and this placed the Malays at a disadvantage to begin with. The government did attempt to establish technical schools, with preference for Malays, but as one report of the Federal Council pointed out, technical education would have been more effective and attractive to the Malays, if it had been carried out in the form of on-the-job training by the Public Works Department, Railways and General Post Office, for the average rural Malay family lacked the capital necessary to cover the cost, and delay, of specialized training, and this consideration limited Malay choice of available employment to government clerkship which depended very much upon literacy already acquired in school.

[7]They were principally engaged in the Railways, Public Service, Public Works and similar departments.

possible to staff the government departments with locally (English-educated) trained people, the great disparity in the availability of English schools between the rural and the urban areas further emphasized the "alienation" of the public sector from the Malays.[8] Thus began another aspect of functional differentiation between the Malays and non-Malays. The contiguous development of ports and urban settlements and British administrative control formed a world outside the reach of the Malay peasantry. As Roff (1967) observed, the establishment of ordered government removed their fear of embroilment in the rivalries of their aristocrats or Chinese mining factions. Although they gained little, if any, from the vast public expenditure of the states, they were asked to contribute equally little. Governmental encouragement that was given to "foreign" Malays--Sumatran and Javanese immigrants--in the late nineteenth century to take up agriculture introduced the peasantry to these foreigners.[9] Ethnic and cultural similarities made it easy for these foreigners to be assimilated to Malay peasant life and to be accepted there. Malay and foreign Malay peasants alike continued to live a rural life.

In the late 1920's, a growing demand from the permanently domiciled Chinese and Indians was voiced for rights and privileges equal to those of the Malays. For example, they demanded, among other things, the right to be citizens. A Chinese Legislative Council Member

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[8]See Footnote 6.

[9]These "foreign Malays" were first brought into Malaya as estate labourers. They then drifted into peasant agriculture and, therefore, came into contact with the local Malay peasants.

said thus,

> Who said this is a Malay country? When Captain Light arrived (in Penang in the 1870's) did he find Malays or Malay villages? Our fore-fathers came here and worked hard as coolies (labourers)--weren't ashamed to become coolies--and they didn't send their money back to China. They married and spent their money here, and in this way the government was able to open up the country from jungle to civilization. We've become inseparable from this country. It's ours, our country. (Roff, 1967, p. 209)

The Malays, on the other hand, had felt threatened by the presence of the Chinese and Indians. The aristocracy were secure in the preference accorded to them by the British for higher positions in government service and secure also in their established ascendency over the peasantry. As long as the British policy maintained that the states of Malaya were Malay states, they had nothing to fear from the Chinese and the Indians. An effective challenge to them could come only from the development of an emancipated and economically adventurous Malay middle class. This was, of course, not likely to happen, although the growing frustrations of the nationalistic elements could not be doubted. For example, as reported by Roff (1967), in the 1920's and 30's, a collective identity of Malayan peoples began to be shown. Orang (people) Perak, Orang Selangor, Orang Negri Sembilan and Orang Pahang began to replace Orang Minanghabau, Orang Mandailing, Orang Korinchi or Jambi or Rawa or Palembang. These were in turn replaced by a simple distinction of anak bumiputra (local born) or anak dagang (foreign born), and finally, a conscious sense of Orang Melayu (Malay people) began to assert itself. By the 1930's, there had appeared among the Malays a group, still extremely small but growing, of English-educated government servants, who were conscious of the threat offered to their position by non-Malay

competition. While still looking to the British to safeguard their interests, the slow process of modernization of the Malay society proceeded.[10] Malay journalism during this period was dominated by a series of newspapers published in the Malay language. Their principal concerns were the economic and educational backwardness of most Malays.

The British administration regarded Malaya as a country of the Malays. However, after the second World War, at the formation of the Malayan Union in 1946, a new policy was introduced. A Malayan citizenship was to be instituted whereby equal citizenship right could be given to all those people, regardless of their ethnic origin, who claimed Malaya as their homeland. Under this arrangement, therefore, a Malayan Chinese, for example, could become a Malayan citizen, yet remain a national of China. This to the Malays was too "liberal" a citizenship provision which would deprive the Malay rulers of their sovereignty and result in "non-Malay domination" in Malaya. In fear of replacement by non-Malays, the Malays wanted a return to the pre-war situation which confirmed the special position, privileges and rights of the Malay rulers as well as those of the Malays as natives of the country. Thus, the Malayan Union was not accepted. Between 1946 and 1948, the governor of the Malayan Union (British), the Malay rulers and representatives of the UMNO (Malay aristocrats) met and the 1948 Federation Agreement was instituted. It brought the constitutional position of the Malay rulers and the Malays back to its pre-war position, with each Malay State enjoying a measure of independence symbolized by the constitutional

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[10]Here, modernization refers to a growing sense of nationalism.

authority of each individual sultan.

In 1952, an amendment of the 1948 Agreement was introduced relating to citizenship. Under this provision, a person may upon fulfilling certain conditions become a citizen by renouncing this other nationality. The argument behind this is that a citizen, if he is to be a good citizen, must be a citizen in fact and not merely a foreigner, knowing neither the language nor the customs of the country. He must, therefore, be assimilated to the Malayan (i.e., the Malay's) way of life. The 1952 Ordinance was based on these principles:[11]

(1) That the right to citizenship by birth, i.e. jus soli, should be applied to Malays born in the Malay states because it is reasonably certain that they will be readily assimilated to the federation's way of life;

(2) That a "delayed jus soli" should be applied to non-Malays--because the probability is that a non-Malay of the first generation of local birth will not be assimilated to the federation's way of life;

(3) That the Malay and the English languages and a common way of life are essential to the building of a united and happy nation in the federation.

The Reid Commission, appointed to prepare Malaya for self-government within the Commonwealth (1957) had this term of reference: "provision should be made for the safeguarding of the special position of the Malays and the legitimate interests of the other communities". The Commission stated, "We found it difficult...to reconcile the terms of reference if the protection of the special position of the Malays signified the granting of special privileges permantently to one community and not to the others". This is indeed the dilemma of Malaysia today. However, a justification was worked out:

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[11]Extracted from Malaysian Digest (October 3, 1970).

> In the first place, the principle of the special position of the Malays had already been embodied in the 1948 Agreement. The Malays therefore cannot be expected to give up what they already have in the same way that they do not expect the other communities to give up their existing rights.[12]

The constitution also gives a position regarding the national language. The basis of this position is that "no country can survive without a nation. No nation can emerge or survive without a common bond. No common bond is stronger than that of language."

It is important, in the context of this dissertation, to note these attitudinal positions observed in the country. The importance of the issues considered is reflected by the constitutional protection given them. Article 153 on the Special Rights of the Malays is an example indicating the perceptions and attitudes enshrined in the constitution. Extracts from the article are presented below:

> (1) It shall be the responsibility of the Yang di-Pertuan Agong (i.e. the King) to safeguard the special position of the Malays and the legitimate interests of other communities in accordance with the provisions of this Article.
>
> (2) ...the Yang di-Pertuan Agong shall exercise his functions under this constitution and federal law in such manner as may be necessary to safeguard the special position of the Malays and to ensure the reservation for Malays of such proportion as he may deem reasonable of positions in the public service (other than the public service of a state) and of scholarships, exhibitions and other similar educational or training privileges or special facilities given or accorded by the federal government and, when any permit for the operation of any trade or business is required by federal law, then, subject to the provisions of that law and this Article, of such permits and licences.
>
> (3) The Yang di-Pertuan Agong may, in order to ensure...the reservation to Malays of positions in the public service

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[12]Report of the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Commission (1956-1957), pp. 14 and 71.

and of scholarships, exhibitions and other educational or privileges or special facilities, give such general directions as may be required for that purpose to any Commission.

(4) ...the Yang di-Pertuan Agong shall not deprive any person of any public office held by him or of the continuance of any scholarship, exhibition or other educational or training privileges or special facilities enjoyed by him.

(6) Where by existing federal law a permit or license is required for the operation of any trade or business the Yang di-Pertuan Agong may exercise his functions under that law in such manner, or give such general directions to any authority charged under that law with the granting of such permits or licenses, as may be required to ensure the reservation of such proportion of such permits or licenses for Malays as the Yang di-Pertuan Agong may deem reasonable; and the authority shall comply with the directions.

(7) Nothing in this article shall operate to deprive or authorize the deprivation of any right, privilege, permit or license accrued to or enjoyed or held by him or to authorized a refusal to renew to any person any such permit or license.

(9) Nothing in this Article shall empower Parliament to restrict business or trade solely for the purpose of reservations for Malays.

Federal provisions for Malay rights are supplemented by additional provisions in state constitutions. All nine Malay states give to the Ruler the power "to safeguard the special position of the Malays and to ensure the reservation for Malays of such proportion as he may deem reasonable of positions in the public service of the state and of scholarships, exhibitions and other similar educational or training privileges or special facilities given or accorded by the state government and when any permit or license for the operation of trade or business is required by state law."[13] And nine Malay states require that the Mentri Besar

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[13] Malayan Constitutional Documents, Vol. 2, 2nd edition.

(chief Minister) of the state must be Malay and a Muslim. (Six of the nine states allow an exception to this rule if no Muslim can be found who can command the support of the legislative council.) Also, six states require that the State Secretary (chief administrative officer) be a Malay Muslim, and most of the state councils associated with the institution of monarchy require the members to be Malay Muslims. While the Malays have not monopolized all political power, they have been largely successful in limiting access to the political system to those non-Malays who have been willing to acknowledge the basic Malay identity of the country and to avoid any challenge to the system of Malay special rights.[14]

The present constitution is a duplicate of the 1948 Agreement and the 1957 Constitution with respect to the above issues.

Malaysian citizenship may be obtained by:

(a) operation of law,
(b) registration,
(c) naturalization, and
(d) incorporation of territory.

The first category applies to:

(1) people who are British subjects; that is, people born in Penang and Malacca before 1957,

(2) people born in the Federated Malay States before 1957 whose parents are residents there for fifteen years or more, and

(3) people born in the Federation of Malaya between 1957 and October 1962.

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[14]Also, see Means (1972).

People in this category do not have to apply for citizenship but citizenship is given them automatically.

The second category applies to:

(1) wives of citizens, provided they have resided in Malaysia for two years,

(2) children under the age of twenty-one, one of whose parents is a citizen, and

(3) persons above the age of eighteen, born in Malaysia before August 31, 1957, who have resided five out of the seven last years in Malaysia and possess an elementary knowledge of the Malay language.

People of this group, although eligible for citizenship, do not become citizens until they register themselves (after they turn eighteen years old, take a loyalty oath and pass a language test). Apparently, the government now reserves the right to grant or withhold citizenship for these people, although it can be argued that according to the spirit of the constitution they become citizens when they register.

The third category applies to persons who have resided in Malaysia for ten of the last twelve years and who possess an adequate knowledge of the Malay language. In view of some opinion in the country, those people who are eligible for citizenship and have not registered themselves do not deserve citizenship because they have not displayed any interest in becoming citizens.

The last category applies to people of new territories admitted to the country. For example, the Malaysia Act 1963, provides for peoples of East Malaysia (Sarawak and Sabah) to be citizens.

One Article that influences the above citizenship regulations

is Article 30 which says that the government may "on the application of any person with respect to whose citizenship a doubt exists, whether in fact or in law, certify that the person is a citizen." This was designed to assist those people entitled to citizenship but whose birth certificates had been lost, whose names had been misspelled or whose documentation was not in order. However, when these certificates are granted them and subsequently recalled and taken away, the persons concerned may be in no position to certify that they are citizens. As announced by the Minister of Home Affairs, up to 1960, about 1.5 million certificates had been issued under the authority of Election Commission without going through "the necessary processing procedure", and of these 1.5 million certificates, 250,000 would be called in.

(D) The Values and Work-Styles of the Malayan Peoples

The different economic and political powers of the different ethnic groups of Malaya are salient features of the Malayan plural society. In addition, another set of factors are present in the plural society: the different cultural values and work-styles of the peoples.

William Ogburn (1966) has demonstrated that differences in culture (similarly defined by George Murdock, referred to in Chapter I). can account for many differences in traits and personalities. With respect to the Malays, Chinese and Indians, cultural differences that exist among them may account substantially for the differences they exhibit in their work-styles and economic functions.

The Malays

To people who have experiences of working with the Malays, it

often appears to them that in their value system there exists an attitude of "tidapa" (it doesn't matter). Many references to this attitude have been made, both by the Malays themselves and by non-Malays who have worked with them. These references are often given with an acknowledgement that the tid'apa attitude hinders the work performance and economic advancement of the Malay community as a whole.[15]

Coupled with the tidapa attitude is the differentiation the Malays make in the concept of work in different kinds of employment. A distinction is made between kerja (work) and makan gaji (work for wages) or biken duit (making money). Kerja is reserved for activities such as fishing, padi-growing, gardening, collecting firewood and sometimes cooking and washing clothes--activities that contribute directly or in kind to the subsistence of the household, and which are inherently part of the Malay adat (customs or customary laws). Makan gaji is reserved for tasks such as rubber-tapping and employment in tertiary services in urban centres--activities that are alien to the traditional life of the Malays. Furthermore, kerja are tasks performed by orang kampong (village folk) while makan gaji are the main pre-occupations of orang bandar (town folk). And kerja implies moral worth and, therefore, dignity while makan gaji does not.[16]

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[15]This observation has been made by numerous people including local and foreign government officials, technical advisers, anthropologists, social workers and the ethnic groups of the country, including the Malays themselves. For example, see Mahathir (1970), Ness (1967), Wilson (1967) and Swift (1967).

[16]Wilson (1967) observes that this classification of kinds of effort is indicative of the "moral" attitude of village Malays to economic activities. Those tasks for which the labour expanded is "worthwhile, and to do such work contribute to one's dignity....These

The folk religion of the Malays stresses luck which is the predetermination of almost everything. Official religion preaches that this world is only temporary, a testing, that worldly wealth is nothing as compared with the heavenly riches awaiting the pious, the attainment of which is hindered rather than helped by too much concern with this world (Swift, 1965; Wilson, 1967). The Malay is prone, after receiving a setback, to give up striving and say that he has no luck, that it is the will of God (takdir'llah) that he fails. He believes in rezeki (economic destiny). Rezeki may bring him rewards which seem unearned by earthly standards, it may also deny him rewards when he fully deserves them. For him there is no way of altering one's fate; "Rezeki sa-chupak tak akan jadi sa-gantang" (one's lot of a quart will never become a gallon; as fate decides all, striving to improve and to better is useless."[17] If one accepts the proposition that economic achievement is dependent upon economic motivation,[18] one may say that the Malays are not motivated. The Malays often explain their relative failure in economic activities by claiming that they, unlike their Chinese and Indian counterparts are not obsessed with the base things like money.

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tasks (are) conducted only by orang[2] kampong as opposed to orang[2] bandar whose only concern is money...there is no dignity attached to it," p. vi. Firth (1946, 1964) also has a similar analysis.

[17]That the Malays give up after a setback is a common phenomenon. The second Malaysia Plan (1971-75) admits, in two occasions, such an attitude and its consequences in wastage of resources. This attitude has been used by the Chinese and the Indians as one of the weapons of attack on government policy of economic development. Wilson (1967) and Mahathir (1970) also make similar references to the concept of rezeki.

[18]This concept is discussed in Arkinson, et al. (1954, 1958).

They are attracted, instead, according to themselves, by finer things and feelings.[19] The Malays, the Chinese and the Indians all desire wealth. There is a difference, however, in the meaning wealth has for them. Wealth is as strongly desired by the Malays as by the Chinese and Indians; but to the Malays, it is for present, short-term consumption. This is not to say that the Malays do not save, but potential future benefit is not weighed heavily against present sacrifice. This preference for the present, the short-run is not in itself uneconomic or irrational, but it makes for weaknesses in economic competition with the Chinese and the Indians who have comparative advantages of long-run perspective and planning over them.

The Malays speak of industry, foresight and thrift as virtues, and place more emphasis on the excuse for failing to achieve these virtues than on achieving them. This kind of attitude is reflected in their social system. Swift (1965) finds that among the Malays, economic striving beyond a certain limit produces hostility. For example, the man who works hard in his rubber-holding, or his rice field is praised. But he will meet disapproval if his diligence interferes with his participation in ceremonial events, or with helping his neighbours on these occasions.

Security, meaning a desire to achieve a guaranteed minimum level of consumption which will not be risked for potential future gain, has a very great influence on the life of the Malays. They are reluctant to

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[19]This attitudinal expression is a true expression in many cases, and it is verified, for example, by Rawlings, as reported by Ness (1967).

undertake ventures which will interfere with their existing economic arrangements. The attitude toward security helps to explain the attraction that employment with the government has on them; for example, in the civil service and in the armed forces, where the security of a fixed income compensates for low wages. The fear of insecurity also helps to explain their attitude to innovation and specialization within the rural economy. Specialization, in the sense of being engaged in some occupation different from others in the kampong, is very limited. The people are reluctant to give up regular village work completely to devote their time and attention to one special line of employment because they would have nothing to fall back on should their attempt fail.[20] Swift suggests that their fear of failure is self-fulfilling; one example he cites is that of a village craftesman who explained that he dared not devote all his time to his craft because he would then have to abandon his village work (of padi-growing) altogether and would have nothing to fall back on when such a need arose. Other than having the sense of insecurity, the situation may also be explained by their simple attachment and devotion to traditional occupations due to their attitude toward kerja and makan gaji.

The Malays' attitudes and values colour their social system throughout and cannot be identified with any specific area. Fatalism, the short-run orientation, the reluctance to alter an arrangement which is satisfactorily meeting minimum consumption needs, the lack of dynamism and the weakness in the face of outside competition are of great

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[20]Another probable reason may be their lack of capital.

importance in understanding the Malays' economic activity and work ethics. Moreover, as observed by Wheeler, "it must always be remembered that the Malays have never played an important part in the commerical life of the country...even in the most typical Malay areas, all shops are run by other races, mostly the ubiquitous Chinese" (Wheeler, 1928, p. 221).[21] Gullick's (1958) analysis shows that the lack of commercial skill among the Malays is due partly to a lack of proper economic organization. In the past, the Malay district chief, if he ruled wisely, had been the co-ordinator of a simpler system of rural development. The headman of each village mobilized labour under the direction of the chief and the headman in turn obtained money or other aid from the chief for the villagers. This gotong royong (systems of reciprocal aid and service or self-help) had withered away as the chief and the headman were transferred to the civil service. The Malay peasantry, left to their own devices, had proved inefficient both in marketing his produce and in obtaining credit. The planting of rubber had made peasant holdings valuable beyond their proprietor's previous dreams and gave him a much greater cash income than before, especially when the price for rubber was high in the international market. The sales from other traditional occupations, both as copra, padi, fish and occasional wage labour also added to his incomes. His expenditure grew with his income. The sale of his produce and the spending of his money created opportunities for trade for the middlemen, the Chinese and the Indians. And he gradually ran into debts.

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[21] Although this observation was made in the 1920's, the situation remains very much the same. This is one of the reasons the government is assisting the Malays in this field.

The conclusion the author draws is that, in addition to historical circumstances, the work ethics of the Malays being weaker than those of the Chinese and Indians in the sense of ability to compete with the Chinese and Indians, results in the lower economic status the Malays occupy today. This situation necessitates government legislation for their protection and assistance (Chapter V).

In the discussion that follows, the author examines the work ethics and work styles of the Chinese to bring out the contrasting patterns that exist between them and the Malays. The discussion gives references to the Indians as well. For reasons given later in Chapter V, a separate treatment of the Indians is not essential.

The Chinese and the Indians

Just as the Malay community are referred to as possessing the tidapa attitude, the Chinese and Indians are often referred to as "industrious". Images such as an "economically aggressive Chinese" versus that of a "lazy", "contented" and "unreliable" Malay are so often projected in the minds of their observers that many Malays have begun to believe that they are indeed biologically inferior to the Chinese and the Indians, especially the former.[22]

The ancestors of the Indians in Malaya came mostly from Southern India and were mostly weavers. The Chinese came from the hungry and

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[22]For example, the present Prime Minister of Malaysia, while acting as the Deputy Prime Minister, has said that there is a biological difference between the Malays and the Chinese and Indians, and Mahathir, himself a Malay and a medical doctor, has also made a similar observation and attributes the "inferiority" of the Malays to marriages between close relatives; that is, in-breeding among the same family members. See Mahathir (1970).

crowded provinces of Southeast China and were mostly descendents of landed or landless peasants. The majority of the Indians and Chinese labourers were brought to Malaya to clear the lands for estate agriculture managed by the British East India Company, and to work in the mines in the case of the Chinese.

Environmental conditions for the Sinkheh (newly arrived Chinese labourers) and the Indians were harsh and, as immigration continued, competitive.[23] To the opinion of many western writers on Malayan history,[24] these peoples demonstrated an incredible drive, determination and adaptability of a restless and uprooted people seeking economic release for their energies, willing and anxious to put their talents to almost any task in the struggle to provide for self and kin in the new land. In the early phases of immigration, the labourers periodically returned to their homelands after they had made some money. They regarded themselves as members of their own local villages in China and India but separated by distance.[25] When the first generation China-born Chinese and Indian-born Indians gave way to Malaya-born Chinese and Indians, these people had decided to make Malaya their home. Remittances to China and India were markly curbed while Malayan Chinese and

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[23]Jackson (1961) gives a very detailed account of lives of immigrant labourers in Malaya.

[24]See, for example, Purcell (1956, 1962) and Blythe (1969).

[25]As reported by Newell (1962), many observers in China had commented that when "overseas" Chinese returned to their own villages they did not bring home with them any foreign customs. In fact, the money they brought home to China was usually spent in traditional Chinese ways. Moreover, changes in China itself had more effect on the returned Chinese than changes overseas.

Indian capital began to accumulate. The permanently settled populations were mostly urban and were engaged in commercial and trading activities.

While the immigrant labourers had to struggle for a living, the Malays were spared the scourge of survival. Opinions have been that there is a difference regarding labour input among the three ethnic groups. As reported by Newell (1962) and Jackson (1966) alike, the usual rates paid to agricultural labourers were six dollars or more for the Chinese and four to six dollars for the Indians, while the Malays received only about two dollars per day. The argument for this wage differential is that the Chinese often did over three times the work of the Malays in any one day and should, therefore, receive three times the wages of the Malays. A similar argument was given for Indian labour.

There is very little work done on the value system and social organization of the Chinese and Indians in Malaya.[26] One of the most significant functions performed by these two groups, and in which their capacity to work and their resourcefulness are reflected is that of the middleman. The Chinese middleman and the Indian chettiars (money lenders) form an important part of the propertied class in the country. For a long time, they have been indispensable as the principal purveyors of rural credit in Malaya (Purcell, 1962; Arasaratnam, 1970).

In the opinion of many people, the wealth of the Chinese and Indians have thus accumulated, giving rise to the unbalance of ethnic economic power of today, as can be seen from figures shown in Figure 3.3. The function of the middleman is an important part of the Malayan

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[26]This point is also acknowledged, e.g. by Clarkson (1968).

Malaya: Ethnic Distribution of Incomes

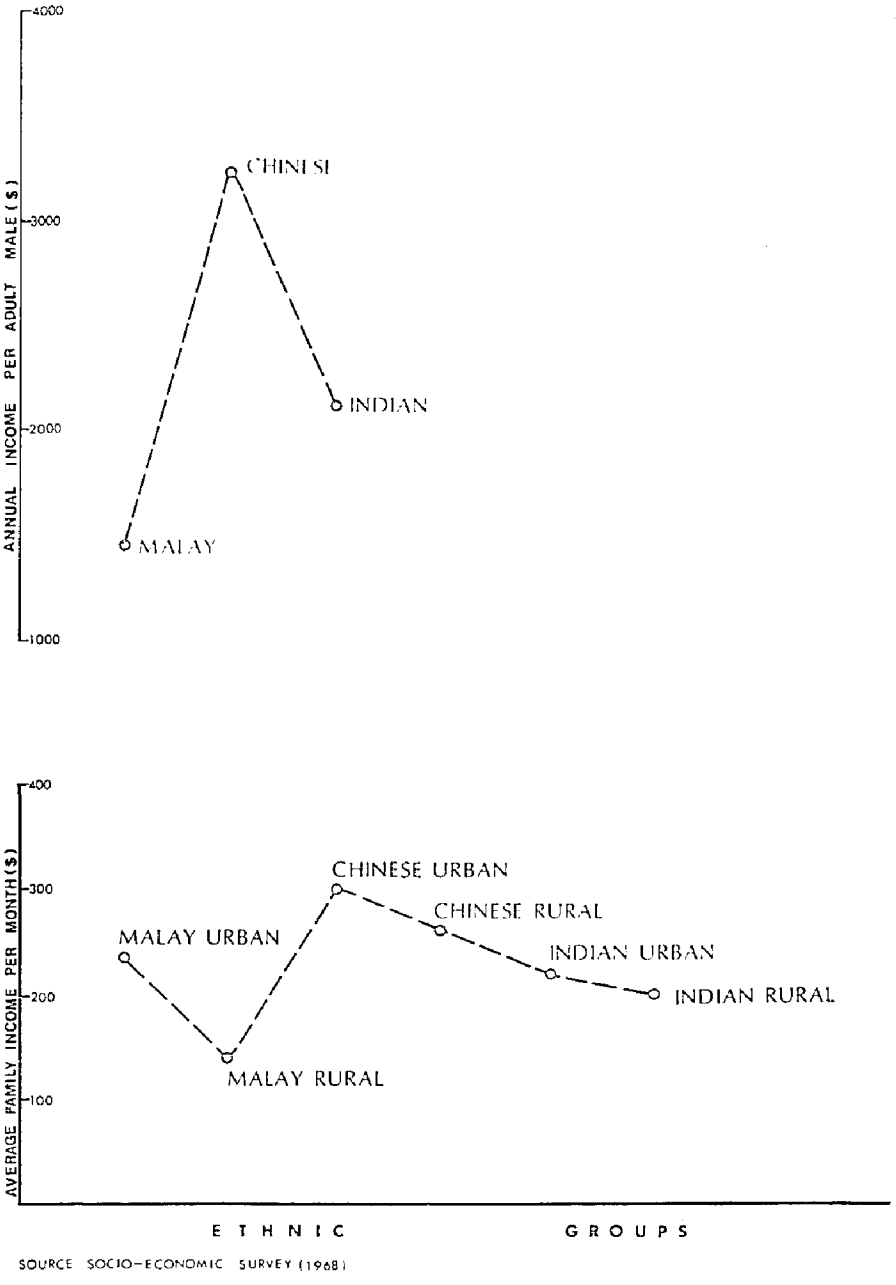

FIGURE 3.3

economy. The author, therefore, examines its mechanism in some detail.

The Mechanism of Middleman: The Work Styles of the Chinese

With the export trade taken by the British and other Europeans, the Chinese lost their position in the export-import sector of the economy. A vacuum was now created between the modern and the rural sectors, between the primary producers and the exporters-importers. As the Chinese, among the commercial elements in Malaya, had the greatest contact with the rural sector, they easily drifted into this vacuum and acted as the inter-sectoral link between the trading and the subsistence economies. Thus began the full swing of the activity of Chinese middlemen in Malaya.

The potential job of a middleman in small-holding rubber production is to purchase unsmoked rubber sheet from producers. Apart from this, he performs several other key functions. These include the processing of rubber, the transportation and marketing of the processed good and money lending. The important feature of rubber is its extreme inelasticity of supply, and the more inelasticity is in the supply of a commodity, the greater is the possible gain per unit to the monopolist (or monopsonist). Important also are a series of "power factors" which permit and control the degree of monopsonic power. A social structure with extended family and clan relationships can strengthen the control of marketing, money lending and merchant functions. These functions may be performed by different members of a cohesive group. The Chinese kongsi (Chinese partnership) in Malaya represents such a group. The power factors that they have preserve the supply inelasticity of rubber

by insulating it from price change. To sum up, in Malaya, technological factors are reinforced by institutional factors to favour the growth of monopoly and monopsony. Bell and Tai (1968), drawing upon the experience of Thailand and Malaya, in their analysis of agricultural supply response propose that the Chinese middleman is the link, and also a part of change, between the urban and rural sectors. The extent of this function depends upon the degree of his market monopoly or monopsony and his response to technological change as it affects the transmission of information from the commercial to the subsistence sector, price signals appearing in the export sector resulting from an increased or decreased external demand are not transmitted effectively to the primary suppliers so that they do not adjust to production effectively.[27] Any change in the behaviour of cultivators requires both a perceptivity to innovations and to price changes and an ability to transform that which is perceived into action. In the Malayan peasant sector, both these conditions are not available, due to the imperfect marketing mechanism and to the existing value system of the peasantry, as discussed earlier in the chapter. In Malaya, an important factor that controls peasants' supply response is that middlemen often withhold information. However, even assuming that price signals do penetrate, either partially or effectively, into the subsistence sector, the suppliers' response will still be inhibited by technological constraints, more especially by gaps in the

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[27]This is not to say that the primary producers can easily adjust their levels of production to demand, given effective information flow and market knowledge. The point that is made is that such flow is not available to them due to middleman control of information, among other factors.

production or by the technological rigidity of existing production arrangements. Therefore, assuming access to informational sources, market incentives are likely to be effective only if the technological features of any proposed change, for example, agricultural diversification, are in congruence with existing factor resources such as skills and the technical requirements of existing production.

The institutional environment has favoured the growth of the Chinese middleman in Malaya. Although this activity existed even before western enterprises actually began, its structure was institutionalized only after their trading monopoly was taken over by the Europeans. The Chinese have since then shifted their main economic concern from export-import to that of the middleman. One of the outcomes of this structural change is the effect it has on controlling the Malays' opportunity to perceive innovations, insofar as they are able to perceive them, and in sinking them further into poverty.

To sum up, the Chinese businessmen were able to maintain their economic power in Malaya throughout the period of British rule. They have exhibited a work ethnic that is completely different from that of the Malays. Their work styles may explain the pattern of economic imbalance that exists among the various ethnic groups of the country. The above discussion may contribute to an explanation of the different attitudes the government has toward the different ethnic groups (Chapter V) and the attitudes the ethnic groups have to one another in Kampong Pandan (Chapter IV). Besides the differences in work ethnics and work styles that exist between the Malays and non-Malays, the Malayan environment may also contribute to the present economic imbalance and inter-ethnic attitudes.

Conclusion

> Bumiputra claims that the Malays are culturally and racially much closer to the Malayan aborigines than the Chinese and the Indians. If it were so, I fail to understand why the aborigines are called 'orang asli' and not 'bumiputra'. It is sheer ignorance for 'bumiputra' to state that the 'Chinese and Indians came to exploit the natural resources of MAlaya'. History says they came originally to work in mines and plantations as indentured labour. Malaysia's economic progress is undoubtedly attributable to the sacrifice and hard work of those indentured labourers, who were treated more like semi-slaves than human beings by their colonial masters.
>
> The word 'bumiputra' means sons of the soil. But in the Malaysian context it is a misnomer, and negates the national goal of racial unity. (K. George, in Kuala Lumpur, reported in the Far Eastern Economic Review, 1-7-72)

The above comments illustrate very well the Malayan situation of today with respect to inter-cultural attitudes. The British rule has significantly affected ethnic relations in Malaya. In many fields of activities, the different ethnic groups were more concerned with their relations with the British, who directed the whole system, than with relations among themselves. In the absence of self-government, there was no necessity for the different ethnic groups to communicate with one another, beyond the casual needs of daily life. Consequently, with the exception of the English-educated few, most of the social activities of the peoples followed communal lines. The western style, large-scale operations of commerce had made their impact on communal relations by employing different ethnic groups in different occupations and by legislation.

There was very little contact and interaction among the ethnic groups, especially between the Malays and non-Malays. The ethnic groups were physically separated, each group residing in their own kampongs and

towns. The enactments of reservation lands for the Malays (Chapter II) provides an illustration of physical distance that exists between the Malays and non-Malays.

Today, the Malays cannot yet accept the Chinese and the Indians who are often their creditors and the monopolistic suppliers of their essential needs. They begrudge them their higher income and their possession of most of the capital of a country which they regard as their own. Similarly, the Chinese and Indians find it hard to tolerate Malay special rights and scholarships in schools and universities when better Chinese and Indian candidates are available in abundance. They also resent the Malays' control of political power. Neither of the three groups find consolation from the advantages they each possess. To each group, the advantages are their natural and legitimate rights. The Chinese and the Indians believe that their wealth and Malay poverty are natural consequences of their industry, thrift and adaptability to modern life and of the Malays' indolence, thriftlessness and conservative outlook. The Malays believe that they ought to control the political power in the country that belongs to them. The Malayan plural society thus takes its present definite form. Political and administrative control had, therefore, culminated in creating functional and spatial differentiations among the ethnic groups. As McGee's (1968) analysis shows, whatever amount of contact the ethnic groups had was carefully insulated contact. The different images and attitudes produced in the peoples an acute sense of territorality. And questions such as "Who am I?" and "To whom does this land belong to?" were subsequently posed. Territorial awareness had been aroused and conflicting

perceptions and attitudes were born. For example, Mahathir (1970)[28] who is an educated Malay, argues that the Malays are the rightful owners of Malaya which is called by the Malays Tanah Melayu (Malay land), and that immigrants, that is the Chinese and Indians, are only "guests" to the country until they are properly assimilated. Assimilation, to him, requires an abandonment of the immigrants' cultures, especially their languages. He puts forth his view of "Malay special rights" this way: the Malays are already backward; if assistance is not given to them, they will be forever left behind. There are, no doubt, poor Chinese and Indians. But the Chinese and Indians generally are already ahead of the Malays; if assistance is given to them, they will prosper further. He concludes that, unless the Chinese in particular could appreciate the need of the Malays to be assisted, even Malay willingness to improve themselves and governmental assistance could not solve the Malays' "economic dilemma".

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[28]Mahathir is the first and only Malay to put forth an analysis of the Malays' economic dilemma. His is, therefore, a work of importance on the Malay situation.

CHAPTER IV

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The Questionnaire and the Model of Inter-cultural Perception

A questionnaire (included in Appendix II) was designed to test the hypothesis that a relationship exists between spatial association in terms of near or separate on the one hand and ethnic attitudes on the other. Specific questions were developed appropriate to the six sets of spatial configuration pairs as shown in Figure 1.2 of Chapter I. The questions were asked of a sample of subjects, as explained in Chapter II. The results of analysis of the responses are the subject of this chapter. Answers to the questions constitute the dependent variables used for statistical analysis. Answers are of the dichotomous yes-no kind and are referred to as preferences. Differences of observed responses between the two categories on any one question are tested by the chi-square statistic. If proven to be statistically significant with respect to an independent variable in relation to expected occurrences of responses, an inference can be drawn with respect to that particular spatial configuration. The independent variable is distance in terms of near or separate by virtue of the location of the respondent in an ethnic group. Subjects who reside in a neighbourhood that consists of a mixture of ethnic groups, that is, a heterogeneous neighbourhood, are taken to be near to other ethnic groups. Subjects

who reside in ethnically identified, homogeneous neighbourhoods are taken to be separate from one another. The dependent variables are analyzed against the independent variable, one at a time. Thus, each of the questions (the subject matter of which becomes the dependent variable) applicable to a given instance of the six sets of spatial configuration pairs is analyzed in the same manner.

The hypothesis is tested against a second set of independent variables as well. The dependent variables are the same as those used in the first approach. The independent variable, instead of 'distance', as represented by the heterogeneity or homogeneity of the neighbourhood, consists of a set of personal data such as religion, citizenship, length of time spent in the country and ethnic origin. The difference between the approaches is that the first tests the relationship between heterogeneous or homogeneous neighbourhoods and ethnic attitudes directly; the second tests this relationship indirectly. The diagram in Figure 4.1 summarizes the procedure used for analysis.

The author now lists and discusses the material of the questionnaire in the context of each of the six sets of spatial configuration pairs contained in the model. The list is in the order of discussion of chi-square results presented in the chapter, with each of the three negative pairs followed by each of the three positive pairs. And each pair is presented in the passive-active sequence.

(1) Replacement-"Genocide": (Negative; Passive-Active)

The spatial configuration pair of replacement-"genocide" is measured by issues contained in Questions 15 to 28, the subject matter of which are:

Procedure of Statistical Analysis Using the Inter-Cultural Perception Model

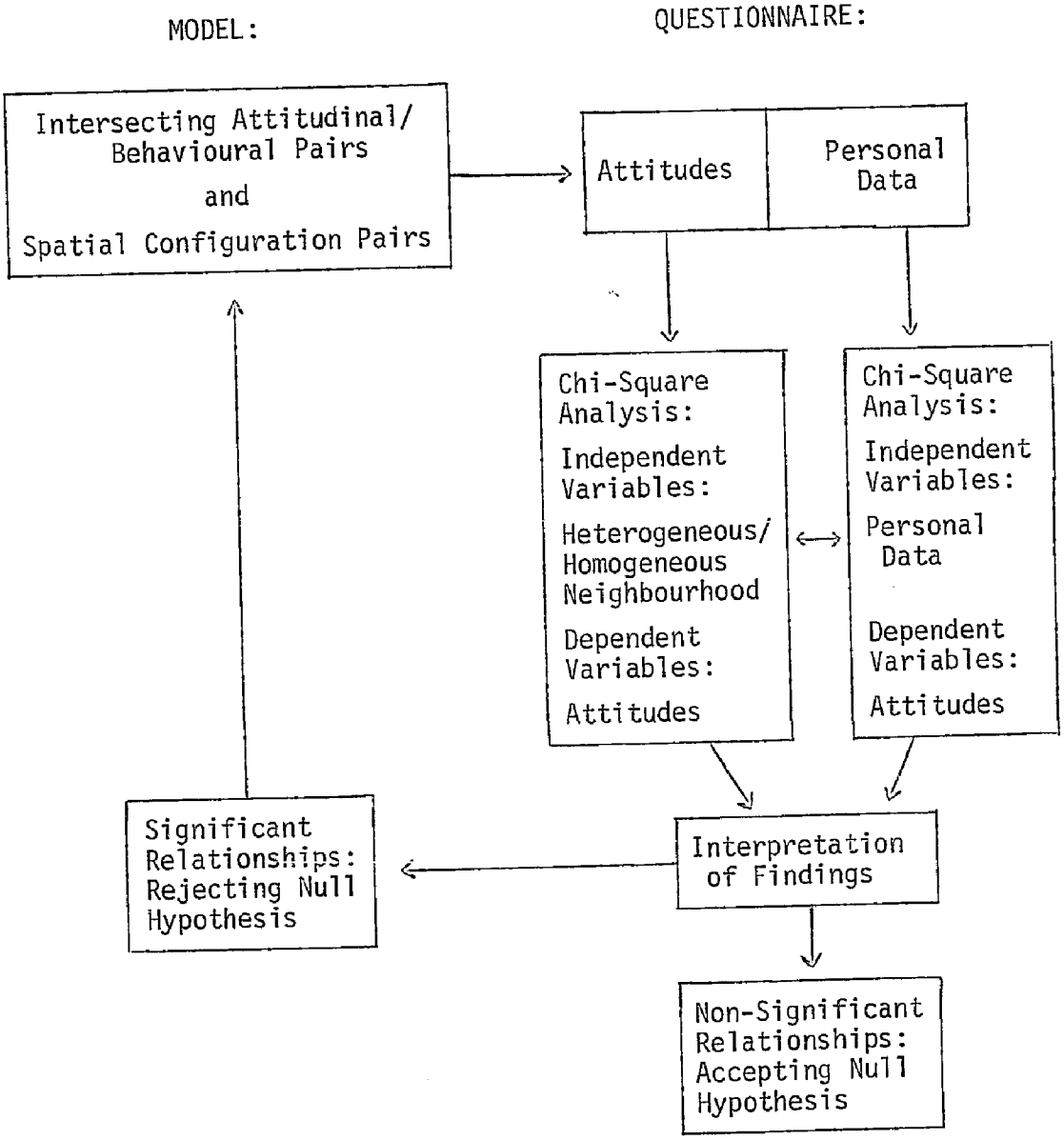


FIGURE 4.1

(a) the subject's perception of the boundary of his neighbourhood;

(b) his residential, shopping and political preferences; and

(c) his attitude on residential replacement; whether or not he feels he is being replaced by other ethnic groups.

(2) Integration-Assimilation: (Positive; Passive-Active)

Questions 38 to 45 measure the spatial configuration pair of integration-assimilation, the subject matter of which are:

(a) the mobility of property owned by the subject;

(b) reasons for the mobility; and

(c) ability to maintain ownership of property.

(3) Containment-Encirclement: (Negative; Passive-Active)

This pair of spatial configurations is measured by Questions 33 to 37. They concern the following issues:

(a) economic control by certain ethnic group(s); and

(b) economic freedom of the subject.

(4) Co-existence-Acceptance: (Positive; Passive-Active)

This pair of spatial configurations is measured by Questions 52 to 59. They are issues on:

(a) social and political freedom; and

(b) the subject's attitude on ethnically and/or religiously mixed marriage.

(5) Attachment-Enslavement: (Negative; Positive-Active)

This pair of spatial configurations is measured by Questions 29 to 32. Their subject matter are:

(a) the subject's economic relation with people of his neighbourhood;

(b) the economic status of the subject in the neighbourhood; and

(c) his attitude on his future economic status.

(6) Occupancy-Development: (Positive; Passive-Active)

This pair of spatial configurations is measured by Questions 46 to 51. They are concerned with:

(a) the subject's attitude on the role of the business communities toward economic development; and

(b) his freedom to use public utilities.

The above listings are surrogates for the six sets of spatial configuration pairs of the model. The surrogates are selected in accordance to the Malayan conditions in the ways these conditions best demonstrate the three kinds of interactions that have spatial effects: attachment, containment and replacement, as have been discussed in Chapter I. These three kinds of interactions are means and stages of territorial control. Attachment is the initial stage and may be mutually agreed upon by the groups. Containment is a stand-off against each other, so that neither group can attach itself to the space of the other. Replacement is the taking over of the space of one group by another. In Malaya, the most common forms of interactions among the ethnic groups are over business and other economic activities. As has been discussed in Chapter III, the Chinese and, to a lesser extent the Indians, are the major middlemen who link the rural sector which is principally Malay, and the urban which is principally the non-Malay sector. Attitudes and perceptions of the ethnic groups on accepted forms of activities, therefore, are used as surrogates for the first kind of interaction which is attachment, and its three other associated spatial configurations: enslavement, occupancy and development. Historical incidents, economic and political circumstances of Malaya, as have been discussed in Chapter III, present a factor of disunity for the ethnic

groups. The attitudes and perceptions of the people on issues such as economic, social and political freedom available to each of the ethnic groups may indicate their attitudes and perceptions with respect to the spatial circumstances of mutual exclusion or inclusion, whether or not the groups feel in a "stand-off" position against one another or whether or not they can co-exist in the same territory. Another surrogate for co-existence is the attitude of subjects on mixed marriage. Prior to the nineteenth century, in Malaya there were ethnically and religiously mixed marriages between the Malays and non-Malays. This was so because there were no female immigrants. The male immigrants took local Malay wives as a necessity. Mixed marriage ceased to be practised when female immigrants arrived at Malaya. The fact that mixed marriages did not continue indicates that the people concerned probably never regarded it as means for cultural integration. The answer on the question that directly asks for the people's attitude toward mixed marriage is used, therefore, as an indication whether or not they wish to co-exist with one another, which is an initial stage toward cultural integration. The spatial configuration pairs of replacement-"genocide" and integration-assimilation are represented by certain policies of the Malayan government and the attitudes and perceptions of the people who are affected by the policies. The Reservation Acts of the government, as referred to in Chapter II, lead to residential segregation among the ethnic groups so that certain groups may feel replaced by another group or groups. The author, therefore, uses the people's attitudes and perceptions on the compositions and boundaries of their neighbourhoods as surrogates for replacement and its associated spatial configurations. As the

governing political party has almost complete control over the activities of the Malayan people, their political preferences are used as an additional measure of the replacement set.

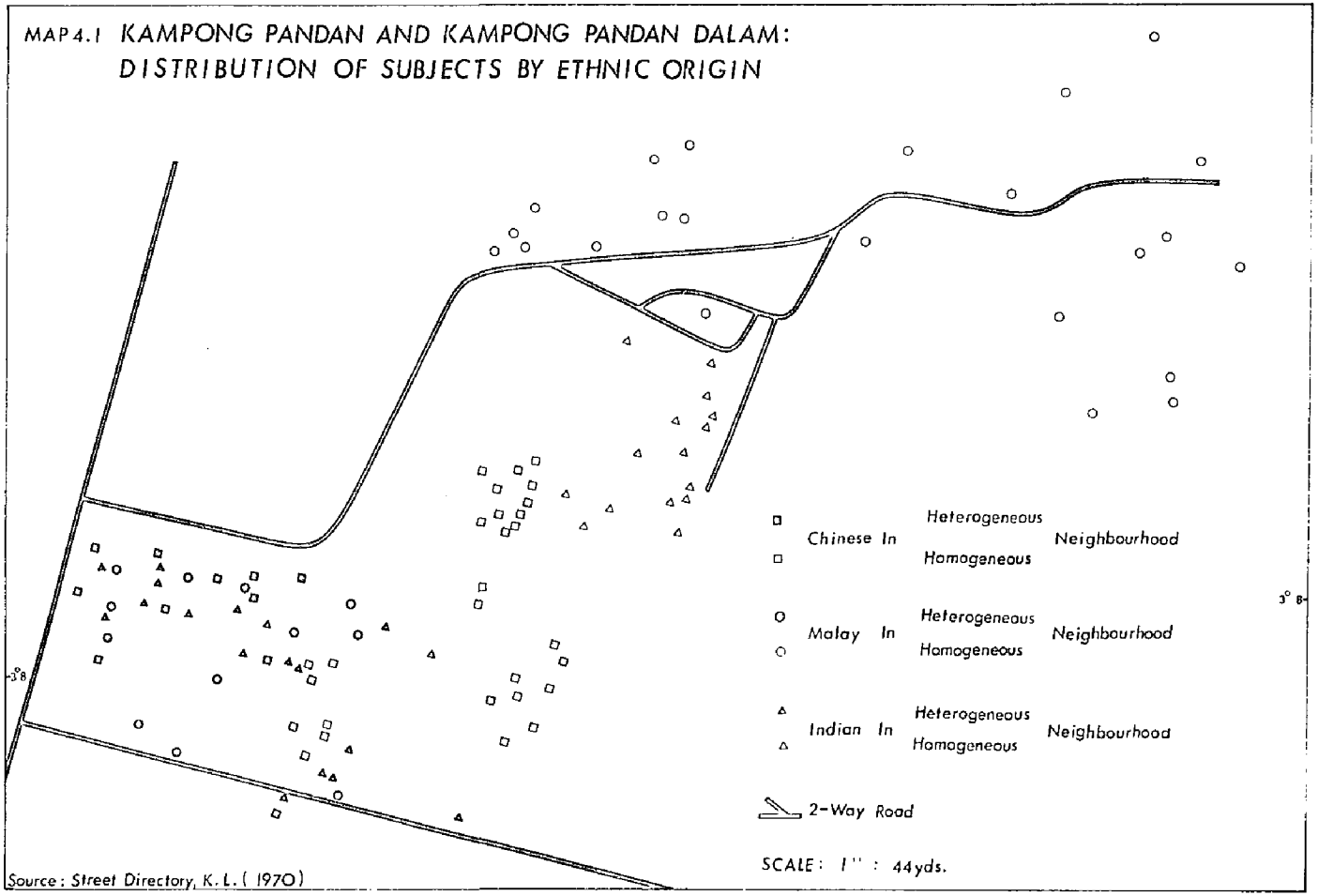
The author now proceeds to present the discussion on statistical analysis of data collected during the field study. The distribution of ethnic neighbourhoods of Kampong Pandan and Kampong Pandan Dalam is shown in Map 4.1.

The Chi-Square Analysis

Chi-square analyses are carried out by the Two-Chi programme. The programme cross-tabulates the responses of subjects on two variables at a time and gives the chi-square value of the relationship between the variables. The two series of tests referred to earlier are carried out by the programme. In the first series of tests, one independent variable is used. The variable is the kind of neighbourhood the subjects reside in, and it is a two-category variable: heterogeneous or homogeneous neighbourhood. These two categories, as have been defined earlier, represent the two distance circumstances of nearness or separateness respectively. The dependent variables are the subject matter of the questions that represent the spatial configuration pairs of the model. In the second series of tests, the independent variables consist of personal data of subjects. The dependent variables remain the same. The tests are applied in turn to subjects residing in the heterogeneous neighbourhood and in the homogeneous neighbourhood.

For the first series of chi-square analyses, significant relationships, at the five percent level, are found for the following pairs of variables: between kinds of neighbourhoods and

MAP 4.1 KAMPONG PANDAN AND KAMPONG PANDAN DALAM:
DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS BY ETHNIC ORIGIN



Source: Street Directory, K.L. (1970)

(1) political preferences of subjects (Question 15);

(2) shopping preferences of subjects (Question 17.C);

(3) residential preferences of subjects (Question 21);

(4) attitudes on residential replacement (Question 22); and

(5) attitudes on mixed marriages (Question 57).

The results of analyses are presented in Tables 4.1 to 4.5. The author discusses the results in Table 4.1 in detail. For Tables 4.2 to 4.5, only interpretation of results are discussed in detail.

Political Preference

The results of the chi-square test in Table 4.1 show the frequency scores of the various responses in the two kinds of distance conditions. The number of preferences in the analysis is reduced from five to two. This happens because the number of answers for Preferences 3, 4 and 5 are very small--1, 1 and 2 respectively.

Political Preferences in Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Neighbourhoods

Political Preferences	Homogeneous Neighbourhood	Heterogeneous Neighbourhood	$\sum$
Communal	35	17	52
Multi-ethnic	24	25	49
$\sum$	59	42	101 $\sum\sum$

$x^2 = 7.66$ d.f. = 1

TABLE 4.1

For Preference Numbers 1 and 2, responses of subjects from the homogeneous neighbourhoods are distributed in the following way. Out of a total of 59 subjects who responded to the question, 35 of them prefer a political party that represents a particular ethnic group; that is, their preference is "communal". And 24 of the 59 subjects prefer a party that represents more than one ethnic group; that is, their preference is "multi-ethnic". With respect to subjects from the heterogeneous neighbourhood, their political preferences are of the reverse nature to the first group. Out of a total of 42 responses, 17 of them are "communal" as compared to 35 from the homogeneous neighbourhoods, and 25 of them are "multi-ethnic" as compared to the 24 from the homogeneous neighbourhoods. These differences of attitudes are statistically significant at the five percent level. They allow the author to reject the null hypothesis that there is no relationship between distance and ethnic attitudes. Under the condition of homogeneity, where the ethnic groups are separate from one another, their attitude is communal. Communality is inward-looking with respect to one's own ethnic group, and has the tendency to exclude or eliminate other ethnic groups. Communality represents the negative spatial configuration pair of replacement-"genocide". There is good evidence that communality can lead to physical violence. For example, during May 13-14, 1969, communal riots broke out in Malaya between the Malays and non-Malays. This is the net effect of a deterioration of attitudes. It means a shift from the negative-passive spatial configuration of replacement to the negative-active configuration of "genocide" on the part of the aggressor. Under the condition of heterogeneity, where the ethnic groups are near

to one another, their attitude is multi-ethnic. Multi-ethnicity is anti-communal, is outward looking with respect to other ethnic groups and is evidence of acceptance of other groups. This attitude does not fulfill the negative-passive configuration of replacement but rather fits into the positive configuration pair of integration-assimilation. Just as replacement can lead to "genocide", integration has the tendency toward assimilation. In the light of the research problem, the differences of attitudes observed under different spatial circumstances enable the author to accept the proposition that under normal life circumstances when ethnic groups are near to one another, their attitudes toward one another are favourable and when they are separate, their attitudes are unfavourable. Given allowance for variation of the personal distance scale, the nearer ethnic groups are to one another, the more favourable are their attitudes, and vice versa.

Shopping Preferences

With respect to shopping preferences of the subjects, statistically significant differences of attitudes are observed between those residing in the homogeneous neighbourhoods and those in the heterogeneous neighbourhood. The differences are shown in Table 4.2. A preference for patronizing shops that belong to one's own ethnic groups is also evidence of a communalistic attitude, just as a preference for a communal political party. Such a preference accepts what belongs to, or is similar to, one's own and tends to reject what is dissimilar or alien. It is inward-looking and represents the negative spatial configuration pair of replacement-"genocide". Such an attitude is observed among the

Shopping Preferences in Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Neighbourhoods

Shopping Preferences	Homogeneous Neighbourhood	Heterogeneous Neighbourhood	$\sum$
Tend to patronize shops of your own ethnic groups	41	15	56
Do not tend to patronize shops of your own ethnic groups	24	27	51
$\sum$	65	42	107 $\sum\sum$

$x^2 = 6.60$ d.f. = 1

TABLE 4.2

ethnic groups who are separate from one another, as it is with respect to their attitude on political preferences discussed above. A non-ethnically identified shopping preference is evidence of an outward-looking attitude. It does not reject what is not one's own. The effect of such an "open-minded attitude is similar to the attitude for a multi-ethnic political party. And such an attitude is again observed among ethnic groups who are near to one another, as it is with respect to their political preference. This attitude represents the positive counterpart of replacement; that is, integration. As has been noted above, occasions may arise when the negative-passive spatial configuration of replacement may lead to negative-active "genocide", so the positive-passive spatial configuration of integration may lead to

negative-active assimilation. The author concludes that the shopping preferences of ethnic groups are in line with their political preferences and, therefore, that favourability of ethnic attitudes are related to distance.

Residential Preference

The findings on the residential preferences of the ethnic groups also support those presented above with respect to their political and shopping preferences. The results of chi-square analysis are presented in Table 4.3. The number of preferences in the question is reduced from three to two for the same reason as applied to the political preferences of the subjects. Preference Number 3 captures only two of the Malay, three of the Chinese and two of the Indian subjects. On this issue

Residential Preferences in Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Neighbourhoods

Residential Preferences	Homogeneous Neighbourhood	Heterogeneous Neighbourhood	$\sum$
Like to live in a heterogeneous neighbourhood	14	34	48
Do not like to live in a heterogeneous neighbourhood	51	8	59
$\sum$	65	42	107 $\sum\sum$

$x^2 = 17.78$ d.f. = 1

TABLE 4.3

again by far the majority of subjects living in the homogeneous neighbourhoods indicate they prefer to live where they now are; that is, with people of their own ethnic groups. Such an attitude is also communalistic, inward-looking, accepting what is one's own and rejecting what belongs to others, and therefore tends to be unfavourable to people of different ethnic origin. It represents replacement. Within ethnic groups who are near to one another, the majority prefer to live with people who belong to different ethnic groups. Their attitude is, therefore, evidence of integration. The findings lead to a similar conclusion to that on the subjects' political and shopping preferences.

Attitude on Residential Replacement

Attitudes on residential replacement are direct indicators of whether or not subjects experiencing different distance circumstances feel they are being replaced by people who belong to a different ethnic group from theirs. The issue is a direct measure of the spatial configuration of replacement. The results of analysis are presented in Table 4.4. Statistically, significant differences of attitudes are again identified between subjects who are separate from one another on the one hand and subjects who are near to one another on the other. Subjects who are separate from one another express the attitude that they are replaced. In talking to them, the majority of Malays felt that the Chinese and the Indians, especially the Chinese, were ubiquitous. They expressed a feeling of being replaced by these people in a land that they think was Malay. In their opinion, this was the reason for the government to give the Malays reservation areas, so that they

Attitudes on Residential Replacement in
Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Neighbourhoods

Attitudes	Homogeneous Neighbourhood	Heterogeneous Neighbourhood	$\sum$
Being replaced	38	13	51
Not being replaced	27	29	56
$\sum$	65	42	107 $\sum\sum$

$x^2 = 6.68$ d.f. = 1

TABLE 4.4

would be certain of a place to live in. The Chinese and the Indians also expressed the feeling of being replaced. They felt replaced by the Malays in a land which they think they had a right to live in. They referred to the government's policy of land reservations and other employment measures eliminating non-Malay employment opportunities as clear indicators of replacement. Such are the attitudinal differences among the ethnic groups who are separate and reside in their own homogeneous neighbourhoods. Subjects who are near to one another do not express such attitudinal differences. In talking to them, the majority, regardless of their ethnic origin, expressed a rather neutral attitude of not being bothered by the issue. They conveyed the opinion that they did not think there were governmental policies designed specifically to replace any one ethnic group by another. Such attitudinal expressions are interpreted to be non-communalistic. Instead of fulfilling the

negative spatial configuration pair of replacement-"genocide", they are a more positive expression of integration-assimilation. The significance of the above findings lies in the fact that when ethnic groups are not separate, their attitudes toward one another are of the favourable kind. When they are separate, their attitudes are unfavourable. It follows, therefore, that spatial order is a factor in the favourability or unfavourability of attitudes.

Attitude on Mixed Marriage

A statistically significant relationship is observed also on the issue of mixed marriage between subjects from the homogeneous neighbourhoods and those from the heterogeneous neighbourhood. This is shown in Table 4.5. In the homogeneous neighbourhoods, the majority of subjects do not think that mixed marriage, mixed either between people belonging to different ethnic groups or between people who have different religious

Attitude on Mixed Marriage in Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Neighbourhoods

Attitudes	Homogeneous Neighbourhood	Heterogeneous Neighbourhood	Σ
Promote better ethnic relations	16	28	44
Do not promote better ethnic relations	49	14	63
Σ	65	42	107 $\Sigma\Sigma$

$x^2 = 16.90$ d.f. = 1

TABLE 4.5

beliefs, will promote better understanding and ethnic relations between the groups concerned. This is evidence of unwillingness to accept and co-exist with people who are different from them. This kind of unfavourable attitude toward other ethnic or religious groups, it is felt, has the effect of the negative-passive spatial configuration of containment. More subjects from the heterogeneous neighbourhood, however, express the attitude that a mixed marriage may promote better understanding and ethnic relations. This is evidence of a more favourable attitude, toleration and willingness to co-exist with different groups of people. This is opposite to the attitude expressed by subjects from the homogeneous neighbourhoods. This favourable attitude, it is believed, best represents the positive-passive spatial configuration of co-existence. Were the negative-passive attitude to be made active, the net effect of the spatial configuration of containment becomes encirclement. Similarly, the positive-passive configuration of co-existence leads to the positive-active configuration of acceptance when the ethnic groups concerned wish not only to co-exist with other groups but accept them.

Differences of ethnic attitudes presented in Tables 4.1 to 4.5 are presented in a summary form in Table 4.6. A spatial ordering for such attitudinal differences is observed and mapped. This is presented in Map 4.2. It shows that in the heterogeneous neighbourhood where people are near to one another, inter-ethnic attitudes are favourable toward one another. In the homogeneous neighbourhoods, where they are separate, their attitudes are unfavourable. Responses of subjects to questions on the limits of the boundaries of their neighbourhoods (Questions 16 and 20 of the questionnaire) are also mapped and

Attitude of Subjects in Neighbourhoods of Culture-Mix

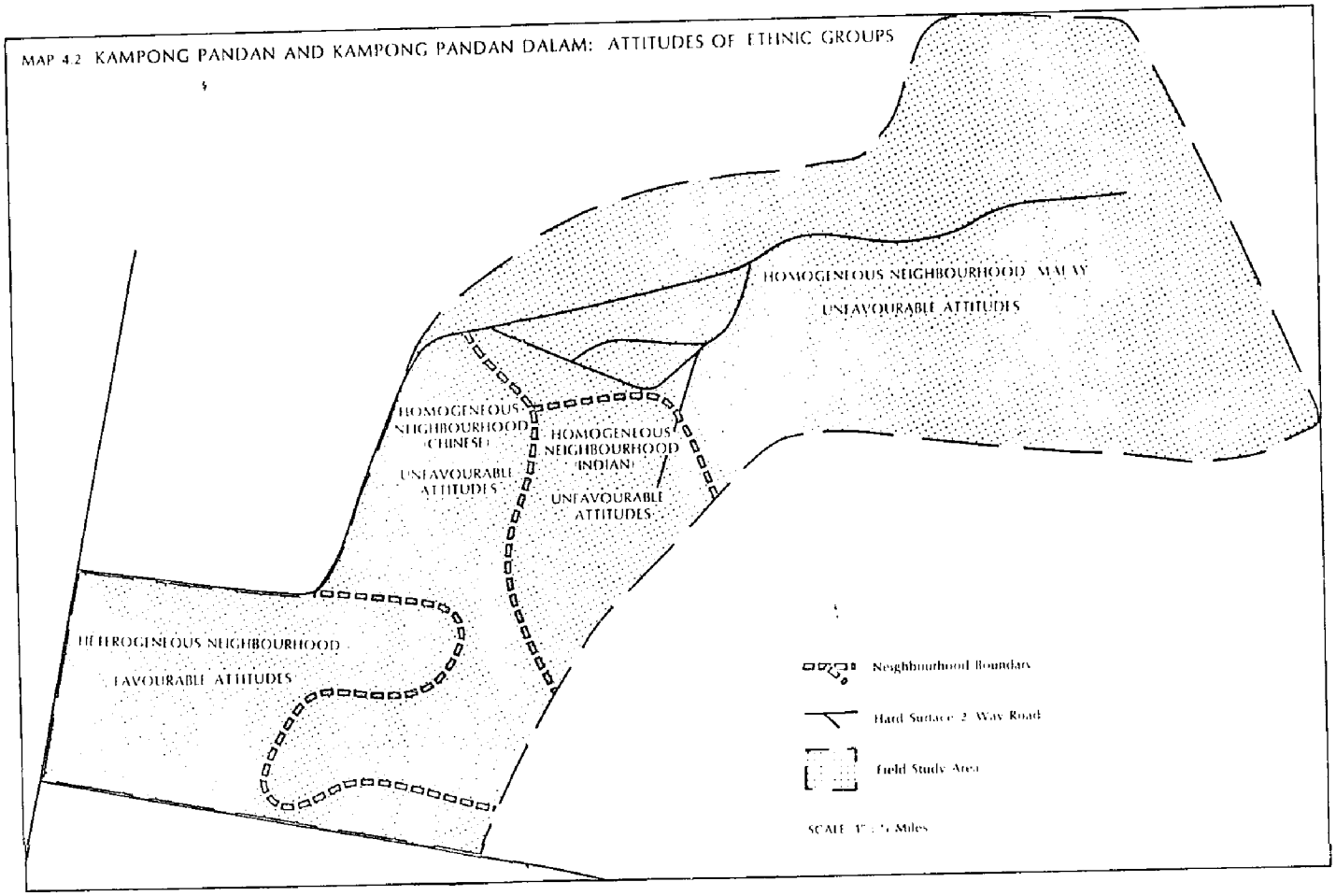
Variables	Heterogeneous			Homogeneous		
	A	B	C	A	B	C
Political preference	+	+	+	-	-	-
Shopping Preference	+	+	+	-	-	-
Residential Preference	+	+	+	-	-	-
Residential Replacement	+	+	+	-	-	-

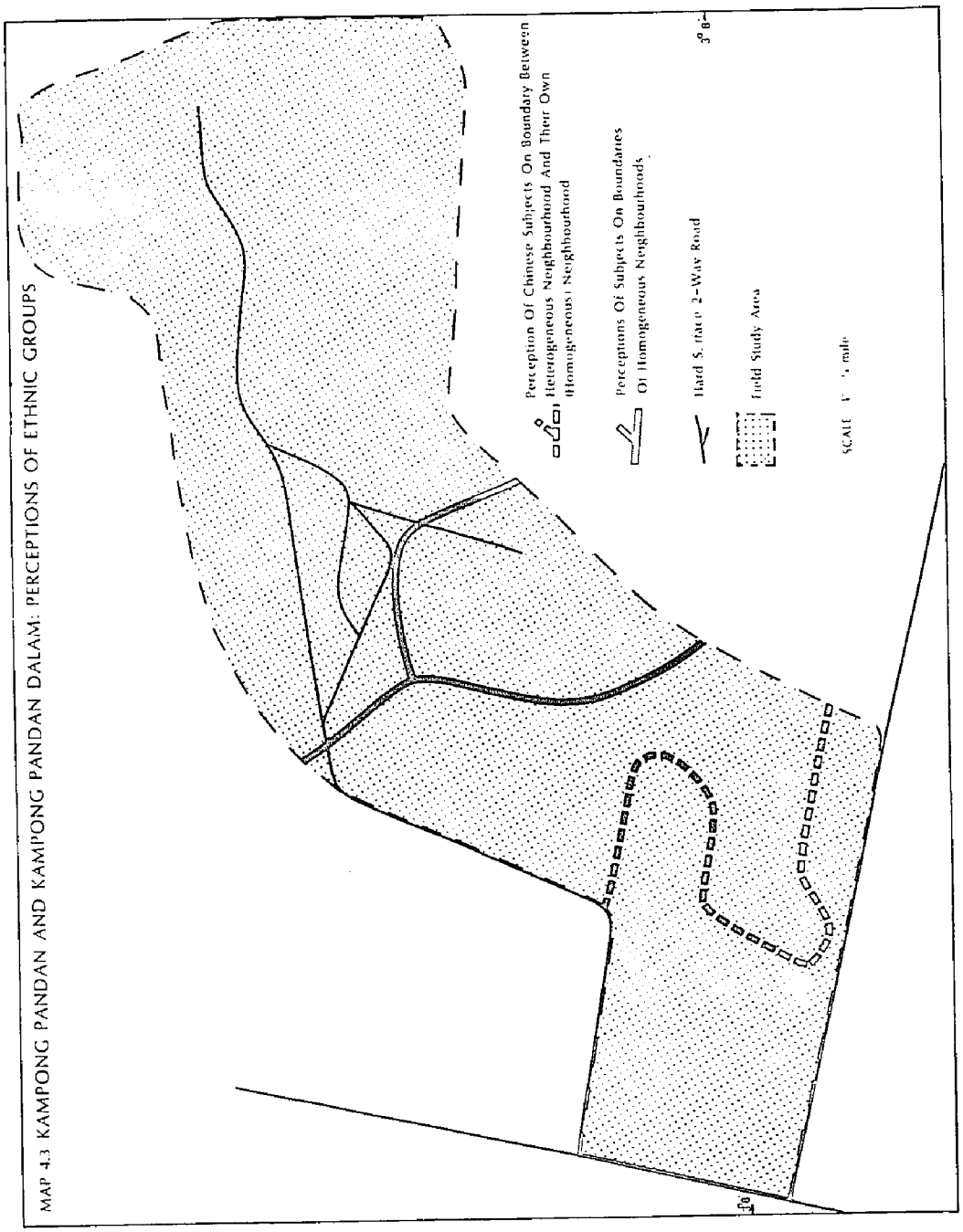
Legend: A = Malays B = Chinese C = Indians
+ = multi-ethnic and favourable
- = communalistic and unfavourable

TABLE 4.6

presented in Map 4.3. It shows that in the heterogeneous neighbourhood, the perceptions of the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians on the limits of their neighbourhood boundary are distinct and they cover the whole of the government quarters area. Their perceptions are unified; 89% of the subjects agree on the boundary limits. In the homogeneous neighbourhoods, territorial limits perceived by the ethnic groups are also distinct and coincide with the actual neighbourhood boundaries.[1] The Malays in their own neighbourhood of Kampong Pandan Dalam perceive their

[1]It may be argued that the boundary of the Malay reservation as it is is very clearly understood by both the Malays and non-Malays through the explicit governmental policy of complete exclusion of non-Malays in the reservation. Therefore, the perceptions of the subjects as reflected in the findings may be, to an extent, affected by the governmental policy.


MAP 4.2 KAMPONG PANDAN AND KAMPONG PANDAN DALAM: ATTITUDES OF ETHNIC GROUPS
HOMOGENEOUS NEIGHBOURHOOD MALAY
UNFAVOURABLE ATTITUDES
HOMOGENEOUS NEIGHBOURHOOD (CHINESE)
UNFAVOURABLE ATTITUDES
HOMOGENEOUS NEIGHBOURHOOD (INDIAN)
UNFAVOURABLE ATTITUDES
HETEROGENEOUS NEIGHBOURHOOD
FAVOURABLE ATTITUDES
Neighbourhood Boundary
Hard Surface 2 Way Road
Field Study Area
SCALE 1" = ¼ Miles


MAP 4.3 KAMPONG PANDAN AND KAMPONG PANDAN DALAM: PERCEPTIONS OF ETHNIC GROUPS
Perception Of Chinese Subjects On Boundary Between Heterogeneous Neighbourhood And Their Own Homogeneous Neighbourhood
Perceptions Of Subjects On Boundaries Of Homogeneous Neighbourhoods
Hard Surface 2-Way Road
Field Study Area

boundary as it is defined by the government as a Malay reserve. Their perceptions are highly unified; 91% of the subjects agree on the boundary limit. The Chinese and the Indian subjects (85% of the total) also perceive their boundaries distinctly. The boundary that separates the heterogeneous neighbourhood from the homogeneous neighbourhood of the Chinese, as shown in Map 4.1, is not as distinctly perceived as the boundaries that are perceived by the Chinese, the Indians and the Malays that separate their respective neighbourhoods. There is a margin of overlapping with respect to the perceptions of boundaries between the subjects from the heterogeneous neighbourhood and the subjects from the Chinese neighbourhood. This is meaningful. It may indicate that as the distance that exists between the Chinese neighbourhood and the heterogeneous neighbourhood is smaller than the distances that exist between the Chinese and the Indian neighbourhoods and between the Indian and the Malay neighbourhoods, ethnic perceptions of their boundary limits may be less distinct and ethnic attitudes may be less communalistic and unfavourable. As the distances become greater, ethnic perceptions are more distinct and attitudes are more communalistic and unfavourable. Such perceptions and attitudes support the hypothesis of the dissertation.

Given the above findings, the null hypothesis that no relationship exists between distance and ethnic attitudes must be rejected.

Chi-square analysis is also used to identify relationships between the above-mentioned dependent variables and personal data of the respondents. These are their ethnic origin, their educational and occupational status, the length of time they have stayed in the country, their citizenship and country of birth. For subjects who reside in the

heterogeneous neighbourhood, the chi-square values do not show any significant relationship between any pair of the variables. This means that subjects who reside near to one another in the heterogeneous neighbourhood, given their different ethnic origin, education, occupation, etc., do not differ in their attitudes toward issues represented by the dependent variables. For subjects who reside separately in their own neighbourhoods, however, seven pairs of variables are identified as having a statistically significant relationship at the five percent level between the following listed below, and ethnic origin:

(1) shopping preferences (Question 17.C);
(2) political preferences (Question 15);
(3) residential preferences (Question 21);
(4) attitudes on residential replacement (Question 22);
(5) attitudes on economic control (Question 35);
(6) attitudes on economic freedom (Questions 52 and 53); and
(7) attitudes on political freedom (Questions 55 and 56).

The fact that in homogeneous neighbourhoods, attitudes of subjects are related to their ethnic origin and no such relationship is identified in the heterogeneous neighbourhood confirms the author's findings presented earlier and supports the proposition that ethnic attitudes are related to distance. The results presented in Tables 4.7 to 4.13 show the findings on the above pairs of variables.

Political Preference

The results presented in Table 4.7 show the frequency scores of the various responses of the Malay, Chinese and Indian subjects from the homogeneous neighbourhoods on political preferences. For the two preferences, 17 Malay subjects out of a total of 22 prefer a multi-ethnic

Ethnic Origin and Political Preference

E.O. \ P.P.	1	2	Σ
A	5	17	22
B	22	2	24
C	8	5	13
Σ	35	24	59

$\Sigma\Sigma$

$x^2 = 60.18$ d.f. = 2

Legend: A = Malays
B = Chinese
C = Indians

1 = communal
2 = multi-ethnic

TABLE 4.7

political party. To the majority of this group of Malays, the Alliance Party represents such a party. The preference of the Chinese and the Indian subjects is for a communal party; that is, a party that represents one ethnic group alone.

It should be noted that the subjects interviewed, as explained in Chapter II, were sampled from the western part of Malaya. The Malays of this part of Malaya generally have preferred and voted for the Alliance Party, which won the 1955 and all subsequent general elections in the country. Malays of this part of Malaya generally do not prefer the Pan Malayan Islamic Party, a communal party that has a strong Malay support in the eastern and north-eastern regions of the country. To the Malays of western Malaya, the Alliance Party appears to be a multi-ethnic party. The structure of the Alliance Party will be discussed in Chapter V. The party is, in fact, a communal party that represents Malay interests of western Malaya. Consequently, the political

preferences of the Malays is actually also communal, the same as that of the Chinese and the Indians. What the relationship demonstrated by the findings in Table 4.7 shows is that the Malays prefer a political party that is different from that preferred by the Chinese and the Indians. The fact that ethnic groups living in homogeneous neighbourhoods demonstrate a significant difference of attitudes on an issue over which ethnic groups living in the heterogeneous neighbourhood do not differ indicates that when distance conditions differ, ethnic attitudes also differ. This difference of attitude supports the findings already presented and discussed in Table 4.1.

Shopping and Residential Preferences and Attitudes on Residential Replacement

Similar attitudinal differences are demonstrated among ethnic groups living in the homogeneous neighbourhoods with respect to shopping preferences, residential preferences and attitudes on residential replacement, as shown in Tables 4.8, 4.9 and 4.10 respectively.

Ethnic Origin and Shopping Preference

E.O. \ S.P.	1	2	$\sum$
A	13	10	23
B	8	18	26
C	7	8	15
$\sum$	28	36	64

$\sum\sum$

$x^2 = 23.87$ d.f. = 2

Legend: A = Malays
B = Chinese
C = Indians
1 = patronize shops owned by own ethnic group
2 = do not patronize shops owned by own ethnic group

TABLE 4.8

Ethnic Origin and Residential Preference

E.O. \ R.P.	1	2	$\sum$
A	4	17	21
B	18	5	23
C	8	5	13
$\sum$	30	27	57 $\sum\sum$

Legend: A = Malays
B = Chinese
C = Indians
1 = like to live in a heterogeneous neighbourhood
2 = do not like to live in a heterogeneous neighbourhood

$x^2 = 32.04$ d.f. = 2

TABLE 4.9

Ethnic Origin and Attitude on Residential Replacement

E.O. \ R.R.	1	2	$\sum$
A	5	18	23
B	21	5	26
C	11	4	15
$\sum$	37	27	64 $\sum\sum$

Legend: A = Malays
B = Chinese
C = Indians
1 = attitude of being replaced
2 = no attitude of being replaced

$x^2 = 30.11$ d.f. = 2

TABLE 4.10

The results of Table 4.8 show that more Malays tend to patronize shops owned and managed by Malays. The Chinese and the Indians, on the other hand, indicate the reverse. The results of Table 4.9 show more Malays prefer to live in a homogeneous neighbourhood separate from other groups and the Chinese and the Indians do not. The findings in Table 4.10 show more Chinese and Indians express the attitude of being replaced, when the Malays indicate the reverse. The fact that such differences of attitudes exist in the homogeneous neighbourhoods and are absent from the heterogeneous neighbourhood supports the findings presented in Tables 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 on similar issues, and thus supports the author's hypothesis that favourability of attitudes are related to distance.

Attitudes on Economic Control, Economic Freedom and Political Freedom

Chi-square analyses also identify differences of attitudes on the issues of economic control, economic freedom and political freedom, as shown in Tables 4.11, 4.12 and 4.13 respectively. Results presented in Table 4.11 show that out of a total of 23 Malay subjects, 16 express the attitude that in Malaya the Chinese and the Indians control the economic power of the country; that is, the wealth. The majority of the Chinese and the Indians, on the other hand, express an attitude that is opposite to that of the Malays. The majority of Malays, as shown in Table 4.12, express the attitude that there is economic freedom in Malaya while the majority of the Chinese and Indians maintain that they do not have economic freedom to pursue whatever economic activities they like in the country. They are conscious of the "special rights" of

Ethnic Origin and Attitude on Economic Control

E.O. \ E.C.	1	2	$\sum$
A	16	7	23
B	8	18	26
C	6	9	15
$\sum$	43	21	64 $\sum\sum$

Legend: A = Malays
B = Chinese
C = Indians

1 = there is economic control

2 = there is no economic control

$x^2 = 17.53$ d.f. = 2

TABLE 4.11

Ethnic Origin and Economic Freedom

E.O. \ E.F.	1	2	$\sum$
A	17	6	23
B	7	19	26
C	4	11	15
$\sum$	28	36	64 $\sum\sum$

Legend: A = Malays
B = Chinese
C = Indians

1 = there is economic freedom

2 = there is no economic freedom

$x^2 = 26.65$ d.f. = 2

TABLE 4.12

the Malays,[2] and referred to them constantly while they were being interviewed. Similarly, as shown in Table 4.13, the majority of the Chinese and the Indians maintain that there is no political freedom in the country while the Malays indicate the opposite. While the Malays were interviewed on this issue, their responses were accompanied with the expression "There is political freedom in our country...This is a democratic country...This question is redundant". When the author put forth the question to the Chinese and the Indians, the answer was of exactly the opposite kind. By far the majority of the answers were given in a soft but definite exclamation, "You should know the situation in the country, if you are not a foreigner here!" (The answer is

Ethnic Origin in Political Freedom

E.O. \ P.F.	1	2	$\sum$
A	19	4	23
B	5	21	26
C	4	11	15
$\sum$	28	36	64 $\sum\sum$

$x^2 = 38.25$ d.f. = 2

Legend: A = Malays
B = Chinese
C = Indians
1 = there is political freedom
2 = there is no political freedom

TABLE 4.13

[2]As has been discussed in Chapter III, the "special rights" of the Malays will be documented as they are reflected in governmental policies to be discussed in Chapter V.

similar to the North American expression of "you have got to be kidding!") The issue at stake is not whether there is economic and political freedom or not in Malaya for the three ethnic groups, but whether or not there is a difference of attitudes among the peoples of different homogeneous neighbourhoods.

The differences of attitudes observed among the ethnic groups in the homogeneous neighbourhoods on economic control and economic and political freedom, which are found to be absent from the ethnic groups in the heterogeneous neighbourhood, are not supported by the first series of chi-square analyses that test the relationship between distance and ethnic attitudes directly. However, the fact that differences of attitudes exist among the ethnic groups in the homogeneous neighbourhoods and are absent from the heterogeneous neighbourhood adds to what already has been demonstrated to exist; a significant relationship between distance and ethnic attitudes.

On the issue of economic control, the Malays demonstrate that they perceive themselves as unable to compete with the Chinese and the Indians in economic activities as they perceive the wealth of the country to be controlled by the Chinese and the Indians, especially the Chinese. Similarly, on the issue of economic and political freedom, the attitude of the Chinese and the Indians reflects their perception of the Malayan economic and political situations as a restrictive one. Such attitudes are negative and reflect the negative-passive quadrant of the model. They appear to fall under the spatial configuration of containment.

Multiple Classification Analysis

An examination of the fundamental characteristics of subjects, as contained in Part I of the Questionnaire, indicates three points of interest:

(1) Subjects who reside in the heterogeneous neighbourhood are all (100%) civil servants; that is, they have a common employer--the government. It can be said, therefore, that they share a common occupational background.

(2) Subjects of this neighbourhood also have a common educational background. English has been their medium of instruction in school. The heads of all the households speak and write English. Only about 40% of them can speak and write their own language, which are Malay, Mandarin and Tamil. About 68% of the households use English among members of households for everyday conversation. It can be concluded, therefore, that the common educational and occupational backgrounds that exist among the subjects may affect the inter-cultural attitudes in the neighbourhood which have been demonstrated by the chi-square analysis to be non-communalistic as shown in Table 4.6.

Esman (1972) makes the observation that:

> Civil servants have shared a common educational experience; and they have in any case followed the same British-designed curriculum, which enhances inter-communication. They partake of a common middle-class, western style of life, usually in government-provided housing where they are frequently neighbours. They meet and work together on common problems in government offices five and a half days a week. Both the groups (Malays and non-Malays) realize that the stability of the society in which both have so large a stake depends on achieving and maintaining viable patterns of accommodation--though they may not agree on what specific patterns are feasible or even just.

(3) In the homogeneous neighbourhoods, the subjects do not have a common educational background nor do they have a common occupational background. About 40% of the Malays have no formal education of any kind at any level. About 80% of them do not speak English. Their occupations include a wide range of low income jobs, construction works, servants, hawkers and vendors, clerical, agricultural, and primary school and religious (Islam) teachers. For the Chinese, 38% of them do not have a formal education. All of them (100%) do not speak English. About 75% of them are self-employed market-gardeners, hawkers and vendors, and servants. The other 25% are employed in full or part-time construction and transportation works. For the Indians, about 40% do not have a formal education. English is spoken and written by 30% of them. The majority of them are engaged in low income jobs, clerical, technical, constructional and transportation works. There are very few self-employed among them as hawkers and vendors. In sum, subjects of the homogeneous neighbourhoods do not speak a common language or languages and their occupations are different. Educational and occupational similarities draw the ethnic groups to specific areas of residence. The heterogeneous neighbourhood is an area of government quarters for middle and upper-middle income groups, while the homogeneous neighbourhoods are low income areas.

Given the above situation, although the author can accept the proposition that a relationship exists between circumstance of spatial association referred to as physical distance and ethnic attitudes, it must be admitted that this relationship may in turn be caused by two other independent variables--education and occupation. The author

wished to find out whether or not physical distance, education and occupation singly or collectively could explain variation in ethnic attitudes. For this purpose, the Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) programme was used. The resultswith respect to the above question were inconclusive. Nevertheless, the results did strengthen the conclusions from the chi-square analysis and are worthwhile discussing.

MCA is designed specially for social science data. It handles nominal data of the yes-no kind and the analysis it carries out follows the same principle as that of an ordinary multiple regression analysis using dummy variables. MCA is, therefore, a convenient method of variance analysis which handles data other programmes of multiple regression or multi-variate analysis reject.

The statistics obtained from each run of MCA between a set of independent variables on one dependent variable can indicate:

(1) the effect of one independent variable on the dependent variable, i.e. the amount of variation explained by one independent variable holding other variables constant, and

(2) the total effect of the independent variable put together on the dependent variable; that is, the total variation explained by the independent variables put together.

One feature of MCA that may be considered as its drawback is the additive effect the independent variables have on the dependent variable. This means that if a set of independent variables are themselves closely related to one another, they will produce an additive effect on the dependent variable, thus making the statistics obtainable from the analysis subject to error. For example, levels of education and types

of occupation are closely related. If education and occupation are used as the independent variables, they will produce an additive effect on a dependent variable, e.g. income. Bearing this feature of the programme in mind, interpretation of statistics should be very carefully undertaken; one should not go too far with one's interpretation of the results. One way of overcoming the additive effect of the independent variables is to rerun the programme by leaving out the variables most likely to contribute to the additive effect. In this way, the variance that one independent variable may explain can be more nearly determined.

In trying to assess a causal relationship, as many independent variables as possible should be included in the analysis. In addition to the three independent variables--ethnic origin, education and occupation--the author introduced other fundamental characteristics of the subjects which together with the above, were information obtained under Part I of the Questionnaire. A list of seven independent variables was chosen:

(1) ethnic origin,
(2) education,
(3) occupation,
(4) length of stay in the country measured by the number of generations in the country,
(5) citizenship of the head of the household,
(6) country of birth of the head of the household, and
(7) country of birth of the spouse.

Seven dependent variables are used. They are those that the chi-square tests demonstrated have a significant relationship with ethnic origin in the homogeneous neighbourhoods.

Variations on Selected Attitudes

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables	Variations Explained by ALL Independent Variables Put Together	Variations Explained by ONE Independent Variable, Holding Others Constant	Variations Explained by the Independent Variables by Re-running the Programme
Attitudes on Political Freedom	a. Ethnic origin	.71	.68	.69
	b. Education		.46	.46
	c. Occupation		.43	.45
	d. No. of generation		.17	
	e. Citizenship		.13	
	f. Country of birth of head		.10	
	g. Country of birth of spouse		.08	
Attitudes on Economic Freedom	a. Ethnic origin	.65	.62	.64
	b. Education		.45	.44
	c. Occupation		.42	.43
	d. No. of generation		.18	
	e. Citizenship		.08	
	f. Country of birth of head		.09	
	g. Country of birth of spouse		.07	
			.07	
Attitude on Residential Replacement	a. Ethnic origin	.64	.61	.63
	b. Education		.45	.45
	c. Occupation		.44	.43
	d. No. of generation		.23	
	e. Citizenship		.11	
	f. Country of birth of head		.10	
	g. Country of birth of spouse		.09	
Residential Preference	a. Ethnic origin	.63	.60	.61
	b. Education		.44	.45
	c. Occupation		.43	.44
	d. No. of generation		.21	
	e. Citizenship		.09	
	f. Country of birth of head		.07	
	g. Country of birth of spouse		.08	
Political Preference	a. Ethnic origin	.60	.57	.59
	b. Education		.43	.43
	c. Occupation		.41	.42
	d. No. of generation		.16	
	e. Citizenship		.20	
	f. Country of birth of head		.08	
	g. Country of birth of spouse		.05	
Shopping Preference	a. Ethnic origin	.58	.55	.57
	b. Education		.40	.42
	c. Occupation		.41	.41
	d. No. of generation		.28	
	e. Citizenship		.16	
	f. Country of birth of head		.10	
	g. Country of birth of spouse		.07	
Attitude on Economic Control	a. Ethnic origin	.48	.50	.64
	b. Education		.43	.44
	c. Occupation		.41	.43
	d. No. of generation		.19	
	e. Citizenship		.09	
	f. Country of birth of head		.03	
	g. Country of birth of spouse		.05	

TABLE 4.14

As can be seen from Table 4.14, analysis of MCA show that for each of the seven dependent variables, all the independent variables put together explain more than 50% of variations of ethnic attitudes, except for attitudes on economic control, in which case, slightly less than 50% of the variations are explained. The variations explained by one independent variable, holding the other six constant are also calculated. There are three factors that account for more than 40% of the variations for each of the dependent variables, they are ethnic origin, education and occupation.

Of the seven dependent factors, attitudes on political freedom are best statistically explained by all independent factors put together. They are followed by attitudes on economic freedom, on residential replacement, on residential preference, on political preference, on shopping preference and on economic control. The second column of the table presents the figures in a descending order. These findings may be interpreted to indicate that of the seven dependent factors that have been found to be related to different circumstances of distance by chi square tests, differences in ethnic attitudes about political freedom, as is identified by MCA, form the most significant issue considered by the group of independent variables. This is followed by the issue on economic freedom. These two issues as have been discussed earlier, represent the spatial configuration of containment in the model. Containment on this basis may be taken, therefore, to be the more important spatial configuration between the two configurations that are identified by chi-square tests, as discussed in the Chi-Square Analysis section of this chapter.

The third column of Table 4.14 shows the variations explained by the seven independent factors, one at a time, by holding the other six constant. For all the seven dependent factors, each of three independent factors singly accounts for more than 40% of their variations. They are ethnic origin, education and occupation. The other four independent factors explain insignificant amounts of the variations.

The programme was re-run to find out the amount of variations each of the three independent factors can explain for the dependent factors. The findings are presented in the last column of the table. Of the three independent factors, ethnic origin explains 57 to 69% of the variations, and education and occupation each explains less than 46% of the variations.

The findings of MCA identify ethnic origin, education and occupation as factors that explain significant amounts of variations in selected attitudes; especially the factor of ethnic origin which accounts for more than 50% of the variations. These kinds of findings, however, still do not answer the question whether or not these attitudes are caused by factors such as distance, or by education and/or occupation. What the statistics have shown is that they reinforce the interpretation made from the chi-square analyses as far as ethnic origin and, therefore, distance is concerned. The MCA analysis cannot answer the question. The conclusion must be that the proposition that ethnic attitudes are related to physical distance has failed to be rejected statistically. But it is still not possible to identify causal relationships by statistical procedures as described above. The only way to achieve a solution is to test the attitudes of a group of subjects who

have identical educational and occupational background as those of the heterogeneous neighbourhood but who live in their own; that is, homogeneous neighbourhoods. These conditions can be brought about either by a controlled experiment or by finding them in real life. Since neither is a feasible solution at this time, one cannot reasonably expect to ascribe unequivocable causality to relationships such as ethnic attitudes and physical distance.

The author discussed the topic of desirability of creating heterogeneous neighbourhoods with the subjects. Those who responded to the question (72%) supported such a policy. One of the subjects, a university graduate who is a Malay, expressed the opinion that the Malayan society, and for that matter the Malaysian society, is a closed society. According to him, there is little interaction, in any sense of the word, between the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians, except at the market place. However, he maintains that interaction is highly desirable and necessary as Malaya is a plural society where the ethnic groups have come to stay permanently, for better or for worse. They are interdependent on one another economically as well as politically because of historical incidence and development since colonial times. The subject's attitude toward planning for settlement was that of creating heterogeneous neighbourhoods for all the three ethnic groups to live in close proximity, not the Malay-, Chinese- and Indian-reserves.

Conclusion

Based on the findings presented in the chapter, the attitudes and perceptions of the ethnic groups in Malaya toward one another are found to be related to two spatial conditions--relative nearness and separateness. When the ethnic groups are separate from one another, as indicated by the homogeneity of ethnic composition of their neighbourhoods, their attitudes toward other ethnic groups are communalistic and inward-looking. They express the attitude of being replaced by other ethnic groups and they do not accept mixed marriage. While the Malays from the homogeneous neighbourhood maintain that there is political and economic freedom in the country, the Chinese and the Indians maintain they are deprived of such freedom. Ethnic groups who are near to one another, as indicated by the heterogeneity of ethnic composition of their neighbourhood, are not communalistic but are outward-looking. They accept people of different ethnic origin on issues that ethnic groups who are separate from one another reject. Such attitudes fulfil the containment and replacement classification of the model of intercultural perception. The null hypothesis that no relationship exists between ethnic attitudes and distance fails to be accepted. On attachment, no statistically significant differences of attitudes are demonstrated.

It should be remembered that data obtained from the field study should be interpreted with care. Opinions of civil servants (subjects from the heterogeneous neighbourhood) may not be an accurate measure of facts. Civil servants in Malaya are generally noted for their attitude of indifference and/or their unwillingness to express their attitudes on

issues such as those investigated by the dissertation. The opinions obtained from interviewing them may not be indicative of any real situation regarding their attitudes. The author can only report the findings as they are recorded and analyzed statistically. Further interpretations should be made when more data become available in the form of a larger sample, incorporating more variables and perhaps with additional methods of interviewing the subjects to ensure better cross-checking of results.

On sampling subjects for the purpose of the dissertation, perhaps a sample of heterogeneous neighbourhoods can be taken from some urban areas smaller than that of Kuala Lumpur, and whose ethnic compositions are more equal in number. The subjects of such areas might represent more dissimilar educational and occupational backgrounds. The author has referred to the latest population census (1970) of Malaya and from the available statistical information alone, the areas shown in Table 4.15 may qualify for such a sample.

Ethnic Composition of Towns with Balanced Representation of Ethnic Groups

Towns	Population		
	Malays	Chinese	Indian
Gemas, Negri Sembilan	1994	1546	1568
Tampin, Negri Sembilan	2679	3822	1580
Gelugor, Penang	3423	2598	2238
Tanjong Rambutan, Perak	1275	1880	2123

SOURCE: Population and Housing Census (1970), Data for Community Groups, pp. 237, 238, 255 and 263.

TABLE 4.15

With respect to interviewing subjects, one must be careful in interpreting attitudes from the responses of subjects. How representative of the attitudes of the three ethnic groups in the country is the survey? It may be impossible to get an unequivocally correct answer to this question. In-depth inference accordingly are not appropriate at this stage of investigation. Nevertheless, the interpretation that spatial association measured by contact affects favourability of attitude among subjects is the most likely of the alternatives examined.

With what confidence may it be concluded that the geographical differentiation of attitudes is not the result of chance? What certainty is there that communication between the researcher and the subject does not break down? Cross-cultural analysis of attitudes is subject to some statistical pitfalls that Campbell (1968) describes as:

(a) differential failure to communicate the task,

(b) systematic differences in test administration, and

(c) behavioural or physical differences of a non-perceptual kind.

In the analysis portion of this dissertation, the communication problem was likely to occur as interviews were conducted by three different people using three different languages and several dialects. As a safeguarding device, questions to which identical responses may be confidently expected to occur except when there is a breakdown of communication were designed. The same device also helps to ensure the consistencies of subjects to questions. There are eleven questions of this kind belonging to three topics. Four questions refer to attitudes on economic status. They are Questions 30, 32, 35 and 53. Three

questions refer to selling/purchasing property. They are Questions 39, 40 and 54. Four questions refer to freedom of residence. They are 37, 52, 55 and 56. The questions are scattered throughout the questionnaire as much as possible to avoid the reaction of subjects. Responses of subjects to Questions 30, 32, 35 and 53 show that an 86% of consistency is achieved. On Questions 39, 40 and 54, it is 83%. On Questions 37, 52, 55 and 56, it is 91%. Judging from these figures, communication breakdown and inconsistency of responses are not likely to have occurred. Systematic differences, for example, deviation from specified instructions and differences on unspecified conditions, no doubt occur when social, anthropological and cultural data are used for comparative purposes. To overcome such a problem as much as possible, the researcher should repeatedly remind himself to remain the outsider to the problems he is trying to identify. Idiosyncracies of administration may constitute a source of noise in the data (resulting from sample-to-sample and respondent-to-respondent variations within a culture). But the author doubts that such differences would relate systematically to the major findings.

Having recognized the possibilities of statistical error and consciously having attempted to overcome them as much as possible, the author concludes with confidence in the findings presented above.

CHAPTER V

THE MALAYAN CIRCUMSTANCES: FURTHER INTERPRETATION OF STATISTICAL FINDINGS

Introduction

Chapter IV presents an analysis of attitudes of a sample of the Malayan peoples. The analysis indicates a statistically significant difference in the attitudes of the peoples residing in neighbourhoods of different culture-mix. Nearness-separateness is statistically shown to be related to ethnic attitudes. Are the identified differences in attitudes consistent with the Malayan circumstances? Do the policies and projects of the government toward the different ethnic groups reflect their attitudinal differences? What spatial configurations could be identified by these policies and projects? Discussion at the institutional level of attitudes of the government and their resulting spatial configurations is presented in this chapter. The discussion involves both governmental policies and projects for economic development in general as well as those that concern the ethnic groups in particular. This is then followed by an examination of attitudes of institutions that are organized by the ethnic groups themselves with respect to the governmental policies and projects.

The term 'government' refers to the present ruling Alliance Party that consists of three political parties--the United Malays National Organization (UMNO), the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA)

and the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC). The Alliance Party has been in power since the 1955 general election; it won that and all subsequent elections by the political platform that it is a multi-ethnic party representing all the three major ethnic groups of the country, and by jerrymandering. That the Alliance is a multi-ethnic party is true in theory. In practice, all decision-making authority of the government lies with the UMNO. As was publicly stated by one of the leaders of the UMNO, Tun Dr. Ismail, who is the Deputy Prime Minister of the country, the UMNO is the only party that really matters in the Alliance, and the other two parties, the MCA and the MIC, are "neither living nor dying" in the coalition.[1] Analysis of the political situation of the Federation has been variously conducted and the above statement of the Deputy Prime Minister is realistic.[2] The effective membership of the UMNO reflects a stronghold of the rich and conservative elements of the Malay aristocracy and royalty. In the late 1960's, a few Malay nationalists found their way to the UMNO.[3] However, owing to the theoretical definition of the Alliance Party that is multi-ethnic, and owing to the delicate balance of the numerical strengths of the three ethnic groups,[4] the UMNO has, until today, been very careful in restraining the outburst of Malay

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[1]This statement was quoted in some local and foreign newspapers as well as publications like the Far Eastern Economic Review (January 1971).

[2]See, for example, Roff (1967) and Means (1969).

[3]Malay politicians like Musa Hitam and Mahathir are known as nationalists or ultranationalists. They come from the non-royal section of the Malay society.

[4]The two factors are, in fact, reinforcing in effects.

nationalist sentiments. The present government works under the advice and guidance of a closed council.[5] This supreme council advises on matters ranging from building up a national ideology, the Rukunnegara, included in Appendix III, to economic development planning and studies and research undertaken by both academic and governmental departments. With the UMNO as the effective partner in the Alliance, Malay language becomes the national language and the Malay religion, Islam, becomes the national religion. And Malays are bumiputra (sons of the soil).

The attitudes of the government toward the various ethnic groups are repeatedly reflected in its series of Five-Year Development Plans and its settlement programmes for the various ethnic groups. The author now proceeds to discuss the plans and the programmes separately.

The Development Plans

The development plans to be discussed are the 1961-65, 1966-70 and 1970-75 plans. The 1961-1965 and 1966-1970 plans are discussed jointly; both of the documents present the Malayan situation of the past. This is then followed by a specific treatment of the 1971-1975 plan; the document deals with the present and the future. The discussion is intended to portray the trend of development of the perceptions and attitudes of the government with respect to the multi-ethnic society.

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[5]The council was first set up after May 13, 1969 when the first ethnic riots broke out in the country, under the name of National Operations Council. Its subsequent activities have been fully documented in a government publication, the Malaysian Digest (1970, 1971). Means (1972) also discusses the activities of the council.

The 1961-65 and 1966-70 plans laid out the specific economic and social problems facing the economy at those periods. The 1961-65 plan perceived three major problems:[6]

(a) a high birth rate; between 3 and 3½ percent per year;

(b) depressed conditions of rural areas; the plan reported that surveys of consumption levels throughout the country confirmed the poor living conditions in the rural areas; there was an acute problem of overcrowding on the land and frustrations were seen to be growing because of inadequate assistance given to acquire land and the very slow process of land alienation; and

(c) a need for economic diversification; the economy was seen as over-specialized and excessively dependent upon a single product, rubber; as a consequence the entire economy was seen as vulnerable to fluctuations of world rubber prices and to the impact of technological developments in the synthetic rubber industry.

The 1966-70 plan put down four main "socio-economic problems":[7]

(a) heavy dependence upon rubber and tin;

(b) a high population growth rate;

(c) an uneven distribution of income which involved wide disparities between rural and town dwellers; and

(d) a relatively low level of human-resource development which resulted in shortages of many of the skills needed for development.

These were correct perceptions of the Malayan situations. Surveys carried out in the late 1950's and early 1960's indicated the rural family income as ranging from M$60 to $120 per month (equivalent to C$20 to $40); this fell far short of a target of M$400 per month,[8] that is

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[6] Second Malaysia Plan (1971-75), p. 15.

[7] First Malaysia Plan (1966-70), p. 1.

[8] Fisk, Silcock and Sendut have done work on this. See, for example, Silcock (1963).

set by the government to be the minimum family income. Natural rubber accounted for over two-thirds of the country's total exports in the 1940's. Although this dependency has since been reduced, mainly through an increase in the production of other agricultural crops and the export of tin, rubber remains dominant in the export sector. For example, the 1970 figures indicated that the export of rubber accounted for approximately 38.9% of the country's total exports by value and contributed 47.6% toward the country's imports by value.[9] The economy is subject to fluctuations of its merchandise exports. Figure 5.1 shows the price fluctuations of rubber for the period 1968-71. The trading policy has been deliberately designed to give imports from the British Commonwealth countries open access to the Malayan market; most of them have been allowed in completely free of duty under the preferential system.[10] Under such circumstances, Malaya's internal market has been virtually a reserve for Commonwealth imports, especially British manufactures. For example, for the period of 1955 to 1961, for which data are available, net profit accruing to non-residents had been equal to 10% of current account receipts, 6-7% of net national income and 60-68% of gross domestic capital formation. (Only a small proportion of this net

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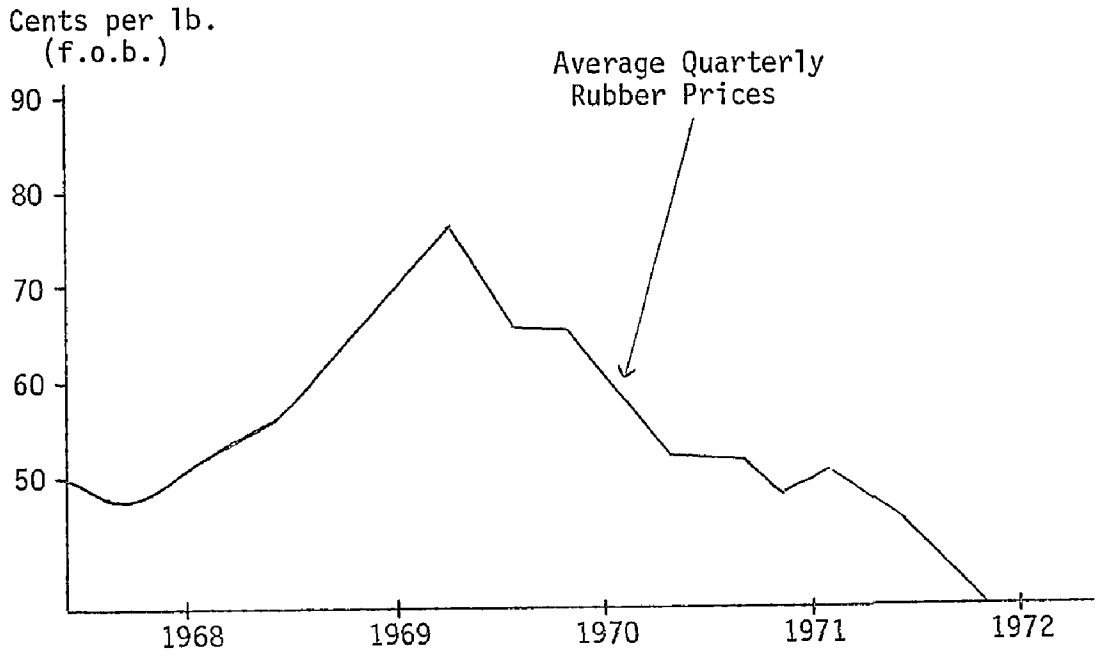
[9]Federation of Malaysia, Monthly Statistical Bulletin (April 1972), pp. 151, 155 and 156.

[10]Tariffs varying between 10 and 20% on the average were imposed on non-British Commonwealth imports so that, with a few exceptions, they contributed to the country's revenue from tariffs. Practices of this nature have been documented by economists such as Myrdal (1958) as a device of the developed countries. It is on this basis that the "cumulative degenerative hypothesis", proposed by Myrdal et al., is put forth. See Myrdal (1958) and Prebisch (1964). On international trade, see Theberge (1968) and Singer (1950).



SOURCE: Monthly Statistical Bulletin of Malaysia (August, 1972), p. 13.

FIGURE 5.1

profit outflow had come back in the form of a net capital inflow.) Note that the net outflow for the five-year period of 1957-1961, M$3,018 million, was only slightly less than the total of public investment under both the first and second five-year plans which was M$3,157 million (MS1,007 million + M$2,150 million). If the government had been able to tap only one-third of the private outflow, it would have increased the country's gross domestic fixed capital formation by 50% over the period of 1957-1961 (Wheelwright, 1965, p. 106). Table 5.1 shows Malaya's imports from the Commonwealth countries for the periods 1958-1961 and 1966-1968.

Both the 1961-65 and 1966-70 plans delineated specific goals; the achievement of which might rectify the problems perceived. The 1961-65 plan set out five goals:[11]

(a) to provide facilities and opportunities for rural economic and social development;

(b) to raise the per capita output of the economy;

(c) agricultural and industrial diversifications;

(d) to create jobs for the rapidly increasing working age population; and

(e) to improve and expand social services; particularly education and health.

To reinforce these strategies, the 1966-70 plan aimed to:[12]

(a) promote the integration of all races;

(b) provide steady increases in levels of income and consumption;

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[11] Second Malaysia Plan (1971-75), p. 16.

[12] First Malaysia Plan (1966-70), p. 2.

Malaya: Imports from British Commonwealth Countries
(Percentage of Total)

Country	1958	1959	1960	1961	1966	1967	1968
United Kingdom	25.0	22.2	21.5	22.6	47.1	41.3	39.0
Union of South Africa	0.5	1.0	0.9	0.4	--	--	--
Canada	0.5	0.3	0.3	3.8	1.0	1.1	1.0
Hong Kong	3.6	4.1	3.8	3.2	2.7	2.5	2.0
India	2.5	2.5	2.1	2.4	2.0	1.7	1.4
Australia	5.4	4.9	4.6	4.3	6.3	7.7	8.5
New Zealand	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.4	--	--	--
Singapore	8.4	9.0	7.9	8.1	10.7	8.5	7.2

SOURCE: Official Yearbook, Federation of Malaya (1962) Table 31.
(1970) p. 208.

TABLE 5.1

(c) raise the productivity of the rural people and generate employment opportunities for them;

(d) promote agricultural and industrial diversification;

(e) educate and train the young to participate in the process of economic and social development;

(f) initiate family planning to reduce the high birth rate;

(g) reduce the number of the landless by opening new lands;

(h) provide social overhead capital; and

(i) make further progress with health and other social welfare development.

The above details of the plans show that the problem the plans envisaged were quite similar. Over the ten-year period of 1961-70, Malaya had been fighting principally against:

(1) a rapid population growth rate of 3 to 3½% annually;

(2) excessive dependence on two export products--rubber and tin; and

(3) economic imbalance between the rural and urban populations.

The plans also offered a similar procedure to rectify these problems. Basically, this proposal was to increase the economy's total output through agricultural and industrial diversification.

Regarding the problems perceived by the government, Malaya has been, in fact, confronted with them for a much longer period, and the period of planning had not seen them significantly alleviated. Malaya has now one of the fastest population growth rates in Asia. For example, Ceylon has a growth rate of 2.4% per annum, India 2.6%, Burma 2.3%, China 1.8%, Singapore 2.4%, as compared with the 3 to 3½% of Malaya.[13]

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[13] World Population Data Sheet (1972).

The Malayan economy has in fact become more dependent on the sales of rubber and tin ever since the Second World War. The growth of the commercial, export sector of the economy has continuously created the imbalance of growth between this export sector and the rest of the rural sector, and this trend was not slowed down in the planning decade examined. In other words, the problems perceived are persistent, and in spite of the recent conscious attempts undertaken by the government to check them, they remain. Essentially, the cause of this situation does not lie in the plans themselves; in other words, the question is not whether the plans were good or bad as instruments of growth and development. The failure of the plans lies fundamentally in such factors as socio-political conditions in the country and governmental actions in response to such conditions.

The 1971-75 plan puts forth a "two pronged New Economic Policy for development":[14]

> (a) to reduce and eventually eradicate poverty by raising income levels and increasing employment opportunities for all Malaysians, irrespective of race; and
>
> (b) aims at accelerating the process of restructuring the Malayan society to correct economic imbalance, so as to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic functions.

The plan maintained that these two prongs of the new economic policy were not mutually exclusive but were, in many ways, "interdependent and mutually reinforcing".[15] It also maintained that the strategy for restructuring the economy was founded on "the philosophy

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[14] Second Malaysia Plan (1971-75), p. 1.

[15] Ibid., p. 2.

of active participation, not on disruptive redistribution".[16] In a latter section, the document stated that its "fundamental objective is greater participation by Malays and other indigenous people (that is, the aborigines) in manufacturing and commercial activities".[17] It set a target that within the next 20 years at least 30% of the total commercial and industrial activities in all categories and scales of operation should have participation by "Malays and other indigenous people" in terms of ownership and management. The objective of the government is to create, within the next 20 years, a Malay middle-class to counterbalance that of the existing Chinese and Indians; to set up a catching-up race of competition, as it were, with the Chinese and the Indians so that within the present wealthy section of the Malayan population, which is perceived by the government to be Chinese principally, Malays are represented.

When the 1971-75 plan was presented to Parliament in the middle of 1971, local newspapers were flooded with reports and comments about the plan and the attitudes of the government regarding the ethnic groups of the country. The government encourages the Malays to participate in the economic activities of the country. It calls on the Malays to adopt "new attitudes", to "follow the example of the Chinese", to "cultivate the virtue of hard work that the Chinese have". The Prime Minister commands the Malays to "adopt a new spirit and a new set of values and attitudes" so that they can benefit from the "opportunities"

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[16] Second Malaysia Plan (1971-75), p. 158.

[17] Ibid., p. 42

provided by the plan. He emphasizes that "the successful implementation of the plan depends upon concentrated efforts by the government which must be matched with the willingness of the people to meet the challenge of the changing situation. To be able to meet this challenge, the people must change their attitudes and values." Speaking to the youth members of the UMNO, he refers to the development plan as a "virus" thus, "I hope the virus will not leave the Malays and other bumiputra until they are well-established proportionately in commerce, industry, the professions and the private sector". He says, "Although it (restructuring the society's demands) is a difficult problem, I myself will lead and co-ordinate efforts to form an entrepreneur group of Malays and bumiputra. I am confident that with the co-operation of political leaders and the Malays themselves, our ambition will be realized."[18]

Members of parliament representing the UMNO also follow suit in encouraging the Malays to come forward to take up commercial enterprises. Various attitudes are boldly put forward, such as the acknowledgement that the Malays are "100 years behind the Chinese" in business acumen, that the Malays "should follow the example of the Chinese", that the Malays are not "lazy" in the kampongs as they are really hard working there but are not so in the towns, and that "to better their lot, the Malays like to go into business and the Chinese should help them."[19]

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[18] The Straits Time (July 26, 1971), p. 11.

[19] See Chapter III for the discussion on the differences between the Chinese' and the Malays' attitudes toward work.

Official comments of the UMNO with respect to the plan reflect the UMNO's attention to inter-ethnic sentiments; press statements such as "in redressing economic imbalances, it was important that inter-racial fear and suspicion should not be created" have been released. Given the political situation in the country,[20] where the government has a two-thirds majority in parliament and has virtually, therefore, the power to see its bills passed without much difficulty, the economic policy contained in the plan was approved without effective opposition or, as was put by the government, "passed on a unanimous voice vote".

What is the rationale that is put forward by the government for it to set up communalist policies of Malayization?[21] With respect to planning for economic development, the goals of the government may be very briefly defined in terms of raising total gross national product and diversifying the economy. However, to achieve these goals, the communal problems of the society, reflected in economic conditions, have to be solved; that is, the identification of economic roles with ethnic groups has to be removed.[22] To the government, the only solution to remove the Malays' problem of economic and socio-psychological handicaps lies in legislating for social change; that is, in the 1971-75 plan.

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[20]Substantial work has been done on the politics of Malaya. The best analysis is the work of Means (1969).

[21]Other than the discussion presented so far in the chapter with respect to the Development Plans, see Chapter III for discussion on the communalist policies of the government on the constitution, citizenship laws and employment regulations.

[22]See Chapter III for the economic imbalance that exists among the ethnic groups.

The above discussion is intended to identify the Malayan circumstances and attitudes of the government insofar as can be detected in its development plans, especially the 1971-75 plan. The attitudes identified are consistent with the attitudes of the Malay subjects who live in the homogeneous neighbourhood of Kampong Pandan Dalam, as has been discussed in Chapter IV. In other words, the statistical findings fit in with the Malayan circumstances. The communalist policies of the government tend to support the attitudes of the Malay subjects and tend to explain the suspicion and fear of the Chinese and Indian subjects who live in homogeneous neighbourhoods. It may be said that the Malayan circumstances emphasize and maintain the communal divisions that exist among the ethnic groups who are separate from one another. And for ethnic groups who are near to one another, their attitudes are not affected by governmental positions, as is demonstrated by absence of communalist attitudes/behaviour, as is discussed in Chapter IV.

The above discussion on the policies of the government toward planning for economic development in general presents a point of interest to the dissertation. The governmental policies, especially those contained in the 1971-75 plan, show a distinctively discriminatory approach toward the different ethnic groups, favouring the Malays. This approach inevitably affects interactions between Malays and non-Malays who are directly the recipients of such policies and projects. The consequence may be that in terms of territorial control, they may stand-off against one another or become contained. The territory of non-Malays may be replaced and controlled by Malays. Such spatial consequences fulfill the spatial configurations of containment and replacement of the model of inter-cultural perception. The author now proceeds to examine some

specific policies and projects of the government that are designed for the ethnic groups and/or to assist them in their effort to improve their economic conditions. These policies and projects have consequences in terms of the spatial configurations of ethnic interactions.

The Settlement of Chinese New Villages and the Federal Land Development Authority Schemes

The author discusses two kinds of government projects that are designed specifically for the Malays and non-Malays. The Chinese New Villages will be discussed first, followed by the Malays' settlement schemes.

(A) Chinese New Villages

A new village in Malaya means a re-settlement village built under the auspices of the government. Theoretically, it is a village for any community whose original homes are situated in territories that are regarded by the government to be unsafe for settlement because they are close to communist terrorist-infested areas. In practice, by far the majority of the new village settlers are Chinese, although some Indians and Malays can be found as well among the settlers. There are in Malaya today 504 new villages. Of this, 156 are situated in the state of Perak, which is one of the few states that is principally populated by the Chinese. Regarding the actual number of new villages in Malaya different sources give different figures. For example, The Straits Time reports give a figure of about 400, The Far Eastern Economic Review reports give a figure of 380. Nyce (1963) gives a total of 504.[23] The

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[23]Nyce presents a vivid account of the history of Chinese New Villages in his Ph.D. dissertation.

breakdown of his figures is:

Perak: 156 new villages
Johore: 130 new villages
Pahang: 79 new villages
Selangor: 66 new villages
Negri Sembilan: 40 new villages
Kedah: 33 new villages

MALAYA: 504 new villages

Most of the new village settlers were originally squatters. The squatters, during the depression of the 1930's and the period of the Second World War and the Japanese Occupation (1942-45), left the towns and cities and settled down on the edges of estates, near other rural communities, on abandoned tin mines or anywhere at all. Some settled on the edges of already existing communities and worked as petty vegetable farmers, construction workers and hawkers. Much of the land which they came to occupy belonged legally to other uses, e.g. land to which someone already held title, Malay reservation land and forest reserves. Even where they settled on state land which was open to settlement, many of the squatters did not secure title to plots which they had come to settle. Only a small percentage of them ever sought title, and they were given Temporary Occupation Licences. Consequently, the vast majority of these people settled on land without possessing a title to it. It is for this reason that they are called squatters.

The Chinese squatters were principally market-gardeners. Their role as food producers was generally accepted as significant and a valuable asset to the country; especially in times of depression. For example, this function was appreciated at the end of the Second World War when the country suffered from an acute shortage of food. At the outburst of communist terrorism in June, 1948, a "state of emergency"

was declared in the whole country. It was at this time of emergency that the plan for re-settlement of the Chinese squatters and market gardeners received the most urgent attention of the government. The squatters had been the major suppliers of food and other items of necessity, including money and information, to the communist terrorists.[24] The government argued that if the main source of food of the communist terrorists was cut off from them, they would be put to a tremendous disadvantage in their struggle against the government. The government, therefore, looked for solutions to its problems through re-settlement of the squatters. In December, 1948, the High Commission (British) for Malaya appointed a squatter committee to investigate the problem.

The committee strongly recommended a programme of re-settlement that was to be carefully administered. It called for adequate communications to be set up to ensure law and order; police stations were to be established. It recommended schools, health facilities and land suitable for gardening to be made available. The squatters should be given a more permanent claim to land than that offered by the Temporary Occupation Licences as were already given to some of them.

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[24]The Malayan Communist Party (MCP) was established at the time of the Second World War. Having been in the country since 1923, its membership has always been predominantly Chinese. During the war, together with many other smaller resistant groups, the MCP took up arms against the Japanese. It worked as a subsersive political organization as well as anti-Japanese, it was supplied with arms and ammunition by the Allies. After the war, the Communist forces infiltrated into labour unions and organized "front" groups. They were soon forced out of the unions by legal sanctions against their activities. They retreated to the jungles and in 1948, June 17, the government declared a state of emergency in the country. For more details, see Hanrahan (1954) and Miller (1954).

These recommendations were accepted. However, the major work of re-settlement was not done. What was undertaken was only an emergency measure designed to combat the outbreak of communist guerrilla warfare. In 1950, when communist terrorist activities reached a new high, General Harold Briggs was brought to Malaya as Director of Operations. The Briggs plan of re-settlement began to take shape under military advice and supervisions. Briggs established a number of "war executive committees" comprised of representatives from the army, the civil administrative and native police forces. Their order was to expedite the details of re-settlement, with some help from engineers, forestors, agriculturalists, medical men, town planners and others. The whole process of planning and construction was pushed through in haste due to the nature of the emergency facing the country then.

Nyce (1963) conducted a study of the re-settlement. The settlers were given eviction cards to be presented to government authorities at their villages for identification purposes. On moving day, the squatters' settlements were surrounded at dawn. The people were gathered and screened. "Communist sympathizers" were singled out where possible and separately "taken care of". Medical examination was given to any one who wished to be examined. All personal property and food was packed and livestock carted except where they had to be left behind, in which case the squatters were given some compensation. The squatters and their belongings were then piled into trucks and delivered to their destinations. When they arrived at the sites of their new homes, they were temporarily lodged in transit camps or in large communal dwellings. The men began to build the houses for their own families. The majority

of the settlers had to use materials from their old houses that they were able to bring with them to build their new houses. Houses were completed in a few days. Whenever possible, each family was given one-sixth of an acre of land to build their house and to set up their vegetable gardens. The house was usually very small since most of the land of the plot was given over to growing vegetables.

The whole new village was enclosed by barbed wire. In the beginning, each new village was laid out immediately along a main road, with the road dividing the village in half. The entrances to both ends of the village were heavily guarded and all through transport had to stop for police checks. Outside of the barbed wire, land was allotted for agriculture--pineapple, truck farming, etc. By the end of 1953, 40,000 acres of land had been set aside for agriculture and re-settlement, and close to M$2 million had been spent. Very often, suitable land for farming could not be found immediately outside the village, but where possible, the authorities located plots of land that were within a two-mile radius of the village. A subsistence allowance was generally given, but primarily to those families who had been moved more than two miles from their old homes and could not continue to work there. For those whose old fields were within the two-mile radius of the new village, financial assistance was given for a period of two weeks. There was the feeling of loss of mobility and freedom among the settlers, a feeling of being contained and replaced, not without reason. Most settlers had to abandon their old fields when they were re-settled. Curfews were imposed in the new villages and the settlers had inadequate time to go to the fields to work and come back to the villages. Most of the

settlers had no means of transportation; at the most, some of them had a bicycle. What was most common was that the settlers were not allowed to go back to their old fields and crops were, therefore, left unattended and harvests unreaped. What was originally a well-worked field was transformed to a jungle of weeds. The settlers felt imprisoned in their new environment.

The bulk of new villages were established in the 1950-60 period. Some settlements were extremely crowded, with lots of 20 feet by 30 feet in size. Some of the land on which the settlements were set up did not belong to the government at the time of settling. The government did not itself settle all the squatters. Wherever it could establish a line of responsibility on the part of some other organization, it assigned the responsibility for the care of the squatters to that organization. The organizations most commonly involved were rubber concerns and tin mining companies who were employers of the squatters. The Chinese were not the only ones re-settled. Some Malays, Indians, Sikhs and later aborigines were also moved to new homes. However, they formed an insignificant minority element in most new villages. Whenever possible, the government preferred to have separate villages for the different communities to eliminate interactions among the ethnic groups.

In September 1971, the government began to take action regarding land title fees and land taxes in new villages. Owing to the poor living conditions that prevailed in the new villages, the settlers did not have the incentive to apply for land titles even though the government began issuing permanent occupation titles (titles that are effective for a period of 33 years) since 1968. Only one-third of all settlers have

applied since then. The government had notified the settlers that by the end of 1971, should they fail to apply for the permanent land titles and pay the fees and land taxes, their Temporary Occupation Licences would not be renewed and their houses would be taken down.[25] At present, some new villages are still encircled by barbed wire and covered by curfew regulations. Some settlers do not yet possess citizenship. It should be noted that the definition of a new village has not been made clear by the government so that under the present governmental policy on economic development, no money is allocated for their improvement. They are loosely put in the category of "traditional towns", and they do not belong to the jurisdiction of rural development authorities and yet are not taken care of by any city municipality. They are like a "football to be kicked here and there".[26]

As is reported by local newspapers, the majority of the settlers are rubber-tappers and tin-mining labourers. Throughout the past years, they have been unable to pay the land taxes, and many of them have been indebted to their local councils. The present fees required to obtain permanent titles and the annual land taxes as set by the government are higher than the expectations of the settlers. For example, in the district of Ipoh in Perak, where there are 18 new villages, there was a significant change of fees and taxes since August 1971. For every 90 foot by 45 foot lot, the highest land value fixed before August was M$700; after August, it became M$6,075. The title fee before August was

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[25]Local newspapers of late 1971 and early 1972 reported numerous accounts on this issue. See, for example, the Straits Time and Nanyang Siang Pau.

[26]Translated from Nanyang Siang Pau (1-3-72).

M$105; after August, it became M$912. And the annual land tax changed from M$21 to M$183. For the least valued lot, the price changed from M$30 to M$151 and the annual land tax changed from M$30 to M$121. How the government conceived this set of price changes is quite beyond the knowledge of the people in the country. Even the most high class housing estates in Ipoh do not have to pay an annual land tax of more than M$2.50 for every 1,000 square feet.[27] Under the present arrangement of the government, settlers have been given a period of three months (September to December, 1971) during which permanent titles could be applied for.

The September 1971 move of the government to hasten the process of application for permanent titles was accompanied by another act. The government began another swing of its security measures. Among other things, the barbed wire that had been taken down not so long ago in some villages were put up again and curfews were re-applied.

These circumstances may explain the increased perception of the Malayan people to the different governmental policies applicable to different ethnic groups and their awareness of these policies as a threat to those who felt discriminated against. Some examples of their increased awareness are reported in Chapter IV in conjunction with statistical analyses. Incidents of increased activities of communist elements in the country have been reported in journals, such as Far Eastern Economic Review and Asian Research Bulletin. The villages were told that the new arrangements were a necessity because,

> without the protection of our (the government's) army and police, the communists will come to ask for food and money

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[27]Translated from Nanyang Siang Pau, Editorial (24-11-71).

> again....Unless you all would co-operate with the government, the 1948 emergency would be proclaimed again and this would cause you greater inconveniences....The government wants to set up barbed wire again in order to prevent any bad man from coming into your village; the arrival of even one bad man would cause you trouble....We believe that you all wish to have peace in your days, see your children having good education; therefore, you must cooperate with the government to destroy the communists....The curfews are set from midnight to 5 o'clock the next morning in order that you can all sleep more soundly, so that you can work normally again when the day comes.[28]

Incidents of similar kind are by no means new to the country. What happened as quoted represents one of the many similar events occurring in Malaya.[29]

In December 1971-January 1972, the government set up a new branch within the National Security Council.[30] It is to study all aspects of life in the new villages of the country. This act seems to represent an attitudinal change on the part of the government. A Ministry with Special Functions was duly created in the cabinet in January 1972, and the Minister is a Chinese. Popular opinions maintain that the new minister is granted the authority to investigate and possibly improve the standard of living of new villagers. However, as is demonstrated by a press statement of the government, the Ministry is a strategy of the government to combat the revival of communist terrorists. The Deputy Prime Minister, who is also the Minister of Home Affairs, stated

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[28]Translated from Nanyang Siang Pau (25-11-71).

[29]Evidences can be obtained from local newspapers that occasionally reports on these kinds of activities of the government. These reports are understandably in the form of brief statements of facts.

[30]The National Security Council is an organization of the government to handle security measures of the country. Means (1972) discusses some aspects of the topic very clearly.

that Malaya "cannot expect its military forces alone to defeat the communists; defeat can be achieved only through economic and social change."[31] It is reasonable, also, to infer that the move to look into the situation of new villages represents at least a gesture on the part of the government to work for the welfare of the Chinese. This would no doubt help to support its declared policy that it is working toward the creation of a harmonious multi-ethnic society.

A Concluding Note

The above discussion projects the Malayan circumstances that affect the livelihood of one section of the people: the squatters and the poor rural Chinese. A contrast of circumstances and settlement environment for rural Malays is identifiable in the government's programmes on rural settlement and agricultural development under the Federal Land Development Authority. The following section discusses this different circumstance and environment.

B. Federal Land Development Authority Schemes

Introduction

The Federal Land Development Authority (FLDA) was established under the Land Development Ordinance of 1956.[32] FLDA was first conceived by the government as a major way to create a prosperous Malay peasantry to help offset as much as possible the ethnically identified economic imbalance that has been existing between the Malays and the

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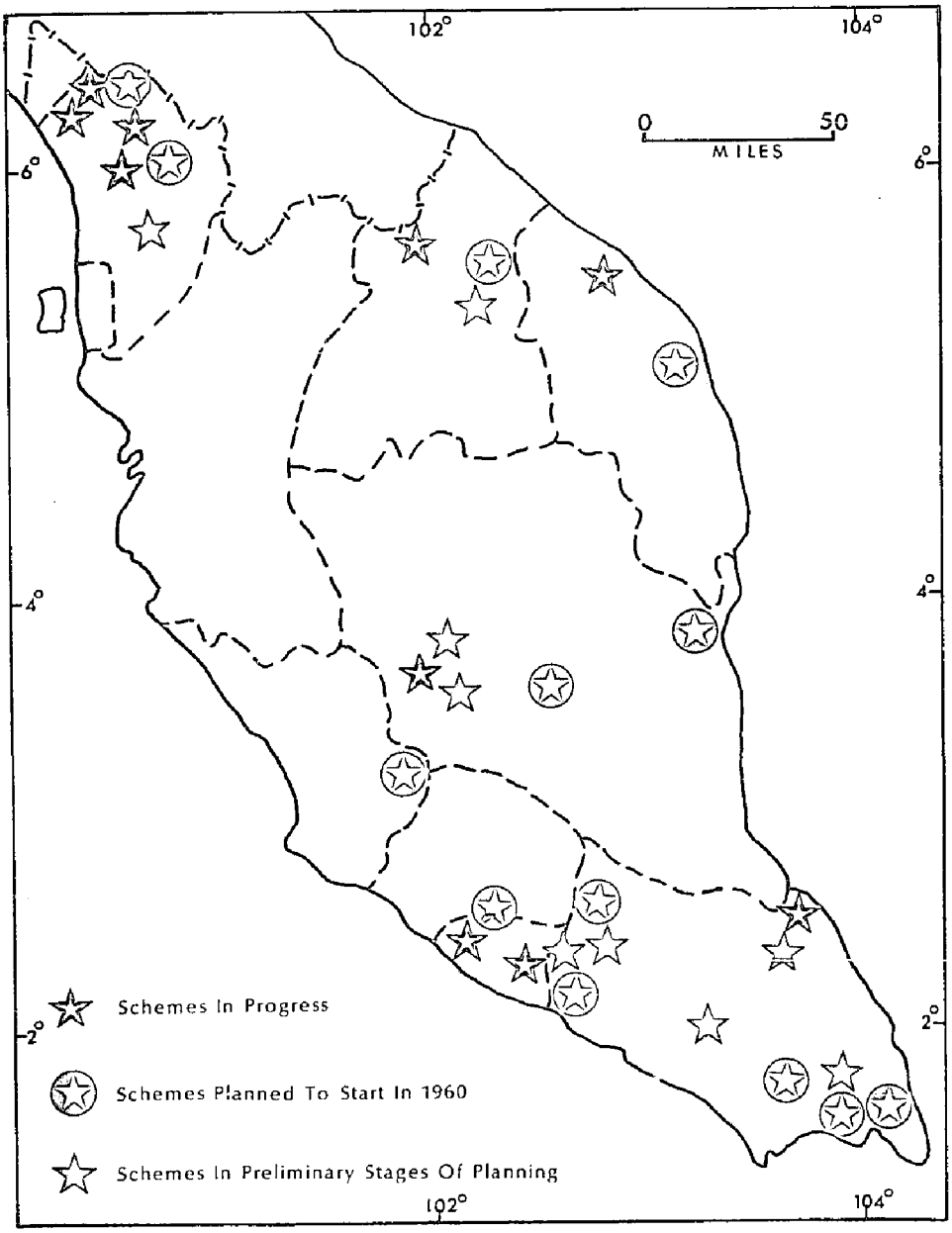
[31]Translated from Nanyang Siang Pau (30-11-71).

[32]See the Federal Land Development Authority, Annual Report (1965).

MAP 5.1 MALAYA:

FEDERAL LAND DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY SCHEMES, 1959



SOURCE: FLDA, ANNUAL REPORT (1960)

Malaya: Federal Land Development Authority Schemes
1957 - 1969

Year	No. of Settlers	Total Acreage Developed
1959 & earlier	791	4,748
1960	1,981	11,693
1961	715	18,364
1962	881	29,342
1963	2,043	27,837
1964	1,150	33,651
1965	1,294	18,339
1966	1,465	28,704
1967	1,670	28,973
1968	3,791	35,798
1969	2,619	42,313
Total	18,400	279,762

SOURCE: Federal Land Development Authority Annual Report (1969).

TABLE 5.2

non-Malay, as was discussed in Chapter III. The aim of FLDA was to create an environment wherein a Malay settlement-family would earn an income of approximately M$400 per month from agriculture alone, in contrast to the approximately M$60-120 per month that a rural Malay family is now getting. In contrast to the official aim of FLDA, popular opinions of the Malays in general toward the purpose of FLDA schemes of settlement are that since the Chinese have been given new villages by the government, the government should also give them similar provisions in order to be fair to all.[33] This attitude of the Malays was expressed to the author on various occasions during field study contacts with the Malays and general visits to different parts of the country in 1971.

FLDA schemes form the most significant programmes of the government on rural land and agricultural development. In 1965, of the total sum of M$2,150 million designed for public investment, M$175 million was used by FLDA exclusively. In addition, a sum of M$30 million was included in departmental allocations for providing roads, water supply and other amenities required in the settlement schemes.[34] (Compare this amount of money with that spent on the Chinese New Villages.) FLDA's efforts on land development are aided by various State Economic

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[33]The author was also presented similar argument from some Malay graduates who are doing their research work in Canada and the United States. In this connection, it may be of interest to mention that Musa Hitam, the Chairman of the Federal Land Development Authority in 1971-72, is a young Malay nationalist who, in 1969, underwent a political exile in Britain due to his criticism of the racial policy of the then Prime Minister of the country.

[34]Federal Land Development Authority, Annual Report (1969).

Development Corporations (SEDCs) and the Federal Land Rehabilitation and Consolidation Authority (FLRCA).

Settlement Environment

As originally conceived, each FLDA scheme would take 400 families (approximately 1,200-3,600 people) with per family holdings of about ten acres in area. The general criteria for choosing settlers are:

(a) preferably Malays;

(b) preferably the landless; but people having up to six and more acres of land are eligible;

(c) preferably people with larger families; seven to ten and over;

(d) people of the 35 and 45 age groups;

(e) with agricultural background, but people of all walks of life are eligible; and

(f) physically fit.

To recapitulate, the Chinese new villages were set up as an emergency measure to combat communist terrorists. The settlers' homes were first large and small camps and later houses built by themselves, some completed within three days. The per-family holding of a Chinese new village settler is at the most one-sixth of an acre. The FLDA schemes are aimed at "promoting and assisting the investigation, formulation and identification of projects for land development and settlement".[35] Proper planning is considered. The Department of Town and Country Planning is called for to design the village layout of most of the FLDA settlements. As shown in Map 5.3 and Table 5.3, each

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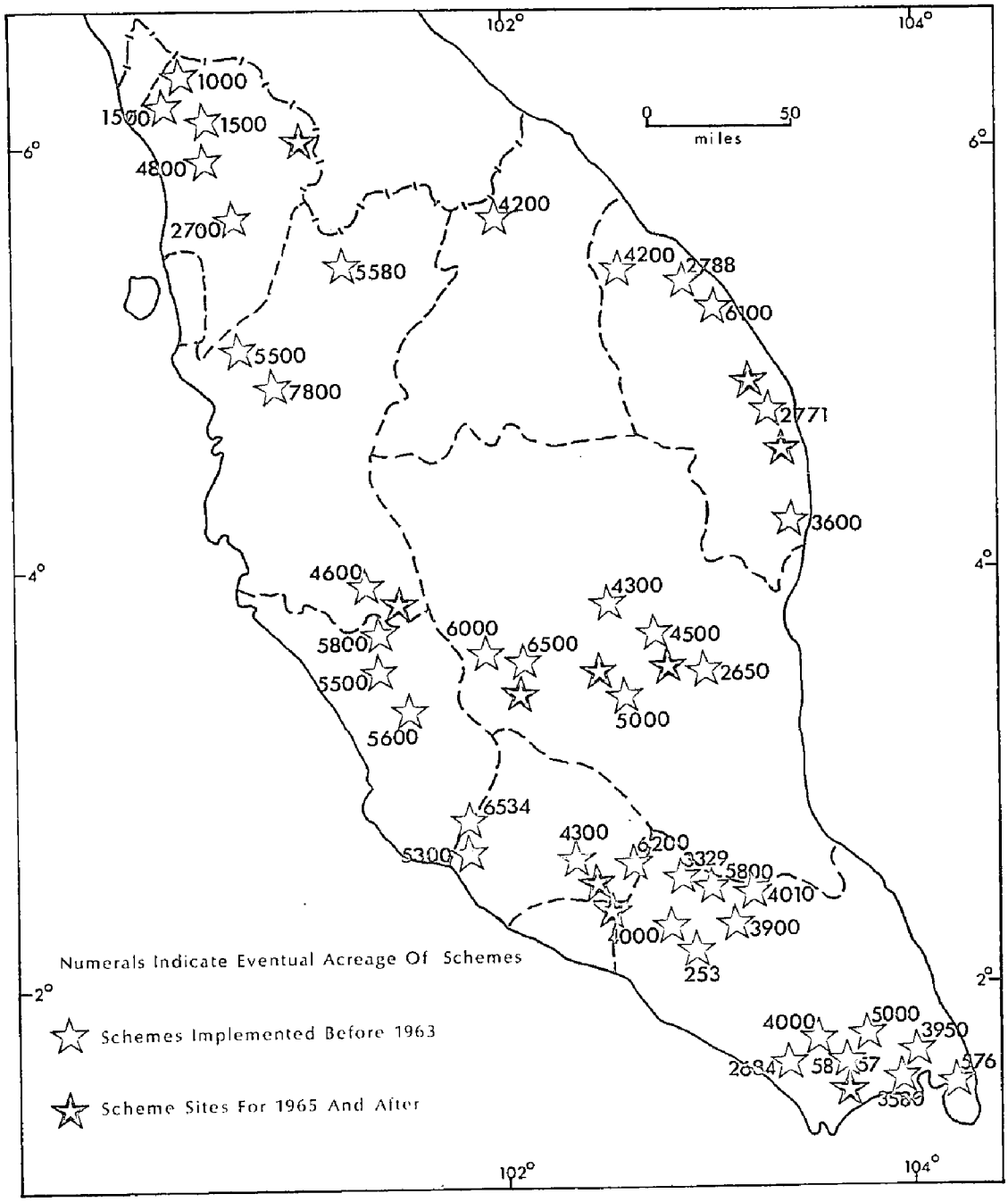
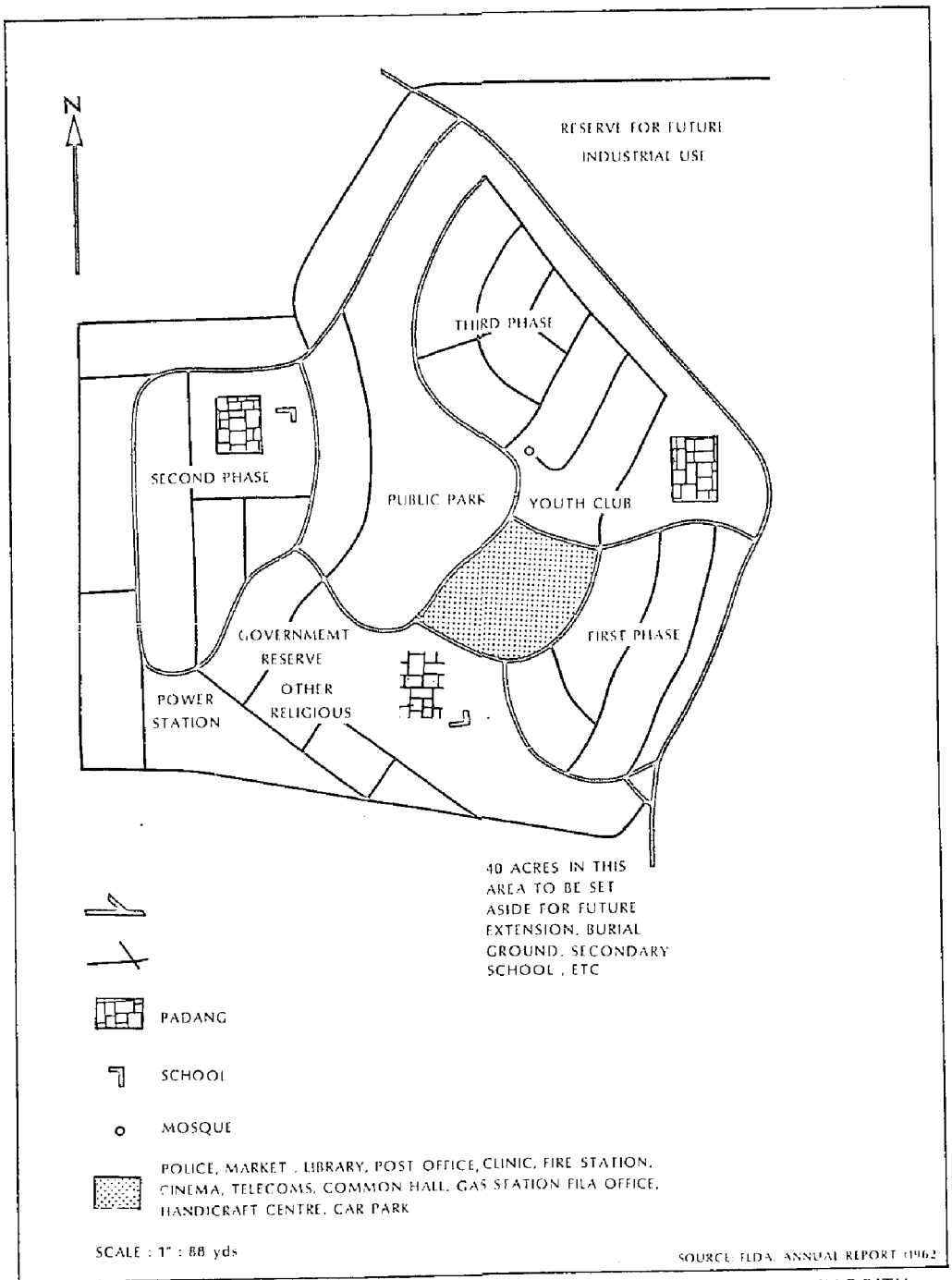
[35] Federal Land Development Authority, Annual Report (1969).

MAP 5.2 MALAYA:
FEDERAL LAND DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY Schemes, 1964



SOURCE: FLDA, ANNUAL REPORT (1965)



MAP 5.3 A TYPICAL SCHEME OF THE FEDERAL LAND DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY: PLAN OF THE VILLAGE Of LABU, NEGRI SEMBILAN

NOTE: This is to accompany Map 5.3.

A Typical Scheme of F.L.D.A. Total Area of Layout
(Approximately 390 acres)

1.	Residential lots (min. size ½ acre):	526 lots	:	156.6 acres approx.
2.	Shop lots (24 in village centre):	3 32 lots	:	2.8 " "
3.	Village Centre:			14 " "
4.	Roads and Lanes:			20.9 " "
5.	Footpath Reserves:			19.5 " "
6.	Open Space:			81.2 " "
7.	Mosque and other religious reserve:	2	:	1.8 " "
8.	Power Station Reserve	1	:	.6 " "
9.	Government Reserve:	2	:	6 " "
10.	School and Padang	2	:	13.8 " "
11.	Lots for administrative staffs and quarters:	23	:	6.4 " "
12.	Lots for other staff quarters:	30	:	9.4 " "
		TOTAL AREA	:	334.0 acres

SOURCE: Federal Land Development Authority Annual Report (1969).

TABLE 5.3

settlement is provided with specific facilities:

(1) There is a village centre. It is as close to the geographic centre of the scheme area as possible so as to ensure that distances from the village to the cultivated lots are kept to a minimum. The scheme, therefore, has a compact, near circular or hexagonal shape.

(2) Areas with gentle gradients are chosen for roads and relatively flat areas for the village centre and for schools.

(3) The scheme should have suitable soil for agriculture, principally for rubber and oil palm;

(4) Availability of water;

(5) Excess of water (flooding) should be avoided; and

(6) Access to a main road but not too close to it.

Each residential lot has a limit: a quarter-acre lot - 70 feet x 150 feet; a house is 20 feet x 20 feet. (Compare this size with that of the house and lot in a New Village.) Open spaces are also provided at the rate of six to seven acres for a population of 100 people. There are also reserve lands within each scheme for future development; mainly for industrial development if the possibility arises in the future. The following reserves are thus allocated:

(1) school reserve where suitable land is available (flat land);

(2) town park reserve, generally adjoining the village centre and occupying a natural valley with a running stream or a low hill strewn with picturesque boulders;

(3) hospital reserve at a hill top and prefereably beside the approaching road leading to the village centre;

(4) burial grounds;

(5) a power station usually sited at the periphery of the village to minimize noise and diesel smoke pollution;

(6) staff quarters of one-quarter acre lots for government officers and teachers; and

(7) industrial reserves.

In the village centre, there are government offices (FLDA offices, for example), police station, post office, community centre, market, shops, bus station, petrol kiosks and service stations, fire station, cinema, car park, handicraft centre, health clinic, public library, women's institute, co-operative centre, government reserve, youth club, young farmers' club, places of worship, and public convenience. Space requirement for each use is kept to a minimum so as to ensure a compact, intimate setting to create an "air of urbanity" in the rural area.

The scheme is planned to operate in the following way. The initial jungle is felled, the land is cleared, crops planted and houses constructed. This is all done by contract work financed by FLDA. All the materials needed for building and planting and the machinery and tools are provided for, as part of the cost of a scheme chargeable to the loanable funds and are recoverable. The settlers then come in and begin to "develop their land". The basic foodstuffs required by the settlers are obtained on credit from the government's co-operative shop. Living allowances are given for the first two years, at the rate of M$60-75 per family per month. (Compare this with the allowance given to some new village settlers.) A 400-family scheme has a resident manager, two assistant managers, thirteen field assistants, a chief clerk and a junior clerk, and a store-keeper. The FLDA schemes are elaborate, well-planned and costly. Several governmental departments are involved. They include the land office, land and survey department, agriculture department, geological and mines department, forestry, town

and country planning, drainage and irrigation, public works, rubber research institute, education, medical and the treasury.

Conclusion

The FLDA schemes, like other projects undertaken by the government, reflect the perceptions and attitudes of the government toward its peoples. The Chinese and the Malays are generally singled out and separated in its allocation of resources for development. This is in line with its established communalistic policies and attitudes toward the various ethnic groups. Some educated Malay opinions are that should there be a distribution of public expenditure for development according to pure economic demands, it would be like building swimming pools for each of the different ethnic groups. The Malays are likened to chickens which, unable to swim, would soon sink and die. The Chinese and the Indians, likened to ducks, would undoubtedly enjoy the water and have a good time. This means that the economic gap that exists between the various communities would be widened even further.[36] The perception of the government on the economic conditions of Malaya is based on the ethnic differentiation of economic activities that exists in the country today. Such a perception rules out the imbalance that exists in economic circumstances in terms of wealth and poverty that the Malayan people encounter, regardless of their ethnic origin.

Some works have been done on FLDA schemes to assess their

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[36]For example, such an opinion was expressed by a Malay postgraduate student studying in the M.I.T., U.S., in a workshop organized by COMSSANA (Confederation of Malaysian and Singaporean Students Association in North America) in its Third Annual Reunion and Conference (December 1971).

benefits and costs to the economy as well as to the settlers. Singh (1965) finds that the schemes he investigated provide an opportunity for the settlers to become relatively prosperous peasants with incomes substantially higher than they had before joining the schemes. However, these schemes are very heavily subsidized by the government. He also finds that without considering the secondary effects, the schemes can be advantageous to the settlers. His findings,which are based on benefit-cost analyses, do not show that the land development schemes examined are better than other forms of investment that the government can be involved with. His analyses do not indicate that the total land development programme should be expanded at the cost of other development programmes.

Regarding the performance of settlers, Wilkramatileke (1964) makes a survey of an FLDA scheme in Malacca. This scheme was started in 1958, and covered approximately 4,309 acres of land. In the first phase of its development; that is, in the first two years, an exactly equal number of Malay and Chinese families were settled: fifty families of each ethnic group. His findings show contrasting patterns of development between the Chinese and the Malay communisites. Generally, the Malay houses remained the same as originally constructed by the government-sponsored contractors; there was little evidence of them being subsequently improved. Many of the Chinese houses, on the other hand, had been extended and re-decorated by the settlers at their own efforts and expenditure. In the meanwhile, the first group of Malay settlers were seeking aid from the government to do just that. The reasons for this pattern are attributable, according to Wilkramatileke, to the

ability of the Chinese settlers to realize high cash incomes through agricultural production on their holdings within the project area and also from secondary sources of employment outside it. He concluded, in terms of channelling incomes for their own betterment, that the Chinese are more resourceful.

FLDA's own analysis of a few schemes show that, although the settlers can indeed become prosperous peasants by working on their land in the schemes, their major source of income, at the time of analysis, comes from off-farm work--rubber-tapping and maintenance work in other private estates. Many of the government-protected activities of the Malays have shown signs of failure. For example, the 1971-75 plan reported, on two occasions, about such failures.[37] Lack of interest and proper skill to pursue the projects constituted the major obstacles.

Without a systematic analysis of the attitudes of the settlers, it is not possible to assess the effect FLDA's schemes have on the settlers in the context of success or failure of FLDA to attempt foretelling a value of self-help among the Malays. At this stage, the author can only infer that the paternalistic attitude of the government to the Malays may create in them an attitude of reliance on the government, if this reliance has not already existed among the people, and a perpetuation of the reliance attitude, if it is there already. More work obviously would be useful to answer questions related to this topic.

Position of the Indian Minority

The government has directed its attention and development

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[37] Second Malaysia Plan (1971-75), pp. 127 and 227.

resources to the Chinese and the Malays. How are the Indians treated? They are not much attended to in the country today.[38] In assessing the economic wealth of the various communities the Indians generally tend to be lumped with the Chinese and are labelled the "rich" sector of the economy. In allocating employment and other opportunities, the Indians are again classified as the independent group that does not need special assistance. In the final analysis, boldly stated, to the government, the Indians do not really count. However, there is one exception. When considering the size of the electorate, the 11-12% of Indians in the total population can, and in fact do, act as an additional weight either to the Malays or to the Chinese. They thus form a very significant minority. Their significance has always been noted, as is reflected in the composition of the Alliance Party which includes the MIC, and there has always been at least one ministry led by an Indian; a rich Indian as a matter of course. Recent political development in Malaya reflects the attitude of the government toward the Indians. The UMNO indicates that it is independent and strong enough in the partnership to do well without the MCA and the MIC as is alluded to in the Introduction of this chapter. Among other things, as far as the Indians' position in the country is concerned, they can go home--back to India where they came from, according to popular opinions in the country.

According to official estimates, at the end of 1967, there were about one million Indians, Pakistanis and Ceylonese living in Malaya; about half of these were non-citizens. The country is facing a serious

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[38] Writers on Indians in Malaya, e.g. Sandhu (1969) and Arasaratnam (1970) indicate a similar opinion on this.

unemployment problem. One way to overcome this situation is to take away jobs held by non-citizens. In August 1968, the Employment (Restriction) Act was passed calling for the registration of all non-citizens engaged in twelve specified occupations ranging from public utilities to the petroleum industry. After May 13, 1969, 2,000 occupations were brought into the category for registration. Included in the list are plantation industry, the railways and other unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, occupations that employ by far the most Indians. In order to be eligible for employment, a work permit has to be secured. And work permits are hard to obtain as explained in Chapter III. At the same time, the National Development Corps of the government began to take shape. They are almost exclusively Malay youth who are recruited and given a three-month training period as "general workers". And they are expected to replace non-citizens, unskilled and semi-skilled workers when their work permits expire and are not renewed.

The author has discussed the various ways citizenship is granted in Malaya in Chapter III. Under the third category--citizenship by Nationalization--people who have resided in the country for ten of the last twelve years and who possess an adequate knowledge of the Malayan language can apply for citizenship. Most of the Indian workers are illiterate and unaware of this right to citizenship. Previous to this constitutional arrangement the possession of a red identity card which indicated permanent residency was sufficient for all purposes that concerned the workers. Those Indians who have been in Malaya for more than one generation bitterly resent their "second class" status in the country. They also resent the fact that while many Malays of Javanese

or Sumatran origin have no difficulty in obtaining citizenship, Indians and, for that matter, many Chinese, have been kept waiting for as long as three years to get citizenship. In applying for citizenship, they felt that the language test, which is one of the requirements of citizenship law, has become tougher over the past few years. They say they are asked "political questions" and that the test is administered "to catch them out".[39]

The author concludes that the differential attitudes that are observed among the subjects are consistent within the circumstances of Malaya as reflected by governmental policies and projects. The Malayan government executes policies and projects that have spatial consequences of containment and replacement among the peoples.

The Malayan Peoples at the Intermediate Level: Ethnic Institutions

Given the circumstances discussed above, how do the other institutions of the country react to them? Are the findings about the peoples at the individual levels consistent with the attitudes and perceptions of the institutions that are organized by the peoples themselves?

On comparative attitudes and perceptions of ethnic institutions in Malaya, no work has been done to date. The topic is extremely complex because of the different nature of organization of the institutions. Existing Malay institutions are all governmental enterprises in terms of both finance and provision of skills. The majority of the institutions are newly established and are involved with national programmes of

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[39] *Far Eastern Economic Review* (August 1969).

economic development. The Chinese institutions are all private enterprises and are basically commercial in purpose. They were first organized by the Chinese for the interests of their own clans or dialect groups. The Indian institutions are semi-private, and the majority of them belong to specific professional classes of the Indians. The basic differences between the Malay and non-Malay organizations are that the Malay organizations are assisted by the government to help the Malays to establish their business enterprises and that they are not voluntary organizations but are planned, established and managed by the government and/or by Malays selected by the government. The analysis presented below is based on official policy statements of the institutions concerned and on press statements that the institutions put forth. The analysis, by necessity, is brief.

Malay Institutions

Some of the more important Malay institutions that are actively in operation are MARA (The Council of Trust for Indigenous Peoples), Bank Bumiputra, Federal Industrial Development Authority Co-operative Banks, SEDC's (State Economic Development Corporations), Development Banks and the Haji Foundation. To illustrate the actual workings of one of the Malay institutions and to demonstrate the nature of governmental assistance, both financial and technical, the MIEL (Malaysian Industrial Estates Limited) is examined. The MIEL was established in 1964. It is engaged solely in constructing and financing standard factory buildings on selected sites of government-sponsored industrial estates. It may mortgage loans on land and factories of up to 80% of their selling prices for Malays. Its assistance is given in the

following manner: a completely developed site of the required size within an industrial area, with all necessary facilities provided for, including good road or rail connections to available labour or markets. In most instances, the MIEL constructs a limited number of "factories in advance"; that is, ready for occupation, on development estates.

Malay institutions maintain that given their economic disadvantage, the Malay public requires the assistance of the government to uplift its position. Malays require assistance especially in the provisions for finance, skills and market opportunity. Information on Malay institutions is extremely difficult to obtain. For example, as reported by Nanyang Siang Pau,[40] no newsmen were admitted to a discussion on the detailed workings of the government's current assistance programmes to Malays. It is not illogical to assume that the attitudes of the government-sponsored Malay institutions reflect the attitudes of the government. It may be concluded that the government, the government-sponsored Malay institutions and the Malays as represented in the field study are consistent in their attitudes and perceptions on the ethnic situation in the country. To them, Malaya is the land of the Malays; if the other ethnic groups are given a place to stay, it is out of the grace of the Malays, and the place that is given to them is dependent upon the condition that the Malays wish to co-exist with them.[41]

Chinese Institutions

How do the numerous Chinese chambers of commerce, guilds and

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[40] Nanyang Siang Pau (November 29, 1971).

[41] See Mahathir (1970) and the discussion in the end of Chapter III.

associations react to the various programmes and policies of the government? Do they exhibit similar attitudes and perceptions as expressed by the Chinese of Kampong Pandan? Chinese newspapers in Malaya, insofar as they do report, constitute one regular source of information on attitudes and perceptions of Chinese institutions. The basis of the author's analysis is, therefore, the press statements put forth by some of the institutions.

Local newspapers have regularly reported on the attitudes and perceptions of Chinese organizations on the programmes of the government and its sponsored institutions; especially since the release of the 1971-75 plan. Such reports are very brief statements on the issues discussed. The author examines the Chinese commercial sector with respect to three issues:

(a) rural development,

(b) political development, and

(c) Chinese education.

(a) Rural Development

The general Chinese business community in Malaya objects to the government's programmes for industrial development in rural areas. For example, the government grants certain privileges to industrial projects in rural areas as represented by the activities of MIEL, and reduces or removes the privileges that it has previously granted to encourage urban industrial development. Opinions of the Chinese enterprises are that the government, in hurrying its programmes of rural development to help the Malays, has disregarded the cost of wastage, in unnecessarily increasing the cost of transporting raw material and finished goods to and

from the rural areas. They maintain that industrial projects are not welfare institutions nor are they agencies for relief for the handicapped. Efficiency of production must not be sacrificed, although rural development is necessary. They object to the treatment of rural development by some government agencies as a "punishment" to urban commercial enterprises.[42]

Regarding the employment of ethnic groups, the Chinese commercial sector also expresses disagreement with government policies. Poverty, to them, is not restricted to any ethnic group. That is, there are poor Chinese and poor Indians as there are poor Malays. The government should not give employment opportunity only to the Malays. They also maintain that Chinese commercial enterprises, while employing certain Chinese workers, do not indicate their ethnic biases. Their opinions are that the Chinese society is a very complex society; the Chinese not only differentiate between ethnic groups, they also make a distinction with respect to dialect differences. As a result, employment is discriminated accordingly. They admit this weakness on their part of being clanish but object to being labelled "racist".[43]

(b) Political Development

As Honorary President of the Joint Malaysian and Singaporean Fukien Associations, Tan Siew Sin, the president of the MCA, called upon all Chinese guilds and associations in Malaysia to unite, to reassess their principles and objectives with respect to the country,

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[42] Nanyang Siang Pau (November 29, 1971).

[43] Nanyang Siang Pau, Editorial (January 3, 1972).

and to take part actively in its politics.[44] He stated that as a minority group in the country, it is political suicide to be disunited and to indulge only in business. He urged that Chinese in Malaya should discard their habitual attitude of ignoring politics. The president of the Joint Chinese Chambers of Commerce for the state of Johore echoed the efforts of Tan. He expressed the attitude that the Chinese should abandon the differences among their guilds and associations but act as Chinese collectively. He indicated that the first duty of the Chinese was to increase their political knowledge and to fully utilize their political right to protect themselves.[45] The president, Board of Governors of the Chambers of Commerce in Johore, similarly expressed his attitude on the subject. He encouraged the Chinese to adapt to the current Malayan environment, devote themselves to the service of the country as citizens and also to exercise their rights as citizens.[46] For the state of Selangor, a similar attitude was put forth by the president of the Joint Chambers of Commerce. He realized that their associations were a bridge between the government and their people in organizing the economic activities in the country. They, therefore, should help to protect the interest of the Chinese.[47] The above quoted statements are common exhortations put forth by Chinese politicians and leaders. Information with respect to actions of these people is, however, lacking.

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[44] Nanyang Siang Pau, Editorial (November 11, 1971).

[45] Nanyang Siang Pau (January 17, 1972).

[46] Nanyang Siang Pau (January 9, 1972).

[47] Nanyang Siang Pau (January 19, 1972).

(c) Chinese Education

Chinese education in Malaya was a topic of concern of the Chinese organizations. The opinion was that Chinese commercial enterprises should give employment opportunities to Chinese-educated people,[48] and Chinese financial resources should continue to develop Chinese education. On the basis of a multi-ethnic society, the opportunity to study the Chinese language must be safeguarded.

The above analysis, although very brief, indicates very clearly that the attitudes of the commercial sector of the Chinese in Malaya are based, to a very large extent, on ethnic considerations. In this way, they resemble the Malay institutions. In Malaya today, Chinese consciousness is very intense, as can be seen in the statements of Chinese leaders quoted above. The Chinese political awareness and their discontent with the country's situation reflect their aroused and strong sense of territorality. In this way, their attitudes and perceptions reflect those of the subjects in Kampong Pandan. Both the Chinese and the Malays show concern on ownership of the same territory occupied by different ethnic groups. Their concern has political, economic and cultural overtones.

Indian Institutions

Indian leadership seems to be diminishing in significance in the economic and political aspects of the Malayan environment. The first Indian associations were formed in the 1900's with support from Indian businessmen, professionals like doctors, lawyers and surveyors, and

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[48] Nanyang Siang Pau (November 30, 1971; January 17, 1972; January 19, 1972).

clerical workers in government offices. Unlike their Chinese counterparts, the Indian associations were organized more for social than economic functions. As Arasaratnam said, the associations were "loyal to the British regime...forming a social nucleus for the Indian community" (Arasaratnam, 1970, p. 83). Many of the Indian associations existed, by the 1930's, only on paper, and the majority of them had made no strong impact on the Indian community as a whole. Those that were more active were just good clubs. The activities of Indian chambers of commerce and merchants' associations on the other hand are more economic in nature. They are almost exclusively organized by the chettiar (the Indian money-lenders).

The Indians do hold economic power in Malaya. For example, in 1957, there were 4,817 Indian wholesalers out of a total of 39,032 in Malaya. Indian estates (principally rubber) reflect the same position as well. For example, in 1931, there were 242 Indian estates out of a total of 2,301 and in 1957, there were 400 estates out of 2,473 (Puthucheary, 1960). Indian estates are generally smaller in size than those of the Chinese. For example, in 1931, European and Chinese estates ranged from 400 to 1800 acres and, in 1947, from 350 to 1600 acres. Indian estates were 280 acres and 240 acres in size respectively (Arasaratnam, 1970). The present-day property class and their ancestors, in addition to being the principal Indian landowners of the country, have been the main source of medium- and long-term credit in Malaya until the advent of the modern banks and the growth of the co-operative movement; the latter were established only from the 1930's onward. Customers of Indian credits had included European or proprietary

planters, Chinese miners and businessmen, Malay royalty and peasants and Indian traders and contractors.

Between the 1920's and 1940's, some strong views were expressed on the exploitation of Indian labour by the European and bigger Chinese commercial enterprises. The Indian concentration on rubber may render the Indians the power to act either as a unifying or separating agent or to remain neutral in the Malayan power structure. In fact, today, Indians provide the bulk and the top echelons of the trade union leadership of Malaya. However, Indian leadership in general has been described as "entrenched" and is "increasingly cut of touch with its rank and file" which are largely semi-literate plantation and railway workers.[49] Information on the attitudes of the commercial sector is lacking. Given the knowledge of the country that the author has and the somewhat neutral position maintained by the subjects in the kampongs, the author is confident to state that the Indian commercial sector occupies a neutral position in the country with respect to political and economic development. Its role in Malaya is that of a minority with its significance fully recognized and utilized in times of the country's general elections.

Conclusion

Malayan economist, Lim Tay Boh (1956), recognizes the main features of the Malayan economy as firstly, dependence on the production of rubber and tin for the export markets; secondly, the entrepot trade of

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[49] Far Eastern Economic Review (May 1972).

Penang and its influence on the growth of the world market for rubber; thirdly, the rapid growth of population, especially in the west coast of the country, and lastly, dependence on imported food and other consumer goods. These are indeed the characteristics of the Malayan economy. However, such an analysis covers only partially the Malayan circumstances. Any analysis of the Malayan economy is incomplete if it misses out Malaya's plural society and its associated features. As correctly put by Milne (1967, p. 3), the ethnic composition of Malaya, more than anything else, is the key to understanding the problems of the country. "It dictates the pattern of the economy, has helped to shape the constitution and has influenced the democratic processes and the party system."

Communalism is a fact of life in Malaya. It has been demonstrated by the author (Lo, 1972) that the basic problems of Malaya do not lie in the realm of rapid population growth, excessive dependence on rubber and tin and the economic imbalance that exists between the rural and urban sectors, as economists claim. It is institutionalized communalism as is practised in the country that is the real issue. The perceptions and attitudes of non-Malays and those of the government are conflicting in many aspects, and these constitute a factor of great importance in the context of planning for economic development.

The findings of statistical analysis at the individual level are consistent with the Malayan circumstances. Interpretation at the institutional level reinforces the statistical findings. The study identifies the spatial significance of problems of a plural society.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Summary

The dissertation is an analysis of the spatial ordering of cultural interactions. The author poses the question what attitudes will result from interactions among several groups of people who occupy differing spatial arrangements within a common territory? The dissertation is concerned with groups of people who have dissimilar cultures and value systems, who have previously experienced dissimilar environmental conditions, and who have come to live together. The author wishes to test the hypothesis that attitudes of ethnic groups are related to spatial arrangement in that heterogeneous groups have more favourable attitudes to one another than homogeneous groups have. The dissertation studies the relationship between the relative locations of ethnic groups and inter-group attitudes and perceptions.

Two circumstances of distance are studied; the relative nearness and separateness that exists among the ethnic groups. The author uses neighbourhood compositions as the measurement for the two spatial conditions. Ethnic groups who live in neighbourhoods that contain different groups of people are treated to be near to one another. Heterogeneous neighbourhoods, therefore, give the spatial condition of nearness. Ethnic groups who live in neighbourhoods that contain only

one group of people are treated as separate from one another. Homogeneous neighbourhoods, therefore, give the spatial condition of separateness.

In the dissertation, attitudes are defined as predispositions to response, and they are sets of relatively enduring beliefs that describe, evaluate and advocate actions with respect to objects and situations. Perceptions are culturally-influenced experiences with respect to sets of stimuli.

The author uses Philbrick's model of Inter-cultural Perception to test the hypothesis. The model as shown in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 in Chapter I contains positive and negative attitudes/behaviour with respect to actions. Its other intersection is between the matrix of intersected positive-negative and active-passive attitudes/behaviour on the one hand and three basic spatial configurations on the other. The three basic spatial configurations are named attachment, containment and replacement, from which the other associated spatial configurations referred to were derived. In using the model, the author is less concerned with the identification of spatial configurations of cultural interactions than with the attitude matrix conceptualized in the model. The dissertation is not dependent upon the accuracy of spatial configuration identities but rather with the favourability or unfavourability of attitudes. The author is concerned, therefore, with testing differences in these inter-cultural attitudes in the ways they are related to distance circumstances. The research problem, therefore, identifies whether favourability and unfavourability of ethnic attitudes are related to nearness or separateness that characterizes the ethnic groups.

The author tests the hypothesis with respect to favourable versus unfavourable attitudes on the three ethnic groups of Malaya: the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians. The author is not interested in the cultural conflicts of the Malayan peoples per se. They provide a case toward establishing a principle of behaviour with respect to spatial ordering of inter-cultural relationships. The problems of the Malayan society are taken as representative of the problems common to all mankind on varying degrees. A survey undertaken by the author shows that 68% of the nations and territories of the world possess heterogeneous cultures.

The problems posed by such societies, as exemplified by the Malayan case, constitute one fundamental problem of economic development. A geographic analysis of the problem provides insight into the impact of spatial arrangements on human attitudes involved in inter-cultural contact. Its findings may lead to means of control of attitudes favourable for future spatial developments.

Data of the dissertation were obtained by field study of certain neighbourhoods in Malaya. The author undertook a field study of a randomly chosen area: Kampong Pandan and Kampong Pandan Dalam in the City of Kuala Lumpur in 1971. A 59-item questionnaire was designed. It incorporated the spatial configurations of Philbrick's model according to Malayan circumstances as they best fitted in with these spatial configurations. Interviews on selected samples of subjects representing the three ethnic groups were conducted by the author and two research assistants in English, Malay, Tamil, Mandarin and two Chinese dialects, Cantonese and Hakka. The subjects selected for interviewing lived in

four neighbourhoods: three homogeneous neighbourhoods occupied by the Malays, the Chinese and the Indians respectively and one heterogeneous neighbourhood where all the ethnic groups resided together.

Historical incidents in Malaya have affected the creation of the Malayan plural society. Before the arrival of large numbers of Chinese and Indian immigrants and when Malaya was ruled by Malay sultans, the Malayan society consisted of an aristocracy and a peasantry. This feudalistic structure was interrupted by British colonization which introduced on a large scale non-Malay immigrants-workers into the land. Politically, the British ruled with the consent of the Malay aristocrats. Economically, the British and other European commercial enterprises, together with small sections of the Chinese and Indian populations controlled the scene. Contact among the ethnic groups took place only over economic activities. The net effect of such political and economic arrangements was that political and economic functions became ethnically specialized, and disparity of functions was created between the Malays and non-Malays. The Malayan government, during both the colonial period and after independence, maintains a paternalistic approach toward the Malays. The government believes that the Malays need the protection against the economically more aggressive Chinese and Indians. Some examples of the discriminatory policy of the Malayan government are its citizenship laws, its employment policies and other "special privileges" of the Malays and "legitimate rights" of the Chinese and Indians as are spelled out in the constitution. Besides these differential treatments under the discriminatory arrangements, there are identifiable differences between the Malays and non-Malays

over their work ethics and value systems. These differences help to differentiate the Malays from the non-Malays. It is under such institutional and cultural circumstances that the Malayan plural society takes its present distinctive form.

Responses of subjects on questions from the questionnaire were analyzed by using the Two-Chi and the Multiple Classification Analysis. The author used the chi-aquare to test the relationship between ethnic attitudes and distance. Statistically significant differences on selected attitudes were found between subjects who live in the two different kinds of neighbourhoods. Communalistic attitudes were observed among subjects who reside in homogeneous neighbourhoods with respect to their political, residential and shopping preferences, their attitude toward residential replacement and toward mixed marriage, economic control and economic and political freedom. Attitudes of subjects who reside in the heterogeneous neighbourhood on the issues are non-communalistic. On the basis of these statistical findings, the author can reject the null hypothesis that no relationship exists between distance and ethnic attitudes. The author attempted a causal explanation of ethnic attitudes by using the Multiple Classification Analysis but failed to establish unequivocably the relationship. What both the chi-square and the Multiple Classification Analysis show is that, while one cannot provide a causal explanation for ethnic attitudes, the relationship between distance defined under conditions of nearness and separateness on the one hand and favourability and unfavourability of ethnic attitudes on the other is not denied. The author accepts, therefore, and invites continued investigation of the hypothesis that

when ethnic groups are near to one another, their attitudes are favourable; when they are separate, their attitudes are unfavourable.

Besides answering the research question at the level of individual subjects, the author examined it further in a wider context, at the institutional level where governmental policies and projects that reflect its attitudes toward the people were analyzed and attitudes of organizations of the ethnic groups are discussed. The Five-Year Development Plans of the Malayan government and its settlement programmes for the Chinese and the Malays reflect the government's discriminatory policy toward its people. The government singles out the Malays as the people requiring special governmental assistance in economic and social matters. Substantial numbers of Chinese are taken away from their original settlements and confined to New Villages that are barb-wired. Specific settlement and development schemes are set up for the Malays to assist them to better their standards of living. Such circumstances reinforce the attitudinal differences and spatial configuration types observed among the ethnic groups who live in their homogeneous neighbourhoods, separate from one another. The attitudes of ethnic organizations also reflect the attitudinal differences of the ethnic groups. While the Malay organizations support and execute governmental policies, the non-Malay organizations, especially those of the Chinese, express feelings similar to those of the non-Malays residing in their homogeneous neighbourhoods.

The model of Inter-cultural Perception was used as a tool for testing the significant differences in inter-cultural attitudes. The author was able to demonstrate the spatial ordering of ethnic attitudes

in terms of favourability and unfavourability in conditions of nearness and separateness respectively. Whether or not the spatial configurations as spelled out in the model are the most appropriate ones describing the situation in Malaya is not the question though in Malaya today, incidents of containment and replacement are observable. The riots that took place during May 13-14, 1969 involving the Malays on the one hand and the non-Malays on the other were examples of genocide. Discriminatory policies of the government are examples of containment and replacement. On the basis of such incidents, the Malayan peoples which have been historically "attached" to one another may be said at present to occupy a position of "stand-off" against one another.

Ethnic Attitudes and Economic Development

The research problem has significant implications for planning for economic development. The dissertation emphasizes the importance of ethnic attitudes. In terms of planning for economic development in a multi-ethnic society such as Malaya, favourability of ethnic attitudes may assist the success of planning. The research findings show that favourable attitudes may be achieved by spatial arrangements. Planning for the spatial control of attitudes may help in such a way that cultural influences may be directed as an aid rather than as an obstacle to members of societies in accomplishing their goals of economic development.

The problems of economic development may be categorized as:

(1) production,
(2) income,
(3) conditions of life,
(4) attitudes, and
(5) development of institutions.

Categories (1) and (2) are usually referred to as "economic factors" and Categories (3), (4) and (5) as "non-economic factors" of economic development. Very often, "economic" analysis of development problems considers onlt conditions in Categories (1) and (2). Basically, the endeavour is an attempt to demonstrate that the labour force actually engaged in a certain type of economic activity is idle during a part of the day, week, month and year, or if working, is unproductive.[1] The inference the economists draw implies underemployment.[2] What is needed to eliminate underemployment and to achieve economic development is, therefore, to increase the levels of total effective demand for labour which, in turn, means to increase total effective demand for goods and services. The change required is a change in levels and modes of production and of living.

In a social system, however, economic conditions do not actually have precedence over non-economic conditions. All conditions in Categories (1) to (5) are inter-dependent and pervade the whole system. For example, the possibility of a better way to utilize the labour force does not exist if attitudes and institutions do not allow it. The attitudes of the people toward work and the policies of the government and other institutions toward utilizing the labour force constitute a part of the problem. In sum, the functional and operational relationships of

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[1]See, for example, arguments presented in Argawala and Singh (1963), Morgan and Betz (1970) and Myrdal (1970).

[2]See Myrdal (1970) for a good discussion on the definition of underemployment and its relationship with economic underdevelopment as seen by economists.

all conditions of a social system have to be analyzed and understood in order to attack problems of economic development with some measure of success.

Adam Smith (1776) studied the development problems of England two hundred years ago in such a holistic context. In the words of John Kenneth Galbraith (1964, pp. 38-40), the stresses were on

> the principles of good government, the inducements to individual performance, the role of popular enlightenment, the foundations of thrift, the effect of competition and of monopoly, the relation between social classes, the reasons why some people, notably the English, worked hard and other, notably the Irish, were idle, were all gist for their highly diversified will. Anything that was deemed to have a bearing on economic advance came into the discussion. The only test was broad relevance to the questions. What made for economic progress? Or, on the other hand, what led to stagnation, to the much discussed stationary state?

The classical economists did not treat development problems as purely "economic" but were concerned with "the aggregate requirement of progress". From this vantage point, Galbraith sees "some serious shortcomings in the modern discussions" of economic development. We have given too little attention to inquiring whether (the things that contribute to economic development) are being employed in a context that is favourable to development.

Gunner Myrdal (1970, p. x) has answered the need foreseen by Galbraith while he revives the classical approach and calls it the "institutional approach to economic development". The central idea in the institutional approach is that history and politics, theories and ideologies, economic structures and levels, social stratifications, agriculture and industry, population developments, health and education, and so on, must be studied not in isolation, but in their mutual

relationships. Similarly, Irving Horowitz (1966, p. xxvi) has also called for a study of "social change and modernization of attitudes" in analyzing development problems.

In Myrdal's institutional approach, the variables are attitudes, institutions modes and levels of living--which Myrdal calls "culture"--are more difficult to grasp and define than are the economic factors such as investment quotas, capital/labour ratios, inputs of natural resources and outputs of products, population increases and decreases, and so on. It follows, therefore, that the problems of economic development and planning for development are very complex. The nature of the problems calls for inter-disciplinary research and it is the argument of this author that a knowledge of the spatial behaviour of people contributes to solving the problems. The case of Malaya shows that economic development is hindered by inter-cultural conflict characterized by unfavourable attitudes. The author concludes that successful planning for economic development requires the planning authority to recognize and overcome ethnic conflict as a means of assuring the successful implementation of programmes of economic development. The author, however, does not necessarily recommend a spatial transfer of people to create heterogeneous neighbourhoods as the only solution to the problem. Under the assumption of "other things being equal", people who are near to one another can maintain favourable attitudes. Other things are not necessarily equal in the real world. Consequently, a recommendation for setting up heterogeneous settlements to put different groups of people in one neighbourhood is not an absolute solution. For example, creating equal employment opportunity and political and social

environment for people is another alternative necessary to create the circumstances under which heterogeneous spatial association contribute to solving the problem as well.

Conclusion

An analysis of human perceptions and attitudes may contribute toward understanding how environmental factors, e.g. distance, influence the perceptions and attitudes of different people and how perceptions and attitudes, in turn, influence behaviour and actions. The significance of such knowledge may be seen in the magnitude of the problem posed by the Malayan plural society. As indicated in Chapter I, by far the majority of nations of the world are heterogeneous. What the dissertation has achieved is one important step toward understanding the problem of human interaction. The dissertation is obviously an incomplete answer to the research problem. It nevertheless sheds some light on the problem. More research on plural societies is needed. The dissertation is intended to serve as a stimulus for further research using these and different and perhaps better-designed methodologies and techniques. Analysis of cultures is, after all, difficult, as is acknowledged by Segall, Campbell and Herskovits (1966) and Triandis, Cassiliou, Tanaka and Shanmugam (1972). Further studies will lead to more complete understanding of inter-cultural spatial relationships, and make possible the prediction and control of attitudes favourable to economic development.

APPENDIX I

The Human World: Cultural Heterogeneity

(Based on the Ethnic, Linguistic or Religious Composition of the Population)

Plurality Nations and Territories

Nations and territories with NO group have 50% or more of the total population but at least ONE group with 20% or more of the total population.

Serial Number	Name	Population	Cultural Groups	% of Total Population	Reference
1	Angola	5,800,000 (1971)	Orimbundu	33.0	(1)
			Bakongo	25.0	
			Kimbundu	25.0	
			Chokwe	8.0	
2	Australia	12,400,000 (1969)	Aglican	35.0	(3)
			Catholic	25.0	
			Methodist	10.0	
			Presbyterian	9.0	
			Others	20.0	
3	Botswana	625,893 (1971)	Banangwato	38.8	(1)
			Bakwana	14.2	(2)
			Bangwaketee	13.9	
			Batwana	8.2	
			Bakgatla	6.3	
			Bamalete	2.7	
4	Cameron	5,700,000 (1969)	200 tribal groups using 24 major African languages		(1)(2) (3)
5	Canada	21,561,000 (1971)	French	30.4	(11)
			English	23.0	Based on 1961 Census
			Other European	22.6	
			Other British	20.8	
			Indians & Eskimos	1.0	
6	Ecuador	6,100,000 (1970)	Indians	45.0	(1)(2)
			Mestizos	40.0	(3)
			Negros	10.0	
			Cancasians	5.0	
7	Ethiopia	25,900,000 (1971)	Gallas	40.0	(9)
			Amharas & Tigrais	25.0	
			Somalis	6.0	
			Danakil or Afars	4.5	
			Gurages	2.5	
			Sidamos	9.0	
8	Gambia	357,000 (1970)	Mandingos	40.0	(2)
			Fula	13.0	(3)
			Wolof	12.0	
			Jola	7.0	
			Serahuli	7.0	
9	Ghana	8,545,561 (1970)	Akan	44.0	(1)(2)
			Mole-Dogbain	15.9	(3)
			Ewe	13.0	
			Ga-Adangbe	8.3	
			Guan	3.7	
			Germa	3.5	
10	Guinea	4,000,000 (1970)	8 national languages and numerous tribal groups		(2)(3)
11	Ivory Coast	5,300,000 (1971)	60 tribal groups		(3)
12	Kenya	11,200,000 (1971	Kikuyu	20.0	(1)(3)
			Luo	14.0	
			Balyhya	13.0	
			Kamba	11.0	
			Kisu	6.0	
			Meru	5.0	
13	Liberia	1,500,000 (1970	Mindangos, Gola, Kru, Lowa, Vai, Kissi, Grandi, Geh or Gio, Mah, Krohn, Kpelle, Bassa, Gleba or Grebo, Day, Belle (Data on % of population not available)		(10)
14	Malagasy	7,000,000 (1970)	18 major tribal groupings		(1)(3)
15	Malaysia	11,000,000 (1971)	Malays	44.0	(12)
			Chinese	35.0	
			Indians	10.0	
16	Nauru	7,000 (1969)	Naurans	45.0	(2)(3)
			Gilbet & Ellice Islanders	20.0	
			Chinese	12.0	
			English	5.0	
17	Netherlands	13,200,000 (1971)	Catholics	40.0	(1)
			Protestants	28.3	
			Calvinists	9.3	
			Non-Denominational	18.4	
18	Netherlands Antilles	223,558 (1970)	40 nationalities		(2)(3)

Serial Number	Name	Population	Cultural Groups	% of Total Population	Reference
19	Philippines	37,000,000 (1970	Isini, Igorot, Gaddang, Ifugao, Ilongot, Bontok, Ibanag, Tinggian, Ivatan, Kalinga, Apayao, Illocano, Sambali, Pangasinan, Pampango, Tagalog, Bikol, Dumagat, Mangyan, Kalamiano, Kuyunon, Agutaina, Paneyano, Aklan, Haray-a, Subanon, Maranao, Cebuano, Samareno, Bukidnon, Manobo, Magindanao, Ata, Mangguangan, Bagobo, Tiruray, Biha-an, Tagaka-olo, Kulaman, Mandaya, Tagbanua, Yakan, Joloano, and Samal		(8)
20	Portugese Guinea	545,000 (1970)	Balanta Fulani Manjako Malinke Papel	30.0 20.0 14.0 13.0 7.0	(2)(3)
21	Rhodesia	5,500,000 (1971)	Shona, Hdebelle and other groupings of Bantu Stock Europeans	94.9 4.5	(2)
22	Senegal	3,900,000 (1970)	Wolof Peulh Serere Toucoulens Diola Mandingos	36.0 17.5 16.5 9.0 9.0 9.0	(2)
23	Sierra Leone	2,600,000 (1971)	Mende Temne Other tribes	30.0 30.0 40.0	(2)
24	Spanish Sahara	96,742 (1971)	Settled non-Europeans Europeans Nomads	40.0 10.0 50.0	(2)
25	Surinam	400,000 (1970)	Creoles Hindustanis Indonesians Bush Negros	37.0 30.0 16.0 12.0	(1)(2)
26	Togo	1,956,000 (1970)	Ewe, Ouatachi, Kabre Other tribal groups	70.0 30.0	(2)(3)
27	Trinidad & Tobago	1,000,000 (1970)	East Indians Mixed Cansacians Chinese	46.0 26.0 13.0 8.0	(2)(3)
28	Yugoslavia	20,500,000 (1971)	Serbs Croats Slovens Macedonians Atbainans Bosnians Muslims	42.0 23.0 8.0 6.0 6.0 6.0 6.0	(1)
29	Zaine	18,400,000 (1971)	200 tribal groupings		(1)(2)(3)
30	Zambia	4,300,000 (1971)	Numerous groupings of Bantu stock		(2)(3)

Minority Nations and Territories

Nations and territories with ONE group having 50% or more of the total population and at least ONE minority group having 10% or more of the total population.

Serial Number	Name	Population	Cultural Groups	% of Total Population	Reference
31	Afghanistan	15,944,275 (1969)	Pashtuns Tadzhiks Uzbecks Nomads Hazarahs	55.9 29.0 5.0 4.1 2.8	(1)(13)
32	Albania	2,000,000 (1969)	Muslims Orthodox Roman Catholics	70.0 20.0 10.0	(1)
33	Bahrain	215,000 (1971)	Adnani Iranians, Sians, Sandi Arabians, Europeans	80.0 20.0	(1)(2)(3)
34	Bangladesh	61,823,000 (1971)	Bengali Bihali Hindi	85.0 17.0 3.0	(2)
35	Barbadoes	241,000 (1970)	Africans Mixed Europeans	80.0 15.0 5.0	(1)

Serial Number	Name	Population	Cultural Groups	% of Total Population	Reference
36	Belgium	10,039,848 (1970)	Flemings Walbons French & Germans	51.0 33.0 16.0	(1)
37	Bermuda	54,000 (1970)	Negros Mixed & Europeans	60.0 40.0	(1)(2)
38	Bhutan	1,100,000 (1970)	Bhote Tribes Nepalese Other Tribes	60.0 25.0 15.0	(1)
39	Bolivia	4,931,000 (1970)	Indians Mixed Cancasians	65.0 28.0 15.0	(1)(2)
40	Brazil	93,215,301 (1970)	Portugese Mixed Negros	62.0 26.0 11.0	(1)(2)
41	Brunei	135,665 (1971)	Malays Chinese Indigenous Others	54.0 26.0 17.0 3.0	(1)
42	Burma	28,000,000 (1971)	Burmans (Nagas, Kachins, Chins) Karens, Shans, Pwo, Chinces, Indians, Pakistanis	71.0 29.0	(1) (13)
43	Cambodia	7,000,000 (1970)	Khemers Chams & Malayans	85.0 15.0	(1) (13)
44	Ceylon	13,000,000 (1971)	Sinhalese Ceylon Tamil Indian Tamil Ceylon Moors	68.3 10.6 10.2 5.7	(1)(2)
45	Chad	3,500,000	Animists Christians	50.0 50.0	(2)(3)
46	Chile	8,800,000 (1970)	Mixed Cancasians	60.0 35.0	(1)(2) (3)
47	Congo (Brazzaville)	936,000 (1970)	Bakongo Bateke & M'Bochi	50.0 50.0	(1)(2)
48	Cuba	8,553,395 (1970)	Cancasians Negroes	63.0 28.0	(1)(2)
49	Cyprus	633,000 (1970)	Greks Turks Armenians & Maronites	78.0 18.8 13.2	(1)
50	Czechoslovakia	14,406,772 (1971)	Czechs Slovaks	65.0 30.0 5.0	(1)
51	Dahomey	2,600,000 (1969)	Animisto Christians Muslims	65.0 15.0 13.0	(1)(2)
52	Dominican Republic	4,200,000 (1970)	Mixed Cancasians Negros	70.0 15.0 15.0	(2)
53	Equitorial Guinea	300,000 (1970)	Fangs Benges, Combes, Bujebas, Balengues	75.0 25.0	(2)
54	Fiji	476,727 (1966)	Indians Fijians Chinese, Melanesians Europenas, Polynesians)	50.0 42.4 7.6	(2)
55	Gabon	500,000 (1971)	Fangs Eshira Adouma Okande	51.0 19.0 12.0 5.0	(1)(2)
56	Germany	17,056,983 (1970)	Protestants Roman Catholics	72.0 28.0	(1)
57	Guatemala	5,030,000 (1969)	Indians Mixed Others	60.0 30.0 10.0	(1)
58	Guyana	721,098 (1970)	East Indians Africans Mixed	50.7 32.9 12.0	(1)(2)
59	India	547,367,926 (1971)	Hindu 5 other official religions	84.0 16.0	(1)(2) (7)
60	Iran	30,000,000 (1971)	Persian Language Kurdish, English French, Turkish, and Arabic	75.0 25.0	(1)(2)
61	Iraq	9,000,000 (1970)	Assyrians, Iranians, Turkomans, Lurs, and Armenians Kurds	80.0 to 85.0 15.0-20.0	(1)(2)
62	Kuwait	733,000 (1970)	Arabs Kuwaitis	52.8 47.2	(1)(2)
63	Laos	2,900,000 (1970)	Tais Sinitics, Tibetos-Burmans, Proto-Malays, Indonesian Tribes, Vietnamese and Chinese	50.0 50.0	(1)(2) (3)

Serial Number	Name	Population	Cultural Groups	% of Total Population	Reference
64	Lebanon	2,700,000 (1970)	Muslims Christians	50.0 50.0	(1)
65	Libya	1,900,000 (1970)	Settled people Seminomads Nomads	75.0 18.0 8.0	(1)(2)
66	Malawi	4,400,000 (1971)	Chewas Lomwe, Yao, Sena and Tumbaka	89.0 11.0	(1)(2)
67	Mali	5,000,000 (1971)	Mande Stock Peul Voltaic Tribes Songhais Tuaregs & Moors	50.0 17.2 12.2 5.0 4.6	(1)(2)
68	Mauritania	1,200,000 (1971)	Moorish Negro Africans	80.0 20.0	(1)(2)
69	Mexico	48,381,547 (1970)	Mestizos Indians Caucasians	60.0 25.0 15.0	(1)(2)
70	Mongolia	1,300,000 (1969)	Khalkha Non-Khalkha Kazakhs, Tuvins and Khotons	76.0 13.0 7.0	(1)
71	Nepal	11,292,841 (1971)	Hindus Buddhists & Others	>50.0 <50.0	(1)
72	Nicaragua	1,800,000 (1968)	Mestizos Caucasians Negros Indians	70.0 17.0 9.0 4.0	(1)(2)
73	Niger	4,000,000 (1971)	Hausa Djerma-Songhai Peuls, Tonarego, and Toubous	50.0 20.0 30.0	(1)(2)
74	Pakistan	55,774,000 (1971)	Muslims Hindus & Others	85.0 15.0	(1)(2)
75	Panama	1,428,082	Mixed Caucasians Negros Indians	53.4 16.9 14.9 9.2	(1)
76	Peru	13,586,300 (1970)	Indians Mixed Caucasians	58.0 28.0 10.0	(1)
77	Romania	19,540,000 (1968)	Romanians Hungarians, Germans and Jews	85.0 15.0	(1)
78	Rwanda	3,667,000 (1970)	Hutu Tutsi	89.7 13.6	(1)(2)
79	Singapore	2,500,000 (1970)	Chinese Malays Indians	74.0 15.0 8.0	(1)
80	Somali	28,000,000 (1971)	Somalis Negroid groups, Americans & Bajunis Indo-Pakistanis, Arabs, Italians & Chinese	60.0 25.0 15.0	(1)(2)
81	South Africa	21,282,000 (1970)	Bantus Caucasians Coloureds Asiatics	70.0 17.8 9.4 2.9	(1)(2)
82	Southwest Africa (Namibia)	746,328 (1970)	Africans Caucasians Coloureds	84.5 12.1 3.4	(1)(2)
83	Sudan	15,600,000 (1970)	Muslims Animists	70.0 30.0	(1)(2)
84	Switzerland	6,269,783 (1970)	Germans French Italians	74.4 20.2 4.1	(1)
85	Syria	6,300,000 (1970)	Muslims Christians	87.0 13.0	(1)(2)
86	Tanzania	11,539,000	Sukuma 14 major tribes Other minor tribes	13.0 85.0 2.0	(1)(2)
87	Thailand	35,000,000 (1970)	Siamese Chinese, Khmer, Lao, Mon, Karian, Laws & Kache	45.0 (1 55.0	(1) (13)
88	Uganda	8,133,000 (1968)	11 Major Ethnic Groups Baganda	87.2 12.8	(1)(2)
89	United States of America	200,000,000 (1967)	Caucasians Negroes	88.9 11.0	(1)
90	Upper Volta	5,300,000 (1970)	Mossi Bobo	75.0 25.0	(1)(2)

Serial Number	Name	Population	Cultural Groups	% of Total Population	Reference
91	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic	246,300,000 (1972)	Eastern Slavs (Great Russians)	70.0	(1)(2) (3)
			Uzheks, Tadzhiks, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirgiz, Turkmens, Tartars, Uygurus, Dungans, Karakalpaks, Ukrainiams, Germans, and Belorussians	30.0	
92	Vietnam	38,000,000 (1970)	Annamese	75.0	(1)(2) (3)
			Burmans, Chinese, Meong, Lolos, Nung, Nhangs, Man, Meo, Djaras, Bahners, Rades, Moi	25.0	
93	Yeman	5,500,000 (1972)	Zaidi Muslims	50.0	(1)(2)
			Shi Muslims	50.0	

Majority Nations and Territories

Nations and territories with ONE group having 50% or more of total population and NO other group having more than 10% of the total population.

94	Algeria	13,400,000 (1970)	Muslins	>98.0	(1)(2)
95	Argentine Republic	23,300,000 (1970)	Italian & Spanish	97.0	(1)
			Arabs, Indians & Mestizos	3.0	
96	Austria	7,400,000 (1971)	Austio-Hungarians	>90.0	(1)
97	Bahama Island	169,000 (1970)	Negroes	>85.0	(1)(2)
98	Bulgaria	8,600,000 (1971)	Bulgarians	85.0	(1)
			Turks	9.0	
			Macedonians, Armenians, Gypsies & Greeks	6.0	
99	Central African Republic	2,300,000 (1968)	Baya-Mandjia & Banda	75.0	(1)(2)
			M'Baka	7.0	
100	China	825,875,000 (1972)	Han	>94.0	(1)(2)
101	Denmark	4,900,000 (1969)	Danes	>98.0	(1)
102	Egypt	30,075,858 (1966)	Muslims	>92.0	(1)(2)
103	El Salvador	3,633,628 (1970)	Mixed	89.0	(1)
			Indians	10.0	
			Caucasians	1.0	
104	Finland	4,700,000 (1969)	Finish-speaking	92.0	(1)
			Swedish-speaking	7.5	
105	France	50,300,000 (1969)	French	>98.0	(1)(6)
106	Greece	8,800,000 (1970)	Greeks	99.0	(1)(6)
107	Greenland	33,140 (1960)	Eskimos	98.0	(1)(2)
108	Haiti	4,500,000 (1969)	Africans	>95.0	(1)(2)
109	Honduras	2,600,000 (1970)	Mestizos	>90.0	(1)
110	Hungary	10,300,000 (1971)	Hungarians	>98.0	(1)(6)
111	Iceland	200,000 (1967)	Nordic & Celtic origins	>97.0	(1)(2) (6)
112	Ireland	2,971,230 (1971)	Roman Catholics	90.9	(1)(2)
			Anglicans	3.4	
			Others	1.4	
113	Israel	2,900,000 (1970)	Jews	>95.0	(1)(2)
114	Italy	53,800,000 (1969)	Italians	>99.0	(1)(2) (6)
115	Jamaica	1,900,000 (1972)	Africans	>90.0	(1)(2)
116	Japan	103,700,000 (1972)	Japanese	>99.0	(1)
117	Jordan	2,400,000 (1970)	Muslims	94.0	(1)(2)
			Christians	6.0	
118	Korea	45,000,000 (1970)	Koreans	>99.0	(1)(2)
119	Lesotho	950,000 (1969)	Sothoes	>99.0	(1)(2)
120	Maldives	110,000 (1970)	Dravidian, Sinhalese & Arab descent	>99.0	(1)(2)

Serial Number	Name	Population	Cultural Groups	% of Total Population	Reference
121	Malta	319,123 (1970)	Roman Catholics	> 98.0	(1)
122	Morocco	15,400,000 (1971)	Berkers & Arabs	> 95.0	(1)(2)
123	New Zealand	2,862,631 (1971)	Europeans	> 92.1	(1)
124	Norway	3,900,000 (1969)	Norwegians	> 95.0	(1)(6)
125	Paraguay	2,500,000 (1971)	Mixed (Spanish and Indians	> 95.0	(1)(2)
126	Poland	32,900,000 (1972)	Polish	> 96.0	(1)
127	Portugal	23,000,000 (1970)	Portugese	> 98.0	(1)
128	Spain	34,000,000 (1970)	Roman Catholics	99.0	(1)
129	Swaziland	426,000 (1970)	Swazi	96.0	(1)(2)
130	Sweden	8,000,000 (1969)	Swedish	> 98.0	(1)(6)
131	Tanisia	5,100,000 (1971)	Muslims	95.0	(1)(2)
132	United Arab Republic	34,000,000 (1971)	Muslims	> 92.0	(1)(2)
133	United Kingdom	56,100,000 (1970)	English Scotish Irish Welsh	85.0 8.0 4.0 3.0	(1)(2)
134	Uraguay	3,000,000 (1972)	Spanish Indians Negros	88.0 5.0 3.0	(1)(2)
135	Venezuala	10,400,000 (1970)	Mixed (Spanish and Indians)	> 96.0	(1)

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APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE

NOTE: The answers to the following questions will not be used for any other purpose but for the pursuit of a Doctor of Philosophy programme. Please give me your opinions frankly. Thank you very much.

Schedule I = Household Composition

First of all, I would like to know how many people live in the house permanently* and how are they related to the head of the household.

(Enter NAME, RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD in Columns (2) & (3) below.)

(1) Serial No. of House-hold	(2) Name of Head of Household	(3) Relationship to Head of Household	(4) Serial No. of Household Members

*Definition of permanency = live in the household for more than three months.

Schedule II = Inter-cultural Perception

Section A(I): Identification Information

House listed sampling serial number = _____

Section A(II): Household Characteristics

	Serial No. of H/H Name of head of H/H	Serial Number of Household Members												
		01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13
Item 1	What is the relationship to the head of the H/H? Head = 1 Wife/husband = 2 Son/daughter = 3 Father/mother = 4 Grandparents = 5 Brother/sister = 6 Other relatives = 7 Employee/servant = 8 Non-relative = 9													
Item 2	What ethnic group do you belong? Malay = 1 Chinese = 2 Indian/Pakistani = 3 Mixed (including Eurasian) = 4													
Item 3	What is your religion? Muslim = 1 Buddhist = 2 Hindu = 3 Christian = 4 Other = 5 (specify)													
Item 4	What is your sex? Male = 1 Female = 2													
Item 5	What is your age in completed years?													

		01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13
Item 6	What is your marital status? Single/never married = 1 Married = 2 Widowed/divorced/ separated = 3													
Item 7A	Which generation are you in this country? First = 1 Second = 2 Third = 3 Fourth or more = 4													
7B	How long have you lived in Malaya? Less than one year = 1 One year = 2 Two years = 3 Three years = 4 Four years = 5 Five years = 6 Six to ten years = 7 Eleven to 20 years = 8 Over 20 years = 9													
7C	How long have you lived in this kampong? Less than one year = 1 One year = 2 Two years = 3 Three years = 4 Four years = 5 Five years = 6 Six to ten years = 7 Eleven to 20 years = 8 Over 20 years = 9													
7D	Do you have a Malaysian citizenship? Yes = 1 No = 2 Under 18 = 3													
7E	Were you born in Malaya? Yes = 1 No = 2													

		01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13
Item 8	Are you currently enrolled in any school, college or university? Not applicable (below 6 years) = 1 No, not currently enrolled = 2 Yes, enrolled in Primary only = 3 Lower Secondary (Forms I-III) = 4 Middle Secondary (Forms IV-V) = 5 Upper Secondary (Form VI) = 6 Religious school = 7 Teachers or technical training = 8 University = 9													
Item 9	FOR THOSE NOT CURRENTLY ENROLLED, i.e. code 2 above: What is your highest level of education? No formal education = 1 Primary only = 2 Lower Secondary (Forms I-III) = 3 Middle Secondary (Forms IV-V) = 4 Upper Secondary (Form VI) = 5 Religious education = 6 Teachers or technical college = 7 University = 8													

		01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13
Item 10	What is/was or are/were the medium or media of instruction in education? English = 1 Malay = 2 Chinese = 3 Tamil = 4 Other = 5 (specify)													
Item 11	When applicable, what is your work?													
I	Government a. executive = 1 b. administrative = 2 c. clerical = 3 d. technical & other =4 (specify)													
II	Private a. commercial/ business = 5 b. agricultural (fishing, forestry) = 6 c. mining = 7 d. constructional = 8 e. transportation/ communication = 9 f. self-employed = 10													
III	Servant = 11													
IV	Others = 12 (specify)													

Section B: Site and Activity Characteristics

Item 12 What are the names of the newspapers you read regularly, if any?

Item 13 (a) What are the names of the sports teams you support, if any?
(b) What are the ethnic compositions of the teams?

Item 14 What is the name of the club(s) the houshold joins, if any?

Item 15 What is your political preference? It is
Communal = _____ 1; Multi-ethnic = _____ 2;
Social-class = _____ 3; Religion = _____ 4;
None of these = _____ 5; Others (specify) = _____ 6.

Item 16 (a) What are the names of routes (road, lane, footpath, etc.) you take to go to your usual bus-stop?
(b) Why do you choose these routes?

Item 17 (a) What are the names of shops you most frequently patronize?
(b) Where are they located? (roads or streets)
(c) Do you tend to patronize shops that are owned by people of your own ethnic group?
Yes _____ 1; No _____ 2. Why?

Item 18 Where do most of your relatives live? (town/kampong/road)

Section C: Perception of Residents of Kampong Pandan/Kampong Pandan Dalam

Item 19 Location of your previous residence:
State _____; District _____; Mukim _____;
Town/Village _____; Street _____.

Item 20 Where do you think is the edge* of your neighbourhood?**
East _____; West _____; North _____; South _____.

---

*Definition of 'Edge' = the boundary beyond which you think the actions and attitudes of the people are different from yours.

**Definition of 'Your Neighbourhood' = the land in which you and people who share similar attitudes with you are occupying and where you feel you belong to.

Item 21 Do you like people of another ethnic and/or religious group to stay and work in your neighbourhood?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2;

Do not care = _____ 3.

Item 22 Do you think that over the past 10 or 20 years the areas around you have been either gradually or rapidly occupied by people who have different attitudes from yours and/or who are of different ethnic origin?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2;

I do not know = _____ 3.

Item 23 If YES, do you think this movement is a threat to your ownership and/or occupancy in your area?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2;

I do not know = _____ 3.

Item 24 If answer to (23) is NO, have you been expanding your ownership and influence in your area over the past years?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2;

I do not know = _____ 3.

Item 25 What is the ethnic origin of the former occupants of your present residence?

Malay = _____ 1; Chinese = _____ 2;

Indian/Pakistani = _____ 3; Others = _____ 4;

Not known = _____ 5.

Item 26 Do you think you want to move out of your present residence?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Item 27 Why?

Item 28 Location of intending future residence:

State _____; District _____; Mukim _____;

Town/Kampong _____; Street _____.

Item 29 Do you have any economic relation with people who are also from the neighbourhood? e.g. work with them in the same place.

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Item 30 If YES, what is the general economic status you think you have in comparison with that of your co-workers?

Superior = _____ 1; Equal = _____ 2; Inferior = _____ 3.

Item 31 If you are not their co-workers yet, do you think you have a chance to join them?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2; Not sure = _____ 3.

Why?

Item 32 Do you think different ethnic groups have different economic statuses in your country?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2; Not sure = _____ 3.

Item 33 How do you measure economic prosperity?

Prestige = _____ 1; Work (labour) = _____ 2;

Salary = _____ 3; Other (specify) = _____ 4.

Item 34 Do you think economic control by some ethnic groups exists?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2; Not sure = _____ 3.

Item 35 What group?

Malay = _____ 1; Chinese = _____ 2; Indian = _____ 3.

Item 36 If YES, what is the extent of this control?

A great deal (holding over 50% of the property (land, business, houses) = _____ 1;

High (25 - 49%) = _____ 2;

Moderate (10 - 24% = _____ 3.

Item 37 Do you think you are free to reside anywhere in the Kampong area?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2; I do not know = _____ 3.

Why?

Item 38 Do you sell/buy property to/from other peoples of the kampong?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Item 39 If SELL, do you sell on pure economic reason, i.e. to whoever offers the best price?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Item 40 Other than pure economic reason, what other reasons can you give for people selling property?

Religion = _____ 1; Race = _____ 2;

Kinship/Friendship = _____ 3;

Governmental requirement = _____ 4;

Other (specify) = _____ 5.

Item 41 If BUY, do you think you are consolidating the land-units and uniting the people?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2; Not sure = _____ 3.

Item 42 Do you own property in the kampong or in other areas?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Item 43 If YES, where?

State _____; District _____;

Mukim _____; Town/Kampong _____.

Item 44 If you do not sell or buy, do you think your ownership of property can be maintained by yourself in the foreseeable future?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Item 45 If NO, why?

Item 46 Are there other people coming into the kampong to do business of any kind?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Item 47 If YES, who are they?

Ethnic Origin = _____ 1; Religion = _____ 2;

Nationality = _____ 3.

Item 48 If YES, do you think they are opening up the opportunity of the kampong and/or the country to economic development or exploiting it for their own good?

Developing = _____ 1; Exploiting = _____ 2;

Not sure = _____ 3.

Item 49 Is there school/educational/technical institutions newly set up in the kampong?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Item 50 If YES, what is the management?

Government = _____ 1; Private = _____ 2;

Aided = _____ 3; Community owned = _____ 4.

Item 51 If YES, are you or any members of the household free to attend this institution if you wish?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Why not?

Item 52 Do you think you are sharing the kampong with everyone else in this area? i.e. have equal economic, social, political status?

Economic Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2;

Social Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2;

Political Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Item 53 Do you think all people have equal economic, social and political status in the country?

Economic Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2;

Social Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2;

Political Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Item 54 Do you like to sell your property to people of other religious and ethnic origin if you do sell?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Why not?

Item 55 Do you think you are residing freely with all people of the kampong while you proceed with your own economic, social and political undertakings?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Item 56 Do you think all people are residing freely in the country and proceed with their own economic, social or political undertakings?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Item 57 Is there mixed marriage in your family?

Ethnically Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2;

Religiously Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Item 58 Do you think it can be a possible help to promoting understanding between people of different ethnic groups and religions?

Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

Item 59 Do you wish to have mixed marriage in your family?

Ethnically mixed Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2;

Religiously mixed Yes = _____ 1; No = _____ 2.

APPENDIX III

Rukunnegara

In the belief that the Malayan peoples lack a national ideology, the government issued the Rukunnegara, a formula that spells out the fundamental national principles. Rukunnegara is derived from the Malay word rukun meaning "basic principles". Negara means "nation". Rukunnegara suggests a national ideology with a strong religious (Islamic) connotation. The declaration includes five guiding principles for all citizens of the country. It reads as follows:

> Our nation, Malaysia, being dedicated to achieving a greater unity of all her peoples; to maintaining a democratic way of life; to creating a just society in which the wealth of the nation shall be equitably shared; to encuring a liberal approach to her rich and diverse cultural traditions; to building a progressive society which shall be oriented to modern science and technology; WE, her peoples, pledge our united efforts to attain these ends guided by these principles:
>
> Belief in God (Kerperchayaan kapada Tuhan),
>
> Loyalty to King and Country (Kesetiaan kapada Raja dan Negara),
>
> Upholding the constitution (Keluhoran Perlembagaan),
>
> Rule of Law (Kedualatan Undang2),
>
> Good behaviour and Morality (Kesopanan dan kesusilaan).

In the commentary regarding the third principle; it requires a respect for

> ...the Ruler, the position of Islam as the official religion, the position of Malay as the national language, the special position of the Malays and other natives, the legitimate interests of the other communities, and the conferment of citizenship.

The fourth principle is defined as

> Justice is founded upon the rule of law. Every citizen is equal before the law.
> Fundamental liberties are guaranteed to all citizens. These include liberty of the person, equal protection of the law, freedom of religion, rights of property and protection against banishment.
> The constitution confers on a citizen the right of free speech, assembly and association and this right may be enjoyed freely subject only to limitations imposed by law.

It is clear that these two principles of the Rukunnegara are contradictory to each other, and its inherent contradiction is not dissolved by any explanation.

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Abbreviations

Annals, Annals of American Association of Geographers.