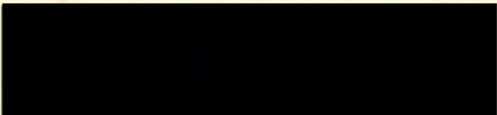
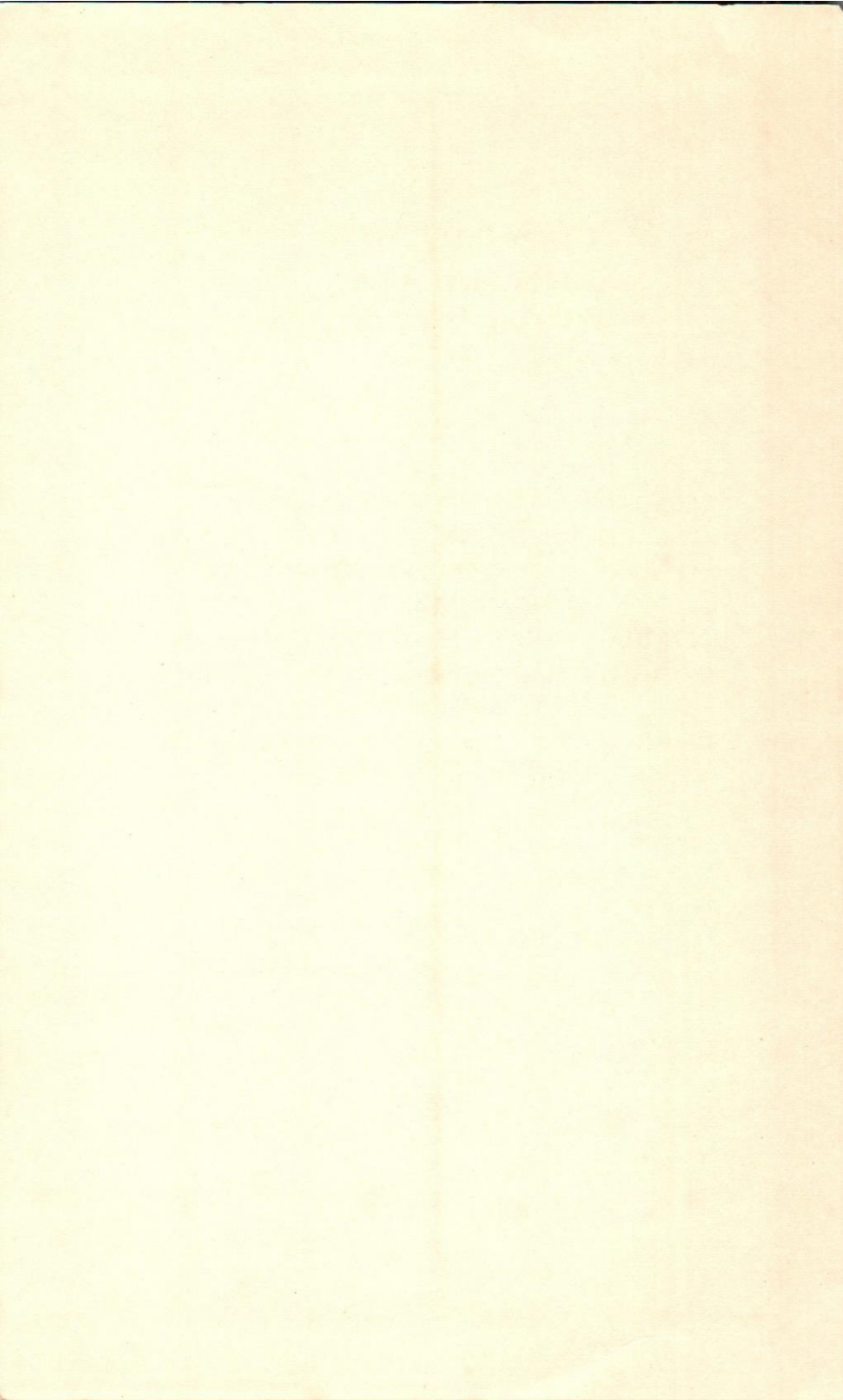


AJINOMOTO (MALAYSIA) BHD
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YANG BERHORMAT ENCIK MOHAMED KHIR JOHARI
SELAKU BEKAS MENTERI PELAJARAN MALAYSIA
DENGAN HORMATNYA
MENGHADIAHKAN KEPADA SEKOLAH TUAN
JILID YANG ASAL PENYELIDIKAN BPKM INI
SEBAGAI SATU SUMBANGAN TERHADAP
PERKEMBANGAN KESEDARKAN KEBANGSAAN MALAYSIA
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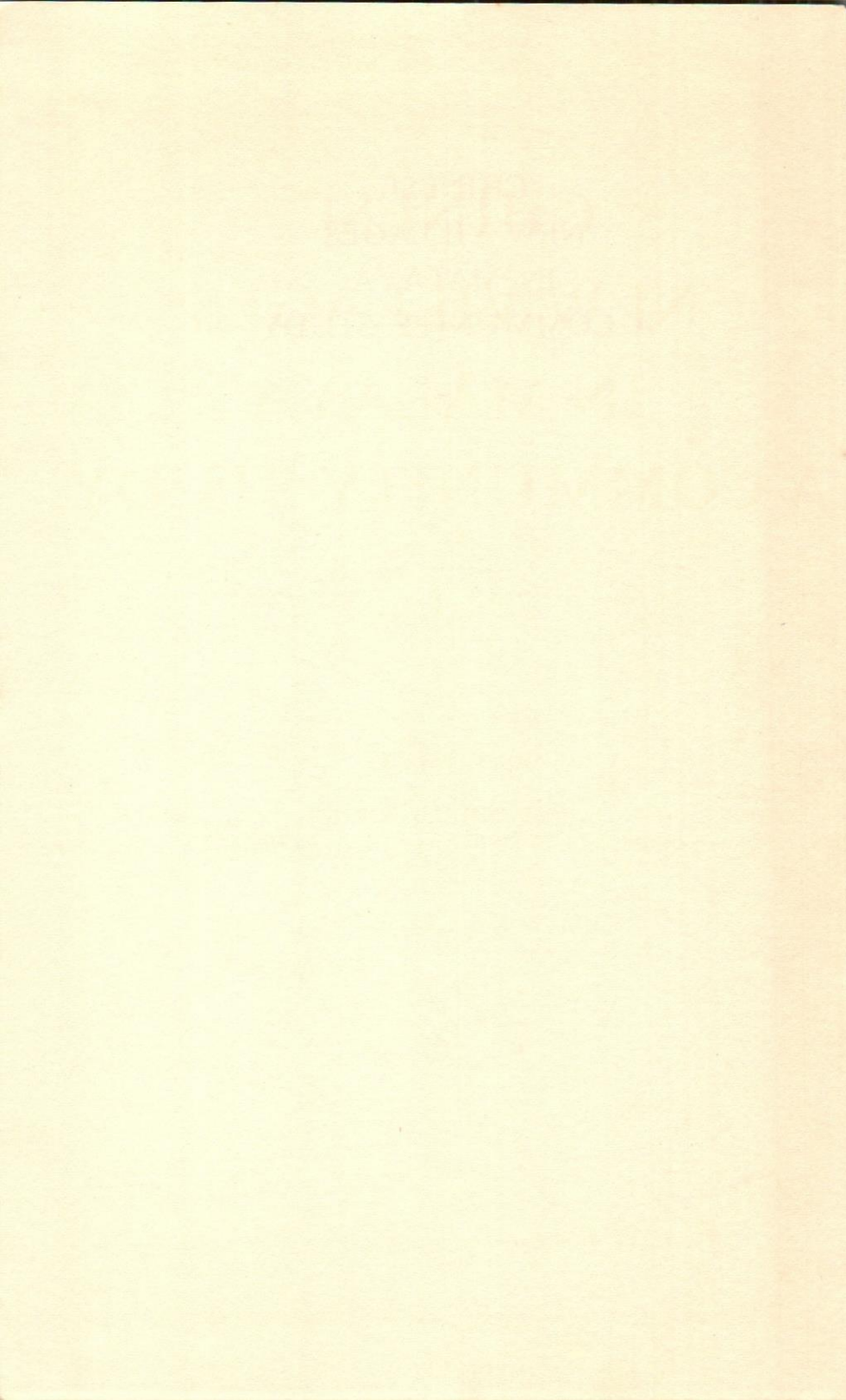


Y. Kamamura

Pengurus Umum



CHINESE
NEW VILLAGES
IN MALAYA
A COMMUNITY STUDY



CHINESE
NEW VILLAGES
IN MALAYA
A COMMUNITY STUDY

RAY NYCE

Edited by SHIRLE GORDON

Introduction by KERNIAL SINGH SANDHU

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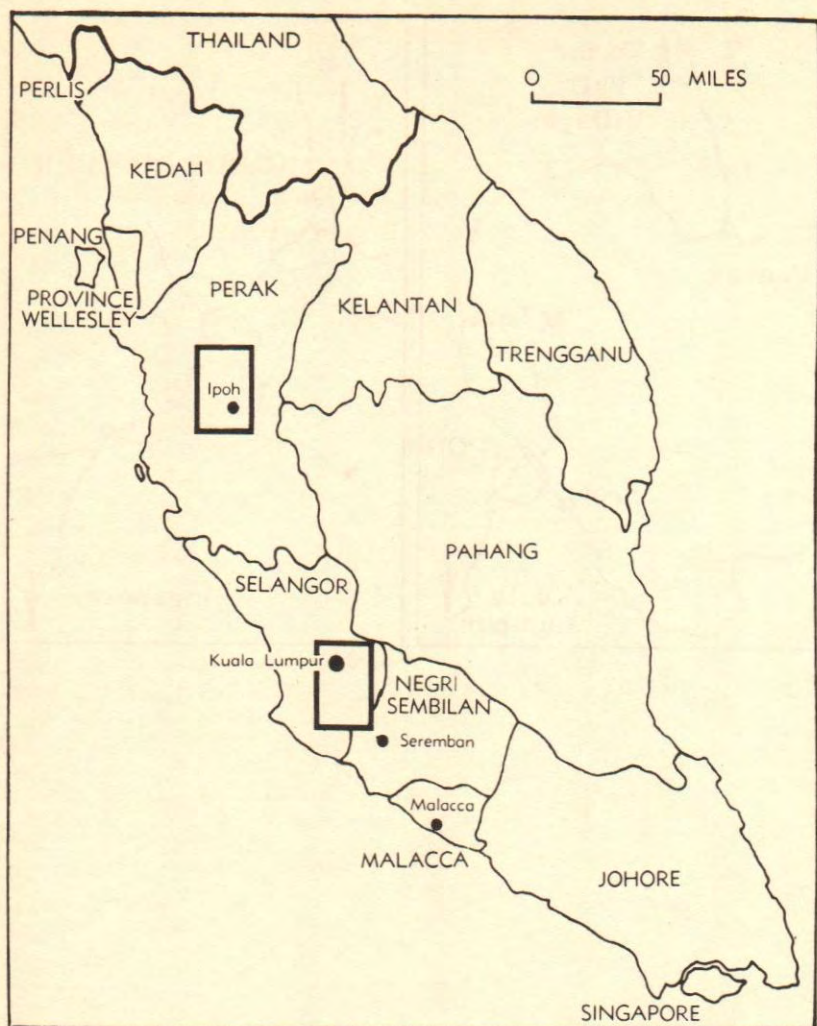
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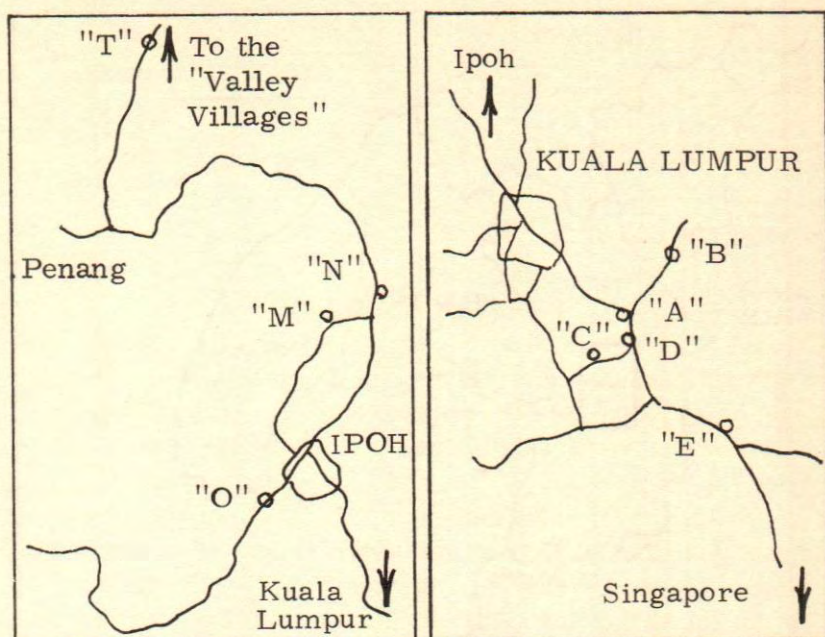
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MAP OF MALAYA



DETAIL OF RESEARCH AREA



PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THIS book comes to you through the work of a non-profit organization—MSRI—the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute. We would like you to know how MSRI came into being.

It all began in 1957 with the formation of a group to research on the overall effect of Islam in Malaya. Under the guidance of Malaya's Grand Old Pandita, Pak Za'ba or Dr. Dato Haji Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad, forty-nine people, all but a few of whom were Malaysians, came together for this national purpose.

A Committee was formed to sponsor the project: Dr. Za'ba as Chairman, Nazir Mallal as Honorary Treasurer, this writer as Organizer and General Editor, Francis Thomas, then a Minister in the Singapore Government and Gerald de Cruz, then Research Director of the ruling party.

Public funds supported the work of finding those qualified, organizing and editing materials, and carrying out necessary translations. Those who gave their time, experience, money and most of all their dedication, gave without it being possible to demonstrate that this endeavour would have a meaningful conclusion. To those scattered many belongs our gratitude.

After two years of work the realization of the overwhelming need for further research into other aspects of the society was such that a blueprint of a permanent research institute was drawn up by Professor Fatimi and this writer. This conceptualization was shown to H.H. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan on his visit to Singapore and it was he who gave a minimal grant to enable us to legally found the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute. The signatories to the Memorandum and Articles of Association are:

Dr. Tuan Haji Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad (ZA'BA), the first
Chairman of the Board of Governors

Dato Sir Mahmud bin Mat, the first Vice-Chairman of the
Board of Governors

Nazir Mallal, the first Honorary Treasurer of the Board of
Governors

Shirle Gordon, Honorary Secretary of the Board of Governors
and Director of the Institute

Professor S.Q. Fatimi, one of the initial members of the
Board of Governors

Dr. Quah Quee Guan

Dr. Ho Yuen, who later agreed to serve in Prof. Fatimi's
stead on the Board of Governors and has been Chairman
of the Board since 1961.

MSRI, a non-profit organization, was inaugurated on November 27, 1959, with Prince Sadruddin generously agreeing to serve as its Patron. In October, 1960, MSRI was declared "an institution of a public character" by the Republic of Singapore and the Federation of Malaysia. Contributions are tax-deductible.

The Objects of MSRI are:

- (a) To analyse the existing cultures of Malaysia and Malaya in particular in order to determine both their essential character and their ultimate objectives.
- (b) To contribute towards the crystallization of Malayan consciousness through a discovery of the factors of unity in the national life as manifest in the cultures of Malaya in their continuous stream.
- (c) To encourage the development of a functioning intelligentsia within the Malayan context.
- (d) To preserve and consolidate the national heritage in such form as it may exist.
- (e) As a part of objective (a) above to research into the phenomenon of Islam in Malaya and its impact on the plural society.
- (f) As a part of object (e) above to carry on, further the purpose, the intent and the subjects dealt with in the project 'Islam in Malaya'.
- (g) To foster and encourage the research of any intellectual

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

of this country within the scope and not contrary to the direction of the Institute as set forth above and the Institute shall retain the copyright thereof.

- (h) As part of the objects stated above, to set up a Scholarship/Fellowship Fund to give Scholarships and/or Fellowships to people considered suitable material in order to enable them to further their research or studies in the manner and according to the continuous direction of the Institute. They shall be responsible to the Institute for any research or studies which they shall embark upon and the Institute shall retain all rights thereto including full copyright to all such works. Such studies do not necessarily mean a study course in a recognized Institution.
- (i) To foster and/or publish any work, in any language, the Institute deems of national value and the Institute shall retain the copyright thereof.
- (j) To foster the use of Malay as the National Language in the additional publications of the Institute.
- (k) To disseminate the work of the Institute among the masses and to bring awareness to and encourage knowledge of its objects and its work.
- (l) For the purpose of carrying out the objects stated above to establish under the Institute a full research and reference library.
- (m) To receive, purchase, hire or build premises and all equipment necessary for publication in accordance with the objects set out above.
- (n) To receive, purchase, hire or build premises to house the Institute and/or lodge research workers in an atmosphere congenial to research.
- (o) To take such steps by personal or written appeals, public meetings or otherwise as may from time to time be deemed expedient for the purpose of procuring contributions to the funds of the Institute in the shape of donations, annual subscription or otherwise.

Since its inception MSRI has moved forward to publish the results of its research, follow up on collateral materials which were uncovered and commence further research; to publish *Benih*, a

tabloid in Malay written on the level of secondary school children; and to publish *Intisari* (The Essence), Research Journal of Wider Malaysia.

As a result of MSRI's research on Malay Education in Singapore, *Yayasan Rakyat* (People's Foundation) was born of which MSRI, the Singapore Malay Teachers' Union, Lembaga Tetap Kongres Bahasa dan Kebudayaan Melayu Singapura, Taman Bachaan, Lembaga Biasiswa Kenangan Maulud, are founding organizational members. A Pre-School and Study Centre in the National Language (Malay) will be built to effectively destroy the stereotype that failure is endemic to the Malay ethos. The results of this project will have immense demonstration value to the Wider Malaysian area.

MSRI has endeavoured to build up an Associate Membership of those who would freely contribute their talents; has purchased premises in Singapore; expanded its Board of Governors to include representatives of diverse institutions, and attempted to consolidate its funds so that its work can continue.

In 1971, MSRI completed a Feasibility Study for the building in Kuala Lumpur of WISMA INTISARI or the Home of Intisari. This Malaysian two million dollar building complex will provide MSRI with a vastly expanded centre for its work and will contain offices for rental to ensure a guaranteed annual income for the employment of permanent staff.

In 1972 we received from Brot für die Welt of Germany a most generous grant of M\$736,850 towards the realisation of this nationally vital project.

To complete this project by 1975, we will need the intellectual, moral and financial support of all those who would believe that the people have the right to control their environment and as such should themselves be enabled to carry out research on their own society without reference to, or control or direction from, any external agency.

Should you the reader subscribe to this view, we would welcome your active engagement in MSRI and in the struggle for the realization of WISMA INTISARI.

SHIRLE GORDON

MALAYSIAN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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PREFACE

A BRIEF word about the circumstances in which the writer carried out this research so that the reader may be able to assess the reliability of the material, gathered over four years in Malaya, from 1957-1961. The writer, a Christian evangelist, spent the first two years of his period of service in Malaya studying the Hakka dialect of Chinese. He learned the language, using Hakka pronunciations for all characters, and learned the rudiments of writing. During the remainder of his service he came to understand much of the Cantonese dialect (though he could not speak it) and a little Mandarin. During these years of learning the language, he was able to observe New Village life through his visits to study the work of colleagues. After graduation he was stationed in a large town in northern Malaya. With this town as a base he spent much of his time in surrounding villages where Hakka was the dominant dialect. The village later designated as Village M was visited most frequently, an average of three times a week. From the beginning the writer carried out his work without benefit of translation, though some difficulty was encountered in conversing with those speaking certain sub-branches of the Hakka dialect. A Chinese co-worker who often accompanied the writer was equally unsuccessful in understanding these variants, though he was of invaluable assistance with Cantonese and Hokkien speakers. The writer was able to form close friendships with a number of village people and spent much time visiting their homes.

For the last year of his work, the writer was stationed in a New Village in Central Malaya just south of Kuala Lumpur. Here he carried out his work alone. His only difficulty in communication was with older women of the Hokkien dialect group which constituted one of the two larger dialect groups in the village. He met no antagonism in the village and was received graciously into all homes.

PREFACE

It was difficult for the author to avoid being associated with either of two political youth groups in the village. At first, members of both groups tried to take the newly-established church youth group under their wings. A narrow path between these two parties was trod for a year with the knowledge that should the church group or the writer fall under the control of either party, the other would be lost to effective contact. In the writer's opinion, neutrality was maintained and much was learned about the structure of village life from the youth of both political groups.

The writer lived in one of the better homes in the village, but it was not as fine as those of the more wealthy members of that community. The church organization placed a car at the writer's disposal, but there were about twenty cars in the village, some superior to his and the use of a car did not seem to create barriers between the writer and the villagers.

An intensive programme of work was also carried out in a village designated as Village B. Here the writer was usually accompanied by a co-worker who belonged to the Kwongsai, one of the largest dialect groups in the village, and was invaluable in all contacts with that group.

The 'Valley Villages' referred to by the writer throughout this work are situated along a ten mile stretch of the Grik Road which runs through the Grik Valley about 40-50 miles north of Kuala Kangsar. There are three such villages, and they do not differ significantly from other villages referred to in this work, although there tends to be greater interaction among them due to their close proximity. The significant economic activity common to all three villages is tobacco growing, which is an area specialization.

Chinese Lutheran colleagues from Hong Kong provided assistance in this study. However, much of their information about the religious practices of village families contained contradictions. Information received directly from villagers may also be slightly erroneous since the author's role as a Christian evangelist did not induce dispassionate revelations of their religious practices. The writer never tried, for the sake of his research, to adopt any role other than that of an evangelistic worker, but he did cross-check information that might be slanted because of this role. No special period was devoted to research alone, almost all of it being carried out in the course of evangelistic duties.

PREFACE

In Appendix VIII is a list of the persons to whom the writer most frequently refers. Except in the case of these fictitious names, and in the case of certain place names where a particular romanization has become standardized, the Wade-Giles system of romanization is employed. The few instances where a different but commonly accepted romanization is used will be pointed out in the text.

Thanks are due to many persons and organizations for help received: to the Defence Department, Dato Nik Daud, Secretary, for permission to use several restricted Government reports; to the executive secretaries of the former State War Executive Committees who compiled for the writer the report on dialect composition; Mr. Lee Yoong Sin of the Nanyang Siang Pau Press for his assistance in drawing up a list of the Chinese names of the villages, and to Dr. Sie Ping-teh of Hartford for his help in translating those names; to Allen Bechtel, Attorney-at-Law, for his assistance in studying the Local Councils Ordinances of 1952 and 1954; to the former Administrative Council of Missionaries of the Lutheran Mission for permission to use the files of that Mission; to my co-workers, both Chinese and Western, for their eager assistance in giving and checking information; to Mr Chow Swee Meng, Chinese Co-operative Officer, Kuala Lumpur, for his special article on co-operatives in New Villages; to officials of the Malayan Chinese Association, the Ka Yin Association and the Nam Tai Insurance Company, for their ready interest and co-operation; to Dr. Wang Gung-wu, Adviser to the Board of Governors of the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute (MSRI) and Head of the History Department, University of Malaya, for his goodness in vetting the text and for his many constructive suggestions with which I have tried to comply; to Lois Kieffaber and Judy Berry of MSRI for their critical and detailed editing of the text and for Miss Kieffaber's rearrangement and presentation of the statistical data; to Sharon Siddique, R.B., Habibah Asmat and Allan Painter for their meticulous reading of the proofs; to MSRI's photographer Sukar Surif for his creative photographs; to Dr. Kernial Singh Sandhu of the Geography Department, University of Singapore, for his invaluable introduction which is reproduced here along with the visualized data by kindness of *The Journal of Tropical Geography*; to Shirle Gordon and the Board of Governors of the Malaysian Sociological Research Institute whose constant encouragement made this

PREFACE

publication possible and to Shirle Gordon, as Editor, who literally reconstructed the text and added many valuable footnotes; finally I am indebted to the many villagers who gave the bulk of the information on which this study is based — the writer has been privileged to enjoy the confidence of many and is proud to claim them as his friends. None of these people, however, can be held responsible for interpretations given to any of the material included in this study. Shortcomings of the study and errors in interpretation must be the responsibility of the writer.

Lastly, mention must be made of a most significant study done by Shirle Gordon bringing the subject of the New Villages into the 1970's, analyzing the needs of the villagers and presenting the findings of the Nahappan Report on local authorities. The study constitutes a valuable postscript to this volume and will be published by MSRI in an issue of *Intisari* entitled "The Fences Go Up Again".

RAY NYCE



MSRI's symbol, The Sower, representative of the Malay proverb: "Cast good seed into the sea and an Island will grow."

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GLOSSARY

M = Malay, C = Chinese, P = Portuguese in origin, but all words are commonly used in Malaya.

<i>Almirah</i>	(P)	A tall, free-standing clothes-closet.
<i>Ang Pow</i>	(C)	'Red packet', gift of money customarily given at Chinese New Year, but extended to refer to any small gift of money. Romanization of Hokkien dialect.
<i>Atap</i>	(M)	Thatch.
<i>Bumiputra</i>	(M)	'Sons of the Soil', applied to indigenous peoples of Malaysia.
<i>Changkol</i>	(C)	A type of hoe; Malaya's spade, introduced by the immigrant Chinese.
<i>Cheongsam</i>	(C)	Romanization of Cantonese dialect; single-piece, sleeveless, tight-fitting Chinese costume for women.
<i>Ch'ing Ming (Chieh)</i>	(C)	Literally, 'clear and bright (festival)'; All Souls' Day.
<i>Dulang</i>	(M)	A large wooden dish used for washing ore.
<i>Dulang washing</i>	(M)	Recovering ore with the use of a <i>dulang</i> .
<i>Hui</i>	(C)	Society or association.
<i>Kampong</i>	(M)	Malay hamlet.
<i>Kapitan</i>	(C)	Headman of a Chinese community—'Kapitan China'.
<i>Kati</i>	(M)	1 $\frac{1}{3}$ pounds; 100 katis make a <i>pikul</i> .
<i>Kongsi</i>	(C)	Term for Chinese labourers' communal quarters, also used in the sense of 'partnership'.
<i>Kuala</i>	(M)	River mouth.
<i>Kuo-yü</i>	(C)	Mandarin, the National Language or National Speech of the People's Republic of China.
<i>Lalang</i>	(M)	<i>Imperata cylindrica</i> ; a tall grass.

GLOSSARY

<i>Langsat</i>	(M)	A variety of <i>Lansium domesticum</i> , a globular fruit.
<i>Lopak</i>	(M)	Intermittent freshwater swamp.
<i>Mah-jong</i>	(C)	A gambling game common to the Chinese, and having some popularity in the West.
<i>Masjid</i>	(M)	The Muslim mosque.
<i>Menteri Besar</i>	(M)	Chief Minister of a State.
<i>Min Yuen</i>	(C)	Masses Organization or Masses Movement; a contraction of <i>Min Chung Yuen Thong</i> (or <i>Min-chu-yun-tung</i> in <i>kuo-yii</i> , the National Speech of China) which means mass or popular movement. It is a Communist concept evolved in China which means the organization of the masses in a revolutionary movement. It is sometimes used to refer to the movement rather than the process.
<i>Orang Asli</i>	(M)	'Original People'.
<i>Padi</i>	(M)	Unhusked rice.
<i>Penghulu</i>	(M)	A state-appointed 'headman' (usually of a <i>mukim</i> (parish) or group of <i>mukim</i>) with some administrative and judicial authority.
<i>Pikul</i>	(M)	A measure of weight which, by tradition, a man can carry on his back. In Malaya, it is $133\frac{1}{3}$ pounds.
<i>Sinkheh</i>	(C)	A recently arrived Chinese immigrant, by extension those of the first generation in Malaya.
<i>Towkay</i>	(C)	A wealthy Chinese businessman.
<i>Wu Shu</i>	(C)	Martial art of shadow boxing used as a form of callisthenics.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Entirely New Villages
Ab	Absorbed
B	New Villages attached to older communities other than towns
C	New Villages attached to older towns
D	'Regroupment Areas' (protected labour forces or 're-settling' from earlier New Villages)
DO	District Officer
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
I	Intermediate
LC	Local Council
MARA	<i>Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat</i> (Indigenous Peoples' Economic Development Trust)
MCA	Malayan Chinese Association
MCC Survey	Malayan Christian Council, <i>A Survey of the New Villages in Malaya</i>
MCP	Malayan Communist Party
MIC	Malayan Indian Congress
MPALA	Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army
MRLA	Malayan Races' Liberation Army
MV	Malay Village
1954 Report	Compiled by the Defence Department, no title or number (<i>see</i> p.9)
NUPW	National Union of Plantation Workers
NV	New Village
P	Permanent
PMIP	Pan-Malayan Islamic Party
PPP	People's Progressive Party
RIDA	Rural and Industrial Development Authority
RsA	Resettlement Area
SF	Socialist Front
SNVFM	Government Report C.S. 6527/52, mimeo Kuala Lumpur: Government Offices Jln. Raja, 1952)
T	Temporary
TB	Town Board
TOL	Temporary Occupation License
UMNO	United Malays' National Organization

INTRODUCTION

It was a war, but there was a curious reason why it was never called one. As the author John Gullick, an authority on Malaya and one-time member of the Malayan Civil Service, points out, 'It was a war — though out of regard for the London insurance market, on which the Malayan economy relied for cover, no one ever used the word.' This misnomer continued for twelve years, for the simple reason that insurance rates covered losses of stocks and equipment through riot and civil commotion in an emergency, but not in a civil war.

NOEL BARBER

The War of the Running Dogs

INTRODUCTION

EMERGENCY RESETTLEMENT IN MALAYA

By KERNIAL SINGH SANDHU

A STATE of emergency, popularly referred to as 'The Emergency', was proclaimed in Malaya on 16 June 1948, following the outbreak of an armed Communist revolt. The revolt aimed at the overthrow of the British system of government in the country and the establishment of a 'People's Democratic Republic'. Almost every aspect of life in Malaya was substantially changed by the Emergency which ended on 31 July 1960 with the defeat of the Communists. One of its most far-reaching effects resulted from the resettlement of about one million two hundred thousand rural dwellers in more than 600 'new' settlements. The movement has remoulded the population pattern of Malaya. In the following pages an attempt is made to assemble the information relating to the Emergency resettlement and to analyse some of its characteristics and consequences.

THE NEED FOR RESETTLEMENT

In pre-Emergency Malaya all unalienated land was vested in the Malay Rulers and land titles in each State were granted only on the authority of the Ruler in Council. Furthermore, much of the land could be alienated to Malays alone, and could not subsequently be transferred to members of other communities. These restrictions made land acquisition extremely difficult for the other communities, particularly the Chinese immigrants. The result was the development of 'squatting'¹, i.e. the illegal occupation of vacant land. There have been Chinese squatters in Malaya since the arrival of the first Chinese settlers.² They were few in number, however, until the outbreak of the First World War dislocated trade, halted development on newly opened rubber estates and deprived many workers of employment.³ Many of the unemployed

were repatriated by the Malayan Government; others turned to the land—land which they were unable or unwilling to occupy legally.

The position of the squatters was neither stable nor secure, since they lived outside the pale of the law. The Government knew of their existence and recognized the evils of their form of land occupancy. The so-called squatter problem was allowed to grow, mainly as the result of administrative 'tidapathy' (from the Malay *tidak apa*, meaning 'never mind'). The Government saw no urgency in the need to deal with the squatters, who were virtually out of sight and who provided a useful source of foodstuffs and labour.^{4a}

It is not known how many people became squatters during the economic recession induced by the First World War. It is possible that with the temporary improvement in the economic situation between 1918 and 1920 many reverted to their former occupations or found other jobs. If this took place, the drift back to former occupations was short-lived. In the Great Slump of 1930–32 the price of rubber fell sharply, and the price of tin remained at a low level, with the result that unemployment became widespread and a large number of Chinese either left Malaya or moved into the countryside as squatters.^{5, 6a, 7} Once trade revived again, the number of squatters decreased. The Japanese Occupation in the early nineteen-forties drastically changed this pattern of movement to and from the rural areas. It is estimated that in 1940 there were about 150,000 Chinese squatters in the country; in 1945 there were 400,000.^{8a}

The main causes of the sharp increase in squatters appear to have been as follows: (i) natural increase; (ii) illegal immigration during and after the Japanese Occupation; (iii) movement of labourers away from moribund mines and estates; (iv) migration of urban dwellers to the countryside.^{4a}

Throughout the inter-War period the official immigration policy of the Malayan Government was to improve the sex-ratio among the Chinese, in order to stabilize the population. Accordingly, until 1938, there was no restriction on the immigration of Chinese women. There was a migrational gain of 190,000 Chinese women during the 1934–38 period.^{6b} The majority of the women were peasant workers who entered the rubber, tin, market-gardening, and building industries. Most of them married, many to squatters, and settled down in Malaya. As a result the Chinese

population, including squatters, increased rapidly.

Illegal immigration into Malaya was not a serious problem before 1941, though it was known that some people were entering the country illegally, mostly from China. During the Japanese Occupation and the interim period between the Japanese surrender and the arrival of the British, illegal immigration increased sharply. The Japanese control of immigration was inefficient, and what little control there had been during the Occupation disappeared after their surrender.

At the time of the Japanese attack on Malaya both the rubber and tin industries were working to capacity. By 1943 the Japanese had too few ships to export rubber, and their efforts to distil it into motor fuel were a failure. Rubber became almost unsaleable. The tin dredges were either sunk or out of action for want of spare parts. Many workers became unemployed. At the same time, the price of goods soared. Former sources of food, such as Indonesia, China, Thailand and Australia, were cut off. The unemployed realised that their only hope of survival lay in subsistence cultivation of foodstuffs. Some of them gravitated towards the rice-producing areas, others cultivated food crops on land that had been made available by the Japanese destruction of rubber plantations.

Conditions in the urban centres were even less tolerable. The inefficient Japanese rationing system led to high prices and black markets. Worse still, many families lost their breadwinners when the Japanese conscripted labour for their construction projects. In addition to these economic conditions, there was a political persecution of the Chinese. Large numbers of Chinese, particularly those between the ages of 20 and 35, were killed by the Japanese.⁹ Many villages were destroyed and thousands of Chinese were moved from one area to another.

The total effect of these adverse conditions was a general exodus from the towns as people tried to avoid both starvation and the Japanese. The Japanese did not object to this exodus, since it relieved pressure on the rationing system. In fact, they encouraged movement into the countryside to grow more food,^{10, 11} themselves initiating the establishment of three agricultural settlement schemes: Shyonan Bahru at Endau (Johore) for Chinese, Fuji-Go at Bahau (Negri Sembilan) for Eurasians and Catholics, and Bintang Island for Malays and Indians.¹²

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After the Japanese surrender, as conditions improved, many people returned to their original homes and occupations. But others, having found vegetable cultivation and pig-rearing profitable, remained where they were. They supplied foodstuffs to the urban black markets which continued to flourish during the period of the British Military Administration.¹³ Estates and tin mines, engaged in the process of rehabilitation, drew on the services of the squatters, many of whom became part-time rubber tappers or tin miners as well as cultivators. Thus in 1948 there were still more than 300,000 squatters^{14a} as a result of this partial 'stabilization', more than twice as many as prewar.

The squatters were engaged in a variety of occupations, ranging from tobacco cultivation in the upper valleys to fishing on the coast.¹⁵ Each family usually was employed in a number of activities, including the cultivation of foodstuffs and cash crops, the rearing of livestock and work for wages. But as the machinery of trade was restored in the postwar period, the squatters changed from subsistence to commercial farming. In certain areas, as in Johore, squatters became the chief source of such things as vegetables, eggs and pork, not only for the neighbourhood, but for export as well.^{16a} In some States, for instance Perak, a squatter could earn as much as M\$1,000 per year on a three-acre farm.¹⁷ But the significance of the squatters in postwar Malaya lay not so much in their numbers and growing prosperity as in their potential as a political force and security risk.

Of the few political organizations in pre-war Malaya the Malayan Communist Party (M.C.P.) was the most important. It was proscribed by the British and generally operated underground until the Japanese invasion in 1941. After the British defeat in the Malayan campaign, the M.C.P. became the spearhead of resistance to the Japanese. With the connivance of the British, the M.C.P. retreated into the jungle to organize an anti-Japanese movement, and slowly built up a powerful fighting force, known as the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (M.P.A.J.A.).

An important contributory factor in the growth of the M.P.A.J.A. was the political and organizational activity of the Communists among the people, especially the Chinese squatters. A large popular mass base for the resistance movement was built up, from which the M.P.A.J.A. could draw food, supplies, intel-

ligence and recruits. In this way the M.P.A.J.A. achieved a fourfold increase in numbers, backed by a sympathetic mass base which by the end of 1944 numbered hundreds of thousands.^{18a}

The impact of the M.C.P. on the squatters was considerable. The M.P.A.J.A. and its achievements fired the imagination of the rural Chinese and gave them a sense of solidarity. The extent to which they identified themselves with the resistance movement and the M.P.A.J.A. was demonstrated at the time of the Japanese surrender. In most inland areas the "final victory over Japan was not celebrated to extol the efforts of the Allies. Triumphant arches and inscriptions honoured instead the forces of the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army."^{18b}

As far as the British were concerned, in the postwar years the squatter ceased to be simply an administrative irritation. He became a dangerous political problem. The import of this was not realized, however, until the outbreak of armed revolt.

The avowed objective of the Malayan Communist Party was the establishment of an independent 'People's Democratic Republic' in Malaya. The *sine qua non* for this was the destruction of British control.¹⁹ Opinion on the specific strategic plan to be adopted was divided. Two plans were considered, one advocating an immediate armed struggle, the other a policy of labour organization and agitation. The latter was finally adopted.^{18b} The M.P.A.J.A. was demobilized,²⁰ labour organization and agitation were intensified. The effects of agitation were gradually vitiated by increasingly repressive legislation, with the result that the M.C.P. decided in 1948 to resort to arms. Contact was re-established with former supporters among the rural population, and the M.P.A.J.A. renamed the Malayan Races' Liberation Army (M.R.L.A.), was recalled to the jungle, whence the M.C.P. expected to launch its attack on the British. Thus the focus of Communist activity shifted from the urban centres back to the squatter areas again.

The tactics of the M.C.P. were "to strike at the vitally important tin and rubber industries, bring production to a standstill and thereby reduce the economic life of the country to chaos." Attacks were made on estates and in mines, directed primarily against the management, in the hope of disrupting the labour force in general.²¹

Malaya in 1948 was the "biggest single repository of British overseas investment."^{22b} It was the source of almost all the dollar

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earnings of the sterling bloc. It was thus for Britain a vital area, now threatened by the Communist uprising.^{22a, 23} A State of Emergency was declared in June 1948, and a military campaign was mounted, bringing the Government face to face with the squatter problem.²⁴

The M.C.P. experienced little difficulty in re-establishing its power among the squatters. Those who showed reluctance to co-operate were threatened with violence.¹⁵ Willy-nilly, the squatters became once more the main resource of the M.P.A.J.A. under a new name, the M.R.L.A. The difference was that they were now assisting it against the British, instead of the Japanese. To the squatters this distinction was perhaps irrelevant, as the only Government they had known was the 'Government' of the M.P.A.J.A., which had 'defeated' the Japanese and was now about to liberate them from their subsequent oppressors.

Large numbers of the squatters were enrolled in the *Min Yuen* (Masses Organization or Masses Movement), the fifth column of the M.C.P.^{8c} Many were armed and acted as part-time volunteers: rubber tappers, market gardeners or miners by day, snipers by night. Scattered in the jungle and on the fringes of estates, the squatters provided ears, eyes, and a smokescreen for the Communists. Once among them the Communists were easily concealed from the security forces, much of whose efforts were thus nullified. This then was the 'squatter problem'. Its solution was imperative if the Communists were to be defeated.

RESETTLEMENT

Phase I: 'Blind Man's Buff'

The squatters were only one source of assistance to the Communists. The *Min Yuen* had roots deep in every layer of Chinese society.²⁵ It was well known that almost all Chinese businessmen were paying protection money to the Communists. Subscriptions were collected from rubber tappers and miners, who also provided useful aliases. The solution of the squatter problem would therefore only seal one source of sustenance for the Communists. But without proper analysis, the Government accorded to the squatters a role of greater importance in the Communist organization than they merited. Although the solution of the squatter problem became

a crusade, the Government had no positive answer. It resorted to repressive legislation, the uprooting of thousands of squatters, the destruction of their crops and homes, their transfer hither and thither, and their confinement in detention camps prior to repatriation.^{14b, 26}

A total of nineteen operations, involving the transfer of some 40,000 squatters and their dependants, took place between 1949 and 1952, sixteen of them in 1949. Of these, 26,000 people (24,000 Chinese, 2,000 Indians and Indonesians) were deported.^{14c, 27, 28}

To accommodate these uprooted people prior to deportation or release, prisons were emptied, and former immigration depots, such as Pulau Jerejak (Penang) and St. John's Island (Singapore), were hastily converted. These centres were soon filled to capacity; detention or concentration camps were constructed in Malacca, Johore and Perak. The Government soon realised, however, that detention and deportation were not the answer to the squatter problem. To carry this policy to its logical conclusion would have meant the removal of almost the entire squatter population, estimated at 300,000 persons in 1948. Resources were not available for such a task. Secondly, as the Chinese ports were closed, following the establishment of a Communist regime in China in 1949, the deportation of Chinese was hardly possible.²⁹ Thirdly, no significant improvement in the security situation had followed the removal of squatters. The majority of the people transferred were women, children, and the aged,^{30a} the younger men slipping through the cordon. Finally, detention was distasteful, in that it constituted summary justice and group punishment.²⁹ The transferred squatters experienced excessive hardship in the separation of families and the loss of crops and chattels, and their attitude to the Government was expressed at times in open resentment and hostility. A more constructive plan, based on an analysis of the facts of the squatter problem, was needed.

In 1948 a 'Squatter Committee', under the chairmanship of the Chief Secretary, Sir Alex Newbould, was set up to examine the facts of the squatter problem and to make recommendations for its solution. The Committee's report was completed in January 1950. Its principal recommendations were: (i) wherever possible squatters should be settled in areas already occupied by them; (ii) where this was not possible, they should be resettled in a suitable

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alternative area; (iii) any squatter refusing settlement or resettlement should be deported; (iv) emergency measures to deal with the security problem of certain areas should be supported by administrative measures designed to re-establish permanently the authority of Government; and (v) legal measures should be introduced to provide for the eviction of squatters by summary process.^{4b, 14d}

These recommendations were accepted by the Federal Government but their implementation was left to the State Governments, since land was a State responsibility. The Federal Government undertook to provide administration, security and health services in areas where the squatters were to be settled. Other costs were to be borne by the State Governments, which were advised to approach individuals and associations connected with welfare work, especially as regards the Chinese, for financial assistance.^{14e}

Since resettlement was undertaken solely for security purposes, the Federal Government was clearly avoiding its responsibilities; inasmuch as the State Governments lacked the means to finance resettlement, the Federal Government's attitude was unrealistic. However, the Federal Government remained unmoved by protests from the States, which were left with the major task of financing resettlement. Some States had neither the money, the administrative machinery nor the trained men to begin, let alone carry through successfully, the work of resettlement.^{31, 32}

Meanwhile the Chinese community, to protect its interests, formed the Malayan Chinese Association (M.C.A.) in February 1949. The cause of the squatters soon became the cause of the M.C.A., which offered financial aid for their resettlement as soon as action was taken on the recommendations of the Squatter Committee.^{33, 34}

The Johore branch of the M.C.A. was the first to provide squatter relief. It approached the Johore Government for land to build its own resettlement camp for detained squatters in that State. The idea was favourably received by the State Government, which suggested that the venture should be a joint Government/M.C.A. undertaking, with the Government providing the land and administrative machinery, the M.C.A. the funds. The scheme was to be located at Mawai in Kota Tinggi District, and was to cost M\$422,000, with a capacity for 2,000 families each with three

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acres of agricultural land. This, the first organized resettlement scheme in Malaya, received its first batch of settlers on 27 October 1949.^{35, 26, 30b}

Johore's lead was followed by the other States, and twenty squatter settlement (i.e. official alienation to squatters of their illegally occupied land) and resettlement schemes were planned or begun between 1949 and 1950. Implementation by State Governments was slow, however. Furthermore, with the exception of Johore, the M.C.A. had difficulty in raising funds, so that most of the schemes did not pass beyond the planning stage, or at most the teething stage. Ten of these schemes were abandoned; the remainder were later expanded into 'New Villages' under the Briggs Plan.^{14f} In Johore, too, the Mawai scheme had to be abandoned in 1952, mainly because of poor security (Fig. 1). The year following



Fig. 1. Squatter Resettlement Centres Established between 1948 and 1950.

the adoption of the Squatter Committee's recommendations saw no substantial progress with regard to resettlement.^{36a} The situation required not only a comprehensive scheme for the whole of the country and funds to finance this, but also a man able to galvanize the Administration into extraordinary action. In May 1950 General Sir Harold Briggs was appointed the first Director of Operations, with sole responsibility for the prosecution of the Emergency and the coordination of the civil administration and the security forces.

Phase II: The Briggs Plan

General Briggs confirmed that there was no quick way of ending the Emergency. It was necessary to break Communist morale and to remove or disrupt Communist sources of supply. This could only be done by accelerating the pace at which squatters and other rural dwellers were brought within administrative control. General Briggs made resettlement the basis of his strategy. In his first directive in May 1950, he called on the people of Malaya to identify themselves with the Government in its battle with the Communists, ordered the redeployment of the police and army, and set in motion an all-out drive for resettlement. The 'Briggs Plan' envisaged a military *cordon sanitaire* on the jungle fringes, protecting populated areas and communications from the M.R.L.A. and cutting its links with Communist cells in the populated areas. The police were to dominate the settled areas, to dislocate and break up Communist cells therein, to provide security, and to obtain information from the population, which with greater security was now more responsive.^{37a}

The resettlement programme became the responsibility of the Federal Government. It had a positive aim for the first time and it attempted as far as possible to persuade rather than to force squatters to leave their jungle clearings. Briggs promised the State Governments what they required in the way of men, money, transport, barbed wire, etc., and demanded in return the successful completion of the resettlement programme. This was to begin in Johore and proceed northwards, and to be finished by 1952.

Resettlement of Malaya's rural population under the Briggs Plan involved two processes, *relocation* and *regroupment*.³⁸

Relocation means the transfer of dispersed rural settlers,

whether legitimate or squatters, to prepared fortified sites, frequently some distance from their homes. This entailed the abandonment of holdings, crops, and houses, and consequently a change of occupation in many cases. However, the development of the resettled areas into New Villages was usually envisaged, and wherever possible and necessary new farm land was made available nearby. In addition every New Village—as the relocation centres were popularly termed—was expected to have such amenities as electricity, roads, a school, piped water, community hall, and so on. These were to be financed by funds from the Federal Government and the M.C.A.

Under the heading of relocation can also be included *close-settlement* or the concentration of squatters into an existing village. This was accomplished in two ways. Where squatters were living adjacent to a village, the perimeter fence was simply extended to enclose the squatter houses. Where squatters were some distance away, close-settlement entailed the removal of houses to the village. In this way the squatters retained the use of their holdings and were not forced to change their place of work. Furthermore they were eligible for all the benefits enjoyed by people resettled in the normal way.³⁹

Regroupment entailed the transfer of dispersed mine and estate labourers, their families and their dwellings, to some fortified point of concentration on the property of the employer or close to it. Families had access to their usual places of work, at least during the hours of daylight. These centres did not qualify for Government or M.C.A. aid in the provision of amenities, nor were they laid out according to a prepared, Government-approved, site plan. Similar to the concentration of mining and estate labour was the regroupment of timber, sawmill, and factory workers, and isolated Malay and *Orang Asli* (aborigine) settlements.

RELOCATION

The work of relocation was carried out with remarkable rapidity; it began in June 1950 and was almost completed by the end of 1952. After this date only a few more New Villages were created, mainly in Kedah and in the interior of the country. Altogether 480 New Villages were established during the Emer-

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gency.⁴⁰ Eighty per cent were in western Malaya, nearly half of them in Perak and Johore (Fig. 2, Table 1).⁴¹

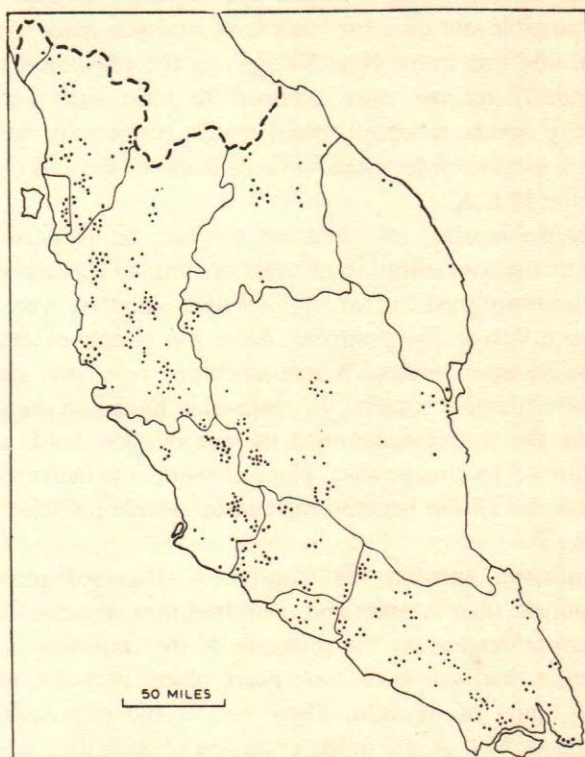


Fig. 2. Distribution of New Villages.

TABLE 1A
NUMBER AND POPULATION OF EMERGENCY RESETTLEMENT CENTRES, 1954⁴¹

	NEW VILLAGES	REGROUPMENT AREAS (MIXED)	MALAY REGROUPMENT AREAS	TOTAL
Number	480	94	50	624
Population	572,917	25,344	6,767	605,028

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TABLE 1B
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBER AND POPULATION OF EMERGENCY
RESETTLEMENT CENTRES, 1954⁴¹

STATE	NEW VILLAGES		REGROUPMENT AREAS (MIXED)		MALAY REGROUPMENT AREAS		TOTAL	
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.
Johore	20	23	54	80	26	64	25	27
Malacca	3	2	9	4	—	—	4	2
Negri Sembilan	8	5	6	3	4	6	7	5
Selangor	10	17	3	—	—	—	8	16
Perak	26.8	35.6	14	10	20	11	24.8	35
Kedah	9	4	8	—	—	—	8	4
Penang	2	2	3	2	—	—	2	1
Perlis	0.2	0.1	—	—	—	—	0.2	1
Pahang	16	9	1	—	—	—	13	6
Trengganu	1	0.3	1	1	—	—	1	1
Kelantan	4	2	1	—	50	19	7	2

Note: This and subsequent tables are based on available data, which are complete for New Villages but not for Regroupment Areas. The actual number and population of the Regroupment Areas were very much higher than shown here. In this and in the subsequent tables No. equals 'number' and Pop. equals 'population'. Penang includes Province Wellesley.

A total of 573,000 persons were transferred to New Villages during the Emergency. Three hundred thousand of these were squatters, the vast majority Chinese. The remaining 273,000 legitimate land occupiers were also largely Chinese. Of the total population of the New Villages, 86 per cent were Chinese, 9 per cent Malay, 4 per cent Indian, and 1 per cent 'Others' (Table 2).

TABLE 2
ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF NEW VILLAGES, 1954⁴¹

STATE	TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENTAGE			
		Chinese	Malay	Indian	Others
Johore	130,613	85.9	11	3	0.1
Malacca	9,555	91	7	1	1
Negri Sembilan	30,294	81	15	2	2
Selangor	97,346	93	4	2	1
Perak	206,900	89	4	5	2
Kedah	22,522	65	5	5	25
Penang	10,717	95.9	0.1	4	—
Perlis	682	89	9	2	—
Pahang	50,233	83	13	3	1
Trengganu	1,495	86	13.5	0.5	—
Kelantan	12,560	8	92	—	—
TOTAL	572,917	86	9	4	1

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The 'Others' were almost all Siamese, Javanese and *Orang Asli*. Few villages were multi-ethnic; most of them were wholly Chinese, others were Siamese, Malay, Indian, or *Orang Asli*. Amongst the Chinese, almost all the dialect groups found in Malaya were represented though the proportion varied from State to State. In Johore, for example, two-thirds of the Chinese in the New Villages were Hokkien and Hakka (Table 3).

TABLE 3
JOHORE: COMPOSITION OF THE CHINESE POPULATION OF
THE NEW VILLAGES BY DIALECT, 1956⁴²

TOTAL CHINESE POPULATION	PERCENTAGE							
	Hakka	Canton- ese	Hokkien	Teo- chiu	Kwong- sai	Hainan- ese	Hok- chiu	Others
112,200	32.1	9.1	34.8	6.6	3.6	8.8	4.6	0.4

The people who were resettled may be divided into four categories: (i) farmers engaged in food and pig production; (ii) persons engaged in tin mining, rubber growing or other crop production; (iii) wage-labourers in tin mines, on rubber estates, etc.; and (iv) shopkeepers. The first two were the dominant groups, forming about three-fifths of the total population. They were mainly squatters.

The distance involved in the resettlement process varied. Normally it was as short as possible, generally two to six miles. This enabled people to continue in their former occupations, thus disturbing their lives and the national economy as little as possible.

The transfer procedure differed from place to place. In some areas it was executed without warning, usually at dawn, to prevent the escape of able-bodied men. The area was surrounded, the settlers were told to gather their belongings and get into the transport provided. Compensation for immovable property was calculated on the spot, but paid later. The vacated dwellings and the crops were then destroyed,^{8d} but such ruthlessness was exceptional. The general practice was to give prior warning.⁴³ Thus, when the layout plans of the New Village had been completed, notices of removal were served; soon afterwards the move was effected, and the abandoned settlement destroyed.

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The people were given a small 'upheaval allowance' and were helped, generally in the form of materials, to put up new dwellings. This aid was a repayable loan.⁴⁴ Each family was allotted a plot of about one-sixth of an acre for its house and compound. Those who were unable to work their original plots were given about two acres of agricultural land within two miles of the New Village. The villagers were eligible for permanent title to this land.

All settlers were granted a subsistence allowance for two weeks; those who had lost the use of cultivated land elsewhere were given an allowance of about M\$12 per head per month for five to seven months. In the earlier phases of the relocation programme the New Villages were sited astride main roads in order to facilitate access by security forces in case of attack. The fences and guarded entrances obstructed traffic however, so that later New Villages were sited along one side of the road. Sites were chosen on flat land near a stream or river and away from dominating high ground. Theoretically, every site was chosen after an examination of the soil, water supply possibilities, accessibility and potential sources of employment. In practice these preliminaries were omitted; speed was essential and staff was in short supply.^{36b} Many New Villages were located on sandy *lalang* (*Imperata cylindrica*) colonies, *lopak* (intermittent freshwater swamp), tin tailings, and other inhospitable areas.

The case of Pulai illustrates the hardships endured by some. The Pulai Hakka Chinese had been settled in Ulu Kelantan for more than three centuries. They were mainly vegetable and *padi* growers. Pulai remained in M.R.L.A. hands until 7 August 1948, when it was captured after a combined British Army/Air Force operation. For their collaboration in this the Pulai Chinese were expelled from Kelantan and sent to detention camps in various parts of Malaya. About four hundred of them were transferred to Batu Rakit Village in Trengganu. The village was sited on uncultivable land, and had to be abandoned. The settlers were then resettled at Pulai Bahru (Gajah Mati) on 31 May 1953. Repeated attempts to grow vegetables, *padi*, sweet potatoes and tapioca also ended in failure, principally because of poor soils and recurrent flooding.⁴⁵ Faced with starvation and without alternative employment, many of the settlers moved a third time, in 1956, to Batu Lima New Village. This was located in a better agricultural

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area recently vacated by Malay settlers who had been prompted by the improved security situation to return to their own *kampongs* (hamlets).

The Pulau Chinese had the distinction of being resettled three times. Most New Villages, in spite of unfavourable sites, remained where they were. Besides Batu Rakit only five other New Villages are known to have been abandoned between 1950 and 1960, generally for security reasons (Table 4). The obstacle to re-siting was the cost. This varies with location and size. The average cost of establishing a New Village for 1,000 people was about M\$300,000.^{46,47}

TABLE 4
KNOWN ABANDONED RESETTLEMENT CENTRES, 1960⁴¹

STATE	NEW VILLAGES		REGROUPMENT AREAS		MALAY REGROUPMENT AREAS		TOTAL	
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.
Johore	2	2,410	2	405	—	—	4	2,815
Kedah	2	1,030	—	—	—	—	2	1,030
Trengganu	1	358	—	—	—	—	1	358
Negri Sembilan	1	286	—	—	1	380	2	666
Kelantan	—	—	4	1,450	21	3,685	25	5,135
Perak	—	—	2	1,400	—	—	2	1,400
Penang	—	—	2	1,227	—	—	2	1,227
Perlis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pahang	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Selangor	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Malacca	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
MALAYA	6	4,084	10	4,482	22	4,065	38	12,631

The largest New Village in Malaya is Jinjang (Selangor) which in 1954 had a population of 13,000 on an area of 468 acres.⁴⁸ The smallest is Labu Besar (Kedah) with a population of 44. The New Villages usually had populations of between one hundred and one thousand. Over half the villages were of this size; 169 had between one and five thousand inhabitants, 10 had between five and ten thousand and 2 had more than ten thousand inhabitants (Table 5).

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TABLE 5A
NUMBER AND POPULATION OF EMERGENCY RESETTLEMENT CENTRES
WITH LESS THAN 100 PERSONS, 1954⁴¹

STATE	NEW VILLAGES		REGROUPMENT AREAS		MALAY REGROUPMENT AREAS		TOTAL	
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.
Johore	—	—	1	86	—	—	1	86
Malacca	—	—	1	86	n	n	1	86
Negri Sembilan	—	—	n	n	—	—	n	n
Selangor	—	—	n	n	n	n	n	n
Perak	2	110	n	n	2	100	4	210
Kedah	3	179	n	n	n	n	3	179
Penang	—	—	1	n	—	—	1	—
Perlis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pahang	7	480	n	n	n	n	7	480
Trengganu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kelantan	—	—	n	n	1	n	1	n
MALAYA	12	769	3	172	3	100	18	1,041

n = Information not available.

TABLE 5B
NUMBER AND POPULATION OF EMERGENCY RESETTLEMENT CENTRES
WITH 100 TO 499 PERSONS, 1954⁴¹

STATE	NEW VILLAGES		REGROUPMENT AREAS		MALAY REGROUPMENT AREAS		TOTAL	
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.
Johore	18	6,202	33	8,238	11	2,924	62	17,364
Malacca	11	3,920	4	960	n	n	15	4,880
Negri Sembilan	17	5,230	3	736	2	423	22	6,389
Selangor	15	5,164	n	n	n	n	15	5,164
Perak	36	10,641	6	1,620	4	665	46	12,926
Kedah	23	6,704	n	n	n	n	23	6,704
Penang	1	320	1	480	—	—	2	800
Perlis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pahang	36	10,068	n	n	n	n	36	10,068
Trengganu	3	615	1	194	—	—	4	809
Kelantan	9	3,010	n	n	23	465	32	3,475
MALAYA	169	51,874	48	12,228	40	4,477	257	68,579

n = Information not available.

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TABLE 5C
NUMBER AND POPULATION OF EMERGENCY RESETTLEMENT CENTRES
WITH 500 TO 999 PERSONS, 1954⁴¹

STATE	NEW VILLAGES		REGROUPMENT AREAS		MALAY REGROUPMENT AREAS		TOTAL	
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.
Johore	26	17,192	10	6,491	2	1,320	38	25,003
Malacca	3	1,885	n	n	n	n	3	1,885
Negri Sembilan	13	9,906	n	n	n	n	13	9,906
Selangor	10	7,210	n	n	n	n	10	7,210
Perak	23	16,030	1	938	n	n	24	16,968
Kedah	13	8,159	n	n	n	n	13	8,159
Penang	2	1,124	1	n	—	—	3	1,124
Perlis	1	682	—	—	—	—	1	682
Pahang	19	13,888	n	n	n	n	19	13,888
Trengganu	1	880	—	—	—	—	1	880
Kelantan	5	2,930	—	—	1	870	6	3,800
MALAYA	116	79,886	12	7,429	3	2,190	131	89,505

n = Information not available.

TABLE 5D
NUMBER AND POPULATION OF EMERGENCY RESETTLEMENT CENTRES
WITH 1,000 TO 4,999 PERSONS, 1954⁴¹

STATE	NEW VILLAGES		REGROUPMENT AREAS		MALAY REGROUPMENT AREAS		TOTAL	
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.
Johore	48	94,292	4	5,515	—	—	52	99,807
Malacca	3	3,750	n	n	n	n	3	3,750
Negri Sembilan	9	15,158	n	n	n	n	9	15,158
Selangor	20	46,672	n	n	n	n	20	46,672
Perak	60	131,668	1	n	n	n	61	131,668
Kedah	5	7,480	n	n	n	n	5	7,480
Penang	5	9,273	—	—	—	—	5	9,273
Perlis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pahang	15	25,797	n	n	n	n	15	25,797
Trengganu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kelantan	4	6,620	n	n	—	—	4	6,620
MALAYA	169	340,710	5	5,515	—	—	174	346,225

n = Information not available.

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TABLE 5E
NUMBER AND POPULATION OF EMERGENCY RESETTLEMENT CENTRES
WITH 5,000 TO 10,000 PERSONS, 1954⁴¹

STATE	NEW VILLAGES		REGROUPMENT AREAS		MALAY REGROUPMENT AREAS		TOTAL	
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.
Johore	2	12,927	—	—	—	—	2	12,927
Malacca	—	—	n	n	n	n	n	n
Negri Sembilan	—	—	n	n	n	n	n	n
Selangor	3	25,300	n	n	n	n	3	25,300
Perak	5	35,178	n	n	n	n	5	35,178
Kedah	—	—	n	n	n	n	n	n
Penang	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Perlis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pahang	—	—	n	n	n	n	n	n
Trengganu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kelantan	—	—	n	n	—	—	n	n
MALAYA	10	73,405	n	n	—	—	10	73,405

n = Information not available.

TABLE 5F
NUMBER AND POPULATION OF EMERGENCY RESETTLEMENT CENTRES
WITH 10,000 OR MORE PERSONS, 1954⁴¹

STATE	NEW VILLAGES		REGROUPMENT AREAS		MALAY REGROUPMENT AREAS		TOTAL	
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.
Johore	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Malacca	—	—	n	n	n	n	n	n
Negri Sembilan	—	—	n	n	n	n	n	n
Selangor	1	13,000	n	n	n	n	1	13,000
Perak	1	13,273	n	n	n	n	1	13,273
Kedah	—	—	n	n	n	n	n	n
Penang	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Perlis	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pahang	—	—	n	n	n	n	n	n
Trengganu	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kelantan	—	—	n	n	—	—	n	n
MALAYA	2	26,273	n	n	n	n	2	26,273

n = Information not available.

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TABLE 5G
NUMBER OF RESETTLEMENT CENTRES OF UNKNOWN POPULATION, 1954⁴¹

STATE	NEW VILLAGES	REGROUPMENT AREAS	MALAY REGROUPMENT AREAS	TOTAL
Johore	—	—	—	—
Malacca	—	4	—	4
Negri Sembilan	—	3	—	3
Selangor	—	3	—	3
Perak	2	6	4	12
Kedah	—	8	—	8
Penang	—	—	—	—
Perlis	—	—	—	—
Pahang	—	1	—	1
Trengganu	—	—	—	—
Kelantan	—	1	—	1
MALAYA	2	26	4	32

n = Information not available.

TABLE 5H
TOTAL NUMBER AND POPULATION OF EMERGENCY RESETTLEMENT CENTRES, 1954⁴¹

STATE	NEW VILLAGES*		REGROUPMENT AREAS†		MALAY REGROUPMENT AREAS‡		TOTAL	
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.
Johore	94	130,613	48	20,330	13	4,244	155	155,187
Malacca	17	9,555	9	1,046	n	n	26	10,601
Negri Sembilan	39†	30,294	6	736	2	423	47	31,453
Selangor	49†	97,346	3	n	n	n	52	97,346
Perak	129†	206,900	14	2,558	10	765	153	210,223
Kedah	44	22,522	8	n	n	n	52	22,522
Penang	8	10,717	3	480	—	—	11	11,197
Perlis	1	682	—	—	—	—	1	682
Pahang	77†	50,233	1	n	n	n	78	50,233
Trengganu	4	1,495	1	194	—	—	5	1,689
Kelantan	18	12,560	1	n	25	1,335	44	13,895
MALAYA	480	572,917	94	25,344	50	6,767	624	605,028

n = Information not available.

Notes: * Abandoned New Villages, Regroupment Areas and Malay Regroupment Areas are included in the numbers for these centres. Their population, however, is not included in the total as it was absorbed into other existing Emergency resettlement centres.

† With the exception of Johore, Penang, Perlis and Trengganu, data on the Regroupment Areas are incomplete. The same applies to the information on the Malay Regroupment Areas, with the exception of Kelantan.

‡ In the case of Selangor, Perak and Pahang, it is possible that some of the New Villages included are in fact Regroupment Areas. But no information is available to separate the different types.

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EMERGENCY RESETTLEMENT IN MALAYA

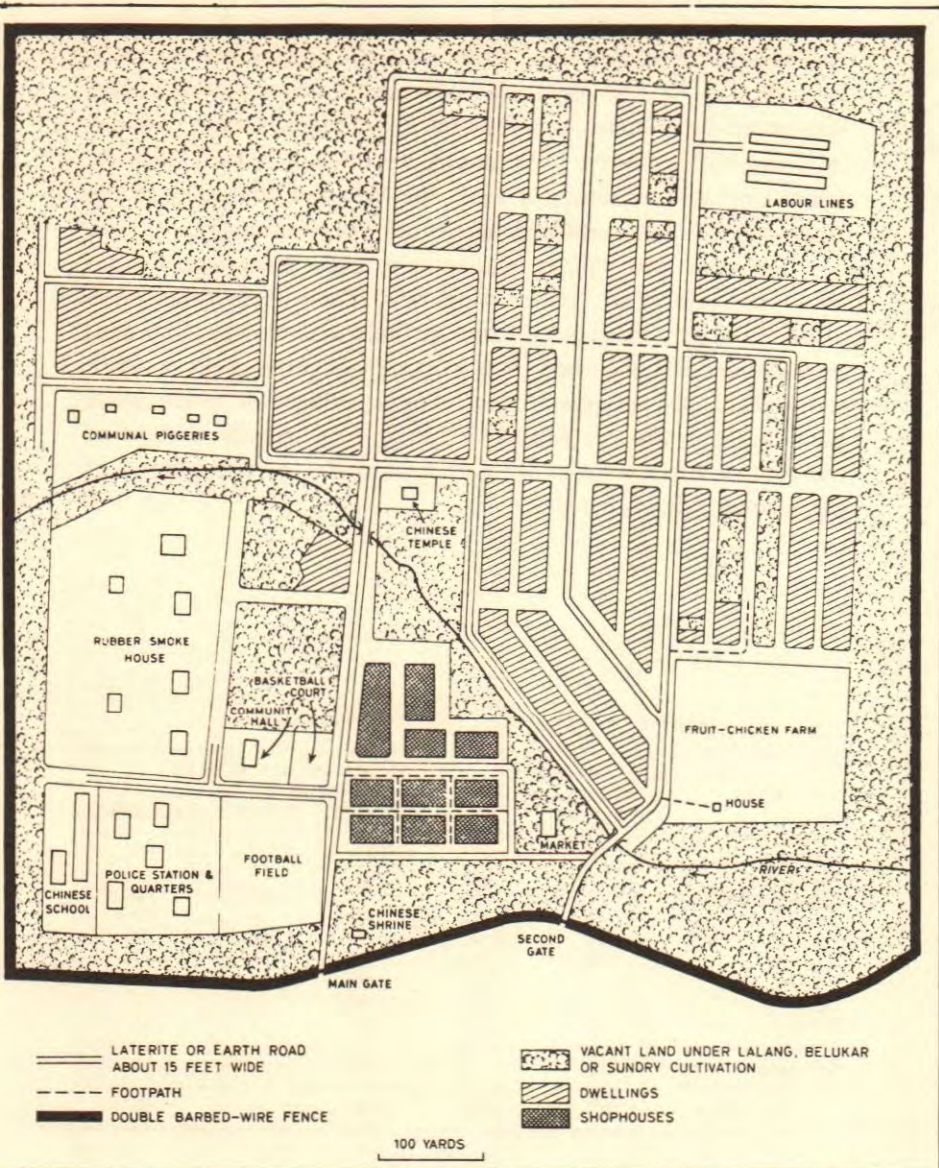


Fig. 3. Plan of a typical New Village.

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The standard New Village possessed such amenities as a police post, dispensary, school, community hall and, in villages under severe food restriction, a communal kitchen. A wire fence enclosed the public buildings, settlers' houses, pigsties, and domestic gardens (Fig. 3). The day-to-day administration of a New Village was under the direction of a resident Resettlement Officer, assisted by a committee elected from among the adult settlers. Under the Local Council Ordinance of 1952, the Village Committees in the larger villages were replaced by elected Local Councils.

The term New Village is to some extent a misnomer, for not all of the relocation centres were new. There were three types of New Villages: those which were entirely new; those which were built around and absorbed small existing villages; and those which were established as appendages to large villages or towns while maintaining a distinct identity of their own. Nearly a third of the New Villages were of the first type, and a further quarter of the second type (Table 6).

TABLE 6
DEGREE OF 'NEWNESS' OF THE NEW VILLAGES, 1954⁴¹

STATE	TOTAL NUMBER OF NEW VILLAGES	PERCENTAGE IN EACH CATEGORY			
		Type 'A'	Type 'B'	Type 'C'	Unclassified
Johore	94	23	28	12	37
Malacca	17	41	41	18	—
Negri Sembilan	39	62	13	15	10
Selangor	49	26	14	41	19
Perak	129	42	12	18	28
Kedah	44	11	—	—	89
Penang	8	89	11	—	—
Perlis	1	—	100	—	—
Pahang	77	29	34	24	13
Trengganu	4	75	25	—	—
Kelantan	18	9	75	—	16
MALAYA	180	32	24	16	28

Notes: Type 'A' — Entirely new.
 Type 'B' — Built around small existing villages.
 Type 'C' — New Villages which are suburbs of or appendages to existing towns or large villages but which have a distinct identity of their own.

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The New Villages were similar in appearance. Many of them were little more than closely packed shanty-towns, with small houses or large *kongsis* (communal dwellings) made of wood, with roofs of *atap* thatch, *lalang* or zinc, and with bare laterite roads and unfinished drains, all fenced in with barbed wire.

Life behind the barbed wire was difficult, but the primary aim of the Briggs Plan was achieved. For the first time in the Emergency the initiative passed to the Government. There was a distinct improvement in civilian morale, and the efforts of the security forces met with encouraging success. Resettlement disrupted the Communists' organization and compelled a change in their strategy. They were forced to disperse among the rural population, especially the estate and mine workers. It therefore became necessary to resettle these people too.

REGROUPMENT

Labour Regroupment

Figures for the number of Labour Regroupment Areas are incomplete. From the data on places of employment it would appear almost certain that the number was greater than that for New Villages. There were 5,200 places of employment in 1948, of which 575 were estates of more than 1,000 acres each and 500 were mines.^{49a}

Some 650,000 persons are estimated to have been regrouped, of whom 78.5 per cent were on estates, 12.3 per cent in mines, and the remainder in factories, sawmills, and timber companies. The majority of the estates workers were Indians, who formed 50 per cent of the population affected by regroupment. Chinese formed 29 per cent, Malays 16 per cent and Javanese 5 per cent. This population structure differed from that of the New Villages, where the Chinese formed the largest group and the Indians the smallest. The Chinese were, however, the dominant group in the mining regroupment areas (Table 7).

Estate labour regroupment was of two types: (a) internal; (b) external or extra-estate. In type (a), dispersed labour lines were transferred to a central fortified area within the estate. On

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TABLE 7A
ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE REGROUPMENT AREAS, 1952^{41, 49b, 8e}

REGROUPMENT CATEGORY	ESTIMATED TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENTAGE			
		Chinese	Malay	Indian	Javanese and Others
Estate Regroup- ment Areas	510,000	29.0	16.0	50.0	5.0
Mining Regroup- ment Areas	80,000	68.7	17.6	13.6	0.1
Other Regroup- ment Areas	60,000	71.8	14.0	14.0	0.2
TOTAL	650,000	37.8	16.0	42.2	4.0

TABLE 7B
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS OF POPULATION IN REGROUPMENT AREAS, 1952^{41, 49b, 8e}

ESTIMATED TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENTAGE		
	Estate Workers	Mine Workers	Others
650,000	78.5	12.3	9.2

the smaller estates all labour lines were concentrated at the factory. In the larger estates, two or more concentrations were not uncommon (Fig. 4). In regroupment of type (2), labourers from medium-sized and small Asian estates were regrouped on a larger estate, usually European-owned (Fig. 5). The number of medium-sized and small estates thus affected is unknown, but it was large; in Johore alone, 450 such properties were affected, with their labourers transferred to 47 regroupment areas on large estates. Squatters on estates who had previously worked as casual labourers were also resettled in the regroupment area. Squatters from outside were rarely resettled on estates in this way. The cost of regroupment was borne by the estates concerned. With the exception of security supervision, the Government had little connection with these settlements.

There was a sharp contrast in appearance between the internal and external or extra-estate regroupments. The former consisted of neatly arranged labour lines and buildings. The additional accommodation was obtained either by transferring the buildings from the old sites, or by the construction of new buildings according to Government specifications. The settlements were fenced and

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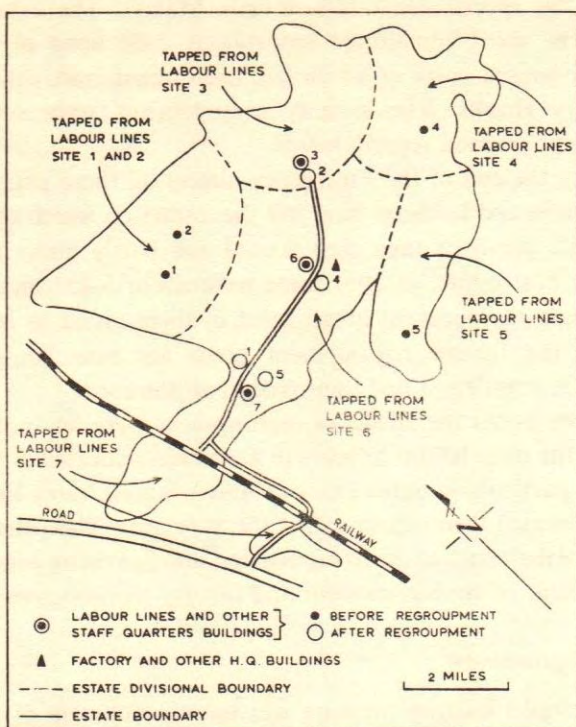


Fig. 4. Fraser Rubber Estate Regroupment Area, Johore: An Example of Estate Internal Regroupment.

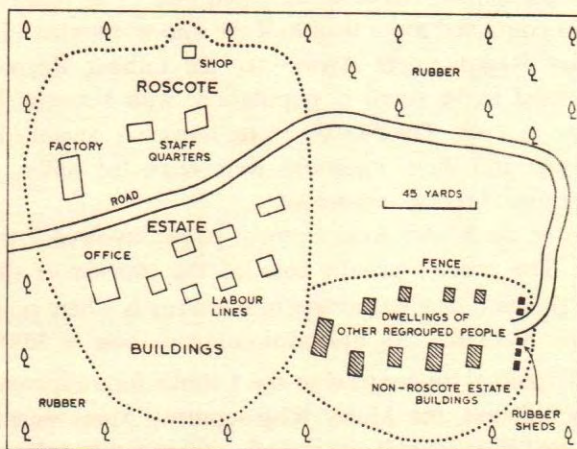


Fig. 5. Roscote Estate Regroupment Area, Johore: An Example of Estate External Regroupment.

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guarded by special constables, mostly Malays. The external regroupment areas constituted amorphous collections of wooden and *atap* houses, some of which had been transferred, others were temporary shacks. The security arrangements were similar to those of the internal regroupments.

Since the end of the Emergency almost all those people from other estates and holdings have left the estates on which they were regrouped, partly of their own accord and partly under pressure from the host estate. In 1961 there were about 5,400 such people in 50 estate regroupment areas, most of them about to leave. As a result the former regroupment areas are now considerably reduced in population and improved in appearance.

In the mines the effects of regroupment were less noticeable. Most of the mine labour appears to have been relocated in the New Villages, particularly in the case of Chinese mines. Many European mines relocated their labour within the mine area. This often meant little more than fencing the living quarters and providing guards. The regroupment of timber, sawmill and factory workers was similar.

Malay Regroupment

A parallel security measure was the regroupment of isolated Malay and *Orang Asli* settlements. The number of Malays affected is unknown, but it may have been considerable. There were 25 Malay Regroupment Areas in Kelantan and 13 in Johore. These two States contained more than half the known number (Table 5). The Malay Regroupment Areas, like the Labour Regroupment Areas, tended to be small in population, with between 100 and 500 people in each. The Malays were, however, consulted before regroupment and their objections were respected unless security considerations directed otherwise.

Most of the Malay Regroupment Areas involved little or no planning. The process usually entailed the transfer of dispersed *kampung* (hamlet) dwellers nearer to main roads where police protection was available. An upheaval compensation of M\$100 was apparently paid.⁵⁰ In contrast to the Labour Regroupment Areas and New Villages, the Malay Regroupment Areas were usually unfenced and their inhabitants were free to go out to cultivate their land. On the other hand they did not enjoy the amenities of the

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New Villages. Defence was in the hands of the Home Guard, but in a number of cases this proved inadequate so that the inhabitants had to be relocated in New Villages. In Kelantan 21 Malay Regroupment Areas, of a known total of 25, were relocated in New Villages (Table 4 and 5). Since the end of the Emergency almost the whole of the regrouped Malay population has returned to the original settlements.

Orang Asli (Original People) Regroupment

There were an estimated 60,000 *Orang Asli* in Malaya in 1950, at least half of them in the interior and in touch with Communists. In the early phase of the Emergency the tendency was to evacuate and resettle *Orang Asli* suspected of aiding the Communists. Six settlements are known to have been set up, and there may have been others. Regroupment was a disastrous experiment for the *Orang Asli*, many of whom died as a result. Furthermore, by removing them from the jungle, the Government lost a valuable source of information about Communist movements. It was therefore decided that regroupment should be avoided as far as possible. In its place a series of 'jungle forts' was built close to the main *Orang Asli* areas, where protection could be afforded them, trade stimulated and other amenities provided. Altogether fourteen forts were established (Fig. 6).^{37b, 51}

THE CONSEQUENCES OF RESETTLEMENT

The resettlement programme, by creating more than 600 compact 'new' settlements, has permanently altered the settlement pattern of almost the whole country. In Malaya, for census purposes, settlements with 1,000 or more inhabitants are classed as urban, and in this sense resettlement has substantially increased the already high proportion of urban dwellers. The programme added 216 urban centres of more than 1,000 inhabitants. These, together with the normal growth of population, raised the number of urban centres between 1947 and 1957 from 163 to 400. Urban population, as a percentage of total population, increased in this period from 26.5 to 42.5 per cent. This represented an increase of 105 per cent in the total urban population during the decade, compared to an increase of 136 per cent during the preceeding sixteen years.

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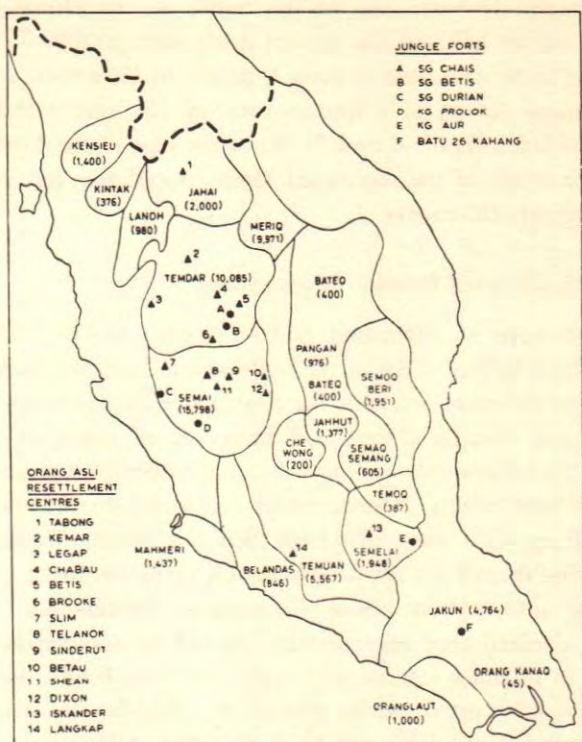


Fig. 6. Orang Asli Resettlement: Tribal Territories and Populations.

The Chinese urban population increased by 110 per cent between 1947 and 1957, compared to a 140 per cent increase during the 1931-1947 period. The Malay urban population increased by 120 per cent between 1947 and 1957, compared to 156 per cent between 1931 and 1947. While the increase in the Malay urban population was chiefly the result of a drift to the towns, the increase among the Chinese was largely the result of resettlement (Table 8).

In 1954, W.C.S. Corry, appointed by the Government to make a general survey of the New Villages, listed a total of 438 New Villages and classified them according to their degree of permanency. He considered that 69 per cent of the villages were 'supposedly permanent', 20 per cent 'intermediate', and 11 per cent 'supposedly

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TABLE 8
ETHNIC COMPOSITION AND GROWTH OF THE URBAN POPULATION
OF MALAYA 1931 TO 1957^{66, 52, 53}

	ITEM	1931	1947	1957	PERCENTAGE INCREASE	
					1931-1947	1947-1957
Chinese	Population	1,284,888	1,884,534	2,333,756	47	24
	Urban Population	342,990	811,520	1,704,000	140	110
	Percentage Urban	26.7	43.1	73.0	61	69
	Percentage of Total Urban Population of Malaya	61.8	62.4	63.9	1.0	2.4
Indian	Population	572,613	530,638	696,186	-7	31
	Urban Population	93,179	179,434	286,000	93	59
	Percentage Urban	16.3	33.8	41.1	107	22
	Percentage of Total Urban Population of Malaya	16.8	13.8	10.7	-18	-22
Malay	Population	1,863,872	2,427,834	3,125,474	30	29
	Urban Population	107,448	274,618	604,000	156	120
	Percentage Urban	5.8	11.3	19.3	95	71
	Percentage of Total Urban Population of Malaya	19.3	21.1	22.6	9	7

impermanent and likely to disappear with the Emergency' (Table 9). But in 1962, 47 per cent of these supposedly impermanent New Villages still existed, and the present indications are that all existing New Villages will remain.

Pilot surveys conducted by the author during 1962 in Perak, Pahang, and Johore indicated that the New Village settlers are generally disinclined to move away. The disinclination to leave the New Village is due to the following reasons: (i) transfer to a new dwelling place is costly; (ii) there is no guarantee that a settler in a rural area will not be moved again; (iii) there is still a lack of security in rural areas; (iv) individuals are unwilling to move to rural isolation, their friends being reluctant to accompany them; (v) the settlers have become accustomed to the amenities and security of the village life, and (vi) village settlers have or will have title to their house lots, and thus a permanent stake in the village. This is particularly true near the towns, where new settlers are buying and settling on vacant village lots. These trends give greater stability to such New Villages and reinforce their growth as urban centres.

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TABLE 9
CLASSIFICATION OF THE NEW VILLAGES ACCORDING TO DEGREE
OF PERMANENCY, 1954^{54a}

STATE		TOTAL NUMBER OF NEW VILLAGES	NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE IN EACH CATEGORY		
			Type 'P'	Type 'I'	Type 'T'
Johore	No:	88	55	22	11
	%:	100.00	62.50	25.00	12.50
Malacca	No:	17	14	3	—
	%:	100.00	82.35	17.65	—
Negri Sembilan	No:	37	16	14	7
	%:	100.00	43.24	37.84	18.92
Selangor	No:	47	38	6	3
	%:	100.00	80.85	12.77	6.38
Perak	No:	123	107	12	4
	%:	100.00	86.99	9.76	3.25
Kedah	No:	32	21	10	1
	%:	100.00	65.62	31.25	3.13
Penang & P.W.	No:	9	7	—	2
	%:	100.00	77.78	—	22.22
Perlis	No:	1	1	—	—
	%:	100.00	100.00	—	—
Pahang	No:	67	40	9	18
	%:	100.00	59.70	13.43	26.87
Trengganu	No:	3	1	2	—
	%:	100.00	33.33	66.67	—
Kelantan	No:	14	3	9	2
	%:	100.00	21.43	64.28	14.29
MALAYA	No:	438	303	87	48
	%:	100.00	69.18	19.86	10.96

Notes: Categories of New Villages

Type 'P' — Supposedly permanent.

Type 'I' — Intermediate.

Type 'T' — Supposedly impermanent or temporary and likely to disappear at the end of the Emergency.

The rate of natural increase in the New Villages is estimated to be about 3 per cent per annum. This, together with population growth in the other old and new urban centres, has now raised the proportion of the urban population to more than half the total Malayan population, according to current estimates.

It is estimated that nearly three-fifths of the people relocated in New Villages were originally agriculturists, many of them vegetable and livestock farmers. The movement of these people away from their fields disrupted their livelihood, and when they were unable to obtain cultivable land near the villages, large numbers

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were compelled to change their occupations. A sample survey in Salak South New Village (Selangor) in 1953 showed that two-thirds of the settlers had abandoned their former agricultural occupations.^{54b} Similarly in Sri Lallang New Village (Johore), 16 per cent were agriculturists when they entered the village, but all had changed their occupation by 1962.⁵⁵ For the New Villages as a whole the percentage of agriculturists dropped from an estimated 60 per cent in 1950 to 27 per cent in 1952, while the proportion of wage earners in the rubber and tin industries rose from 25 to 55 per cent (Table 10).

TABLE 10
OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS OF THE POPULATION OF THE NEW VILLAGES, 1952⁴¹

STATE	TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENTAGE IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP				
		Agriculture	Rubber	Tin	Shopkeeping	Others
Johore	130,613	19	59	—	13	9
Malacca	9,555	35	37	0.4	9.6	—
Negri Sembilan	30,294	29	46	3	8	14
Selangor	97,346	24	47	7	7	15
Perak	206,900	27	46	8	7	12
Kedah	22,522	n	n	n	n	n
Penang	10,717	25	63	—	7	5
Perlis	682	60	20	—	10	10
Pahang	50,233	24	59	1	2	14
Trengganu	1,495	62	35	—	2	1
Kelantan	12,560	n	n	n	n	n
MALAYA	572,917	27	52	3	7	11

n=Information not available.

This had an immediate effect on the national economy. The acreage under food crops, excluding rice, fell from 95,727 acres in 1948 to 67,465 acres in 1951. Imports of fresh vegetables increased from 7,326 tons in 1948 to 12,680 tons in 1951; exports of fresh vegetables from Malaya to Singapore dropped from 4,608 *pikuls* (1 *pikul* = 133.1/3 lbs.) in 1945 to 1,277 *pikuls* in 1950. Pig exports to Singapore also fell from 115,400 head in 1949 to 37,542 in 1951.^{36c}

Rubber production also suffered. Food restrictions in the New Villages and Regroupment Areas prevented the workers from taking midday meals to work. This reduced working efficiency and output by 10 to 15 per cent. A 2:00 p.m. curfew further curtailed

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operations. Regroupment and relocation increased employers' overhead costs, since additional transport and security measures had to be provided. In consequence many of the smaller estates went out of production. Rubber output fell from 697,000 tons in 1948 to 573,000 tons in 1953.

Tin production was less seriously affected, though relocation disrupted the labour supply by restricting labour mobility and removing casual workers. Output fell from 58,000 tons in 1950 to 56,000 tons in 1953. At the same time the population continued to increase rapidly: 500,000 births were recorded in Malaya between 1948 and 1952.

The result was a rise in the cost of living and a decline in national income at a time when the country was spending more than M\$300,000,000 a year on the Emergency. But for the fortuitous trade boom induced by the Korean War, Malaya might have faced bankruptcy.

Not all the economic consequences of resettlement were adverse, however. Concentration of the rural population in New Villages on the main road offered better access to markets and credit facilities. Amenities which the rural population had not previously enjoyed were now available in all New Villages. Many of the settlers had for the first time a title to the land on which they lived.⁵⁶ Regroupment of estate labour also reduced rubber thefts. The predatory exploitation of the land by squatter shifting cultivators has been halted. Dispersal from the New Villages is now to be controlled, and this will assist in the planning of rural development. The relocation of 573,000 rural dwellers into compact settlements has also produced a degree of cultural sophistication among them. About 70 per cent of the adults in New Villages are Federal citizens, eligible to vote, and constitute a group, mainly Chinese, with considerable political power.⁵⁷

Resettlement cost more than M\$100,000,000, not including the M\$4,000,000 spent by the Malayan Chinese Association. But the amenities provided in the New Villages were rarely extended to the Malay Regroupment Areas and Malay villages. This created some resentment among the Malays and has had repercussions with regard to the inclusion of the New Villages in the recent rural development programme of the Malayan Government. This problem varies from District to District. In some, the New Villages

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are included in the programme. The future for those that are not included is indeed bleak, as Government maintenance subsidies have ceased and their own resources are meagre.

Finally from the military viewpoint, resettlement made possible the crushing of the Communist rebellion and the defeat of the M.R.L.A.^{36d} It is a measure of the military success of the resettlement programme that the same tactics have been adopted in South Vietnam if with little success.⁵⁸

CONCLUSION

The outstanding development of the Emergency in Malaya was the implementation of the Briggs Plan, as a result of which about one million two hundred thousand rural people were corralled into more than 600 'new' settlements, principally New Villages. This was the decisive move in the operations against the Communists.

The resettlement project was an expensive, immense and complicated task. It was accomplished in the face of tremendous odds, not the least of which was a dearth of competent workers. That it was completed at all is a tribute to the efforts of a few able men whose memorial is the 474 New Villages that dot the Malayan landscape. They have permanently altered the settlement pattern of Malaya by substantially increasing the already high proportion of urban dwellers in the total population.

At first essentially a security measure, the resettlement programme developed into a battle for the hearts and minds of the people. Victory in this battle, it was hoped, would help to raise a new generation of Chinese with a stake in the country. Completion of this process would change the New Villages from reservoirs of resentment into bastions of loyal Malayan citizenry. It was a dream, but there was a chance of its coming true. Malaya is now an independent nation. The barbed wire fences of the New Villages have been pulled down. Twenty years have passed since resettlement took place. The New Villages are a hive of activity and many of them have become prosperous little towns whose people have no thought of returning to their original settlements. There is a plethora of elections and committees, in which the villagers fully participate.⁵⁹

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The achievements in the New Villages are impressive, and, on the surface, represent a change of attitude and a new mode of life for the inhabitants. It is too soon to say whether this change is more than superficial.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper is based on fieldwork carried out in 1961-62. I wish to thank those who assisted me in different ways in the field, and my colleagues of the University of Singapore for their valuable suggestions and advice. Finally, I am grateful to the Department of Labour and Industrial Relations, Johore, and the Chinese Affairs Officers of the State Secretariats for their cooperation.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Tables 7A & B, 8 and 9, as well as all data in the text itself calculated from these tables, contradict Kernial Singh Sandhu's work as published in *The Journal of Tropical Geography*. Changes have been made as a result of Herr Julius Kann's having put all the data through a calculator on the request of the Editor. We are indebted to Herr Kann as well as to Allan Painter who read through the proofs.

Shirle Gordon

ABBREVIATIONS

FLCMCP	<i>Federal Legislative Council Minutes and Council Papers</i> (Kuala Lumpur).
FMAR	<i>Federation of Malaya Annual Report</i> (Kuala Lumpur).
PFLC	<i>Proceedings of the Federal Legislative Council</i> (Kuala Lumpur).
SNVFM	<i>Statistical Information Concerning New Villages in the Federation of Malaya</i> , mimeo. (Kuala Lumpur: Government Offices, 1952).
ST	<i>The Straits Times</i> (Singapore).

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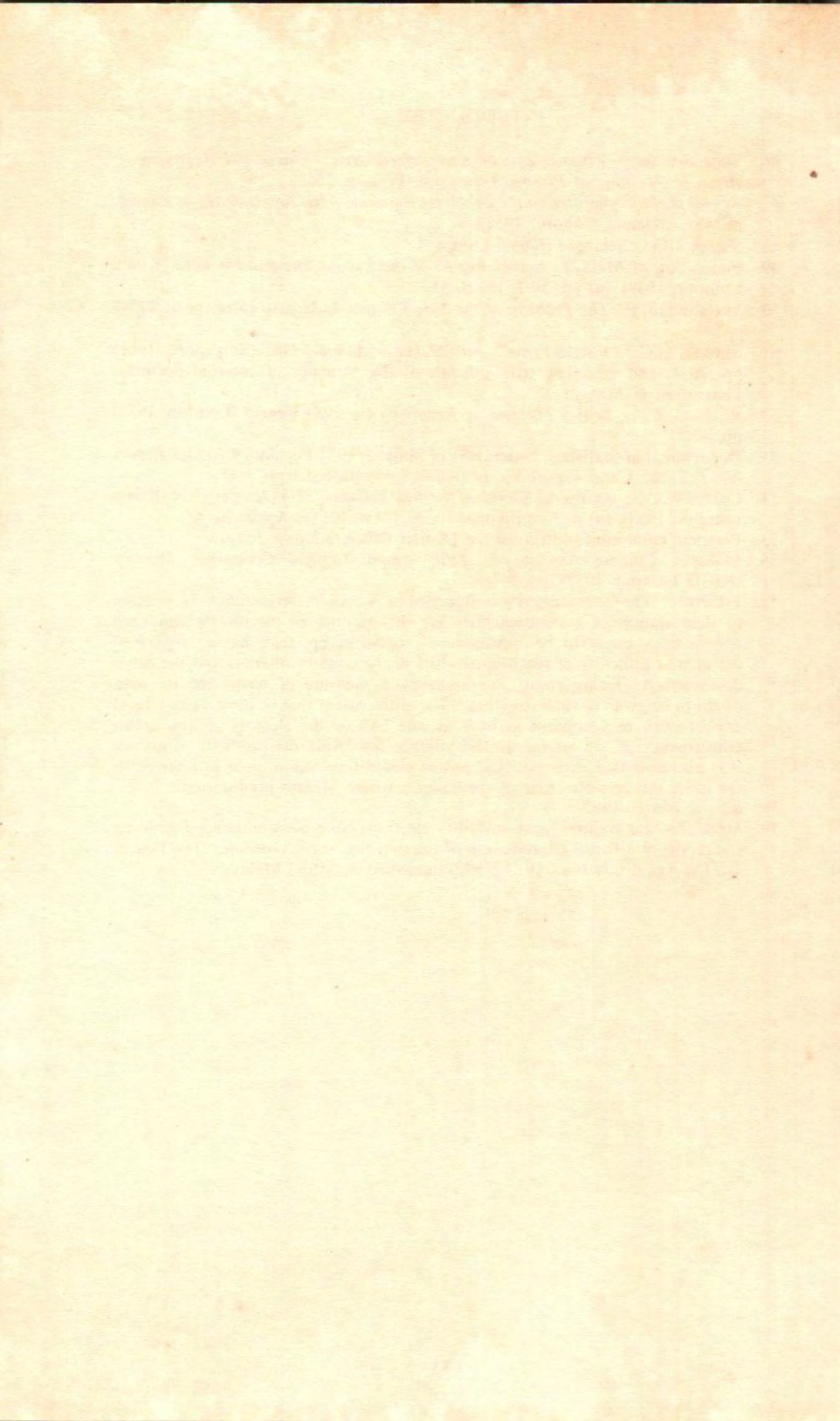
1. There appears to be some confusion in the use of the term 'squatter'. For example, both Purcell (22b) and Robinson (8f) use the term squatter to include most of the rural Chinese peasantry regardless of whether they had title or not to the land they cultivated. Government publications are also misleading: they usually begin by defining a squatter as an unlawful occupant of land, but the term is subsequently used to include all Chinese peasants and, at times, even wage-earners (*FLCMCP 1950/51*, pp. B89-101; *FLCMCP 1952/53*, pp. B311-22; *FMAR 1950*, p. 2, and *PFLC 1948/49*, pp. C533-4). For our purposes the term squatter will, unless otherwise indicated, be defined as an illegal or unauthorized occupant of public or private land.
2. Sandhu, K.S., "Chinese colonization of Malacca", *Journal of Tropical Geography*, Vol. 15, 1961, pp. 6-18.
3. Nathan, J.E., *Census of British Malaya, 1921* (London, 1922) p. 22.
4. "Report of the committee appointed by His Excellency the High Commissioner to investigate the squatter problem", *PFLC 1948/49*, (a) p. C534; (b) pp. C534-9.
5. De Moubray, G.A. de C., *Report on Wild Life Reserves, Johore*, mimeo. (Johore Bahru, 1938) p. 5.
6. del Tufo, M.V., *Malaya: A Report on the 1947 Census of Population* (London, 1949) (a) p. 33; (b) p. 58; (c) pp. 44-8.
7. Mills, L.A., *British Rule in Eastern Asia* (London, 1942), pp. 241-2.
8. Perry Robinson, J.B., *Transformation in Malaya* (London, 1956) (a) p. 76; (b) p. 14; (c) p. 77; (d) p. 87; (e) p. 112; (f) pp. 71-115; (g) p. 108; (h) p. 85.
9. Smith, T.E., *Population Growth in Malaya* (London, 1952) p. 81.
10. Chin Kee Onn, *Malaya Upside Down* (Singapore, 1946) pp. 47-60.
11. *Shyonan Times* (Singapore) 9 July 1942 and 30 July 1942.
12. *Shyonan Shimbun* (Singapore) 8 August 1944; 16 December 1944; 31 January 1945; 28 February 1945; 9 June 1945.
13. The British Military Administration was the government of postwar Malaya until the inauguration of the Malayan Union in 1946. It was popularly referred to as the 'Black Market Association'.
14. *FLCMCP 1950/51*, (a) p. B102; (b) p. B90; (c) p. B95; (d) pp. B90-1; (e) p. B94; (f) pp. B96-104.
15. *ST*, 10 December 1949, p. 6.
16. Dobby, E.H.G., "Recent settlement changes in South Malaya", *Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, Vol. 1. 1953, (a) p. 5; (b) p. 4.
17. Firth, R., *Report on Social Science Research in Malaya* (Singapore, 1948) p. 32.
18. Hanharan, G.Z., *The Communist Struggle in Malaya*, mimeo. (New York, 1954) (a) pp. 36-7. At the time of the Japanese surrender the M.P.A.J.A. had eight regiments, each of about one thousand men, almost all Chinese; (b) p. 49.
19. Federation of Malaya, *Anatomy of Communist Propaganda* (Kuala Lumpur, 1949) pp. 1-24. The establishment of a People's Democratic Republic had been proclaimed by the M.C.P. as early as 1943.
20. The M.P.A.J.A., although disbanded, did not disintegrate. Large quantities of arms were not surrendered and contact was maintained through 'Old Comrades Associations'.
21. H.M.S.O., *The Fight Against Communist Terrorism in Malaya* (London, 1951) p. 10.
22. Purcell, V., *Malaya: Communist or Free?* (London, 1954) (a) pp. 171-2; (b) pp. 73-83.
23. *The British Survey* (London, June 1952) pp. 17-8.
24. A State of Emergency was first declared in Johore and Perak on 16 June 1948. Communist attacks soon spread to other States, and the State of Emergency was extended to the whole of Malaya on 12 July 1948. It was preceded by the enactment of the *Emergency Regulations Ordinance, 1948*, which with subsequent amendments gave wide powers of arrest, detention and deportation to the Executive. Federation of Malaya, *The Emergency Regulations 1951* (Kuala

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- Lumpur, 1951); Federation of Malaya, *Official Year Book 1961* (Kuala Lumpur, 1961) pp. 348-51.
25. The Communists were not entirely Chinese. There were also some Indians, Malays and others. Department of Public Relations, Federation of Malaya, *Background Information and Material for Speakers* (Kuala Lumpur, 1950) pp. 5-6, 21-31; and "The Enemy in Malaya", *Corona*, May 1952, pp. 170-1.
26. Interview with Dr. M. Birchee, a former President of the M.C.A., Johore Bahru.
27. *FLCMCP 1953/54*, Paper No. 24, pp. 6-18.
28. Federation of Malaya, *Communist Banditry in Malaya: The Emergency* (Kuala Lumpur, 1951), pp. 29-120.
29. *FMAR 1949*, pp. 210-1.
30. Patterson, G.S., *Mawai Settlement Area*, mimeo. (Johore Bahru, 1950) (a) p. 6. Among the 326 squatters removed from Batu Caves (Selangor) and Hylam Kang (Johore) in 1949 there were only 10 men between the ages of twenty and forty; (b) p. 1.
31. Adviser on Chinese Affairs, Negri Sembilan, *Squatter Resettlement in Negri Sembilan*, mimeo. (Seremban, 1950) pp. 1-4.
32. Cunningham-Brown, J.S.H., *Squatter Resettlement in Johore*, mimeo. (Johore Bahru, 1950), p. 9.
33. Machonochie, Capt. A., *On the Application of the Mark System* (London, n.d.).
34. *The Malaya Tribune* (Kuala Lumpur) 2 September, 1949.
35. There was an earlier transfer of squatters in Perak from the Sungei Siput area, in October 1948, to an unprepared site at Pantai Remis. But it was 'essentially an *ad hoc* affair—the clearance of a battle ground rather than a relocation of a section of the community' (8h) (*PFLC 1948/49*, pp. C536-7).
36. *FLCMCP 1952/53*, (a) p. B312; (b) p. B320; (c) p. B317; (d) p. B328.
37. *FMAR 1950*, (a) p. 2; (b) p. xiii.
38. The use of the terms relocation and regroupment may not accord with that found elsewhere. Dobby prefers the term resettlement for the process whereby dispersed rural dwellers were transferred to New Villages (16b).
39. Some writers have preferred the term relocation to close-settlement for this process. See for example, Ooi Jin-bee, "Mining Landscapes of Kinta", *The Journal of Tropical Geography*, Vol. 4, 1955, p. 52.
40. These and subsequent statistics have been checked in the field where possible. They do not accord in all instances with those gathered by other writers. For instance in *FMAR 1952*, p. 14, a total of 509 New Villages with a population of 461,822 is recorded. Robinson gives a figure of 500 with a population of 600,000 (8g). The I.B.R.D. *Report on the Economic Development of Malaya* (Baltimore, 1955) records that there were 550 New Villages with a population of 570,000. *SNVFM* and Corry (54a) list 446 and 439 New Villages with populations of 458,000 and 532,000 respectively. R. Stead, "The New Villages in Malaya", *Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 27, 1954/55, p. 642, has a figure of 550 New Villages with a population of 600,000. The Federation of Malaya, *Report of the Land Administration Commission* (Kuala Lumpur, 1958) p. 40, puts the number of New Villages at 600. These totals include the Regroupment Areas. The present writer's total of 480 New Villages excludes the Regroupment Areas.
41. Unless otherwise indicated the tables in this paper are based on data collected through fieldwork, and those given in *SNVFM* and by Corry (54c).
42. Based on information on the files of the Chinese Affairs Office, Johore Bahru.
43. Interview with the Chinese Affairs Officers of Negri Sembilan and Johore, and the Chinese Liaison Officer, Kulai, Johore.
44. In practice these loans were written off as part of the resettlement costs.
45. *Report of the Chinese Affairs Officer, Trengganu, 1/12/55*, typescript (Kuala Trengganu, 1955).

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46. State Secretary, Penang, *List of Resettlement New Villages and Regroupment Areas in the State of Penang*, typescript (Penang, 1962).
47. *Report of the Committee on the Problems Resulting from Resettlement in Kluang*, mimeo. (Kluang, Johore, 1951).
48. Survey Office, Selangor (Kuala Lumpur).
49. Federation of Malaya, *Annual Report of the Labour Department 1948* (Kuala Lumpur, 1949) (a) pp. 50-1; (b) p. 55.
50. Markandan, P., *The Problem of the New Villages in Malaya* (Singapore, 1954) p. 14.
51. Madoc, G.C., "Jungle Forts", *Straits Times Annual*, 1961 (Singapore, 1961) pp. 70-3; and interview with officials of the Ministry of Internal Security, Federation of Malaya.
52. Vlieland, C.A., *British Malaya: A Report on the 1931 Census* (London, 1932) pp. 42-8.
53. Department of Statistics, Federation of Malaya, 1957 *Population Census Report No. 1*, Table 3, and *Report No. 14* (Kuala Lumpur, n.d.), pp. 1-11.
54. Corry, W.C.S., *A General Survey of the New Villages, 12th October 1954* (Kuala Lumpur, 1954), (a) p. 2 and Appendix A; (b) p. 12; (c) Appendix A.
55. Personal communication from the District Office, Kluang, Johore.
56. Malayan Chinese Association, *Fifth Annual General Committee Meeting* (Kuala Lumpur, 1953) pp. 5-7.
57. Ed. Note: The Constitution was amended by Act 14 of 1962, section 31, relating to delimitation of constituencies: "(c) the number of electors within each constituency ought to be approximately equal except that, having regard to the greater difficulty of reaching electors in the country districts and the other disadvantages facing rural constituencies, a measure of weightage for area ought to be given to such constituencies, to the extent that in some cases a rural constituency may contain as little as one half of the electors of any urban constituency..." In so far as the villages constitute no problem of access, it is probable that their political power would have diminished in relation to the more inaccessible areas of the country where Malays predominate.
58. ST., 15 March 1962.
59. Since this was written local authority elections have been suspended pending the report of a Royal Commission of Inquiry. See Shirle Gordon, "The Fences Go Up Again", *Intisari*, IV, 1 (1972) published by MSRI Malaysia.





New Village entrance



Kampong Simee New Village, Perak

Sungei Nipah New Village, Negri Sembilan





A barbed wire perimeter fence, relic of the Emergency



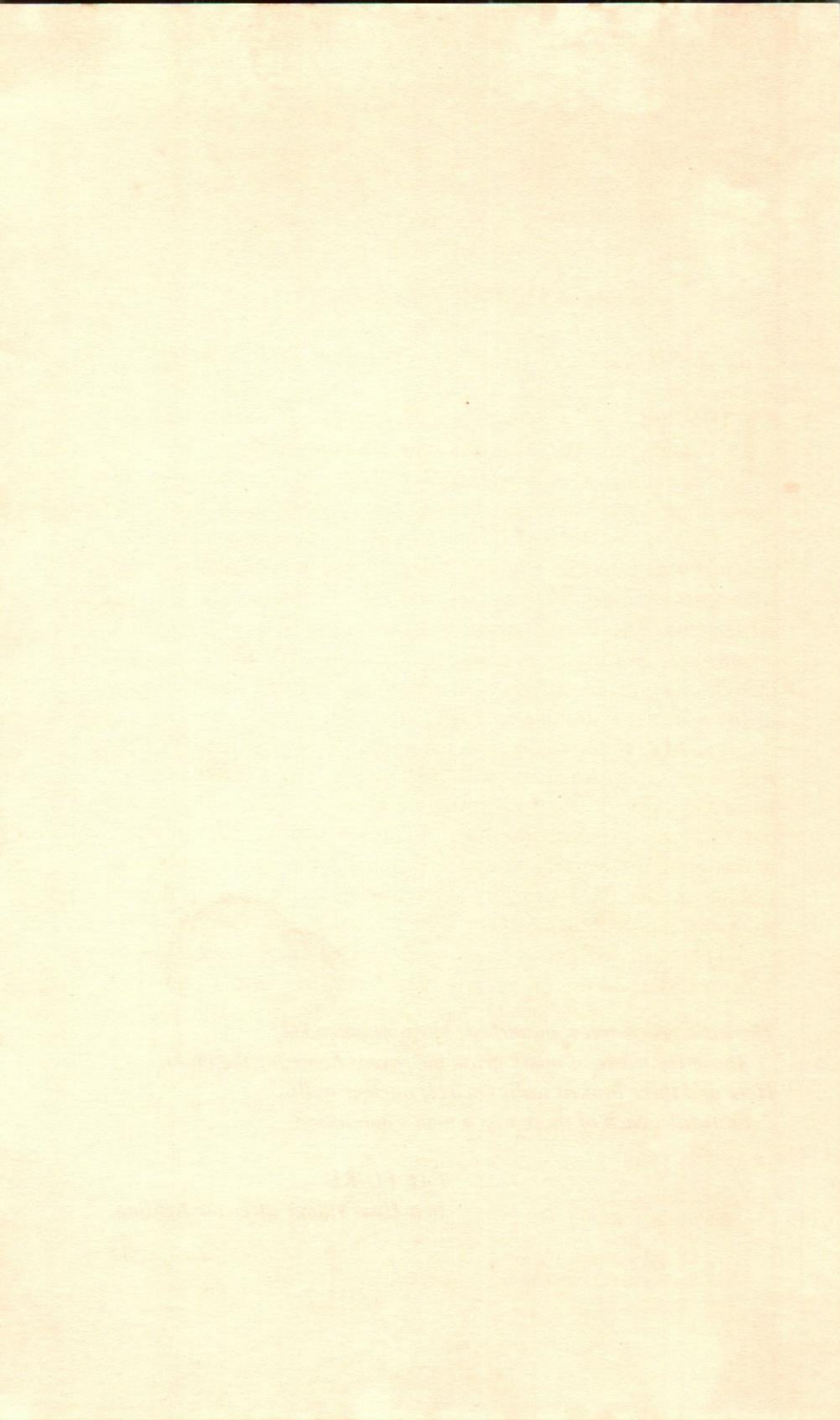
Aerial view of Triang New Village, Pahang



A New Village atap and plank house

*The little peach-trees, ownerless, blossom untended;
Above the waste of misty grass the ravens home for the night.
Here and there broken walls encircle ancient wells;
Erstwhile, each of these was a man's habitation.*

*TAI FU-KU
In a Huai village after the fighting.*



I

SOME PRELIMINARY STATISTICS

CLASSIFICATION OF NEW VILLAGE POPULATION

THE two most widely circulated attempts at classifying New Villages are the Malayan Government report, *Statistical Information Concerning New Villages in the Federation of Malaya*,¹ and the Malayan Christian Council's study, *A Survey of New Villages in Malaya*.² The *SNVFM* divides the villages into categories as follows: The first category includes all villages that were entirely new, that is not attached to previously existing settlements. The second category includes all New Villages built around and absorbing existing small villages. The third category includes all villages attached to previously existing large villages or towns but maintaining a distinct identity.

The M.C.C. Survey, conducted several years after the *SNVFM*, retains the same first category as the *SNVFM*. The second category, however, differs in that no restriction is placed on the size of the older villages to which the New Villages were attached. Further, it distinguishes between towns and other types of communities, placing in the third category only those New Villages attached to towns. And a fourth category, the Regroupment Area, is added.

The basic system of classification used for presentation of statistical data in the present study is that of the M.C.C. Survey.³

Category A—Entirely new settlements (not attached to previously existing settlements) on land cleared from the jungle or on abandoned rubber plantations. These villages, built by settlers with materials given them, were located as near as practicable to available work. The main concern, however, was that security be

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1. Government Report C.S. 6527/52, mimeo., (Kuala Lumpur: Government Offices Jln. Raja, 1952), hereafter referred to as *SNVFM*.
 2. The Malayan Christian Council, *A Survey of the New Villages in Malaya*, 1958, and Supplement (1959), hereafter referred to as "the M.C.C. Survey".
 3. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

maintained and food be denied to the Communists.

Category B—New Villages built around and absorbing existing small communities often Malay, usually effecting a radical change in the ethnic composition of the resulting community.

Category C—New Villages attached to towns, usually resulting in rapid integration with the town.

Category D—Regroupment Areas which either 'resettle' inhabitants of previously established New Villages into more economic units or concentrate members of a particular labour force within a protected area.⁴

Basically, all the four categories represent communities of working people living inside a wire fence and subject to a good deal of restriction.⁵

According to our findings, small and large villages have far more in common than large villages and towns. Thus, the M.C.C. classification is particularly suited to the present study since its Categories B and C distinguish between a New Village attached to a primarily rural community and one attached to a town (a shopping centre).

Category C refers to situations where occupational structure, social organization, residence patterns, and recreational activities are more urban in nature and where there tends to be more contact with other communities than in those situations of Category B.

Table I shows a breakdown of the 558 New Villages in terms of the four categories just described.⁶

Table II gives the percentage distribution of these categories in the six states with the largest number of New Villages. In this Table Category D has been omitted, since the number in that category is insignificant. For Perak, Johore, Pahang and Selangor, the percentage of villages set up as isolated units (Category A) is proportionate to the magnitude of the resettlement task in each state. One might be tempted to conclude that villages were built around existing communities wherever possible. However, in the

4. Ed. Note: Regroupment on estates was part of the original resettlement programme, although no specific reference is made to this type of community in the *SNVFM*.

5. M.C.C. Survey, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

6. Tables I through V were compiled from the M.C.C. Survey.

TABLE I
NUMBER OF NEW VILLAGES BY STATE AND CATEGORY, 1958

STATE	TYPE OF VILLAGE				
	TOTAL	A	B	C	D
Johore	130	71	45	12	2
Malacca	17	9	8	—	—
Negri Sembilan	40	26	14	—	—
Selangor	66	25	41	—	—
Perak	156	93	36	24	3
Kedah	33	15	18	—	—
Penang & P.W.*	9	7	2	—	—
Perlis	1	—	1	—	—
Pahang	79	31	38	10	—
Trengganu	4	3	1	—	—
Kelantan	23	5	17	—	1
Malaya	558	285	221	46	6

A — Entirely New Villages (not attached to previously existing settlements).

B — New Villages attached to older communities other than towns.

C — New Villages attached to older towns.

D — 'Regroupment areas' (labour forces in protected areas or 'resettling' from earlier New Villages).

*P.W. = Province Wellesley.

Source: Calculated from the M.C.C. Survey.

TABLE II
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF NEW VILLAGES
BY CATEGORY IN SELECTED STATES, 1958

STATE	TOTAL NEW VILLAGES	PERCENTAGE		
		A	B	C
Perak	156	60	23	15
Johore	130	55	35	9
Pahang	79	39	48	13
Selangor	66	38	62	0
Negri Sembilan	40	65	35	0
Kedah	33	45	55	0

A — Entirely New Villages (not attached to previously existing settlements).

B — New Villages attached to older communities other than towns.

C — New Villages attached to older towns.

Source: Calculated from Table I.

case of Negri Sembilan, the percentage of isolated units is not related to the size of the task. Here where one might anticipate the number of isolated units to be less, one finds the percentage larger than in all the other states.

It is not known to what extent political strategy was a determinant in the proportion of villages established under each category. Nor do we know the precise influence of factors such as size of state, population density, administrative capacity, and facility of land purchase and/or alienation.

Table III is an expansion of Table I, subdividing each of the four major categories in Table I according to their degree of representative government. Below is an elaboration on the meaning of the terms employed in this subdivision.

LC —Local Council. Villages with contested elections and extensive powers of local government including broad powers of taxation.

NV —New Village. Villages with elected Village Committees having limited powers of self-government.

MV —Malay Village. The M.C.C. Survey does not define this term but since only three villages fall within this category whereas Table V enumerates a total of 159 villages 'entirely', 'preponderantly', or 'about half' Malay, MV must refer to a form of Malay village organization such as the non-elective *penghulu* system.⁷ If this be the definition, it is surprising that although there were 119 'entirely' Malay villages, these did not not have a Malay form of village organization.

RsA—Resettlement or Regroupment Area⁸ having little local identity or rights of self-government.

TB —Town Board. Villages in Categories A and B that are included within a Town Board.

Ab —Absorbed. Villages in Category C (attached to an

7. Ed. Note: Table V on p.7a from the M.C.C. Survey gives an ethnic breakdown for 172 villages having large non-Chinese ethnic groups and lists 159 villages where Malays constitute at least half of the population (119 'entirely' Malay, 9 'preponderantly', and 31 'about half' Malay) out of a total of 558 villages. At first glance this large number of villages with a sizable Malay population (about 29 per cent of all villages) may not seem consistent with Dr. Kernial Singh's statement (p. xLi): "Of the total population of the New Villages, 86 per cent were Chinese, nine per cent Malay, four per cent Indian and one per cent 'Others'", until one recalls that, on the average, villages where Malays predominated were very much smaller than those where Chinese predominated. (For *Penghulu* see Glossary.)

8. Ed. Note: There is no clear distinction between these terms in the M.C.C. Survey.

TABLE III
NUMBER OF NEW VILLAGES BY STATE, CATEGORY AND STATUS, 1958

STATE	TOTAL VILLAGES	CATEGORY A					CATEGORY B					CATEGORY C			CATEGORY D				
		LC	NV	MV	RsA	TB	UC	LC	NV	MV	RsA	TB	UC	LC	NV	Ab	LC	NV	RsA
Johore	130	39	5	—	27	—	—	41	2	—	2	—	—	9	—	3	—	—	2
Malacca	17	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Negri Sembilan	40	5	21	—	—	—	—	6	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Selangor	66	14	8	—	1	1	1	10	24	—	2	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Perak	156	41	52	—	—	—	—	11	24	—	—	1	—	19	5	—	1	2	—
Kedah	33	1	14	—	—	—	—	10	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Penang & P.W.*	9	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Perlis	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pahang	79	8	5	2	15	1	—	14	6	1	17	—	—	2	—	8	—	—	—
Trengganu	4	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kelantan	23	1	4	—	—	—	—	4	12	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
TOTAL	558	109	127	2	44	2	1	96	96	1	21	6	1	30	5	11	1	3	2

A — Entirely New Villages (not attached to previously existing settlements).

B — New Villages attached to older communities other than towns.

C — New Villages attached to older towns.

D — 'Regroupment Areas' (labour forces in protected areas or 're-resettling' from earlier New Villages).

* P.W. = Province Wellesley

Source: Calculated from the M.C.C. Survey.

LC — Local Council
NV — New Village
MV — Malay Village
RSA — Resettlement Area
TB — Town Board
Ab — Absorbed
UC — Unclassified

TABLE IVA⁹
PERCENTAGE OF LOCAL COUNCIL VILLAGES WITHIN GIVEN CATEGORIES IN SEVEN STATES, 1958

STATE	TOTAL NEW VILLAGES	TOTAL L.C. VILLAGES	% L.C. VILLAGES	CATEGORY A			CATEGORY B			CATEGORY C		
				TOTAL VILL.	L.C. VILL.	% L.C.	TOTAL VILL.	L.C. VILL.	% L.C.	TOTAL VILL.	L.C. VILL.	% L.C.
Johore	127	89	70	71	39	55	45	41	91	9	9	100.0
Negeri Sembilan	40	11	28	26	5	19	14	6	43	—	—	—
Selangor	60	24	40	24	14	58	36	10	28	—	—	—
Perak	155	72	47	93	41	44	35	11	31	24	19	79.2
Kedah	33	11	33	15	1	7	18	10	56	—	—	—
Pahang	38	24	63	15	8	53	21	14	67	2	2	100.0
Kelantan	(70) 23	5	(34) 22	(30) 5	1	(27) 20	(38) 17	4	(37) 24	—	—	—
TOTAL	476 (508)	236	49.6 (46.5)	249 (264)	109	43.8 (41.3)	186 (203)	96	51.6 (47.3)	35	30	85.7

Note: Excludes six Category D villages of which two are L.C.

Source: Calculated by the Editor.

older town) that have been taken within the Town Board.

TABLE IV¹⁰
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF LOCAL COUNCIL VILLAGES
IN SEVEN STATES, 1958

STATE	TOTAL NEW VILLAGES	LOCAL COUNCIL VILLAGES	
		NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Johore	127	89	70
Pahang	38(70)	24	63(34)
Perak	155	72	47
Selangor	60	24	40
Kedah	33	11	33
Negri Sembilan	40	11	28
Kelantan	23	5	22
TOTAL	476(508)	236	50(46)

Source: Calculated from the M.C.C. Survey.

While Table III gives the number of New Villages within each category in each state which have achieved Local Council status, Table IV groups all Local Council villages within a state together and shows these Local Council villages as a percentage of the total number of villages in a state. Malacca, Penang and Province Wellesley, and Trengganu had no Local Council villages.

'Successful' development in New Village life in terms of the Government's military and political strategy was usually officially recognized by the establishment of Local Councils and the subsequent assignment of responsibility for local government. Hence the percentages in Table IV indicate the success of the resettlement programme in each state as judged by the Government. If one compares the percentages in Table IV with the data in Table VIII

9. Ed. Note: See footnote 10 to understand the meaning of figures in brackets.
10. These percentages were calculated from Table III. Villages classed as Ab or TB were excluded, as the question of granting Local Council status would not arise. Also excluded was the large group of RsA villages in Pahang. These villages are preponderantly Malay in composition and often had a previously recognized system for regulating their own affairs, a system already familiar to the Government (see *Report of the Conference on Community Development*, 1959, p. 25). Here the question of granting Local Council status takes on a different significance; thus Table IV gives one percentage calculated without the RsA villages and a second (in parentheses) calculated after their inclusion. The RsA villages in Johore are included as these are primarily rather than preponderantly Malay in composition; they are uniformly small and static as regards development.

one must conclude that favourable growth rates did not in Government's view necessarily justify the transference of local power to the people. For while in Selangor, the Government in 1954 expected only 71.1 per cent of the New Villages to be 'permanent', in 1958 the M.C.C. Survey found that 80.4 per cent had growth rates of eight per cent or more, yet only 40 per cent of the villages had Local Councils. Similarly in Negri Sembilan where the respective percentages were 41.7, 52.8 and a low of 28 per cent. On the other hand, in Johore the percentage of Local Council villages exceeded both the Government's predictions and actual growth rates (70 per cent L.C. to 63.2 expectation of permanency and 66.3 growth rate of eight per cent or more). To compare Pahang, one must take our bracketed percentage for LC villages or 34 per cent which compares with a 34.9 expectation of permanency and a 46.0 per cent eight per cent or more growth rate. In the case of Perak the development of Local Councils (47 per cent) paralleled growth rates (49.5 per cent of villages with an eight per cent or higher growth rate); the Government anticipated 83.6 per cent of villages would be permanent. In Kedah both the development of Local Councils (33 per cent) and the growth rate of eight per cent or more (50.0 per cent) were very much less than the Government's forecast of 71.9 per cent expected to be permanent.

The overall percentages for the six States (excluding also Kelantan) is 50.99 per cent of villages with Local Councils in 1958, 63.0 per cent categorized by the Government in 1954 as likely to be permanent and 59.4 per cent in 1958 with growth rates of eight per cent or more.

The four States with the fewest New Villages, Malacca, Penang and Province Wellesley, Perlis and Trengganu, whose New Villages collectively totalled only 31, had not one village within a Local Council or Town Board area.

The M.C.C. Survey states that New Villages attached to previously existing settlements (Categories B and C) achieved Local Council status more quickly than isolated villages (Category A).¹¹ When we percentage the number of Local Councils within each category (Table IVA) we find that for the seven States the percentage of Local Councils in Category A is 43.8, Category B,

11. M.C.C. Survey, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

51.6, and Category C, 85.7. However, the preponderance of Local Council New Villages in Category A in the States of Selangor and Perak upsets the M.C.C. theory, bringing Category A and Category B to within 7.8 per cent of one another. Only in Category C, where New Villages were attached to older towns, which is a significantly smaller sample, does the M.C.C. analysis hold true. The M.C.C. Survey maintains that "the older community [had] a stabilizing and educating influence on the new in the problems of living together for the first time."¹² In fact there are notable exceptions to this generalization.

Appendix I gives the rates of increase or decrease in New Village population by categories and subgroups previously employed.¹³ It is seen that the highest rates of increase generally occur in villages included within some local government unit. (Of course, not all villages in a particular subgroup have developed at the same rate, as can be seen by studying the individual growth rates of villages.) A correlation is observed between growth rate and initial size of village. Villages in self-governing subgroups are larger than those in any other subgroup in the same category, and resettlement areas (RsA) have lower rates of increase as well as smaller average size.¹⁴

Table V summarizes the distribution of non-Chinese ethnic groups in New Village population. The largest non-Chinese ethnic group is Malay. It is the number of Malay villages, rather than the number of Malays, that is significant. Table V enumerates 159 villages that are 'entirely' (119), 'preponderantly' (9), or 'about half' (31) Malay. Taking the total number of villages as 558 this means that 29 per cent could be counted as predominantly Malay.¹⁵

In Johore all but one of the Malay villages categorized as A(LC) and A(RsA) are uniformly small. The preponderantly Malay B(LC) villages are among the smallest, while two of the three half Malay villages are fairly large. One of the two small B(RsA) villages in Johore is exclusively Malay, and one of the

12. *Ibid.*

13. See pp. 195-201.

14. Exceptions: A single small RsA village in Trengganu has an exceedingly high growth rate; Pahang has 3 MV villages that are smaller than the RsA villages; and one RsA village of considerable size in Selangor has been 'static'.

15. M.C.C. Survey, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

TABLE V
ETHNIC BREAKDOWN OF 172 VILLAGES HAVING LARGE NON-CHINESE POPULATIONS, 1958

STATE	TOTAL	CATEGORY A				CATEGORY B				CATEGORY C			CATEGORY D		
		LC	NV	MV	RsA	LC	NV	MV	RsA	TB	LC	NV	LC	NV	RsA
Johore	31	ME-6 MP-2	—	—	ME-12 MP-1 MH-3	ME-1 MP-1 MH-3	—	—	ME-1	—	—	—	—	—	MH-1
Malacca	1	—	—	—	—	—	MH-1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Negri Sembilan	8	ME-2	ME-4 MH-1	—	—	—	MP-1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Selangor	11	ME-1	ME-3 MH-1	—	—	MH-2	ME-2	—	ME-1	MH-1	—	—	—	—	—
Perak	58	MH-2 SK-1	ME-19 MH-2 OA-3	—	—	ME-2 MH-2	ME-21 S-1	—	—	—	MH-1 MI-1	MP-1	ME-1	—	MH-1
Kedah	9	—	SM-3 MH-2 S-1	—	—	MH-1	MH-2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Penang & P. W.	2	—	MH-1	—	—	—	MI-1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pahang	31	MH-1	—	ME-2	ME-7 MH-2 J-1	—	ME-1 MP-1	ME-12 MP-1	—	—	MI-1	—	—	—	—
Trengganu	1	—	—	—	ME-1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kelantan	20	ME-1	ME-3 MP-1	—	—	ME-3	ME-11	—	—	—	—	—	—	ME-1	—
TOTAL	172	16	44	2	27	15	42	1	16	1	3	1	1	1	2

7a

CHINESE NEW VILLAGES

A — Entirely New Villages (not attached to previously existing settlements).
 B — New Villages attached to older communities other than towns.
 C — New Villages attached to older towns.
 D — 'Regroupment areas' (labour forces in protected areas or 're-resetting' from earlier New Villages).
 Source: Calculated from the M.C.C. Survey.

LC — Local Council
 NV — New Village
 MV — Malay Village
 RsA — Resettlement Area
 TB — Town Board
 ME — Malay exclusively
 MP — Malay preponderantly
 MH — about half Malay
 MI — Malay and Indian
 MS — Malay and Siamese
 S — Siamese
 J — Javanese
 OA — Orang Asli
 (Original People)
 SK — Sikh, about half

TABLE VI
COMMUNITY TRANSFORMATION, 1952

STATE	DISTRICT	VILLAGE	PERCENTAGE OF OLD INHABITANTS IN PRESENT POPULATION
Johore	Kluang	Kahang	2
		Chamek	40
		Simpang Rengam	16
		Kangkar Bahru	40
		Parit Ya'ani	85
	Batu Pahat	Sri Medan	33
		Parit Sulong	70
		6th Mile Yong	
		Peng Rd.	35
	Segamat	Gemas Bahru	15
		Buloh Kasap	15
		Pekan Jawi	10
		Jementah	10
		Labis	10
		Bekok	12.5
		Cha-ah	7.5
	Kota Tinggi	Telok Sengat	70
		Pandan	20
		Plintong	30
		Banfoo	35
		Masai	35
		Pasir Puteh	80
Negri Sembilan	Kuala Pilah	Ayer Mawang	30
		Ulu Juasseh	60
		Pantai	15
	Jelebu	Petaling	61
		Durian Tipus	46
Selangor	Kuala Langat	Jenjarom	6
		Tanjong Sepat	43
	Ulu Langat	Broga	30
		Dengkil	31
	Kuala Lumpur	Sungei Chua	57
		Damansara	40
Perlis		Pauh	20
Pahang	Bentong	Sungei Dua	50
		Sungei Gapoi	40
		Jawi Jawi	40
		Simpang Pelangai	40
		Jambu Rias	20
		Benus	20
		Gemeti	20
		Batu Dua	20

Source: SNVFM.

two (RsA) villages is half Malay.

In Pahang the majority of the smaller villages (in the RsA and MV subgroups) are predominantly Malay. In Negri Sembilan and Perak the situation is similar to that in Johore—Malay villages are among the smallest in each subgroup.

The M.C.C. Survey gives some indication of what resettlement has meant to the demography of the different states in Malaya.¹⁶ Some states have been more transformed than others, but everywhere new nucleation of settlement and tremendously accelerated rates of urbanization have come about. New communities have sprung up where none existed before, and some of these, such as Jinjang in Selangor, have reached an enormous size.¹⁷ The change in population patterns wrought by the appearance of such communities is obvious. But the appearance of the villages also changed many older communities. (Recall that Table I showed 221 New Villages attached to older communities other than towns and another 46 villages attached to towns.)

Table VI, taken from *SNVFM*, gives the percentage of population in the present community which derived from the previously existing community. While the Table lists only 19 per cent (41) of all Category B villages (221), it is sufficient to give an indication of how older communities were transformed by the attachment to them of New Villages. The inhabitants from the old community averaged 33 per cent of the total population. In most instances the New Villages virtually engulfed the older settlements in terms of sheer numbers of people. However, the older settlements retained commercial and political influence; many had long served as centres for the very people that were resettled next to them. It was in these centres that the leadership and wealth were concentrated. Thus it is not surprising that these older communities, the M.C.C. Survey's repeated reference to their absorption into the villages notwithstanding, could often resist domination by the newer communities. One important result of attaching New Villages to older communities was to bring both community and village under the protection of the Central Government, to help

16. *Ibid.*, p. 22, "Table I—Proportion of Populations of States living in New Villages".

17. According to the M.C.C. Survey, the population of Jinjang in 1958 was 16,700.

the two develop together toward Local Council status and subsequent responsibility for local government, and thus to tie them more closely to the quickening pace of life in the country.

OCCUPATIONS

From a report drawn up in 1954 and submitted to members of the Federal Co-ordinating Committee for Work in New Villages, we gain some idea of the occupations followed by New Village inhabitants.¹⁸ A study of the data presented in Appendix II leads to the generalizations which follow.

Four hundred and twenty villages are reported in this occupation survey. Unfortunately, reports of 'other' occupations came in from 109 villages as not all the questionnaires were uniformly detailed. Appendix II gives 18 categories of occupations which in terms of New Village life could be considered exhaustive had all the questionnaires been similarly structured. Since this data results from the State War Executive Committees the lack of uniformity in the questionnaires is surprising. Nevertheless a clear pattern emerges.

Rubber tapping is reported from 357 out of 420 villages or 85.0 per cent of all villages. The second highest frequency is for farming, 212 out of 420 villages or 50.5 per cent. Not only is rubber tapping reported as an occupation in 34.5 more villages than is farming, but the percentages per village of population involved are consistently and significantly higher. There are, of course, exceptions: an A(LC) village in Selangor where 83 per cent of the populace is involved in farming as opposed to 49 per cent in rubber tapping; and four A(NV) villages in Pahang where farming is reported for 90-95 per cent of the population. Only in Kelantan is there a consistently low percentage of the populace engaged

18. This report was not titled or numbered. It was referred to in "Minutes of the Twentieth Meeting of the Federal Co-ordinating Committee for Work in New Villages" (Oct. 8, 1954, p. 6, item C) and also in "Minutes of the Twenty-first Meeting of the Federal Co-ordinating Committee for Work in New Villages" (Nov. 26, 1954, p. 6, item F). From these two sources we learn that the information for the report was collected by the State War Executive Committees in each State, (the organizations administering the programme of resettlement), and later compiled by the Defence Department. Hereafter it will be referred to as the 1954 Report.

in rubber tapping and in only one out of Kelantan's 14 villages is farming reported at all and in that instance for seven per cent of the populace. The east coast State of Kelantan is overwhelmingly Malay (91.61 per cent), 12 of its New Villages are Malay and one half Malay, and 13 of its 14 villages report *padi* planting for the majority of their population. It is the Chinese who are the vegetable farmers in Malaya and the planting of *padi*, the traditional poverty crop, is typically the domain of the Malay.

One must relate occupational reports both to the reality of ethnic identification with job function and to the economic geography of the country. In Johore, a key state in the rubber belt which in 1953 accounted for 26.4 per cent of all estate rubber acreage and 31.7 per cent of smallholding rubber acreage, the percentage of villages reporting rubber tapping and the percentage of population engaged is very much higher than Kedah which accounted for only 10.9 per cent of estate acreage and 8.6 per cent of rubber smallholdings.¹⁹ And whereas Johore has not one village engaged in *padi* planting, Kedah reports five villages with 100 per cent of the population involved.

Similarly one cannot look at mine work in terms of abstract percentages for although mining is reported from only 45 villages or but 10.7 per cent of all New Villages, in Perak which in 1950

19. Ed. Note:

TABLE A
RUBBER ACREAGE IN THE STATES OF MALAYA, 1953

State	Percentages	
	Estate Sector (2040.6 thousand acres)	Smallholding Sector (1705.7 thousand acres)
Johore	26.4	31.7
Selangor	17.4	10.9
Perak	14.5	18.3
Negri Sembilan	14.0	7.7
Kedah	10.9	8.6
Malacca	6.4	5.2
Penang	1.9	1.7
Kelantan	1.9	4.9
Trengganu	0.8	2.9
Perlis	0.1	0.3

Source: Lim Chong-Yah, *Economic Development of Modern Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1967) Appendix 4.4, p. 330.

accounted for 63.2 per cent of Malaya's tin production, 26 out of 112 villages or 23.2 per cent report mining. Selangor which produced 26.2 per cent of all tin, had 10 out of its 45 villages or 22.2 reporting mine work. Another seven States (Pahang, Negri Sembilan, Kedah, Perlis and Trengganu, in that descending order) only produced 10.6 per cent of 57,530 tons of tin in 1950 and these states collectively report only nine villages citing this occupation.²⁰

General labouring or what in Chinese is termed "odd-jobs" is reported for 58 villages or 13.8 per cent of all villages. In terms of distribution throughout the states, with the notable exceptions of the east coast States of Trengganu and Kelantan, general labouring follows after farming as a tertiary occupation with rubber tapping as the primary occupation. Significantly, while general labouring is reported for 13 villages out of 88 in Johore, 8 out of 36 in Negri Sembilan, 13 out of 33 in Kedah, 12 out of 63 in Pahang, in the tin states of Perak and Selangor the pattern is rubber tapping, farming, mine work, in that order, general labouring falling to a low of three out of 45 villages in Selangor and five out of 112 villages in Perak.

Smallholding (unfortunately we are not told whether planted with rubber or some other crop) is reported for only 38 villages or 9.0 per cent under survey. Smallholding is not reported from Malacca, Negri Sembilan, Selangor or Perlis and is reported for only one village in Johore.

To have understood the class structure of the villages (relevant to our discussion in Chapter X on the relationship of ownership to ideological-political party alignment) it would have been of greater value if we had known the percentage of populace working its own land whether it be in terms of rubber smallholding or vegetable farming.

Pig-breeding, an exclusively non-Muslim (non-Malay) occupation, is not reported as a source of livelihood in five States (Malacca, Negri Sembilan, Penang and Province Wellesley, Trengganu and Kelantan). Only 17 villages or 4.0 per cent of all villages report pig-breeding but pig-breeding might well be included within reports of farming.

But 19 villages, 4.5 per cent of all villages, report timber work.

Fishing as an occupation is reported from only 10 villages,

20. Ed. Note: Yip Yat Hoong, *The Development of the Tin Mining Industry of Malaya* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1969) Table 0-8, p. 27.

2.4 per cent of the sample, and is of paramount economic importance only in four B(LC) villages in Johore where 65 to 85 per cent of the people are so engaged; about half of the population in these villages is Malay. Despite the statistical insignificance of fishing as an occupation, village income is often supplemented and nutrition vastly improved through the existence of fish ponds. Village boys walking home with a string of fish are a familiar sight. Such small supplements to livelihood, be it catching fish or selling fruit from family trees or a housewife selling homemade cookies or candies to neighbouring children, while undoubtedly a contribution to family income, are not occupations within the meaning of this survey.

Estate labouring is reported for only two villages, one A(LC) village in Selangor and one B(LC) village in Kedah, which is manifestly absurd to anyone familiar with the New Villages. The probability is that estate labouring has been reported under the category general labouring or odd-jobs. The job definition 'estate labour' would properly include both those individuals directly employed by estates to carry out regular tasks and those who contract their individual or family's labour for a specific task.²¹ It is therefore also possible that those involved in estate labour on a contract basis considered themselves contractors of labour rather than estate labourers and accordingly reported themselves under the category 'others'.

Quarry work is reported for only one A(NV) village in the State of Penang and Province Wellesley with only three per cent of the populace involved.

What have been defined as 'non-Chinese occupations' might more accurately be termed 'Indian occupations': cattle rearing, bullock cart driving, and the growing of betel leaf. Only two villages so report: one B(NV) village in Selangor and one A(NV) village in Perak with the Perak village having 50 per cent of its population so engaged.

We have deliberately left till last our discussion of the following categories regardless of the number of villages involved: shop-keeping, including both the owning of shops and assisting in shops, reported by 65 villages (15.5 per cent); business-commercial

21. See p. 64.

affecting 45 villages (10.7 per cent); office-clerical, four villages (1.0 per cent); industry involving 32 villages (7.6 per cent) and factory work, four villages (1.0 per cent).

Only 65 villages or a mere 15.5 per cent of villages report shop-keeping as an occupation. Shopkeeping is not reported at all from the States of Malacca, Perlis, Trengganu and Kelantan. Where shopkeeping is reported the percentages seem to be inflated.

Forty-five villages, 10.7 per cent of the sample, report business-commercial occupations. Johore, close to the commercial centre of Singapore, has 16 villages so reporting, Malacca 14, Negri Sembilan 4, Selangor 1, Pahang 4 and Kelantan 6. The other five states do not report it at all.

Only four villages (1.0 per cent) report office-clerical: an A(NV) village in Selangor with 90 per cent of the populace so reporting; a C(Ab) village in Pahang with 30 per cent; a D(NV) village in Perak with 25 per cent; and another B(NV) village in Selangor for which no percentage is given.

Industry is reported from 32 villages and factory work from four, representing 7.6 and 1.0 per cent respectively of all villages under study. In industry, as with business-commercial, Johore leads having 16 villages involved. Perak follows with eight villages, Pahang with four villages, Negri Sembilan and Selangor with two villages each. Industry is on a very small scale and consists primarily of cottage industries, endeavours of the household, sometimes with a few employees from outside.²²

Factory work is given as an occupation in only four villages: one A(NV) village in Kedah with 80 per cent; two B(LC) villages in Johore and one A(LC) village in Perak. From experience of New Villages, I would judge these figures to be too low, possibly because of a confusion of factory work with industry when these figures were compiled. There are numerous other villages where a small portion of the population is engaged in factory work: processing tapioca, canning pineapples, or making tiles. Such factories may be at some distance beyond the village perimeter fence or within the village itself.

In comparing occupations for villages in different categories (A, B, C, and D), we must first note that there are no Category C

22. See pp. 62-63.

villages (villages attached to previously existing towns) in the States of Malacca, Negri Sembilan, Selangor, Kedah, Penang and Province Wellesley, Perlis, Trengganu and Kelantan. Thus to compare occupations in Category C with B or A would be to compare Johore with Perak and Pahang (9, 20 and 9 villages respectively). And Category D exists only in Perak with one village reporting.

If we analyze the data for rubber tapping, the occupation reported by the greatest number of villages, and with the overall highest percentages of population involved, we find that rubber tapping is reported for consistently higher percentages of the populace in Category B villages (villages built around previously existing communities) than Category A villages (entirely new settlements) in the States of Negri Sembilan, Selangor, Perak, Kedah, Penang and Province Wellesley, (Perlis has no category except B), Pahang and Kelantan. In Malacca Category A villages show significantly higher percentages than do Category B villages. The two categories cannot really be compared in Trengganu as it has only two villages: one Category A with 100 per cent of its population reporting rubber tapping and one Category B village with 95 per cent so reporting. In Johore the difference between Category A and Category B is not striking.

Farming shows a reverse pattern with the highest percentages of population involved coming from Category A villages (entirely new settlements). Again Malacca shows an opposite pattern, with Category B stronger in farming as Category A was stronger in rubber tapping. Trengganu reports no farming. Kelantan's Category B villages are overwhelmingly involved in *padi*.

In the 38 Category C villages in the States of Johore, Perak and Pahang, one does not discern a noticeably different pattern from Category B percentages of populace involved in rubber tapping.

In conclusion, rubber tapping, reported for more villages than any other occupation and with higher percentages of population employed, assumes a greater strength in Category B villages, i.e. those villages attached to previously existing small communities, whereas Category A villages, which were entirely new settlements, have higher percentages of their population involved in farming than Category B villages. And Category C villages, attached to

previously existing towns, do not reflect any significant variations from Category B villages, attached to previously existing small communities.

APPLICATIONS FOR TITLES AND AVAILABILITY OF LAND

A study of applications for land titles in the New Villages detailed in Appendix III, reveals some interesting patterns. In general, a greater percentage of LC villages applied for titles than NV Villages.²³ (Exceptions to this are the Kelantan New Villages and the B(NV) villages in Pahang; these groups involve villages which are wholly or predominantly Malay in composition and seemingly have a different attitude toward the Government and land ownership.) Application for titles to land in RsA villages is even more rare than in NV villages. This is not surprising as at the time these statistics were collected, many RsA villages had recently been uprooted and resettled for a second time. This process disrupted their normal pattern of life and work and probably weakened their confidence in the future.

It is not as easy to understand why LC villages should consistently present more applications for title than NV villages. One might conclude that the number of applications for title was used as an indication of whether or not a village was ready for LC status. However, LC villages in some states presented fewer applications for the title than did NV villages.

A more probable explanation is that LC village organizational structure was better equipped to promote applications for title than that of NV villages and that government authorities worked through the Council in a concerted drive to promote applications for land title so as to stabilize the villages.

Regarding the volume of title applications, the 1954 Report²⁴ contains such statements as "agreed to apply for title during last Village Committee Meeting 100 per cent" (referring to a village in Pahang); "100 per cent applied for titles"; and "satisfactory".

23. Ed. Note: I found that out of a total of 179 LC villages 101 or 56.42 per cent presented applications for titles whereas out of a total of 154 NV villages only 61 or 39.61 per cent presented applications.

24. See note 18.

Applications for titles were not accepted until the Government actually owned the land, as is evident in the following statements in the 1954 Report: "application not possible as land not finally acquired" (referring to a village in Perak); "not applicable as site has not been acquired by Government" (a village in Province Wellesley). However, some settlements were so crowded that applications for title were not encouraged even when the Government owned the land. The District of Bentong (Pahang) report, for example, repeatedly complains that the villages are too crowded: "Lots are only 20' x 30'."

Application for permanent title was often preceded by the granting of a "T.O.L.", or Temporary Occupation License, renewable each year at a low fee. The District of Cameron Highlands' (Pahang) report states: "All land for vegetable growing is held on T.O.L. Very few applications for permanent title made because no suitable form of title offered, but this is being considered now in Cameron Highlands District Plan." This was in 1954. As late as 1959-60, the Government was moving village-by-village through the Kinta District (Perak), surveying and offering permanent titles.²⁵ And in 1961, land in some Selangor New Villages was still held on Temporary Occupation License.

The 1954 Report also comments on availability of land for expansion. The tables in Appendix IV present these judgements about availability of land in the individual villages.²⁶ The basis on which land was judged to be sufficient or insufficient seems to have been left to the discretion of the individual officials—no set of criteria is given.

25. Information obtained from the Assistant District Officer of Kinta District, Land Office, Ipoh, Perak.

26. Ed. Note: In using the data in Appendix IV it would be prudent to add Category 'A' ("available but no indication whether amount is sufficient or insufficient") to Categories 'I' ("insufficient") and 'N' ("not available") when assessing what proportion of villages may not have had sufficient land for expansion. Without definition even the category 'S' ("sufficient") is suspect. From the 1954 Report I found that out of 429 villages 278 or 64.80 per cent were judged to have "sufficient" land; 38 or 8.86 had land "available"; 70 or 16.32 had "insufficient" land; 30 or 6.99 had "no" land and no judgment was made on 13 villages. When we relate numbers of villages to the populations living within them, we find that 58.07 per cent of New Village population lived in villages with "sufficient" land while 11.24, 22.17, and 7.87, respectively, resided in villages with land "available", "insufficient", "nil", and another 0.65 per cent were in villages for which no judgments were made.

Some of the actual comments regarding availability of land are of interest:

"Insufficient — Alienated Malay Land" (Pahang).

"Insufficient — Ample with acquisition of rubber land" (Pahang).

"Insufficient — Land available elsewhere" (in town council area — Pahang).

"Insufficient — Available on acquisition" (Pahang).

"Nil unless acquired" (Selangor).

"Yes, but no State Land" (Johore).

"As adjacent mining land is worked out the village can be expanded" (Selangor).

"Insufficient — Acquisition difficult" (Negri Sembilan).

"Sufficient — If acquisition is authorized" (Negri Sembilan).

"Sufficient — But surrounding land is mining leases" (Perak).

"Surrounded entirely by smallholdings" (Perak).²⁷

Two problems are reflected in these comments. For reasons of security, the Government located villages in areas where much of the land was already privately owned. Purchase of this land was so costly that it necessarily proceeded at a slow rate. Secondly, much land was already set aside either as Malay Reservation or for mining. It would be politically inexpedient for the Government to lift any portion of a Malay Reservation and it would be economically unwise to allow mining land to be alienated for other purposes.²⁸

In the rural areas one finds the land situation somewhat improved. Of the B villages, 24.3 per cent have insufficient or no land available whereas in the A villages the percentage drops to 19 per cent. Land shortages in the more isolated villages seem easier to remedy than in those located near urban areas, as it is simpler in terms of procedure to purchase land than to take back alienated land or to adjust town boundaries.

DIALECT COMPOSITION

The following discussion will be limited to the Chinese population of the New Villages. Throughout the country the villages

27. 1954 Report, *op. cit.*

28. Tin is one of the chief sources of revenue in Malaya's largely undiversified economy.

are complex in dialect make-up.²⁹

This complexity has resulted from a three-fold process. First, when the Chinese settled in Malaya, no single dialect group ever completely dominated a district or larger political unit. The clan, a grouping which actually cut across dialect lines, was geographically spread out. With the breakdown of clan solidarity through emigration, no single-clan villages developed, though such villages had existed in China.³⁰ Nevertheless, people of like dialect did tend to cluster together. Kuala Lumpur, the capital city, developed primarily as a Cantonese town; Seremban, as a Hokkien town, etc. The Hakkas and Teochius were primarily rural people—farmers or tin miners.

Secondly, the depression of the 1930's and the subsequent Japanese occupation resulting in the flight of many Chinese from urban centers greatly complicated the composition of the rural population. Urban household units, already small, were broken up still further, each individual unit developing an intensive small scale economy suitable to the maintenance of its own livelihood.³¹ An assistant of the author described the settlement pattern at that time: scattered throughout the rubber plantations and along the edge of the jungle were the individual households, each one on its own small rise of ground; one's closest neighbours were perhaps, some distance away.

The third stage in the process was resettlement. Having been separated earlier, relatives and kinsfolk were now grouped into separate communities and political units. The population involved seems to have been assigned to resettlement areas according to physical propinquity with no attempt to balance this with dialect affinity or kinship ties. It may well be fortunate that such attempts were never made, as even the principle of resettling by ethnic origin has been attacked.³²

29. The M.C.C. Survey, p. 7, states that many Chinese New Villages are one dialect communities. This is an oversimplification.

30. Maurice Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China* (London: Athlone Press, 1958) pp. I ff.

31. Maurice Freedman, *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957) p. 30.

32. The M.C.C. Survey, p. 7. Paul Markandan, *The Problem of the New Villages in Malaya* (Singapore: Donald Moore, 1954) pp. 22-23, and J. R. Fleming, "Experiment in Democracy", *International Review of Missions*, Vol. 45 (1956) pp. 101-108.

Table VII shows the dialect composition of 111 villages. The dialect complexity is not misleading; it is not isolated individuals from different dialect groups that swell the total count for a village. In most villages three or more dialects are represented in significant numbers, a significant number being defined as six or more people. Only 10 out of the 111 villages that reported had fewer than three groups represented in significant numbers, while 31 villages had five or six groups. Further, the figures for Perak reveal that in four out of the five districts the number of languages spoken by more than five people differs by only one from the total number of languages spoken. This means that on the average each of these villages has only one dialect that is spoken by a relatively insignificant number of people.

Few conclusions can be drawn for Selangor and Negri Sembilan, as the '*' category may include several dialect groups represented in insignificant numbers and/or groups of sufficient numbers to be included in the next column. A village-by-village count revealed at least 27 villages in which one dialect group is represented by five or less people, and two villages where there are two such groups. There is a large number of villages where a category of 'others' conceals the smaller numbers in the villages. (There are 26 of these cases for which figures in the two columns are the same except for the presence of a '*' sign). This raises the possibility that almost half of the villages in the survey may include one or more groups represented by five or fewer persons. All this bears witness to the increased atomization of groups through the process of resettlement.

There seems to be some tendency for major groups to assume greater dominance in smaller villages than in larger ones. A village-by-village count revealed that in only seven of the larger villages does the major group constitute 80 per cent or more of the population; but this percentage is attained in 21 of the smaller villages. Since there are 78 villages classed as small and 33 as large, this means that in 27 per cent of the small villages the major language group comprises 80 per cent of the population while this is true in 21 per cent of the large villages. The percentage of villages in which the major language group comprises 65 per cent of the population can be determined: for large villages it is 30 per cent while for small

DIALECT COMPOSITION OF 111 VILLAGES IN SIX STATES BY DISTRICT

Size of Villages: Over 1500 (+) or under 1500 (-), preceded by number of villages of that size.
 Number of languages spoken in each district: * indicates the presence of dialects not identified in reports.

Te — Teochiu Hak — Hakka Ho — Hokkien Ko — Kwongsai C — Cantonese

STATE & DISTRICT	NO. OF VILLAGES	SIZE OF VILLAGES	LANGUAGES SPOKEN	LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY MORE THAN 5 PEOPLE**	LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY MORE THAN 100 PEOPLE	LARGEST GROUP IS WHAT % OF POPULATION	NUMBER OF VILLAGES — DOMINANT DIALECT
NEGERI SEMBILAN							
Seremban	11	3+	4*	3	2	69	7-Hak 4-C
Kuala Pilah	5	5-	4*	3	1 (0.8)	52	3-Hak 1-C
Port Dickson	1	1-	4*	3	1	52	1-Ho
Tampin	4	4-	4*	3	2	57	1-Hak 2-Ho
Jejebu	9	2+	3*	3	2 (1.6)	71	8-Hak 1-C
SELANGOR							
Ulu Langat	11	6+	3*	3	2 (1.9)	73	6-Hak 4-Ho
Kuala Langat	2	1+	4*	4	3 (2.5)	77	2-Ho 1-C
PERAK							
Upper Perak	4	1+	6	5	3 (2.5)	67	4-Ko 2-C
Kuala Kangsar	4	1+	6	6	2	46	2-Hak 8-C
Kinta	18	13+	5	4	2 (2.3)	61	9-Hak 1-Te
Lower Perak	1	1-	4	3	1	85	1-Te
Batang Padang	7	7-	5	4	2 (1.7)	60	4-Hak 2-C
KEDAH							
North Kedah	4	4-	3	3	1 (0.5)	76	2-Te 2-Hak
Central Kedah	8	8-	4	4	0 (0.4)	62	5-Te 3-Hak
South Kedah	12	12-	4	4	1 (1.1)	63	7-Te 3-Hak
PENANG & P. W.							
Nibong Tebal	4	2+	4*	4	2 (1.5)	84	4-Te
Bukit Mertajam	5	4+	5	5	3 (2.6)	55	2-Te 3-Hak
PERLIS	1	1-	4	4	1	93	1-Te

* Some dialects spoken which were not identified individually; average number of dialects spoken in villages of this district is given.

** As family units in Malaya are small, it is felt that if a dialect is spoken by more than five people, it is the tongue of more than one family unit.

Source: Figures obtained through the State War Executive Committee of each State.

villages it is 49 per cent.

The last column indicates regional variation in dialect groupings in Chinese New Village populations. In the northern states of Perlis and Kedah, leadership alternates between Teochiu (Te) and Hakka (Hak), with Teochiu more common. Only in the southern part of Kedah does Hokkien (Ho) assume prominence. In Bukit Mertajam, Hakka has become more common than Teochiu, and further south Teochiu appears only infrequently. Kwongsai (Ko) has one area of considerable strength, Upper Perak. The rest of Perak is predominantly Hakka and Cantonese (C), with Teochiu sporadically dominating. Hokkien becomes much stronger in Selangor, where, on an average (and even in the case of individual villages), it is of equal importance with Hakka, Cantonese being not nearly so prominent as in Perak. In Negri Sembilan the balance between the different groups changes again.

The villages surveyed (111) do not constitute a good sample of the total number (558) as the states of Johore and Pahang, both of which contain a large number of New Villages, are not represented. However, it is notable that the regional variations indicated above very nearly parallel the broad regional differences in the whole Chinese population of Malaya. New Village population is, therefore, broadly representative in dialect of the entire Malayan Chinese population.

VILLAGE STABILITY

The 1954 Report³³ rated the expected degree of permanency of the New Villages under the heading 'Development Stage', a term sufficiently unclear as to be called into question when the report was presented to the Federal Coordinating Committee for Work in New Villages.³⁴ The classifications were: supposedly permanent, intermediate, or supposedly impermanent and likely to disappear with the Emergency (indicated by P, I, and T respec-

33. See note 18.

34. See "Minutes of the Twentieth Meeting of the Federal Co-ordinating Committee for Work in New Villages", Oct. 8, 1954, p. 6, item "C"; "Minutes of the Twenty-First Meeting of the Federal Co-ordinating Committee for Work in New Villages," Nov. 26, 1954, p. 6, item "F".

tively). No indication is given of the method of judging to which category a given village belonged, whether definite criteria were consistently applied or whether individual officials in different areas simply exercised their own judgment. This problem in interpretation is evidenced by the following remark regarding certain areas in Selangor:

In the case of the three New Village areas marked with an asterisk it should be noted that land titles have not been applied for as the houses are constructed mainly on alienated land. Nevertheless, I consider the villages will be permanent developments and therefore in Column 6 have graded them 'A' ['P'].³⁵

A total of 416 villages were rated as P, I, or T, and the percentages in each category are given by state in Table VIII. The Government estimated that about two-thirds of the villages would be permanent, a view judged as over-optimistic by many non-Government people prior to the lifting of the emergency restrictions.

TABLE VIII
COMPARISON OF 1954 REPORT EXPECTATIONS
AND 1958 M.C.C. SURVEY ON GROWTH RATES

STATE	1954 REPORT, % P	MCC SURVEY GROWTH RATE, 8% OR MORE UP	1954 REPORT, % I	MCC SURVEY GROWTH RATE, 'STATIC'	1954 REPORT, % T	MCC SURVEY GROWTH RATE, 8% OR MORE DOWN
Johore	63.2	66.3	25.3	29.1	11.5	4.6
Negri Sembilan	41.7	52.8	38.9	27.8	19.4	19.4
Selangor	71.1	80.4	22.2	17.4	6.7	2.2
Perak	83.6	49.5	13.6	32.1	2.7	18.3
Kedah	71.9	50.0	25.0	40.9	3.1	9.1
Pahang	34.9	46.0	47.6	33.3	17.5	20.7
TOTAL	63.0	59.4	26.5	28.6	9.4	12.0

P — Permanent. I — Intermediate.

T — Temporary, expect to disappear with the Emergency.

Source: Calculated from the M.C.C. Survey and the 1954 Report.

The number of villages expected to be permanent in Kedah, Perak, and Selangor was decidedly above the national average, which can be easily understood by recalling that the security condi-

35. 1954 Report, *op. cit.*

derations which resulted in the creation of New Villages had higher priority in those western states which were the more heavily populated areas of rubber and tin production, in addition to having a squatter problem.

In Appendix V expected degree of permanency of villages is shown. When they are classified by type of government, two broad patterns are noted: first, a greater percentage of LC villages are rated as supposedly permanent than NV villages, and secondly a greater percentage of B villages (attached to previously existing villages) were expected to be permanent than A villages (isolated).³⁶

We may attempt to see wherein the expectations of the 1954 Report were actually fulfilled by comparing these expectations with the M.C.C. Survey's compilation of growth rates for the same villages over a period of several years. Growth rates were calculated from knowledge of the original size of villages and their size at the time of the M.C.C. Survey. We have grouped the villages as follows: villages whose growth rate was more than 8 per cent, villages whose population decreased by more than 8 per cent, and villages whose population did not increase or decrease by more than 8 per cent (termed static).³⁷ The percentages of villages in these categories is displayed alongside Government expectations in Table VIII on the assumption that a high growth rate may be read as an indication of permanency, and a decrease in population as corresponding to a temporary village. It is a bit harder to establish a correspondence between villages with a 'static' growth rate and villages classed as 'intermediate' by the Government, since a village may be permanent, even though its population does not increase,

36. Ed. Note: In the 1954 Report I counted 162 LC villages (excluding Category 'C' in Perak) of which 123 or 75.93 per cent were predicted by Government to be 'permanent' whereas of 169 NV villages 94 or 55.62 per cent were so considered. Category 'A' includes 222 villages of which 133 or 59.91 per cent were thought to be 'permanent'; Category 'B' held 166 villages of which 109 or 65.66 per cent were classified as 'permanent'.

37. Ed. Note: These divisions fail to take into account the natural increase in population which for the Chinese in Malaya was 12.5 per cent from 1954-1958 (1954 being the year of the Government's predictions and 1958 being the year of the M.C.C.'s Survey). In the absence of population increase figures specifically for Chinese in New Villages, it would behove us to assume 12.5 per cent rather than any arbitrary percentage before calculating growth in terms of inward migration. It is quite possible that villages now included in the eight per cent or more growth category actually fell below the average population increase for Chinese in Malaya in the years 1954-1958 to the extent of 4.5 per cent.

but as birth rates in New Villages were high,³⁸ a 'static' population figure would seem to indicate that some villagers were leaving the village. It is, of course, acknowledged that rate of growth is not an infallible indicator of the state of permanency of a village; but it does represent one means of comparing the 1954 Report expectations with later development of villages.³⁹

In Kedah and Perak the 1958 growth rates indicate that villages fell short of Government expectations. The interpretation of the percentages for Kedah is somewhat uncertain due to ten 'absorbed' villages for which growth rates cannot be calculated. Villages in Johore and Selangor did better than expected. Pahang and Negri Sembilan, predicted to be below average, also bettered their position — no significant change is observed in the group expected to be temporary, but there was a better-than-expected performance from the intermediate group.⁴⁰

One could speculate as to the cause of the unexpectedly poor performance of the middle group in the two northern states. The later relaxation of emergency restrictions in those states, and the depression in the tin mining industry might be among the reasons given.

The figures in this table do not, however, give any indication as to whether the P villages of the 1954 Report are actually the same villages as those which showed a growth rate larger than 8 per cent in 1958. In fact, not all are the same. Of the 264 original P villages, 20 per cent were 'static' in 1958 and 10 per cent had declines of more than 8 per cent. Of the original 110 I villages, 42 per cent had growth rates higher than 8 per cent in 1958, and 15 per cent had significant declines. And of the 42 villages originally classed as temporary, 43 per cent were 'static' and 38 per cent had growth rates of over 8 per cent in 1958. In other words, 174 out of 416 villages, or 42 per cent, did not show a growth rate consistent with the Government's expectations. In view of such a significant

38. Ed. Note: see Kernial Singh, p. LViii.

39. Ed. Note: See p. LVii for 1962 data and pilot survey findings in Johore, Perak and Pahang.

40. Ed. Note: The A(NV) villages in Perak are the group most disappointing of expectation. The M.C.C. Survey, p. 6, attributes this to lack of gainful employment. Two of these villages are among those on which the author's research is based.

departure from expectation, it is no more than coincidental that the percentages shown in the 'Total' columns of Table VIII (the comparison between former expectations and later growth rates) correlate as closely as they do.

The above analysis is based only on those 264 villages for which the Government made a judgement regarding expected degree of permanency. The M.C.C. Survey includes a summary of the growth rate of 524 villages at the time of the survey and the breakdown is as follows: 306 villages, or 58.4 per cent have shown a growth rate of 5 per cent or more; 146 villages, or 27.9 per cent have remained 'static' (growth rate of +4 to -4 per cent); and 72 or 13.7 per cent have had a population decline of 5 per cent or more. Note that the category 'static' has been considerably narrowed. It seems that the addition of 260 villages does not significantly change the earlier pattern.

If one looked only at the percentage of villages in the individual growth rate categories and compared these with government expectations the temptation would be to conclude that in 1958 New Villages were developing along the lines that a qualified observer might have predicted a few years earlier.

This should be understood only in very broad terms, however, as the figures conceal the fact that though the overall percentages seem to bear out expectations, 42 per cent of the individual villages do not; in fact, 43 villages actually moved from one end of the continuum to the other.⁴¹

VILLAGE NAMES

We will explore the question of how a village identifies itself. A list of the Chinese names of the New Villages was requested from the staff of the Nanyang Siang Pau Press in Kuala Lumpur.⁴² A total of 272 villages were named (67 per cent of the primarily Chinese New Villages in Malaya). This list was then examined for the following: simple transliterations into Chinese of the sound of the official (usually Malay) name, combination of transliterations

41. Raw data is found in the final column of Appendix V.

42. Mr. Lee Yoong Sin, a staff member, supplied standard names used in the newspaper. In the majority of the cases they were also the names used by the villagers themselves. Mr. Lee also supplied colloquial names used by villagers.

with new meaning, translation rather than transliteration of the official name, and, finally, an entirely new Chinese name.

Of the 272 villages, 219 (81 per cent) are known by simple transliterations of the official name. Although some place names transliterated into Chinese refer to outstanding topographical features, e.g. *gunong* (mountain) in Gunong Rapat, or *kuala* (river mouth) in Kuala Kuang and some place names refer to roads or milestones, e.g. Cheras 9th Mile, more often the meanings of these names are lost to those not familiar with the Malay language; thus the name of their village conveys no particular meaning to the Chinese inhabitants.

The names were examined for any difference in the pattern of naming entirely new villages and villages attached to already existing settlements, to see if the latter would take the name of that community for their own name. One might expect Chinese names for these established communities to have been standardized by long usage and consequently that more of such names would convey real meaning. In this class of villages are names such as 蜜洞 *mi tung* (honey cave) and 九洞 *chiu tung* (nine caves); but although communities have taken standardized names for themselves and a limited number of meaningful names have evolved, there are no more names conveying meaning than in the case of the isolated villages.

Six of the isolated villages have official Chinese names (the official romanization is given):

馬身	Mah San (body of the horse)
生利	Sang Lee (benefit of life)
南發園	Nam Fatt Yin (prosperity-issuing-in-the-south plantation)
適耕莊	Sekinchan A (place good for farming)
適耕莊	Sekinchan B (place good for farming)
適耕莊	Sekinchan C (place good for farming)

Only two Chinese names are found among the villages that have taken their names from other communities:

永平	Yong Peng (everlasting peace)
新咖啡山	New Kopisan (new coffee hill); 咖啡 is an odd mixture —a transliteration of the English word, coffee. The Chinese characters are then romanized as <i>kopi</i> , followed by a romanization of the Chinese

character 山 (hill).

The kinds of meaningful names chosen for the isolated villages are quite similar to those given to older communities. The character 港 *kang*, (port or haven) is very popular in both groups of villages:

三合港 *san ho kang* (place where three rivers merge)

大港 *ta kang* (big port)

新港 *sin kang* (new haven)

致和新港 *tzü ho sin kang* (a new haven which brings peace to people)

Numbers of villages are identified by prominent geographical features:

嶺嘉 *ling chia* (pretty mountain peak)

鐵山 *t'ieh shan* (iron hill)

烏山脚 *wu shan chio* (foot of crow hill)

仁嶺 *jên ling* (lovely mountain)

泉溝尾 *chiuan kou wei* (end of the drain of a spring)

熱水壺 *je shui hu* (hot water kettle—a translation of Hot Springs)

Mah San, mentioned earlier, refers to a particular shape of one of the nearby slopes. 紅泥山 *hung ni shan* (red earth hill) is one of the few names that actually translates the meaning of the Malay name, *Bukit Merah*.

It is of interest to note that some names of villages that were taken from older communities derive from China (the more isolated villages include no such names). For example: 烏山脚 *wu shan chio* (foot of crow hill). According to Mr. Sie Ping-teh, who has helped interpret most of these names, many mountains in China were known as 'the place where crows gather'. Also 四脚亭 *szü chio t'ing* (four-legged stopping place). Because the traveller in China walked many miles, simple shelters consisting of a small roof on four posts were erected at regular intervals, where the traveller might pause to rest. The same character, 亭 *t'ing*, is used for the name of another village in this group: 高亭 *kao t'ing* (the high stopping place).

Two of these village names adopted from the older communities refer to the emigration from China: 安南 *an nan* (settled in the south). This term was first used for the settling of Chinese in mainland Southeast Asia; 南亞 *nan-ya* (Southeast Asia).

We have seen that the majority of Chinese names are simple

transliterations of names in other languages. In a few cases the only name which a village has is its Chinese name. A greater number of villages have an official Malay or English name, while a Chinese name entirely dissimilar from it in sound is used colloquially throughout the area. For example, Jelapang is known colloquially as 九洞 *chiu tung* (nine caves) and Kanthan Bahru is known as 拱橋 *kung ch'iao* (bridge). This process of ascribing colloquial names is still going on. Bemban, an isolated village, originally had only one name, a transliteration of the sound of Bemban. But locally this town is now known as 葡萄園 *p'u t'ao yuan* (vineyard).

In other cases the Chinese names combine transliteration of sound with new meaning. 四脚亭 *szü chio t'ing* and 高亭 *kao t'ing*, are good transliterations of the Malay names, Sri Gading and Kodiang. Perhaps the name which both transliterates and gives new meaning evolves in two stages, the first being a name which is only a transliteration—e.g., Jementah was first named 治文打, a combination which has no meaning, only sound. In the second stage, the sound is retained but, by popular usage, different characters, this time meaningful, are employed. Jementah's second name is 利民達 *li min ta* (the way of striving towards the benefit of man). Another example is Jinjang, the largest New Village in Malaya. Originally called 曾江 *ts'eng chiang* (no meaning in this context, though this particular combination could conceivably have meaning in another context), it is now known as 增光 *tseng kuang* (a term traditionally used to thank another for the honour of being the humble recipient of his favour. It is usually translated 'honour').

In these ways then, new and meaningful names are evolved.

II

THE FAMILY AND WIDER KIN GROUPS

*The Spring Wind should speed the traveller but, instead, it
grieves me;*

*On a strange road I meet Spring but deem it not to be Spring.
I send forth words to the orioles that their songs should not
grow weary,*

*For beyond the horizon there is yet one who has not returned
home.*

HSÜ T'ÜNG

To my younger brother.

THE FAMILY AND SOCIAL GROUPS

The family is the basic unit of society. It is the group of people who are related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption. The family is the first and most important social group that a person belongs to. It is the family that teaches a child the values and customs of the society. The family is also the source of love, support, and protection for its members. Without a family, a person would be lost and alone in the world.

1921-1922
1923-1924

II

THE FAMILY AND WIDER KIN GROUPS¹

INTRODUCTION

TRADITIONAL Chinese social structure places primary emphasis on kinship relations. Its strongly patrilineal organization, extended family system, and other features of its social organization are well documented. It is proposed to begin this study of New Village community life by reviewing the broader kinship ties, discovering to what degree these communities reproduce traditional features of Chinese social organization, and in what direction they appear to be moving. In Chapter Three we will discuss the small nuclear family, its life and relationships, as exemplified by these villages under study. With this background we shall be better prepared to understand much of New Village social life and community organization.

One must not forget that even the oldest New Villages were established little more than twenty years ago — a shallow base upon which to judge any development. Further, the villages from which our information is drawn, though representative of wide variations in dialect composition, occupational affiliation, and economic status, nevertheless constitute but 2.5 per cent of those New Villages which are primarily Chinese in composition; thus it cannot be assumed that all other New Villages necessarily fall within the limit of the variations given here.

DIVIDED FAMILIES

Kinship groupings among overseas Chinese communities are restricted in size. These restricted groupings were further divided by the resettlement of Chinese into New Villages. Kin groups

1. For kinship terminology employed in Malaya, see: Maurice Freedman, *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore*, pp. 81-87.

and even immediate families are sometimes scattered as far apart as China and Malaya. In every village there are several cases where the older generation has returned to China, but more often it is a son and his family who have migrated, leaving the parents behind in Malaya. This happened to an elderly couple, Cen Sin Sang and his wife, in Village A.² Only one of their daughters and her husband remained. Shortly, however, unsettled conditions caused the remaining daughter to return to China, leaving her parents with only a few distant relatives in the capital city nearby, and in one or two scattered places. Then there is the widow in Village O, Chirn Pak Me, living with her second son and his wife, her eldest son having returned with his family to China. Such examples, however, are found in no more than five to ten percent of the households visited.

Far more frequently, individual family units, and sometimes even the different generations within a single unit, are scattered within Malaya. Chirn Pak Me has, in addition to her son in China, a married daughter living about 100 miles away from her. Wong A Pak, an elderly man in Village B, has an older brother living in Village A five miles away, and an uncle living in a larger town more than 170 miles away. Yap Li Lian, a young woman who lives in Village A with her widowed mother, has a large number of distant relatives, both patrilineal and matrilineal; a few are city-dwellers but most are scattered throughout New Villages within the same State. Very few live in the same village. Ho Tien Kim and his wife (Village A) are separated from their married sons by only a few miles. The in-laws of a young widow of Village A live in Kuala Lumpur itself, while her own mother, also widowed, lives in another part of the same village. An aunt of a language teacher at the school where the writer studied lives by herself in a large New Village some miles away. The mother and sister of a young family man in Village A live about 30 miles away. The larger family is thus separated, living in different communities, the intervening distances being from one to over 100 miles. What relations exist between the separated family members in terms of visiting and economic assistance?

There is sometimes little contact between separated family members. Chirn Pak Me may not see her daughter for more than

2. See Appendix VIII.

a year at a time, neither she nor her daughter being able to afford the trip. However, the problem is not always economic. Cen Sin Sang and his wife declare that their relatives, including those living only ten miles away, seldom visit, even on New Year's Day.³ Wong A Pak has visited his distant uncle only once, though he corresponds with him; his older brother's daughter, married and living with her family in Village A, never visits him.⁴ Yap Li Lian said that she rarely sees relatives living in more distant towns, and those living in New Villages within the same district she sees but once a month at most.

In some cases, however, visits are frequent between relatives not living far apart. A young widow in Village A often visits both her mother and her in-laws but, preferring independence, remains in the house built for her by her husband despite the economic hardship. The language teacher visits his paternal aunt regularly, and when a younger brother returned from study overseas, the two immediately went to pay their respects to the aunt. Ho Tien Kim and his wife maintain close contact with their sons' families living nearby. Ho spends most of his time with his sons helping them run a store, returning at regular intervals to assist in supervising various small enterprises run by his wife. A young family man in Village A has a brother managing a temple in Kuala Lumpur. He and his family frequently visit the brother, often staying overnight. Another young man and his family from the same village regularly visit his mother and sister many miles away. The mother, in turn, often visits her son, usually remaining for a few days at a time. A young crippled boy from this village now lives with his elder sister and her husband in Kuala Lumpur, attending a secondary school there. Frequent contact is maintained between the sister and her parents and the boy returns home on all holidays and festivals.

It is apparent that there is no consistent pattern into which all relationships fall. The form of the relationship varies from the extreme of no contact whatsoever to that of alternating residence. However, a few characteristics do commonly appear. Most frequent contact is maintained by young married couples with children

3. The importance of visiting on Chinese New Year's Day will be discussed in another context, pp. 96-98.

4. Her husband declares that she never visits any of her relatives, not even on the New Year festival, although many live quite close.

and their most immediate relatives, usually parents of either husband or wife.⁵ Among older people there is little contact, and an older couple without children tend to be isolated from their kin.

Contact with only the most immediate relatives is true also of those who correspond with relatives in China. Cen Sin Sang and his wife only correspond regularly with their children; Wong A Pak writes fairly frequently to close relatives in China; and the young people whose parents have returned to China maintain contact only with them.

It is the author's impression that little aid is sent from Malaya to relatives in China. Cen Sin Sang acknowledges that from the tenor of his children's letters life must be extremely hard, but he and his wife can spare nothing from their relatively poor livelihood. Wong A Pak, a comparatively poor rubber tapper, manages to send a few things to his relatives in China, but he does so hesitantly, not knowing how much will reach the addresses.⁶ The pattern of assistance parallels that of visiting and correspondence. A Chinese colleague who worked in Village C and who is himself from the same region in China from which the majority of the villagers originate, reports instances where paternal uncles and aunts are assisted but regrets that assistance is restricted to so small a group. He further laments the lack of aid to unrelated persons of the same surname.⁷

More aid flows between relatives within Malaya itself. A middle-aged widow with a son in Village A leads a bare existence. The wife of her younger brother who lives in a nearby city frequently gives her used clothing and other things for the son. The older sister and brother-in-law of the crippled boy from the same village are generous in their help to him. The young widow of this village receives support from her in-laws, both those living in the nearby city and in the village itself.

5. Fei Hsiao-t'ung, *Peasant Life in China* (London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd., 1939) p. 85, says: "When people move away, they will no longer take an active part in the kinship group. After one or more generations, kinship ties cease to function."

6. T'ien Ju-k'ang, *The Chinese of Sarawak* (London: Lund Humphries, 1953) p. 83, notes that rural people and labourers in Sarawak are too poor to send money home to China—while the rich feel that the political situation is too risky!

7. See Freedman, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China*, p. 17, for confirmation of this pattern from a different area.

But in times of financial stress, a relative's request for assistance may strain the relationship. A young woman in Village M whose economic situation permitted her to give help to no one claimed to have got a black eye in a fight with relatives who asked for aid. A middle-aged widow in the same village found herself in need of immediate medical attention late one evening. A missionary doctor was prepared to take her to the hospital in his car but there was no one in the village to whom she felt she could entrust her children, and although she had relatives in a nearby town, she was hesitant to trouble them at that late hour.

Assistance to kinsfolk will be referred to in other contexts. However, enough has been said to show that where economic standards allow, as in Village A, those in need are usually assisted. However, in villages such as M, where the economic level is comparatively low, one is not permitted to make too many demands on the resources of relatives.⁸

TRADITIONAL TIES

Some events in the life cycle of individuals and families have traditionally brought together groups of kin in such ways as to emphasize their cohesion. We will discuss arrangements for marriage and customs relating to birth and its announcement. Customs surrounding death will be dealt with in Chapter Three, as, in those New Villages known to the writer, tradition seem to have been considerably altered.

Marriage

It had been traditional in China for marriage to be arranged by the parents concerned without necessarily respecting the preferences of the young man and woman. The only required reference was to the horoscope and to other semi-magical indicators of the possible success of the marriage. 'Go-betweens' were employed in arranging the match, and bride-wealth was given. However, custom was not invariable, and with the advent

8. More cases will be cited (pp. 57-58) to show that the two examples given for Village M do not represent exceptions to general practice.

of Republican China many young people demanded the free choice of a marriage partner⁹.

Among the Chinese in Malaya many forms of marriage are followed. Young couples are known to simply publish an announcement of marriage in the newspaper. Others take a trip as man and wife, which constitutes an announcement. Such urban forms of marriage have not occurred in the villages in which the writer worked. Resources allowing, the most popular form of marriage in New Villages is, in the externals of dress, influenced by the so-called 'New Wedding', but in many other aspects is still traditionally Chinese.¹⁰ The custom includes some form of 'arrangement'. In a few cases the match was fully arranged, a 'go-between' concluding the agreement between the two families and the young couple not meeting until the time of the engagement.

More frequently the marriage is 'arranged' according to the preference of the son or daughter. One young man's father talked about his attitude to his son's marriage. "Of course the parents of the boy and the girl should arrange the match. The only proper marriage is one in which the parents play this part." He was asked: "Does this mean that you choose the boy's wife for him?" "Not necessarily," he answered, "the matter is arranged quite conveniently. If he has a preference for a particular girl, we will just arrange things to suit that preference."¹¹

The marriage possibilities open to New Village young people are best appreciated when we learn that there are no single-clan villages in Malaya and thus marriages can and do involve couples from the same village¹². The Chinese colleague living in Village

9. See C. K. Yang, *A Chinese Village in Early Communist Transition* (Cambridge Mass, M.I.T.: The Technology Press, 1959) pp. 83-84.

10. For a full description of the 'New Wedding', see Freedman, *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore*, p. 176.

11. Developments in China sometimes went still further than this (even before the Communist victory). Lin Yueh-hwa, in his sociological novel *The Golden Wing: A Sociological Study of Chinese Families* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. Ltd., 1948) p. 10, describes a young man who chooses his own bride (though with his parents' consent) and makes his own arrangements.

12. This would not have been possible in the single-clan villages found in many parts of Southeastern China as clan exogamy was usually the rule. In other villages it was possible. Fei, *op cit.*, p. 94, says that marrying outside his village was a 'tendency', implying that many people did marry inside the village. Martin C. Yang, *A Chinese Village* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945) p. 115, however, speaking of a different locality, denies any knowledge of intra-village marriage.

C reported that it is more common for young men to find their partners within this village where four main surname groups are represented. Village A had not reached this degree of village endogamy, though marriages within the community constituted one-third or more of the total number. It is perhaps too early in the life of the villages to establish whether such a tendency is increasing or decreasing.

The task carried out by the go-between, usually a female relative of the bride, is described elsewhere.¹³ The first important expense connected with the impending wedding is the giving of the bride-wealth, a sum of money given to the bride's family by the groom.¹⁴ The bride's family is expected to use this to buy clothes for the bride. They could not honourably retain any part of the money for themselves. The amount to be given has been fixed independently by a number of villages at about M\$1,000; the cost of the entire wedding normally being between M\$2,000 and M\$3,000.¹⁵ However, there is no doubt that many people spend far less than this. The average daily wage for a rubber tapper in the villages studied is about M\$4.00 (approximately US\$1.33). At this rate, even M\$1000, would represent the equivalent of

13. For example, Francis L. K. Hsu, *Under the Ancestors' Shadow* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul Ltd., 1949) pp. 85ff.
14. A young Chinese colleague, himself a married man with five children, states that only half the villagers still follow this custom. But this statement conflicts with what has been learned from other sources. This may be indicative of a difference in terminology for the marriage of a daughter. The writer has many times heard the expression 賣 *mai* which literally means 'to sell'. This word, when used with reference to marriage cannot, of course, be taken in its literal meaning. Yet some connection between the giving of bride-wealth and the sense of *mai* is still there. A similar, though perhaps more literal, connection between the transfer of a person and the sense of *mai* is to be seen in the expression covering adoption, a procedure in which, according to Chinese custom, money again changes hands. However, in the specific group from which the writer's colleague originates, those coming from Kwongsai Province, the writer has never heard this expression *mai* used with respect to marriage. The expression that has been heard is 娶 *chia*, a word which conveys the idea of the marriage tie itself.
15. A New Village neighbour sets the figure at M\$2,000, "if there is no banquet." W.H. Newell, "Family Quarrels in a North Malayan Teochiu Chinese Vegetable-Growing Community", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 59, No. 2 (1957) p. 268, gives the cost of the entire wedding in the settlement he studied as M\$1,000. However, he makes it clear that there is no tendency in that community to form more extended family systems, each individual family unit being quite independent of the others. The lower expenditure for a wedding may thus reflect a different family organization. Freedman, *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore*, p. 146, gives the same total figure as the writer's informants, but, significantly, the breakdown is different, with only M\$400 being required for bride-wealth, reflecting, perhaps, the influence of more 'modern' thinking.

a year's wages, discounting holidays and days of inclement weather when the tapper cannot work. Nevertheless, it is the standard for an impressive wedding in the eyes of the community. Because of the cost and the elaborate preparations, the wedding often does not take place for some time after the engagement; this period may extend to two years or more. Informants of different economic status and age have all reported that the actual age of marriage varies with the economic stability of the boy's family. Ages range from twenty-one to twenty-three for the wealthier, to twenty-seven or more for the lower class. In the period between engagement and marriage the couple are only moderately restricted in their association, even in cases where the choice of partner has been left entirely to the parents. They may take walks together, go to the cinema or enjoy other amusements, and visit each other's homes.

Wedding invitations are sent out to relatives, associations to which the father of the groom belongs, prominent people of the community, and members of the political party to which the father or his son may belong. Relatives living in the vicinity may be few. Members of associations are sometimes delegated to attend the wedding of a member's son, but few New Villagers are sufficiently active in association work to merit such favours. Prominent members of the community, such as the school principal, the head of the Village Council, and leading members of party branches, are cherished guests at any wedding. But it is the rank and file of a party branch that constitute the bulk of male participants at weddings in villages where political parties are active. The support of party comrades can be assumed and facilitates the attainment of one of the prime requisites of a Chinese wedding—a large number of guests.

A description of the wedding ceremony and attendant customs is given in Chapter V.

Residence patterns of young married couples bear more closely on our discussion of kinship ties. It is expected that a young married couple will live in the groom's house, which is nearly always his family home. In all New Village weddings known to the writer the young couple has gone to live with the groom's parents. In some cases a room is reserved for them, usually the front room on the left side in houses which have a hall in the middle and a row of rooms along either side. In other cases the young couple temporarily

occupy a choice room until an addition to the structure can be completed.

Regarding the position of a newly married woman, Yap Li Lian declared that in the evening a new bride is restricted in her movements while in daylight she is expected to be working. During pregnancy she should be occupied indoors during the evening. After the birth of a child she will spend her leisure time caring for the child. However, where work permits, the young wife is allowed, and indeed even expected, to maintain close relationships with her own family. Our young woman who married a man from Village C returns to her parents' home at intervals of ten days to two weeks, usually alone, but sometimes accompanied by her husband. In traditional Chinese society the husband was obliged to accompany his wife to her home on her first return after marriage, and thereafter only rarely.¹⁶ It appears that in Malaya's New Village society the relationship of the son-in-law to his bride's family is considerably closer than was normal in China where the son-in-law had not 'married-in', that is, had not been taken into the family of the bride and assumed her surname.

Birth

Customs surrounding the birth of a child, the one-month celebration, and other stages in his life, are restricted in New Village society. But a custom which draws together kinsfolk who may gather on few other occasions is the announcement of birth. All but the most distant relatives are informed of the birth. The announcement is first made to the wife's family to whom small gifts are usually presented.

The parents of the wife invariably visit the couple. Chirn Pak Me was most distraught that she did not have enough money to visit her daughter after the birth of a son.

Whenever possible this visiting is done by friends and other relatives as well as by the in-laws. In the village on a bright Sunday afternoon some weeks after a birth in the neighbourhood, a fairly constant stream of visitors in clean starched clothing made its way towards the house, each couple bearing a gift, often a number of oranges wrapped in newspaper with a piece of red paper attached.

16. Martin C. Yang, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

A car loaded with laughing, boisterous people shouting to one another in Cantonese (a dialect seldom spoken in that and surrounding villages, but common in the city) indicated the arrival of city relatives or acquaintances of the young couple.

VARIATIONS IN HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

New Village houses are generally small and the households within them correspondingly restricted. Few households include servants or others unrelated to the family—there is simply no room.

Little renting of rooms occurs within the community as all available space is utilized. Whole houses are occasionally rented out. In villages attached to older communities large new schools were frequently built for the combined community, and the old school buildings sold. In several villages these old buildings have been made into individual apartments for small families. The apartments consist of one or two rooms and a cooking area. Rents in one such building were M\$10 per month for a single room and M\$15 for two rooms, the whole building being inhabited by seven families. Other than in such a situation, one rarely finds more than two or three per cent of the village houses inhabited by other than the owner's family.

In Village B one such house was encountered, but it was very crowded. A grandmother, her son and his wife, and a number of grandchildren lived in the main part of the house which was two rooms with a total floor space of about 14' x 18'. In a single room built as an addition at the side of the house, lived an unrelated woman and her daughter. New Village homes most often consist of one bedroom, a small family room in front (in larger homes called the 'guest room'), a cooking space in the rear, and a small toilet and washroom built on to the side; the whole structure being not more than 18' x 21'. In a few villages, homes can be

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17. Ed. Note: A house raised off the ground is the indigenous form of architecture of the Malays and other Southeast Asian peoples. It protects the occupants from uninvited jungle creatures. Originally, the floor was slatted with spaces in between to ensure ventilation. In the evening a fire would be built under the house that the smoke might ward off the malarious mosquito. Isabella Bird, *The Golden Chersonese and the Way Thither* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press Historical Reprints, 1967) pp. 137-138.

found which closely resemble labourers' lines, being built in one continuous row or block, as in Village T in northern Malaya. Here the homes were built on raised pilings which is uncommon for the Chinese.¹⁷ Each apartment consisted of a few rooms with a large cooking space on the ground level underneath the structure. This row of houses was built by a local rubber company for its employees.

Houses are generally small, designed only for the few inhabiting them at the time and stretched to the limit by increases in the family. When rebuilding, the tendency is to build larger houses, and many New Village house plots allow for this.

Frequently, as an economy measure, two families agree to build connecting houses with a common separating wall. There are many such houses in each village. Separating walls may be built up to the peak of the house, or may be no more than partitions separating the two sides. Facilities may be duplicated or there may be one large communal kitchen in the rear of the house.¹⁸

A slightly different sharing arrangement was discovered in Village B in a substantial home such as one might find among the more wealthy New Village families. In the centre was a large 'guest-hall'; ranged along either side of the 'hall' were the rooms of the two separate families. Hanging on the respective side walls of the 'hall' were each family's photographs. There was a common kitchen in the rear. When one of the families outgrew its allotted space, it was given a room originally allocated to the other family.

Such semi-detached houses may be built for related families. Wong A Pak constructed such a house for his family and that of his daughter and son-in-law. A partition separates the two sides of the house, each side having a kitchen. A communicating door joins the front rooms of the two sides, and is left open. A younger unmarried son lives with his parents on one side of the house. In another case, the two sides of a semi-detached structure are inhabited by brothers and their families, but here there is no inner door adjoining the two living areas.

We now come to the larger households in New Villages. A ten-

18. The most common feature in the New Village kitchen is a concrete table for at least two of the large round-bottomed pans used by the Chinese in their cooking. Underneath the opening provided for each pan is a fireplace. Wood or charcoal is used. In all Village A 'apartments' the oven consisted merely of a few rows of bricks which would hold small kettles, but not large pans.

dency in the direction of extended family groups has been indicated.¹⁹ These extended families may be of an embryonic nature, including only the parents, one married son and his family, and one or more unmarried children. A young man from Village A who married a girl four doors away lives in a small extended family. The arrangement is quite permanent, although frequently such a residence pattern is adopted only as a temporary measure until the son can set up his own household. The relationships between the the unmarried sister, the mother and the daughter-in-law appear to be informal and warm.²⁰ The young wife taps rubber in the morning, and her late afternoons and evenings are spent assisting in household tasks or making clothing for herself and her husband. She and her husband spend many free hours together in long conversations in front of the house, or standing side by side at the window of their room gazing at the activity on the road.

The relationship between a young bride and her mother-in-law, however, can be somewhat formal. The girl who married a man from Village C now has four children, the oldest being nine. The mother-in-law stated that she and her daughter-in-law share the housework, but it was noticed that when guests come to call, it is the mother-in-law who greets and converses with them while the housework is taken over completely by the daughter-in-law, the former showing little inclination to return to the rear of the house. Both the young woman and her husband work during the day, often returning in the early afternoon. While the wife is away the mother-in-law tends the children. When she returns from work, the wife takes up household duties such as carrying water, washing the children and assisting in the cooking. Should her work keep her away from home till late afternoon, the mother-in-law may also bathe the children. The husband spends his afternoon on the doorstep of the house sharpening tapping knives for the family, or on other tasks outside the house. In poorer families, the husband may well pursue a secondary occupation.

19. W.H. Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 267, reports finding no extended families in the community he studied which was not a New Village but a long-established settlement. This may be explained by the background of those who settled there, for he reports: "Nor do any of the family heads claim knowledge of living in a joint family in the part of China from which they came."

20. Such a relationship is more likely where the daughter-in-law was already a friend of the family before her marriage.

In almost every such household, unless the married son is an only child, there are at least one or two unmarried brothers or sisters living at home.

In some cases where both parents are still living, there are two or more married sons with them in the household. In Village C more than half the households have at least one married son living at home, and a considerable number of these include two or more sons and their families. This estimate is higher than that reported in surveys from China. Village C is one village whose development in the course of its brief existence has encouraged the formation of extended families.²¹

In Village A such families are far less numerous. Embryo extended families do occur fairly frequently, as it is unusual for the eldest son when marrying to set up a separate household. Of the several more extended families, one is notable. The grandfather, a man of some wealth, had previously been a plantation owner and had long been resident in the area. He now owns a 'smoke-house' for the processing of rubber, and is chairman of the Local Council. He had twelve children, nine of whom are sons. Two of the sons were married, both living at home, and a third was preparing to marry.

Another example of this type of household was found in Village C. This family was also wealthy, owning some acres of rubber trees, and had been living there a long time.²² The house was large, well-built and well-painted. A console record-player and other fine furniture graced the 'guest-hall'. Two sons, with their wives and families, lived together with their parents and several unmarried sisters. The mother of the married sons, now a grandmother, spent most of her time relaxing in a rocking chair in the front room. Entertainment of guests, as in the household described in Village A, was done by her. The daughters-in-law never appeared in the front room while guests were present, unless to pass through in the course of household duties. The eldest unmarried daughter occupied her time with sewing or other light tasks and served guests.

21. In later chapters other developments in Village C will be outlined which will help to support this presumption. See pp. 43, 48-49.

22. The eldest married son of this household reported that a significant proportion of the inhabitants of that village did own their own rubber land.

More common in Villages A and B than the larger extended household just described is a type which is rare in China itself—the joint household formed by two or more married brothers and their families where both parents are deceased. One such household has already been described.²³ Another such household in Village C lived in a New Village home of average size.

In the Village C household, the brothers were all middle-aged or slightly younger. One long-established household in Village A, headed by Contractor Yan, brings together two brothers. Yan learned his trade from his China-born father and is skilful at the jobs of his workmen. His younger brother assists him in his work, but the place of prominence is clearly held by him. His wife has a higher position than that of the younger brother's wife, the latter spending more time in kitchen duties. The elder brother's car is the finer of the two.

In a second household of brothers in Village A, the aged grandmother is still alive. In this instance, as the family economy seems more responsible for the brothers' close relationship than the grandmother's presence, the arrangement will probably continue after her demise. These three brothers whom we will call the Su brothers, their families and the grandmother live in the rear of a shophouse owned by them; a fourth brother is a teacher and lives elsewhere as do two married sisters. The store was run by their father until his death. The sons expanded the enterprise by renting a shophouse in the town area where they now trade in sheet rubber.²⁴ This, though jointly owned, is operated almost exclusively by the younger brothers. The original store is run by the older brother, the younger brothers occasionally helping out in the evening after they have closed the rubber shop. When the older brother leaves on errands or shopping trips to the nearby city, his wife or mother temporarily tends the store. The wives of the younger brothers devote their time to the children and household

23. See p. 39.

24. This type of economy, which combines storekeeping with moneylending and rubber trading, will be described in Chapter IX. It has been described at great length by T'ien Ju-k'ang, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-44, and appears to be common in a number of Chinese societies in Southeast Asia. Morton Fried, *Fabric of Chinese Society* (London: Atlantic Press, 1956) p. 52, remarks that in the merchant situation there is somewhat more cohesion among the heirs, who often work the inherited enterprise as partners."

duties. When the older brother's wife is not occupied in the store, there seems to be an equal sharing of household tasks.

A still larger family structure is that in which the husband has two or more wives, maintaining them in a single household or in separate units. Relationships of this nature were not encountered in Village A. A young man in Village B, the son of his father's first wife, described the polygamous arrangement. The two wives and their children were maintained in separate households, the father living with the second wife in the small town to which the village was attached.²⁵ When asked how many village men had two wives, the young man answered, "about three", stating that the arrangements in each case were identical. He contended that "more" men in the town area, a number of them quite young, maintained multiple households.

PATRILINEAL AND MATRILINEAL TENDENCIES

Where economic conditions allow, married sons are expected to live with their parents. In most cases described, the sons have followed their fathers' occupations. The group of villages under study are located in a rubber-growing area. The common occupation of father and son is usually dependent on rubber smallholdings, tapping, or smoking of rubber sheets. The economic potential of the area determines to what extent sons can continue to enter this common occupation.²⁶ Other than those working in rubber, we have noted extended families among business men and contractors. Extended families appear to be rare among farmers or where the head of the family does odd-jobs.

Influences which may greatly alter these trends will be examined later.²⁷ But if, and where, present trends continue, two developments may occur.

The emphasis on patrilocal marriage is evident; thus it is possible that in certain economically favoured areas, true patrilineal

25. The first wife was from China, while the second wife was locally born. This type of arrangement is common in Malaya. The second wife was picked by the husband with probably no bride-wealth given and only the registry office ceremony, and the husband subsequently lived with her.

26. In Village C, described as having a large number of extended families, the tendency to form such units may well continue, as there are still tapping jobs available in the surrounding area, and a large area of newly replanted land not far away ensures the availability of such jobs in the future.

27. See pp. 144-145.

clans, covering fewer generations than before, may develop. In some areas one can discern a feeling of comradeship between those of the same surname group, although as yet no corporate activity binds them together.

But when discussing the relationship of the husband to the bride's parents we have seen also a real tendency to draw the affinal (matrilineal) relatives into a close attachment to the family.²⁸ This is evident in the case of Contractor Yan: distant in-laws look to him for assistance; the younger brother of his sister-in-law works in his firm; cousins of his wife are also in his employ. Matrilocal residence is practised in specific instances although the son-in-law has not taken on the surname of the bride's family.²⁹

In villages where a considerable proportion of marriages involve persons from that same village, both tendencies may develop simultaneously, giving real stability to the community structure. Should those same villages become less endogamous, one or both tendencies may be reversed.

SURNAME AND CLAN GROUPINGS

One function remaining to the clan in New Village society is the regulation of marriage. The clan remains an exogamous unit. Even in a village such as C, where only four main surname groups are represented and where marriage within the community is the rule rather than the exception, a union of people of the same surname is exceedingly rare.

There is a closeness of feeling between people of the same surname group in Village C. The common term of address 厝內 *ciu-lai* used colloquially in greeting people of one's own surname is not heard because such people are met so often during one day.³⁰ Neither is any custom engendered other than that of joining together to visit the graves on *Ch'ing Ming Chieh*, and this custom varies greatly within individual groups in the village. In Village A, far

28. The writer has not found any tendency for New Village men to 'marry-in' into the families of their brides, though this is apparently fairly common in the urban area of Penang, see Freedman, *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore*, p. 29.

29. As in the case of Wong A Pak, p. 232. Several other examples are found in Village A.

more complex as concerns surname composition, there is also a closeness among people of the same surname, and the term *ciu-lai* is frequently used. Yet here too this feeling of comradeship is not represented by any organization or common action, and there is less tendency for people to group together to visit the graves on *Ch'ing Ming Chieh* than in Village C.³¹ And in neither village do members of the same surname group show any inclination to live close to one another as had often been the case in China.³²

The purpose and organization of clan associations among Overseas Chinese has received frequent description in the literature.³³ Their functions include corporate worship, mutual aid, supervision of the trades in which members are engaged, and fellowship. In more recent times the associations have lost some of these functions and have gradually withered. A young colleague reports that hardly any men under thirty-five years of age now join clan associations; but above that age there are still a considerable number who find membership beneficial. He himself had been invited to join, but declined as he feels such associations bind people to the old way of life, while doing nothing to serve society in Malaya. He reports that of more than ten families of his own surname in the village, only one family head is known to be active in a clan association. A large portrait of that gentleman hangs in the hall of his association in the city.³⁴ On the table in the man's home is a large volume outlining the history of his surname group, replete with photographs of prominent members. A similar volume, for a different surname group, was seen in one home in Village B. It is significant that those who made frequent reference to such histories were already advanced in age.

30. *Ciu-lai* is a Hakka colloquial expression which is little-known outside of the Hakka dialect group; even among the dialect group itself, it is seldom used by the younger generation.

31. However, there may be a tendency for surname groups to unite in a new kind of effort. Upon asking an old-time resident of the village why the Socialist Front was so strong in one section of the community, the writer received the reply "there are so many Yaps who live in that area and they always urge others of the same surname to join that party."

32. C. K. Yang, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

33. Especially good is T'ien's *The Chinese of Sarawak*. See G. W. Skinner's *Leadership and Power in the Chinese Community of Thailand* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958) p. 111, for a demonstration of the comparatively low prestige value of clan association leadership.

34. A portrait in the hall of an association is the accepted way of announcing the gift of a large sum of money to the organization.

The clan association still has considerable drawing power with groups engaged in manufacture or trade. For them the clan association furnishes contacts which are essential to further their business. A young relative of one of the largest families in Village A, a family which engaged simultaneously in storekeeping, provision of credit facilities, and trading in sheet rubber, reports that a majority of the adult males in that family belong to the clan association of their surname group. Such membership is not gained cheaply; he reports that it costs each man M\$200 to join the association.³⁵ Other than an annual banquet there is little activity in the association.³⁶ Clan association members may drop in at the association's city premises for informal meetings with other members, but there is no organized programme.

The average villager, then, does feel a comradeship with others bearing his surname, but the formal associations which attempt to draw clan members together in some type of organization no longer play an important part in his life, and he is open to new types of social groupings.

35. From what the writer has learned of entrance fees for other associations, such as the dialect associations, he would assume that the young man referred not to the actual entrance fee but to the fee for life membership.

36. All associations, whether clan, dialect or territorial, have an annual banquet as their main activity. See p. 122.

III

THE SMALL FAMILY WORLD

*By this rude door
I can abide in peace;
By this running stream
I can gladly endure hunger.*

The Book of Songs

THE GREAT FAMILY WORLD

THE GREAT FAMILY WORLD
A NOVEL IN THREE VOLUMES
BY THE AUTHOR OF
"THE GREAT FAMILY WORLD"

THE GREAT FAMILY WORLD

III

THE SMALL FAMILY WORLD

THE FAMILY AND LOCALITY

MANY inhabitants of Villages A and C when asked where they were born, answered, "Right here." Though perhaps born two or three miles away on a rubber plantation, they regard the New Village as being part of the same district, and themselves as long-time residents of the district. Such identification is common in these two villages even though few families actually lived on the same plot of land before the village was founded.¹ The wealthier families are usually among those having lived longest in the area, but old-time residents are found among all economic classes. For example, the daughter and mother living in a single room attached to rented quarters in Village B are long-time residents of the area, the daughter, now over twenty years old, having been born there.² Many Kwongsai people are long-time residents of that area, though only one of them owns any rubber land; the rest tap rubber on estates owned by others.³ One man reported having lived in the area for thirty years.

Long past events that occurred in the area of the present New Villages are remembered by these older inhabitants. In Village A the wife of the former village head spoke of the slaughter of numbers of people by the Japanese in what is now one end of the village, an event which must have happened nearly ten years previous to the founding of the village. An elderly man spoke about a large turkey farm operated many years ago by a European a few

1. Contractor Yan's father had built a house on the plot of land occupied by his present home many years before the founding of the village. There were then about ten dwellings in that immediate area. When the village was founded the old dwellings were allowed to stand but were aligned to accord with the new system of roads. A woman in her 40's living next door to the contractor is another of the older inhabitants of the area, having been born there.

2. See p. 38.

3. A young Kwongsai boy in the same village said that this man only managed to purchase rubber land through money won in a lottery.

miles away from the village. For villages which were attached to older communities, the centre about which the village was grouped had long been a nucleus of trade. Perhaps it was the centre to which the present villagers rode on their bicycles several times a week to sell or trade their rubber sheets.

While such identification of villages with the area is true for the villages in this study, they constitute only a small portion of Malaya's New Villages. In other cases people have been moved greater distances to their new homes and they do not identify so readily with the new area. Inhabitants of Village M, for example, have on the average been moved further than those in Villages A and C. One inhabitant of Village M reported that he had lived in a small town about six miles away when the Japanese occupied Malaya. For his own and his family's safety he moved two miles outside town, in the direction of the village where he now lives. After being moved into the present village, he secured a job tapping rubber near his previous home. He clearly regards himself as belonging to the little town whence he came, though there is a town only one mile in the other direction from the New Village in which he now resides. This New Village is in a tin mining and agricultural area. There is little land ownership by the residents of such areas and therefore a lack of strong identification with these districts.

In certain villages there is a real sense of attachment to the locality. A Chinese colleague living in Village E reports that seven out of ten families there own their own rubber land.⁴ These families become independent and successful economic units whose present success and future hopes are bound to the locality. Significantly, this village was among the most rapid in growth.

Attachment to locality involves owning not only the rubber land but also the family's home, which may be situated on land to which no title has yet been given. In Village C, young people say they feel they cannot leave the village to live elsewhere while their rubber holdings and homes are there. Ho Tien Kim and his wife maintain close contact with their sons and their families living some miles away, the father going there regularly to assist the sons in their business. The sons have urged their parents to

4. This estimate is lower than others received and therefore credible.

move in with them and sell the New Village house. But the father refuses to give it up, insisting it is of great value and must be kept within the family.

Villages A, C, and T are located in surroundings with comparatively favourable job opportunities. In such villages many residents have never travelled far from the area in which they now live. A middle-aged man in Village A had never been farther than the nearest city ten miles away. Another person in Village B had never been beyond the nearest port about 30 miles away. Wong A Pak had visited his uncle, living more than 170 miles away, only once in his life. An attendant in the Government clinic in Village T reported that hardly anyone in his village ever journeyed as far as the nearest large town only 14 miles away.

The same cannot be said of villages situated in less favourable surroundings. According to the M.C.C. Survey, Village M, for example, has experienced a twenty per cent decrease in population.⁵ In the village there are empty houses, with doors and shutters closed and weeds reaching above the windowsills. Even the application for a Temporary Occupation License, popularly called T.O.L., which must be renewed annually and a small fee paid, is no assurance that the applicant will be a long-term resident of the village.⁶ The Assistant Resettlement Officer in the area reported as late as 1960 that more permanent (thirty-year) leases were 'soon' to be offered to people in Village M. Applications for such titles would indicate an increasing stability.⁷

In Village C a number of people make their living at some occupation other than rubber tapping or pig-breeding, subsidiary occupations often reserved for the older people. Some travel the 16 miles to Kuala Lumpur each day, where they work as machinists or in related occupations. In another village still closer to the city, many young adults go to the city every day to work on construction projects.⁸ A few from Village C go daily to other villages or another

5. Figures given in Table VIII, p. 22, make it clear that there are many other villages that have experienced similar decreases. For Village M, see the M.C.C. Survey, p. 143.

6. A choice piece of land in Village M was held on Temporary Occupation License by someone who had clearly never used it. Upon investigation, it was discovered that he had moved out of the village and all trace of him was lost.

7. In other features of its life, discussed on p. 51, this same village shows real evidence of stability.

8. Page 13.

nearby town. Still others work out-station, that is, in a place which is beyond convenient commuting distance from their homes, and return home only at irregular intervals. Seldom will a family head move his family and belongings to a new location. And we have already seen, there may be attachment to the area even without continual physical presence; thus the claim of the land is not all-important. For Ho Tien Kim and his wife who retain a house which is no longer necessary to them, the attachment to the area is strong enough to survive constant complaints about stealing and about high taxes imposed by the Local (Village) Council.

We will now consider material evidence of the attitudes of New Village families toward their homes. The assumption is that willingness to invest time and energy in the improvement and adornment of house and property indicates a degree of positive adjustment to the current condition of living. In every village visited by the author stacks of new sidings were seen scattered throughout the community; single walls and sometimes whole wings had been rebuilt. Recently the rebuilding programme in New Villages seems to be rapidly increasing.⁹ In most cases the new structures are much larger than the old. Often they are built over and around the old structure; when completed, the old structure is dismantled and the interior finished. Several years ago in Village A, seven large homes were in the process of construction simultaneously.¹⁰ Two of these were built at new locations, others around the old sites. At any one time in the year, a village will have at least one or two houses under construction. In Village A nearly 20 per cent of the houses were rebuilt in recent years, all with concrete floors and concrete walls to a height of two to four feet. The remainder of the house is frame, substantial in construction, and unpainted. The roof is of corrugated iron. The whole building takes a few months to complete.

9. Through his concern with the building programme of the mission, the author has seen building prices go up in individual villages over a number of years. It may be of interest to know that during the years in which this research was done (1957-1961) the cost of construction of a New Village chapel averaged M\$4-5,000. Such a chapel is one single hall about 20' x 30' with a concrete floor; the building is frame and the roof of a composite material.

10. This was just before the Chinese New Year, when all houses were repaired, grounds cleaned, and everything arranged for the New Year observance.

A number of individual examples will indicate the financial investment a new house represents. A shop owner in Village A displayed plans for a new house which he soon hoped to start building. The house was to be nearly 80 feet long, with a guest room in front, dining-room in the middle, kitchen, storeroom, washroom and lavatory (with flush toilet) in the rear, and bedrooms along the side. The estimated cost was M\$6-8,000. This is certainly one of the larger New Village homes. Another impressive house which cost about M\$5,000 to build was seen in a New Village to the far north of the country. The cost of such structures is often great enough to put the owner in debt for many years. In a village a few miles yet further north, nearly all homes are quite large, far more substantial than anything seen elsewhere. One owner had been paying off the debt on his house for a few years and still owed another M\$1,000.

Major construction is not characteristic only of those villages on a higher economic level. Although there has been far less building in Village M than in the above-mentioned village, or even Village A, there has still been a reasonable amount. A large elaborate two-storey house was erected more than six years ago on the premises of a tapioca factory in Village M—a house far more expensive than even the better New Village houses. Three new chicken farms were built, one having individual coops for about two thousand chickens. The first two-storey shophouse in the village and a large number of new homes were also built. However, not all these structures are as grand as the houses earlier described. One proud owner in Village M claimed that he was able to build his new dwelling for only M\$600.¹¹ Even in poorer villages people are investing in the future of the community, thus making it possible that even these villages may emerge as stable and enduring entities.

Not only a villager's home receives his attention and concern. Sandy soil on which many of the communities are located makes growing grass difficult and flowers near impossible, but in every

11. This man's story emphasizes the attachment of many New Villagers to the locality of their residence, even to a poor area. The head of the house works in the highlands more than 70 miles away, earning a steady salary picking tea. He has not moved his family there, while the fact that the money for his house was advanced to him by his employer gives evidence that he is a steady worker.

village many houses are surrounded by fruit trees, flowering bushes and hedges. Such efforts at beautification may be accomplished quite cheaply, as slips from bushes and trees which otherwise might cost M\$5.00 are given by neighbours.¹²

RELATIONS WITHIN THE FAMILY

New Village family life will be presented in terms of the following four relationships: husband-wife; parent-child; siblings; and the elderly in relation to the family and the community.

Husband-Wife

A few cases have been observed in which a younger wife has been relegated to a position inferior to her husband. However, in most instances the wife's position appears to be equal to that of the husband. This is shown in conversation with visitors. When male visitors come to the house, the wife has as much right to engage in conversation as the husband. Should the visitor find the husband at leisure and the wife occupied at household duties, then the conversation will be carried on primarily with the husband, the wife interjecting comments from the side, or interrupting while passing through the room. This situation seems to prevail whatever the age of the couple. When not bound to household duties, the wife may monopolize the conversation with a visitor. In one example, visitors arrived before the husband returned. During the conversation with the wife, the husband returned, sat near his wife, filled and lit a homemade pipe and listened to the conversation. Later he knocked the ashes out of the pipe, laid it aside and went out. During that whole period he had not said more than half a dozen words.¹³

This equality results partially from the relative economic independence of New Village women. Often both husband and

12. See Amy McIntosh, *Journey into Malaya* (London; China Inland Mission, 1956) p. 71.

13. Freedman, *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore*, p. 56, writes that Chinese women in Singapore are permitted to engage in conversation with strange men, but must play a secondary role in such conversation when their husbands are present. It would appear that conditions in the New Villages are somewhat different.

wife are wage-earners; frequently both work individually in the same occupation. Only upon their return home is there any division of labour. Whatever the cause of this equality, a close relationship is manifest in many ways other than conversation and is more freely expressed in public than would have been permitted previously in China. On visits to friends the two may be seen walking side by side.¹⁴ They may engage in a common task outside the house, such as planting a tree or cleaning the compound, or going on shopping trips together to the nearby city.

Of course, not all activities are shared, even where husband and wife work at the same occupation. For example, the coffee shop fellowship with close friends is almost exclusively confined to men.¹⁵ Women retire to the house at a consistently early hour in the evening to perform small household duties. *Mah-jong*, a gambling game played throughout the country is confined almost entirely to men in the villages under study.¹⁶

But here, as elsewhere, relationships between husband and wife do not always run smoothly. In cases of severe conflict, the husband may find a room elsewhere. A middle-aged man in Village B moved into quarters in the rear of a shop he operated in a small nearby town. A young man in Village M moved into an empty room in the home of an elderly widow on the edge of the village.

Parent-Child

Children are prized in New Village families, as evidenced by the large number of adoptions which take place. Such adoption, as is customary in Chinese society, seldom takes a legal form,

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14. This is particularly true of younger couples, but one never sees them holding hands, a sight not infrequent in towns and larger cities.
 15. A young family man, one of the more 'modern' in his relationship with his wife, was encountered in front of a local coffee shop one evening. He was on his way inside (about 9:15 p.m., an hour when most are preparing to retire for the night). He had just finished helping put the children to bed, and it was his custom after this task was completed to spend some time in the coffee shop.
 16. Exceptions will be noted later, pp. 76, 80.
 17. This is confirmed by Tsien Tche-hao, writing of adoptions among the Chinese in Madagascar, "*Les enfants ainsi adoptés sont traités exactement comme les leurs.*" "*La vie sociale des Chinois à Madagascar,*" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. III, No. 3 (1961) p. 172. ("The children thus adopted are treated exactly as their own...").

but the child is nevertheless a full member of the family.¹⁷ During the Japanese occupation of Malaya several families, now resident in Village A, were forced by economic necessity to give up one or more of their children for adoption. After the founding of the village and with improved conditions they were able to take other children into their families.¹⁸ Such children were pampered, both by the adopting parents and their older children. This pattern of tender loving care is widely observed. Teen-age girls may be seen fondling their baby brothers and sisters in the leisure hours of the evening. Young married men will carry their infants for a walk around the village or play with them in the compound in front of the house. Parents display patience when an infant interferes with their task.¹⁹ As the children grow older they are given a small daily allowance with which to buy sweets and biscuits at the neighbourhood store or ice cream from a hawker.

Such intimate care is often abruptly cut off when the child is still at a tender age. Both parents may go out to work. Small children may be left in the care of siblings not much older than themselves who would rather be playing with their friends. Or they may be left with an elderly grandmother, whose physical powers may be adequate to care for a baby, but hardly equal to more active children.

Young children are given useful tasks to perform as soon as they are thought capable of handling them. Young girls carry still younger children straddled on their hips, or transport buckets of water, dangling from a carrying pole supported on their shoulders, from a roadside tap back to the home. They may be assigned to carry clothes down to the tap or to the stream for washing; in households where both parents work during the day, one can see girls as young as nine or ten going down to the stream with a baby on one hip and a pan full of clothes on the other. Young children of either sex are sent on errands to stores or elsewhere. Older boys may be put to work chopping wood or turning over the soil in a vegetable garden.

18. All were baby girls, replacing girls who had previously been given to others. In some cases girls were received from relatives outside the village, in other cases from unrelated village people with large families.

19. The author watched a younger mother shelling beans into a cup on the floor. Her small infant knocked the cup over countless times as it crawled about. Each time the mother patiently collected the beans and deposited them in the cup, then picked up the child and hopefully set it off in a different direction.

Though a large proportion of New Village girls now go to school, boys are in a more favoured position both in the number attending school and in the number of years spent there. Girls work full-time in the household or are employed at a considerably earlier age than boys.²⁰ Where economic conditions are unsatisfactory, both boys and girls may be expected to find employment to contribute to the family's support which they may continue to do until marriage.

Children are expected to obey their parents and usually do so. Those who disobey or rebel gain a bad reputation throughout the village.

When children reach their teens there is a further difference in their treatment. Girls receive stricter supervision than boys and are expected to be home earlier in the evening. If out of the house too late or for too many nights in a row they are certain to be severely reprimanded. The intention of the parents in exercising such supervision is not unkind. An older teen-age girl who left a youth group meeting still in progress, said only that her parents would 'worry' about her if she did not return.

The relationship between parent and youth, particularly where both are of the same sex, may be intimate. Father and son may be particularly close where they work together at an occupation on which the livelihood of the family depends.

But relationships do not always work out that well. After the man from Village B moved from his house into quarters in the rear of a shop, his son went to live with a school classmate. The writer accompanied a doctor who was summoned by telephone by a son to see his mother only to find that the son had left the house and taken the bus to the cinema in the city. Another Village M young man who had gone out-station to work was, according to the father, reluctant to contribute to the support of the family. Chirn Pak Me was badly neglected by the young married son with whom she lived, the situation being somewhat alleviated only after the Government Social Welfare Department sent a worker to the house to see what assistance might be given to the woman.

20. It is commonly affirmed in Malaya that girls make better rubber tappers than boys. Kathleen Carpenter, *The Password Is Love* (London: The Highway Press, 1955) p. 17, reports having seen boys carrying around their younger siblings, the older girls already having gone to tap rubber.

But cases such as these are infrequent in the New Villages studied, the relationship between parent and child normally being one of genuine and deep affection on the part of the parent and warm respect on the part of the child.

Siblings

One can not always discover a consistent pattern in the relationship of siblings to one another. However, there is always the care of the younger children by their older siblings. Though older children might prefer to play with their friends, they are nevertheless attentive to the younger children under their care, carrying them about and picking flowers to calm their crying. As the younger children grow older they may be allowed to join in the play groups which have formed.

Young boys quickly learn to appreciate the company of a crowd of boys of their own age, drawing away from prolonged play with their sisters. No longer will brother and sister be seen playing together, going to the store together, or jointly pursuing any other activity. Younger children may strike older siblings in fits of anger. Younger siblings of different sexes do sometimes fight but when in good humour may be seen walking hand in hand. Battles between those of the same sex are more common. Older siblings of the same sex may fight one another (those of different sexes never will) but only if the age difference between them is small.

As siblings grow to maturity they may be subject to quite different methods of teaching as well as different contents of education should one be put into one language stream of education and the other into another language stream.²¹ Antagonistic ideological development, membership in opposing political party youth groups, can also effect sibling relationships. The impact of such factors will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Happily, not all sibling relationships are strained by separate and distinct patterns of education and ideological formation. Brothers and sisters in their older teens may share a warm companionship. They

21. Ed. Note: Education in Malaya may be in any one of the four language streams: the National Language (Malay), Tamil, English, or Chinese. The Chinese student population is almost exclusively in the English and Chinese streams although on the East Coast of Malaya, where the Malays overwhelmingly predominate, one more readily finds Chinese in National Language schools.

may sit together in the compound in the front of the house, laughing and joking with friends who have stopped while out for a bicycle ride, or they may cycle together to the homes of other friends.

Older boys, particularly those with advanced education, may feel protective toward their younger brothers. One such young man in Village A, a boy whose father had died some years earlier, closely supervised his younger brother's friendships, preventing him from forming undesirable relationships. And we have seen that often after marriage brothers bring their families together under the same roof. Older sisters cannot expect to live together after marriage, but they usually remain close companions who, if not too distant in age from one another, will accept each other as equals.

The Elderly in the Family and the Community

The elderly in the household are highly respected; their portraits are afforded a place of prominence. Their social contacts are not restricted to their household; they meet others at the store, the market, and on the way to and fro. The elderly quite definitely favour fellowship with others of their own age. They may join readily in conversation with other old people who are complete strangers. Grandmothers on the way to the market call out to other elderly women as they pass their houses.

The pattern of an elderly parent, now a grandparent, living with one married son and his family is common. He or she may be accorded the position of patriarch or matriarch in the family. But the elderly whose children have returned to China are not so fortunate. A man and wife of Village O returning to China left their young daughter behind with the aged grandparents, thinking that she might be of assistance to them. Then there are older people whose children or surviving relatives for some reason fail to fulfil their responsibilities towards them. An elderly woman of Village M whose only son had gone out-station to find work was given one side of a semi-detached house for her use but little financial assistance.²² An elderly Village M couple approaching senility lived by themselves in one side of a semi-detached house, while

22. See pp. 33, 76, for the influence of the particularly low standard of living in Village M on patterns of assistance.

a married daughter in another part of the village supplied them with a minimum of food. This couple rarely stirred from their home. Neither did an elderly man living by himself in another part of the village. With only distant relatives in the village, he was dependent on small amounts of cooked food brought to him twice a day by friends. He was blind and almost deaf and had little real contact with anyone.

Older couples forced by circumstances to live by themselves try whenever possible to supplement what little welfare grants they may be able to secure with some productive enterprise, usually gardening. When an old person is left alone, he may turn to begging.²³

The activities carried on by the elderly who live with their own children and grandchildren are not strenuous; one would seldom see them sawing heavy logs or carrying large tins of water out to the vegetable patch. Yet most old folk undertake some duties. The Su brothers' mother assisted them in running the enterprise. The father of a store-owner at the other end of the village helped his son in the same way. Where a couple both work away from home, the daily marketing is done by the parents, and they may do light work around the house or watch the children.²⁴ In poorer families the elderly may do a little hawking: fresh fruits, a type of Chinese pudding made out of rice, or small homemade sweetmeats. Older people are usually active; only the infirm, crippled or blind are without any task.

SOCIAL INSURANCE

The important crises in the life cycle, birth, marriage, and death, have always required large expenditure by the Chinese. Ways are devised of saving money to prepare for these events. A group of friends may form a small circle or society, each member contributing a monthly amount to a central fund, and each having one chance to take home the entire month's contribution. Systems for taking one's turn vary from circle to circle.

This method of saving money is found throughout Chinese

23. Such begging is hardly ever done in the village where the old person resides but in another village at least several miles away.

24. Amy McIntosh, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

society in Malaya. The circle seems clearly to have descended from a type described by Fei Hsiao-t'ung as having flourished in Kwangtung Province of China.²⁵ No research has been published on such groups in Malaya, but the way they operate is common knowledge in the Chinese community. Briefly, this is the procedure.

One person organizes the 會 *hui* and acts as head. The amount of the monthly contribution is set. The right to receive the total monthly contribution is decided by bidding in secret ballot. A bid of one dollar means that the bidder asks each member to contribute one dollar less than the amount stipulated monthly; the higher the bid, the less each of the other members has to contribute.

After a successful bid a member cannot bid again. At each succeeding sitting of the *hui* he has to contribute what is called a 'dead' fee, i.e., the full monthly amount stipulated in the agreement on which the *hui* was organized. A person bidding high and gaining the fund at the first sitting therefore has to pay a high rate of interest, while the person who can wait until last can get the fund without making any concession and will receive a correspondingly high interest rate.

The *hui* continues to meet until each person has bid and received the fund once. It sometimes happens that a member absconds after a successful bid. Losses incurred in this way by the remaining members are not redeemable, as the police regard this type of savings society as a form of gambling.²⁶

The most common reason for joining such groups is to put aside money which can be claimed back in one lump sum upon a death in the family. Such locally organized groups are less prevalent today in Malaya as registered loan societies and insurance companies with large capital have been founded. However, such groups are still organized in some rural villages; in Village C, they are still common.

25. Fei, *op. cit.*, p. 274. This particular form of organization was known in China as *Kwangtung Piao Hui*. Fei (p. 268) states that mutual aid societies in China were usually organized to provide money for marriage. This does not seem to be their most important function in Malaya.

26. Information drawn partly from a language lesson for Civil Servants used at the Government Officers' Chinese Language School, Kuala Lumpur, Malaya; lesson ten of a series entitled "Malayan Dialogues".

FAMILY DEVOTIONAL PRACTICES

Traditional patterns of mourning the death of a member of the lineage could hardly be followed fully in an immigrant society such as one finds in Malaya.²⁷ What is still found in the New Villages is an adherence to the few basic principles upon which the traditional patterns were based, the mourning of the wife for the husband and of the younger generation for the older. In neither case is the reverse expected. The growing of beards during the period of mourning is never seen. Even the wearing of white or black clothing is no longer an invariable rule. Women may be seen in black clothes for a short period after the death of a father or husband. Men are seldom seen wearing special clothing; far more common is a simple narrow black patch of cloth pinned to the shoulder, left side for the death of a father and right side for the death of a mother. Grandchildren are not expected to adopt a particular habit or to wear the mourning patch, though some do so.

Women are far more zealous in devotional observances than are their husbands. The lighting of incense and placing it on the family shrine, either in front of the ancestral tablet or on that portion of the shelf reserved for the image of the god worshipped by that family, is always done by women. The task of placing lighted sticks of incense in holders in front of the house in worship of the house deities, performed on the 1st and 15th day of every month according to the Chinese calendar, is also done by women. Very young boys may imitate their mothers or sisters as they perform these devotional acts, but older boys and men rarely join in.²⁸ A Village A shopkeeper voluntarily stated that he sold incense sticks only out of respect to his wife, who was zealous in worship.

27. For explanation of 五服 *wu-fu* or the "five grades of mourning", see Francis L.K. Hsu, "The Problem of Incest Tabu in a North China Village", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLII (1940) p. 124. For a recent economic-deterministic theory of the origin of ancestor worship, see C. K. Yang, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

28. On only one occasion had the writer seen a village man engaged in such an act of devotion. Many hours after dark the head of the household, followed by his son, came out of his house to light a number of red candles, placing them in the ground at different spots in the front compound. This was Chinese New Year's Eve.

Almost as striking as the different patterns in devotion according to sex are differences according to generations. Acts of devotion such as those described above are seldom performed by those below the age of 30 or 35, or, more particularly, in households maintained by couples of that generation.²⁹ An indication of how many and which couples practiced such acts was gained by observing how many households placed incense in front of their homes on the 1st and 15th of every lunar month. The incense is lit at night and is visible from the road; one need only count and then survey the area to discover the age composition of the households concerned. Of the households surveyed in Village A, nearly one-third practiced this act of devotion and all but a small number of these included one or both aged parents. Non-practicing households were primarily made up of young couples who in more than half of the cases were not maintaining parents in the same household. Chinese colleagues in two nearby villages reported figures and patterns from their villages similar to what was found in Village A.³⁰

THE FAMILY AS A WORKING UNIT

We have noted that in many families both husband and wife work at wage-earning occupations, usually rubber tapping, each labouring as an independent economic unit. In other types of household economy, the family works as a unit or there is a clear division of duties between husband and wife, and perhaps the children as well.

One afternoon the writer watched a youth in Village B chopping wood. As he chopped wood, his mother made frequent trips to the place where he was working and hauled the chopped pieces home on the rear of a bicycle. When he completed his job, a younger sister who had previously been working inside the house came outside and swept the area.

Cooperation in household tasks is not always achieved with such precision, but the principle of cooperative effort is consistently followed in many families. A middle-aged widow in Village

29. This is not to say that young couples might not change their attitudes towards such acts of devotion as they grow older.

30. Their reports, however, did not include neighbourhood influences, sometimes cutting across age groups, which was a tendency observed by the writer.

A had one child, a son who tapped rubber, but who was not yet skilled enough to earn sufficient for both. The mother raised pigs in an enclosed space behind the house. While the son tapped, the mother gathered bundles of grass for the pigs. When her son was ready to return home she would go down to the plantation to gather old rubber wood for the family stove. Often the trunks or branches were too large or heavy for her to carry, so the son strapped these to his bicycle and took them home. There was similar co-operation in the household shopping. The mother bought small daily necessities at the market or store in the morning. Larger purchases, such as the family supply of rice, sweet potatoes or tapioca root, were made by the son after his return home in the afternoon.

In families whose primary source of income comes from farming, whether growing vegetables or tobacco, the whole family usually goes out to the field together, unless, of course, some of the children are in school. Vegetable-growers may also raise poultry and pigs behind their homes, but there is usually no one person responsible for the care of these animals. Among tobacco-growing families in New Villages in the north, a similar situation prevails. During planting and harvesting, the whole family works in the field together, and work may also continue at home in the evening. During the harvesting season all the family members will be seated on the floor of the front room laying out leaves of tobacco on racks and then taking the racks outside to dry. Such children as were allowed to go to school during the day are now expected to help.³¹

Then there are the family 'industries', such as those making incense sticks, which are carried on within the home.³² Village B has several households so involved, and in another village, several miles away, racks of bare sticks cover the entire compound in front of most homes. Food production is another family occupation. One family in Village A makes sheets of dried bean paste to be sold

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31. This was reported by colleagues who complained that the children make little progress in school as they have no time to review their lessons at home.
 32. A mission sent to Malaya by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, in a lengthy report, *The Economic Development of Malaya* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955) pp. 119-121, emphasized that 40 per cent of Malaya's 'industrial labour force' is employed in relatively small concerns such as these.

in Chinese food stores for making soup. Bean paste is made by boiling small yellow beans in large iron pans until a thick skin is formed on top. The skin is separated from the pan edges, sliced through the middle and each half peeled off the hot paste. The resulting sheets are hung on racks and dried until hard and brittle. The father sorts the beans and carries them to the oven in the back, the mother tends the fire under each of the twelve pans, and their son peels off the sheets of paste. By the time he completes the last pan, new skin will have formed on top of the hot paste in the first pan.

Another family in the same village makes a kind of spongy pudding out of rice. It is put into small metal dishes and sold as an early morning meal to rubber tappers on their way to work. A table with large trays containing many small dishes of pudding is set up at about 5.30 a.m. near what is for this purpose the main intersection of the village. The selling is handled in turn by the mother and the grandmother, who are also in charge of washing the bowls. Most of the cooking and other work is done by the father. These three seem adequate for all the tasks concerned in the small industry. Such small family industries are found in every New Village. Other forms of hawking do not involve the whole family. There are usually several hawkers in each village.

A number of people work outside the village, returning home each evening. One young man from Village A works as a clerk in a rubber dealer's store in the city; another is in the city police force. But others work so far away that they return only infrequently. Both of the writer's nearest neighbours went out-station to work as labourers on a large rubber plantation many miles away. These men, and others like them, return to their homes only on the major Chinese festivals and national holidays. During their absence the remaining family members have subsidiary occupations. One wife and her oldest son tap rubber. The only son of the other man also taps rubber, his wife raising pigs and chickens.

Such patterns of employment often date back to a time of unemployment in the village. If the family head finds apparently permanent employment away from home, he will return to live in his village only at irregular intervals. Unless prolonged over many years, this does not usually lead to the family's moving away from the village. Rather, the other members of the family develop subsidiary occupations in the village that keep them busy.

Seldom does the woman of the household go out-station to work, though such situations occasionally occur among older couples whose children are grown. All cases known to the writer involved the woman taking up household duties for a family in one of the larger towns or cities nearby. Older daughters sometimes work out-station, one such case already having been cited.

Contract labour is a distinctive form of family economy which has not been encountered frequently.³³ A contract to handle a specific job is made between an employer and the head of the family, specifying the amount of money to be paid upon completion of the job. The family head then works at his own speed. It is to his advantage to do the job as quickly as possible that he may look for another contract. Accordingly, the whole family is mobilized. The job usually involves work on the fields, such as preparing new land for the planting of rubber trees which takes some weeks or months to complete.

New Village families supplement their income in a variety of ways. Ho Tien Kim's wife sells sweetmeats to the neighbourhood children, peddles in-season fruits, and rears chickens. Fruit selling is especially popular, sometimes from the back of a bicycle, sometimes from a table near one of the village intersections. Rearing chickens, or sometimes turkeys, is most frequent and quite profitable as city prices are charged for these domestic fowls. A few women of this village irregularly hawk vegetables; apparently the vegetables are raised for the family and only the occasional surplus is sold. Washing may also be taken in.

It is not always possible to distinguish a supplementary from a primary income. One young woman in a village not far from Village B added to the income of the family by sewing for others. In time, sewing-machines became more common in the village, and an increasingly large number of New Village girls began to make their own clothes. As this source of income declined, the woman shifted to teaching dress-making to these eager young girls. Such classes have sprung up in one locality after another. For most women who run these classes, what was an irregular and supplementary source of income is now a significant factor in the family economy. Pig-breeding, another source of supplemen-

33. Not more than three families out of a population of 400-500 families in Village A contracted their labour.

tary income, sometimes becomes a major occupation particularly for older people no longer able to work on plantations.

LEISURE TIME

There is little leisure for many New Village families. Those who tap rubber, though they come home early in the afternoon, have little free time as they need to sleep by 9.00 p.m. or earlier.³⁴ In villages such as M where the primary occupation is agriculture, people may not return from work until 7.00 p.m. or later. The necessary bath, followed by the evening meal, means that it is nearly 8.00 p.m. before they are at leisure.

A family usually spends its leisure by simply going outside for a breath of evening air. Older children play with their infant brothers or sisters. An older boy sits in the front room with a few of his friends listening to the radio, which is found invariably in every home that can possibly afford one, and is a great focus for socialization. The parents engage in conversation with the neighbours. The father may later join a few friends in the coffee shop or watch one of the *mah-jong* games.

There are very few leisure-time activities that the family engages in together. Even community-wide events do not draw family unit participation. Rather, girls attend with their friends, boys with theirs, and parents more or less individually. Even visiting seldom is done as a family unit.³⁵

34. On very hot days when it has not rained and the evening is still rather sultry, rubber tappers stay up later than 9.00 p.m. But when it has rained in the afternoon and the evening is cool, many of the lights in the village are out by 8.00 p.m.

35. A young Chinese co-worker, himself a family man, commented that: "Young people just wouldn't have any interest in the associations of their elders, and would not understand their thinking."

IV

INFORMAL ASSOCIATIONS OUTSIDE THE FAMILY

*I laugh that you should be so busy to pick up morsels,
And put them into others' mouths.
With a lifetime spent amid the sour and the bitter,
Can you or not distinguish the flavours yourself?*

YÜAN MEI
Chopsticks (1765).

IV

INFORMAL ASSOCIATIONS OUTSIDE THE FAMILY

'GETTING AROUND'

AN elderly man from Village B travelled to and from Village A, five miles away, by bicycle. When asked if it was wise to do that at his age, he replied, "It is not hard for someone used to working.¹ And anyway, it is a lot more convenient than the bus."

The bicycle is of central importance in the life and livelihood of village people.² Although bus companies do a very good business through most rural areas, the common form of transport is the bicycle. A discussion of informal relationships outside the family must include the means of 'getting around', for the means determines in part the form that these informal associations take.

A number of cars are found in every village. On the occasion of a wedding there will be a procession of automobiles through the village. Cars are also used on election day to bring the old and the sick to the polls. But cars are not of everyday consequence.

The bicycle is often used when people might be expected to go on foot; youths going to visit friends only a few houses away will jump on their bicycles; two friends just out for a breath of fresh air in the evening will take their bicycles. Girls, who in their hours of recreation tend to move in larger groups than do boys, make less frequent use of bicycles. In going to work, the bicycle is used equally by both sexes.

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1. Note the distinction made between those who use their hands to labour and those who follow some other form of occupation. See also pp. 145-146.
 2. Dr. Antoni B. Wojcicki, Acting Chief and Community Development Officer, Division of Social Affairs, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (United Nations), "It is hard to find in Asia or Africa today a village where the people are not aware of at least three products of modern industry. The bicycle—which cuts the transport difficulties, the sewing machine—a labour-saving device, and, in many villages, the radio—a source of recreation and pleasure." *Report on the Conference on Community Development* (Kuala Lumpur: G. A. Smith, Government Printer, 1959) p. 14. This also applies to the New Villages under study.

*GROUPINGS BY AGE AND SEX**Children*

New Village children quickly and spontaneously coagulate into a group. The appearance of a Government Information Services van, a Chinese medicine seller's van, or some similar stimulus, is the signal for a crowd of children of both sexes to gather; the news of such events spreads very quickly throughout that age group. Cars of a Christian evangelistic group, signalling the opening of a Sunday School or a public programme, are greeted in the same way. The crowd at a film sponsored by the Information Services is composed mainly of these young children. They form the inner circle of observers watching a Chinese medicine man's demonstration. If the programme is one for which preliminary arrangements are required and the children are familiar with those arrangements, they will immediately begin to help. The children quickly sense and adopt the attitudes of those in charge of the programme—enthusiastic approval or disappointment. On most occasions, however, the children soon cease to function as a single group. Smaller groups kneel on the ground at the edge of the crowd and pick up pebbles for games of jacks. Others play tag, running in and out through the crowd. These young observers at any programme may gradually disappear as small groups seek diversion elsewhere or individual children are led back home by their parents or grandparents. But when such a programme ends, the remaining children again become a group as with a shout they burst away from the site perhaps playing a last game of tag before they return individually to their own homes. The same is true of younger children as they leave school, or Sunday School, or literacy classes sponsored by church organizations.

Smaller groups of young children are usually confined to one sex. It does sometimes happen that smaller literacy classes held in the evening in political youth group quarters or in the school do consistently draw boys and girls together, but such groupings are not common. Groups of playmates, other than sibling groups, are usually composed of one sex. The boys' play group is a common feature of every village. Such groups are very active—the young boys run about the village, cutting across private

properties and through vegetable gardens, occasionally causing some small damage.³ Sometimes they may be found on the school playground playing marbles or some other game, or down at the stream catching tiny fighting fish in small tin cans or just playing about in the water. In the evening their activities are somewhat subdued; yet several hours after dark small groups may still be seen playing in the stream, roaming the streets, catching sleeping birds on gummed sticks, or throwing pebbles on the roof of a building where a meeting is in progress.

Girls' play groups are not as wide-roaming as the boys', and their activities are somewhat different. They play a game of tag within a restricted space on the road in the neighbourhood where most of them live. Other games are played by small groups sitting on the ground. Or they may form a circle and dance while singing songs learnt at school. But their activities are generally confined to their own neighbourhood.

Friendships

As children grow older, the groups in which they move grow smaller. By the middle teens, boys have formed close friendships, or small gangs, while girls have formed equally close, though usually somewhat larger, circles of friendship. The relationship of close friends is all-important for teen-age boys. Two or three youths may spend all their leisure time together. In twos or threes they race their bicycles around the school basketball court in the late evening, recline in chairs in the front room of one of the homes, or cycle together to a nearby cinema. More commonly, however, they just park their bicycles under a street lamp at some intersection in the village and find a convenient place nearby where they can sit down for quiet conversation. On mild evenings there may be one or more of these small groups on each of the four corners of well-lit intersections. When the rest of the village is preparing to go to bed, they may still be cycling around the streets. Close relationships such as these sometimes appear to be organized along dialect lines, but this may occur by accident rather than design for some of

3. Inhabitants of Village E, noted for its beautiful vegetable gardens, erected low fences around their cultivated plots in order to keep out these bands of small boys. Boys in the same village have caused minor damage to the Christian chapel by throwing bricks and other objects left over from its construction.

the closest friendships encountered cross dialect lines.⁴

Groups and Gangs

Such intimate friendships may occur between two girls within a group, but the group remains a unit for purposes of recreation and fellowship. Such groups often take walks together in the evening. It is not considered proper for them to gather in the coffee shop. They walk slowly to the centre of the village, idle there for some time, and then return to their own part of the village. They go together to such celebrations as engagements and weddings. On national holidays and festivals, such groups can be seen in their finest dress and make-up, walking towards the bus stop on their way into town to watch a parade or demonstration. Such group friendships among girls and the close relationships of boys usually persist despite later differences in educational attainment or occupation.

Groups of boys are occasionally formed which are larger than the close friendship groups of two or three. These groups are in reality small gangs and show at least the elementary organization of a leader and several followers. Groups of this sort are formed by boys in their middle teens or older; the leader is the oldest member of the group, though he may not be much older than his followers, and he is almost always the organizer of the group. Gangs are strictly for youth and are usually neutral in their attitude towards the older generation. An exception to this was reported by a European colleague working in another village—here a group was led by a young man in his late 20's or early 30's. The gang is is not directly connected with any other grouping in the village; indeed, the leader may well have the authority to withdraw the gang members from any other group.⁵ In other instances, the leader may serve as a recruiter of prospective members for a political party youth group or, perhaps, for a secret society.⁶

One purpose of organizing such groups is to protect the organizer. Virtually all the youth within the village were grouped

4. For more about such friendships, see p. 117.

5. The leader of a gang that previously participated in Church activities conceived a grudge against the Church and withdrew his support. The gang, not being aware of the leader's intentions, continued to appear at meetings. The leader came to the door of the Church, called his gang members, and the entire gang immediately left, never to appear again.

together in one of the two political youth groups found in the village. The structure within these youth groups was quite loose, most members belonging to smaller groups of four or five persons. Struggles for leadership within the larger group were frequent, and those involved were in need of the protection that the smaller group could afford.

Classmates

Village youth who study beyond the six years provided in the village school, form close friendships with their secondary school classmates in the large town or city to which they must go for secondary education. Some of the village youth who have not belonged to village groups are united by their attendance at the same middle school or even by the simple fact of travelling to the city together on the same bus, though they may attend different schools. Some New Village youth distinguish this type of group from the gangs described earlier. The distinction was made by an older brother who prevented his younger brother from falling into one of the gangs while he himself was an intimate member of a group of classmates. Further, members of classmate groups are usually older than gang members.

Friendships formed in school are acknowledged to be close and deserving of respect. The younger man of Village B who left home because of disagreements went to live with his English middle school classmate. Youths from one village frequently take short bicycle trips to visit classmates in other villages. A young man in Village A defended a stranger from harm at the hands of other village youth by informing them that the outsider was his classmate in the city.

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6. Theoretically, boys in their middle teens are not accepted into political youth groups as young people of school age are, by law, not allowed to participate in political activities.
 7. Ed. Note: The middle school was the Chinese equivalent to the English Secondary School. The distinction was made because formerly the Chinese Middle School was composed of two sections each of three years duration, the Junior Middle School and the Senior Middle School. The English Secondary School on the other hand, was composed of Secondary I-IV, leading to the Senior Cambridge Examination. In addition, two years of pre-university education was available. Because of the gradual standardization of the educational system after independence, the middle school has been brought in line with the secondary school, and the Junior and Senior Middle Schools are no longer

City middle schools usually form alumni associations for the fellowship of their graduates.⁷ As yet few village youth are members of such associations. Village C reportedly had only two middle school graduates, one of whom had gone out-station in pursuit of employment.

Other Allegiances

Recruitment of young people into groups restricted to the community—the gang, the youth group, the secret society—is intense and competitive.⁸ There are youth in every village, however, who do not wish to be included within any group. Some maintain connections with organizations in larger towns, others join youth groups sponsored by the churches, and a few drift into companionship with young people of other ethnic origins living either in the village or immediately outside. A young family man of Village A spent his leisure hours with a Malay youth from the small *kampong* on the other side of the village. They spent their free time visiting together, sitting near the street corner in quiet conversation, or cycling slowly around the village together in the cool of the late evening.

Friendships that cut across ethnic lines, however, are still rare and apparently are formed only where some really compelling motive exists, such as the desire to remain independent of the competing groups in the village. Such friendships would occur more readily where an individual is brought into repeated and close contact with members of other ethnic groups.⁹ Unfortunately, however, this is not always the result. A young Malay family man teaches National Language classes at the Village A Chinese school. Not once did the writer observe this young man in the company of a Chinese outside school hours, though he was the only Malay living in the village.

An inter-ethnic attachment, fellowship with classmates from outside the village, or full membership in a church group, are recognized as valid claims on the individual by the village groups that might otherwise compete for his allegiance.

found. The name Chinese Middle School, however, has been colloquially retained, and this causes some confusion.

8. This will be discussed more fully on pp. 143, 145, 149–150.

9. See p. 158.

Secret Societies

Secret society membership is difficult for the non-Chinese to identify. However, incidents reveal the presence of such societies. One evening, as the writer was cleaning the New Village chapel, a youth ran in shouting that someone was being beaten outside. A group of more than twenty youths had gathered not far from the chapel. Seated on a motorcycle were two young men, strangers to the village, who had come from a large village many miles away to visit two girls. Their presence was resented by one of the village 'groups' and, armed with large knives and lengths of heavy sugar cane, they waited for the young men to come out of the home they were visiting. The ambushers were partially restrained by another village youth passing by who shouted that the strangers were his classmates. By the time the writer appeared on the scene other youths had already intervened but the strangers had not yet been allowed to leave. The presence of a European did not fit into the expected pattern, caused confusion, and finally inclined the group to allow the young men to leave.¹⁰

Such are the ways in which secret societies are revealed to the outsider.¹¹ Under normal conditions it is extremely difficult to know who is a member of a society. And indeed in some villages, societies are not strong. Members of the Local Council and a Chinese colleague in Village T have all reported that, though societies exist in their village, they are not active; the same has been reported for Village C. Yet in other villages the societies cause such disturbance that no public meetings of any kind can be held.¹²

Many books have been written describing secret societies among the Chinese, and a history of secret society activity in

10. All Caucasians are termed Europeans.

11. Secret societies are found in most 'Overseas' Chinese settlements. In only one country are they notably absent. Tsien, *op. cit.*, p. 174, reports: "*Un fait particulier qu'il convient de signaler tout d'abord est qu'il n'y a pas à Madagascar de sociétés secrètes chinoises, ce qui diffère beaucoup des communautés chinoises de l'Asie du Sud-Est*". (A peculiar fact that must be pointed out is that there are no Chinese secret societies in Madagascar which makes it very different from the Chinese communities of Southeast Asia.)

12. Police refused the writer permission to hold meetings in a village not far from Village T because of disturbances caused at every public meeting held there. Even the Government Information Department had ceased holding meetings in that village!

Malaya has been compiled.¹³ Unfortunately, no really satisfactory account of the social function of societies in the present situation has been written and it is not within the scope of this study to attempt such an account. But it appears that one common activity of the societies is extortion, backed by the threat of harm both to person and property. Storekeepers as well as private individuals are regularly subject to such pressure.¹⁴

A young man of Village A who was under pressure from the societies for a contribution reported that the societies in that village were only three or four years old.¹⁵ Numerous informants unanimously identified these societies as the 華記會 *Hua-Chi* and the 洪民會 *Hung-Mun*.¹⁶ The *Hua-Chi* was the newer and smaller, but wealthier of the two. Nicknames were given to the two groups, one being called the 'threes', the other the 'fours'. The competition between them for membership was intense. Young people tapping rubber in solitary places were put under constant pressure and threat of physical harm from society members determined to recruit them.

Fighting has been reported between the societies in this village. However, the pattern which appears common to many village areas is that opposing groups within a village do not fight each other, rather they confront opposing groups in other villages. Village M, for example, has been the scene of several battles with a group from a nearby town.

Coffee Shop Fellowship

Far different in spirit from the secret society groupings are the gatherings of men at the coffee shop in the evening. During the day these coffee shops have little business. It is in the late afternoon, after people have returned home from work and had a chance to relax, that the procession to the coffee shop begins,

13. Leon Comber, *Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya; A Survey of the Triad Society from 1800 to 1900* (New York: J. J. Augustine, 1959).

14. See p. 183.

15. He reported that he was asked for a "contribution". However, the amount of the "contribution" was specified as M\$108.00, which has been described as standard for initiation into a society; thus he was actually being pressured to join the society. See Leon Comber, *An Introduction to Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya* (Singapore: Donald Moore, 1957) p. 11.

16. See p. 147.

and in the evenings the shops are crowded. One or two tables may be playing *mah-jong* watched by a large number of men. At the other tables small groups of men will be drinking tea, soda or coffee, smoking cigarettes, and engaging in idle conversation. Coffee shops are crowded to capacity during times of heightened activity in the village when they become centres of the latest information. When political rallies keep all villagers up late, the coffee shops stay open. When the evening is cool and everyone goes to bed early, the coffee shop owner closes his doors, unless a *mah-jong* game is in progress—cool weather does not seem to lessen the ardour of the gambler.

The coffee shop is the men's meeting place; one would not see women sitting down for a coffee.¹⁷ The hours of relaxation for girls may take them on a visit to a friend's house or simply on an aimless walk through the village in the company of other girls, but they would not be invited to the coffee shop, even as a gesture of friendship.¹⁸

Although its essential function is as a social centre for men, the coffee shop serves a number of other purposes. It often has the only refrigerator in the community. When there are guests to entertain, the children are sent to fetch cold soft drinks from the coffee shop. It sells cigarettes, smoked by both sexes, and sweets for the children.

Fellowship by the Village Stream

Women have no gathering place comparable to the coffee shop. The market has this potentiality, for the Chinese diet demands that fresh foodstuffs be purchased each day. However, fresh foods are bought in the early morning, between 7.00 a.m. and 9.00 a.m., and this is a time when the younger women are out

17. A young village girl expressed shock at the very idea that it might be possible for a girl or woman to patronize a coffee shop; a girl would drink her coffee or tea at home. Tea brewed at home is not the same as that of the coffee shop. Home-brewed tea is made with leaves imported from China and has no milk or sugar added. Coffee shop tea is made with a leaf imported from Ceylon or a locally-grown leaf and has a large amount of condensed milk and sugar added. When Ceylon tea with condensed milk and sugar was inadvertently served at a youth meeting where the majority present were girls, a few tried it, but not one would drink it, such a taste never having been acquired.

18. Fei, *op. cit.*, p. 129, writes that in the village he studied in China, women did sometimes go to the tea shop with their husbands, but only occasionally.

working. Consequently, the daily shopping is done by the older children or the grandmother, and it is they who are afforded an opportunity for gathering with others of their age group.¹⁹ Yet even such time for fellowship may be cut short by the demands of small children left at home.²⁰

Another place of women's fellowship is by the well or the stream. Very few New Village homes have piped water, and only a small percentage have wells. Thus women of different, sometimes widely-separated, households come together as they draw water. In many villages standpipes have been installed along the roadside so that villagers may draw pure water. Some women take their vegetables, their clothes, and even their children there to be washed.²¹ But this fellowship is neither casual nor relaxed as many households wish to use the taps at the same time and a long wait may result. Thus it is more usual for the water to be drawn off into pails and transported on a carrying pole back to the house.

There is more casual fellowship by the side of the village stream. Here women of different ages, and older girls as well, kneel down and knead their clothing, laughing and joking with one another as they leisurely perform the task.

There are many more associations of a unceremonious nature between women. Women of not too distant households may visit frequently. Certain households become centres for such informal neighbourhood fellowship; women sit under the trees in front of these houses engaged in friendly conversation. In one of the large resettlement areas attached to a town in northern Malaya these gatherings have become centres for gambling, the women playing *mah-jong* every afternoon. This was the only area where the writer saw village women gathered around a gambling table.

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19. The daily trip to the market of an old Village A grandmother was a memorable sight. This elderly woman, one of the few in the village who still had bound feet, commanded the respect and obedience of the grandchildren. On their trip to the market they formed quite a procession, the grandmother out in front, walking in short, fast, determined steps, and the children following obediently in a straight line behind her.
 20. In China as well, market fellowship was limited. Fried, *op. cit.*, p. 9, writes, "Most of the people of the market leave as soon as they have made their purchases or sold their goods. Thus, social activities in the market are largely confined to the processes of exchange."
 21. For a picturesque description of the water tap 'procession', see Carpenter, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

MIXED GROUPINGS

Some of the groupings we will discuss may inadvertently involve persons primarily, or wholly, of one sex, or of nearly the same age; however, it is our intention to stress the non-homogeneous groups that are potentially open to wider representation from the community than those previously discussed.

Neighbours

Cen Sin Sang, who says, "Close neighbours are better than distant relatives", has himself benefited from the goodwill of his neighbours. There are such neighbourhoods known for their solidarity in every village. Village M had a notable example. Most of the houses in one section of the village were semi-detached, many of the occupants having been well-acquainted before coming to the village. The unity of the neighbourhood was manifest in the treatment of the old and sick. Neighbours showed far more concern for an elderly, nearly senile, couple living there than did the couple's relatives; two youths of the locality asked the Church clinic if some flour might be given to the old couple. In another house lived a young unmarried crippled woman who was unable to get around well by herself. Wood was chopped for her, water hauled, and vegetables bought at the market—all by people of the neighbourhood.²² A visitor to her home would invariably find some of the young people of the neighbourhood visiting her.

Neighbourhoods such as this are unusual. Yet neighbourly feeling does exist in countless places. We have seen that neighbours often spend long periods of relaxation in front of their homes in the evening.²³ Occasionally a specific occurrence may draw the neighbourhood together as a group as, for example, a *mah-jong* game.²⁴ Or, the time for 'washing-up' may bring together a number of mothers with their children at the well.

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22. Her food was bought with a small monthly grant from the Social Welfare Department.
 23. Cen Sin Sang, in the context of a discussion about the relationship with others of the same dialect group (he was Cantonese in a village primarily Hakka and Hokkien), declared that "one's fellowship is with one's next door neighbours, not with a group scattered over town."
 24. *Mah-jong* is not usually played at home but is reserved for more public places.

But even where neighbourly feeling and concern exist, when long standing problems arise other than sickness and inability to get about, the neighbourhood shows little ability to assist. Chirn Pak Me, the elderly widow in Village O who was badly neglected by her son, was pitied by all her neighbours. But while all were fully aware of the situation, none intervened with her son, or offered the widow a room in one of their homes.

Another form of assistance that is not always forthcoming is warning against thievery, which is common in many villages and seems to occur in cycles. At times chicken thievery is common, at others fruit is stolen, or money. The lower class, having little worth stealing has little to fear; it is the privileged who never rest in perfect ease. Their fear is manifest in a light that burns in the front room throughout the night. Minor thievery of fruit or small change is frequently carried on by neighbouring children. When fruit ripens it is not unusual to see children hiding, waiting for the moment when a neighbour will lock the front door to go to market.²⁵

Neighbourhoods are often known by names which indicate their dominant characteristic. One portion of the village may be identified as the 'Yap family' neighbourhood, others as the 'rubber factory' neighbourhood, the 'Malayan Chinese Association' street, the 'Socialist Front' area, and the 'Hokkien' neighbourhood.²⁶ Where neighbouring households belong to different dialect groups or different political parties, or pursue different occupations, neighbourly feeling may be minimal, but such situations are unusual.²⁷ Neighbourhood identification does arise, based not on single shared characteristics alone but on the daily fellowship that neighbours have with one another.

25. One of the most popular fruits grown in Malaya—the *rambutan*—is found frequently in Village A and the environs. The fruit is not fully ripe until the outer covering turns from green to red. But red *rambutans* are never to be seen on any tree in the village. Those owning *rambutan* trees pick the fruit as it begins to turn from green to yellow, before any red appears, and sell it in the village. Should they leave the fruit on the tree until it is red, it would invariably be stolen.

26. See p. 112.

27. Indeed, the two New Village families which the writer knew best were next door neighbours but, to his knowledge, never did they visit one another and seldom did they speak.

Workers

Relationships between people pursuing the same occupation are not formalized, for trade organizations or guilds are not found in the villages. Although there is a National Union of Plantation Workers, few of the village rubber tappers have joined.²⁸ Instead, tappers with grievances such as the slow payment of wages will immediately approach the Labour Department in the capital city nearby.

Relationships between workers are casual. Before dawn rubber tappers gather in small groups about one of the several hawkers' stands scattered around the village, their chattering voices carrying far in the early morning air. Then they hop on their bicycles and go to work. From that time until they have finished collecting the latex and start for home, their work is solitary. A middle-aged woman may employ a young boy to go along with her and carry the latex bucket, but normally a tapper works alone. Occasionally another worker is encountered during the morning, but such contact is brief. Frequently the second tapper is from a different village; thus there is limited daily contact with people from other communities. The solitary nature of rubber tapping may induce the tapper into accepting membership in groups he would not otherwise join, for he cannot easily resist threats of force.²⁹

When the day's tapping is finished, he will meet other tappers at the rubber processing shed where the liquid latex is made

28. Ed. Note: While NUPW is not a communal organization restricted to any one ethnic group, both its membership and leadership are predominantly Indian. While Indians constitute but 49 per cent of the plantation workforce (which is divided between rubber 82, Oil Palm 13, Tea 2, Coconut 2, and Pineapple 1 per cent) they make-up 73 per cent of NUPW's membership. While NUPW has organized 94 per cent of all Indians employed in the 2449 establishments (employing 238,070 workers) in Malaya, they have within their fold only 25 per cent of all Chinese employed on estates. Chinese workers comprise only 11 per cent of NUPW's membership although they represent 28 per cent of the directly employed estate labour force. (See *Intisari*, Vol. III, No. 4 (1970) p. 72). Overwhelmingly, Indian tappers are directly employed by the estates whereas Chinese tappers more often contract their labour and earn 50-100 per cent more than their Indian counterparts. Even taking accommodation and medical attention into account, the *real* wage of an Indian tapper is still one-third less than a Chinese tapper. See Kernial Singh Sandhu, *Indians in Malaya, Immigration and Settlement 1786-1957* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969) p. 259.

29. See p. 73.

into sheets of rubber.³⁰ While they pour the latex into shallow pans containing solutions of acid and then push the resulting mass through rollers, they have much opportunity for fellowship.

In many areas co-operatives are provided where rubber tappers can take their sheets of rubber for sale. But these do not necessarily provide much association with others of the same occupation. The co-operatives are often not able to offer as much per sheet of rubber as the Chinese trader in town, and thus the tapper may transport the sheets to the nearest trader. For example, a Village B tapper transports his rubber sheets on the rear of his bicycle five miles to Village A. He stated that what would fetch only M\$70.00 in the Village B co-operative can be sold for M\$75.00 or sometimes as high as M\$78.00 in a Chinese store in Village A.

With most other occupations followed by New Villagers, worktime relationships are limited to the family. We have seen this to be true of gardening and tobacco cultivation; it is also true of pig-breeding. Although in villages such as Village C almost all the pig sties are located within one very small area outside the village fence, there is limited contact among those who tend the pigs and clean the pens.³¹ Household industry and the pursuit of supplementary sources of income also limit outside relationships.

Mah-jong Players

Mah-jong provides much opportunity for socializing. Though it may occasionally be carried on in the context of the neighbourhood it is usually found in public places: a coffee shop or Community Hall. On a clear evening the sound of the *mah-jong* counters being thrown to the table can be heard at some distance. Much fellowship among friends occurs within hearing range of the clicks of the *mah-jong* pieces, soft while the game is going well, but quite loud when a player becomes angry.

Mah-jong tables sometimes form according to age group. Whatever the age, attention is glued to the game. No other pas-

30. The processing station is owned and managed by an individual in the community who charges each tapper a monthly fee for its use. One station may thus be used by the tappers of a whole village.

31. In many villages, pigs are kept on the same small plot as the house. It has long been declared illegal to keep pigs inside the village, but the law is not enthusiastically enforced. Many times pigs are kept in a small pen right inside the kitchen.

time compels the attention of the participants as much as this form of gambling. Events at the Community Hall, a public hearing of grievances between two parties, an exciting political rally—such things barely affect attendance at the gambling tables. Even the coolness after rain fails to induce the gamblers to go to bed early; only rain itself is a deterrent.

Mah-jong is seldom played by New Village women. Occasionally older women (but not young women and certainly never girls) may join a men's table to play. This was seen in a home in Village B, and also in a coffee shop in Village A, when the wife of the coffee shop owner was invited to fill an empty place at one of the tables.

Gambling games are played by children of both sexes. Cards, stones, bottle caps or other objects may be used. The idea of gambling is common throughout New Village society, though the gambling tables themselves claim only a minority of the populace.

Meetings in the Community Hall

The Community Hall, built by the Government for public meetings and such, is a true social centre in many villages. The Hall in Village O will be described, as it is typical of such structures and the use to which they are put. The main portion was one large room, used for meetings. A bulletin board gave the names of all New Village Committee members and the sub-committees for which they were responsible.³² Nearby was a series of group photographs of all previous New Village Committees. To the left was an office with a few desks and chairs; to the right a wing used for youth activities.³³ In front of the building was a paved basketball court.

Seldom was the Village A Community Hall used for youth group meetings. But all meetings of the Local Council were held in that building, as were public hearings of dispute or conflict between two village persons or families, cases in which the Council

32. The New Village Committee was an elected body endowed with limited powers of local government. See Chapter X.

33. In Village T the secretary of the Village Committee, who had originated from another area, actually lived in quarters in the Hall.

sat in judgement.³⁴ Films sponsored by the Government Information Services and political rallies were staged in the front of the Hall.

Between events the Community Hall is the scene of small quiet gatherings. Every evening a group of young men gather to play *mah-jong*. A few sit drinking coffee; others purchase soft drinks from a refrigerator in the main room. A food hawker stops in from time to time. A few men might sit at another table lazily watching the *mah-jong* game in progress. Activity within the Hall is slow and subdued. At the time of special events the Hall really comes to life; in between it serves an on-going function important in the life of the community.

Boys and Girls

In this same village boys and girls had numerous opportunities to gather together, never in single couples, as far as could be observed, but in groups as small as four. Walking about the village in the evening one would see mixed groups gathered in front of the open doors of many homes. Girls might be busy with some small household task, or playing with younger brothers and sisters, or just engaged in idle conversation. A small number of boys might be seated or standing nearby, their bicycles parked not far away. Some households receive several different sets of visitors during the course of a single evening. Scenes such as this are typical in all villages in the hours of evening leisure. In those households where the young women were free from any pressing duties in the afternoon, the same leisure pattern might occur.

Larger groupings of boys and girls occur in the meetings of political party and church youth groups. Two political parties were represented in Village A: the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA), which formed part of the governing Alliance Party, and the opposing Socialist Front (which was a coalition of the largely Chinese Labour Party of Malaya and the predominantly Malay *Partai Rakyat*). Each of these two party branches sponsored youth groups and provided quarters for their use; the MCA purchased an old hall which had formerly served as a cinema and

34. The Local Council was elected and had wide powers of self-government. See Chapter X.

the SF rented the front room of a new home.³⁵ Both youth groups were large and included both sexes. Literacy classes, choirs and other activities sponsored by these youth groups all brought attendance.

Though there are many such opportunities for older boys and girls to gather, the activities are usually carefully supervised. The groups of boys and girls gathered at homes sit in the part of the front compound which is well illuminated by light coming from the house. Meetings in halls are well-conducted and orderly; the doors are usually open, and anyone who so desires may observe all that occurs.³⁶ Dating is not frequent before engagement, and solitary young men caught in conversation with young ladies may be suspected of 'trying to negotiate an engagement'.

PUBLIC EVENTS

There are at least three different kinds of public events for which village people assemble, the pattern and size of assembly varying with each category. These are: fixed time programmes announced well in advance; special demonstrations announced spontaneously; and events drawn out over a longer period that have no restricted programme time.

Fixed Time Programmes

Certain programmes, such as films organized by the Government Information Services and political party rallies, are announced well in advance. Evening programmes are usually announced in the afternoon by a loud speaker from a truck. Preparations for the programme begin in the early evening, and children start to mill

35. See pp. 142-145 for an extensive discussion of the activities of political party youth groups.

36. One instance may illustrate New Village attitudes towards the relationship between boys and girls. The writer and his wife had the habit of reserving one night each week for relaxation. On that night, they would engage a girl of about 20 to act as babysitter. One evening, finding the film not to their taste, they returned home early and found that the babysitter had invited in two young male friends. Neighbours later said that this had occurred on previous occasions and that the practice of a lone girl receiving visitors was frowned upon, though in this particular case the young people had left the windows open and everything that took place was visible from the street.

about the work area. People begin to assemble in the coffee shops and, if the venue of the programme is nearby, the crowd swells considerably by the time the programme is to begin. At the time announced for the meeting the roads are filled with a constant stream of people, all heading in the same direction: girls walk with their friends; boys ride with their buddies; grandmothers carry young infants straddled on their hips; women friends of the neighbourhood go together; husbands drift in gradually from the coffee shops.

Crowds gathering for such events in Village A, with a Chinese population of slightly over 2,000, have numbered up to three hundred persons at any one time, excluding children and those who remained in nearby shops or gathered about the doors of nearby homes. On a clear evening over a third of the population of this village participates in such events. Villagers previously occupied drift in later, and others leave. Boys stand alongside their friends, leaning on their bicycles. Girls stand in small groups with their friends, or are perhaps invited to sit in the yard of some nearby family. Adults stand in small groups. Children mill around, near the stage, behind the stage, and through the crowd. Lined along the edge of the crowd are the stands of food hawkers, each with its small lamp glowing in the darkness serving as a kind of gathering centre for those idling nearby.

The crowd is never pressed tightly together, and the small groups of which it is composed are always evident. Only small select groups as, for example, the central core of party organizers and invited speakers at a party rally, are gathered close to the stage. The greater part of the crowd stands well away from the stage or screen, with small groups constantly moving in and out, and everywhere there is the hum of conversation.

Spontaneous Events

Then there is the spontaneous public event. A classic example is the medicine man's demonstration.³⁷ The event is first heralded by the sight of a small truck driving into the village. The children of the neighbourhood, who recognize the truck immediately,

37. See p. 161 for a description of the demonstration itself.

form a running group behind it. Grandmothers, free for the moment and carrying their grandchildren, join the procession, as do younger boys on their bicycles. As the demonstration is set up, loud music is played over an amplification system erected on the top of the truck. This is the signal for a larger group of people to gather; girls assemble in small groups, older boys and young men stop as they ride by on their bicycles, and adults drift in gradually.

The group presses tightly around the demonstration area. Children stand on the inside of the circle. No groupings are visible among the adults as they stand tightly packed together; but groups of youths are visible on the edge of the circle. Gatherings of this type usually number less than one hundred, excluding children, though in the rural villages where there is little opportunity for recreation more villagers may become involved.

'We Go to Look'

The third type of public event is different in nature from the first two and centres about the celebration of marriage and the occasion of death.³⁸

The celebration of marriage involves a series of ceremonies and feasts which may last for an evening and throughout the night, or perhaps for several days. The activity in the festive household attracts the children who begin to linger outside the home; as the activity increases, so do the number of children. While only particular groups in the neighbourhood are required by custom to participate in the celebration or at least to visit the household, it becomes a centre of interest for the entire community. Groups of girl friends visit, attired in their finest, for they intend to enter the front room of the groom's house and see the bride, who sits there in state. Boys ride by on their bicycles, but they rarely display a vital interest in the happenings unless they are of the inner group which is required by custom to participate. Adults, often with their younger children, go individually to view the celebration. A large group never congregates, rather people come and go throughout the entire evening.

This expression (我們去看) *wo men ch'ü k'an*, 'we go to look' is used to signify an intention to attend any of the three categories

38. See also Chapters II and V.

of activities described. It is the attraction of what is to be seen that draws a crowd together, rather than their desire to associate with each other. Those persons sponsoring a programme of the first or second type must use loudspeakers so that those standing in the back of the crowd may hear above the din of conversation in front of them. Even a demonstrator of medical products who is in the centre of a small circle must make use of such equipment if all are to hear.

RECREATION

Games

Many games are played that do not involve gambling. Several children's games are similar to those played in the West: hopscotch is played, mainly by girls, out on the streets if they are unpaved; both boys and girls play jacks, using small stones for jacks, on any bare, hard surface, preferably concrete. Kite-flying is popular among boys. Spinning tops, popular among Malays and among the Chinese in some areas, is seldom seen in the New Villages. Homemade wooden guns are used in a boys' version of cops and robbers. Ping-pong equipment is provided at the school, political party quarters, or Community Hall and is played by both sexes. Basketball is popular and numerous villages have school teams. There are also community teams that compete with other villages.

Thus, with the exclusion of ping-pong and basketball, simple objects which are easily obtainable in the neighbourhood form the basis of games. One of the simplest games, seen many times in Village A, is played with two short sticks of wood. One stick is laid flat on the ground. The other stick, held by the batter, is positioned behind the centre of the first, and then quickly shoved forward, the intention being to send the first stick flying as far as possible. As long as the batter is successful in sending the stick beyond a certain distance and at the same time keeping the others, who act as fielders, from stopping it, he continues batting, but when he is caught out, another takes his place.

Visits

On days when the rubber tappers cannot work, they may make short trips by bicycle to neighbouring villages.³⁹ Sometimes the visits are to a friend's home; however, often they have no particular object. Many bicycle trips are made between Villages A and B, especially on festivals and holidays.

Fishing and Hunting

In many villages there are large fish ponds, maintained to supplement the household's income; they also afford pleasant hours of recreation for the neighbourhood boys. Other boys may fish in a nearby stream, catching fish no more than six inches long.

Only a few young men hunt. During the Emergency⁴⁰ owning a gun was forbidden; now the sport is limited by the sizeable expense involved in the purchase of equipment and the feeding of dogs. Wild boar is the only game hunted in many village areas. These animals are found frequently on rubber plantations and constitute a menace to the tappers.

Fun-Fairs and Cinemas

Travelling circuses and fun-fairs visit many towns in Malaya. But only the fun-fair visits the smaller communities where New Village youth from surrounding areas have the opportunity to attend.⁴¹

A far more common form of recreation is the cinema, and every Malayan town of a reasonable size has one. Villages seem affected by a cinema craze: Government Information films draw large crowds, and political parties have found it expedient to open rallies with a film.⁴²

Some of the larger villages have their own cinemas with nightly shows. Such villages become centres for the youth from nearby villages. Or a small town may become such a centre. Thus cinemas link together groups of communities, and villages be-

39. If it rains in the late evening or early morning the trunk of the rubber tree is very wet and cannot be tapped.

40. See Divider preceding Introduction and p. xxix.

41. See p. 188.

come more tightly bound to the towns.

Occasionally, however, villages which might otherwise be expected to have a close relationship with each other are separated owing to the location of cinemas. The youth of Village D situated at a junction of the main road and a side road running past Village C go to a town a few miles down the main road. Frequent bus service enables them to go back and forth rapidly. If the youth of C were to go to the same town they would have to change buses; therefore they go in the opposite direction from D, to a large New Village that has its own cinema. Thus although Villages C and D are only a few miles apart, the social distance between them is great.

Films have become so much a part of the life of the people that going to see a film is now a culturally-standardized way of celebrating the major Chinese festivals. On the New Year it is an absolute must for youth of the community to go to one of the nearby towns to see a film. On *Ch'ing Ming* a similar exodus is common.

Activities Later in the Evening

In the evening we have seen that youth of both sexes take walks or rides into town with their friends. Later in the evening, when many have gone to bed, a few still ride about aimlessly, enjoying the cool. Solitary older men may walk the streets. But by 9.30 or 10.30 p.m. few houses show lights. Older men with some learning may sit at tables in the 'guest halls' of their homes reading from large volumes; business men—the small hawkers and stall-keepers in the market—may go over their accounts in the front rooms of their homes. The store owners have once again shuttered their store-fronts; only the doors stand open, through which small lights flicker. The coffee shops prepare to close. Studious school children review their lessons for the next day. All work is soon finished and the village is silent.

Touring

Touring has had an impact throughout Malaya, and the New Villages are no exception. Few young people, unlike their elders, can

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42. An American Western was used for such an occasion. In the midst of a scene showing a great crowd of attacking Indians, the showing of the film was suddenly stopped and the first speaker came up to the platform. (See Ed. Note 6, Chapter XII.)

say that they have been no further than the next city. Inside countless New Village homes are photographs from a tour taken by some member of the family, pictures of large freighters docked in a West Coast port; of the Chinese-language Nanyang University in Singapore; or more frequently of Malaya's most picturesque temple, the Kek Lok Si (Temple of Paradise) in Penang.⁴³ Workers, particularly rubber tappers, are seldom able to take a long enough leave for any extended tour. The traditional exception is Chinese New Year; touring starts on the second day and may last for several days.

The Martial Art of Shadow Boxing

Few villages have formally organized clubs. One such club, no longer in existence, warrants mention because it once served as an important centre of activity. It met in a private home in Village B. The homeowner was a practitioner of 武術 *wu shu*, 'the martial art of shadow boxing', and taught students to use swords and spears in this type of self-defence exercise.⁴⁴ The students also organized a lion club under his leadership, and on festival days they performed the traditional lion dance and earned the customary 紅色 *ang pow* (red packets), gifts of money. The lion has a huge grotesque head, worn by a first dancer. From it trails a long cape, under which is a second dancer. Remaining men dance along the side. The club was closed by the Government as it was found that demonstrations of 'the martial art of shadow boxing' sometimes touched off disturbances in the neighbourhood.

43. See C.S. Wong, *Kek Lok Si: Temple of Paradise* (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963).

44. See C.K. Yang, *op cit.*, p. 111, for description.



Study is valued as an avenue to advancement



A New Village primary school. The name of the school is written in Chinese and in the National Language (Malay). The banner exhorts villagers to use the National Language.



Paper money is burned to facilitate the journey of the dead through the Hereafter

The temple signs proclaim the local deity effective in granting wishes





*One copy of a Chinese newspaper is shared
by an average of four readers*

The outside world enters the village through the shophouse



V

FESTIVALS AND CEREMONIES

*I recall how before, in the time of my youth,
I galloped off, delighting in the bright dawn.
I formed friendships with many noble families,
Went in and out among wealthy neighbours.
Thin silks' seductive, gay show,
Carriages and horses raising a dust,
Girls of Ch'ing and Ch'i singing,
Men of Yen and Chao plucking the lute,
Excellent wine full of fragrant flavours,
The taste of delicacies spoiling foods in season,
Nowadays whenever I think of them,
These things are remote and of no consequence.
I say to you who come after,
To make merry you must catch the spring.*

PAO CHAO
(c. 420-466)

V

FESTIVALS AND CEREMONIES

MARRIAGE

OF the major ceremonies and festivals in the life of the community, two—marriage and death—centre around crises in the lives of individuals.¹

Though it is a happy event, the celebration of an engagement does not assume the proportions of a wedding. Usually a party is held in the courtyard of the girl's home. Many are invited. While the celebration proceeds, members of the community pass by to congratulate the family and to observe the festivities. If the girl concerned belongs to a political youth group, and particularly if her fiancé is from the same party, one may assume the attendance of all the other members.²

To illustrate New Village wedding customs, one such wedding will be described in detail. The couple being married lived only a few houses apart in Village E. This village is exceptional in that the majority of families own their land. The bride and groom, however, were from non-landowning families, and consequently of a comparatively low economic status. On the day of the wedding, festivities were in progress at the homes of both bride and groom. Initially, the celebration at the groom's home was the more subdued. Erected along the side of the house was a long shelter, under which were three tables covered neatly with white cloths and laden with soft drinks, peanuts, melon seeds, assorted biscuits, orange slices, apples, and bananas. A number of people were engaged in preparing other food for the guests to come. The young girls of the family were occupied with their toilette.

Meanwhile the main activity was at the bride's home, where

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1. Arrangements for marriage and residence patterns after marriage are discussed in Chapter II.
 2. This function of political party youth groups is discussed in Chapter X, p. 143, and again in Chapter XIV, p. 186.

her older brother was in charge. A shelter had been erected in front of the house, and numerous guests were seated at round tables eating the rich food. Soon the cars which had been parked in front of the groom's house appeared in a cavalcade, bringing the groom and his party to the bride's home, where the two had their first reception of the day. The cars, decorated with streamers, then waited to take the couple back to the groom's house. On the front window of each car was pasted a piece of red paper with Chinese characters signifying happiness and prosperity.

The first reception was not lengthy, and the wedding party were soon driven to the groom's home. Many people had gone before them, and with the groom's mother, younger sisters, and the headmaster of the local school, who was to perform the ceremony, they awaited the couple's arrival. The woman who had 'arranged' the match, dressed now in black, helped the bride and groom from their car. The groom and his attendants were dressed in white dinner jackets and had orchids in their lapels. The bride was dressed in a white gown of western style; she had no attendants.

As the bride and groom approached the front steps, preparations for their second reception were still in progress, and a platter bearing a roast pig was taken hurriedly to the rear of the house. At the top of the steps they were greeted by an ornamental arch affixed to the main doorway. Large Chinese characters posted on red circular plaques were attached to the arch. Two characters at the top wished blessing on the young couple; characters below gave their names. The bride and groom solemnly passed under the arch and into the house.

While the party entered the house, some of the older guests sat down at the tables outside under the shelter. They ate what had been set out; when this was finished, someone appeared with more. Under a temporary shelter at the rear of the house a number of men were busy preparing food; in a back room of the house a group of women were similarly engaged. It was now nearly noon.

Most of the older guests and all the younger ones accompanied the bridal party into the house. Standing in the centre of the front room where the wedding ceremony was to be performed was the headmaster of the school. On a small table before him were the booklets to be signed by the bride and groom and their witnesses.³ The couple sat opposite one another in front of the

table. Around the trio of headmaster, bride, and groom, were clustered the relatives and guests; this small front room was filled to capacity.

Those watching the ceremony did not talk, but did feel free to move around the room to improve their view. The groom's face remained at all times solemn. The bride sat with her face cast downward, lifting it only when the ceremony was completed. A number of relatives circled the crowd taking pictures from different directions.

At the end of the ceremony the guests were greeted. Then the bride and groom were driven, in the car which had brought them, to the nearest large town where they had an appointment with a photographer.⁴

The general pattern of this wedding is characteristic of many the writer has seen. Sometimes the ceremony is more elaborate, an example being the wedding of a neighbour in Village A. The father of the groom-to-be was one of the wealthier men in the community, and this was his only son. The wedding was to take place on a Monday. Benches were brought to the house on Saturday, and many kinds of food, including several crates of chickens, were brought on Sunday morning. Across the road on the playground of the village school, a large temporary structure was erected under which the cooking was to be done.

On Sunday the benches were set up, and a limited number of guests came to the house. A little food was set out for them. A single table was provided for gambling and a group of men sat gambling until at least 1.00 a.m.

On Monday morning at 6.00 a.m., popular records were played. This opened the day of the big feast. Large numbers of guests came throughout the day. Food prepared under the shelter across the street was placed before them. Conspicuous among the guests was the head of the MCA youth group to which most male guests belonged.⁵

3. The 'booklets' are the customary form of written attestation to the marriage. One booklet is for the bride and one for the groom. They contain information about date of birth, marriage, place of origin in China, and so on.

4. See Chapter XIV on the importance of photographs.

5. The groom's father was a member of the MCA (Malayan Chinese Association) and the Local Council; the son was vice-president of the MCA youth group.

Many other villagers walked past to view the proceedings. In the evening, groups of well dressed young girls came to see the bride. The bride and groom received their guests in the left front room of the house which was now to be their bedroom. The room had been redecorated and furnished in the latest fashion popular in the cities. The headboard of their bed was wide and illuminated indirectly. The central portion contained a sunken cabinet with sliding glass doors in which the gifts given to the bridal couple were displayed. The wedding ceremony now over, the bride and groom relaxed and greeted their guests with eager smiles. The bride was dressed in a smooth pink *cheongsam*, which she had made.⁶ In an *almirah* against the wall were many shelves filled with bolts of cloth, some bought by the bride herself, others given by friends. A large number of finished garments, all made by the bride, filled the remaining shelves of the wardrobe.

A few New Village weddings may be more simple than the first wedding described, and a very few more elaborate than the second, but most follow patterns similar to one of these two.⁷ Although many deplore spending so much money on this celebration, nevertheless, the practice continues, and the wedding remains a significant day not only for the bride and groom, but for the community.

DEATH AND BURIAL

When death occurs, only the immediate family is involved in the preparation of the body. The writer has seen a room where a death unexpectedly occurred vacated almost immediately; after the removal of the body the room was again occupied. A body cannot be left long in a dwelling other than the house previously inhabited by the deceased; if he has died elsewhere the body must be taken home immediately.⁸ There it is washed, dressed in black clothing with a red cord tied around the waist, a round, black

6. (This is the standard romanization, based on the Cantonese dialect, used in the English-language press in Malaya.) The *cheongsam*, is a single-piece, sleeveless, tight-fitting Chinese costume worn on formal occasions. It is the second preference of brides, the first being the Western bridal gown.

7. Some celebrations include a small band, an addition which is more typical of Malay wedding celebrations.

cap and black sandals. These tasks are performed under the supervision of the eldest son or, in the absence of a son, by the eldest surviving male relative.

When the preparation of the body is complete, the community gathers about the coffin in customary ritual observance. Villagers of all ages come to the funeral and join in the meal which is meant for all. The ritual and chanting of the monks centres the attention of the community on the house of the deceased. The coffin, food and services of the monks are a considerable expense to the family. The community does assist; those who wish to be regarded as friends of the deceased give small gifts of a few dollars to the bereaved family.

If the deceased, or his son, belonged to a clan, district or dialect association, financial help may be expected as well as participation in the ritual. It is not common, however, for New Villagers to be members of such associations.⁹ More frequently help comes from the father's political comrades or, if he himself was not a party member, from those of his son. These party comrades make up the bulk of active participants in the funeral and procession.¹⁰

Burial follows only one or two days after death. The New Village funeral processions witnessed have been quite simple.¹¹ There have been no elaborate funeral carriages, no trishaws bearing tall colourful banners, no platters of whole roast pigs, or many of the other things common to the procession in the large towns and cities of Malaya. But the essential elements of a Chinese funeral procession remain: a man walking in advance of the procession scattering 'spirit money'; a small band of less than ten members, (each dressed in white shirt and pants and wearing a

8. As few village homes are rented, there is no need for 'death houses', where those who do not own their own home are taken to die (see Freedman, *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore*, p. 194). All preparations are made in the home. If the person has died in the hospital, arrangements may be made there.

9. See pp. 124-125.

10. See p. 126.

11. For a description of a far more elaborate Malayan Chinese funeral procession, see Leon Comber, *Chinese Ancestor Worship in Malaya* (Singapore: Donald Moore, 1957) pp. 27-32; and for the part associations play in the processions of deceased members, see Marjorie Topley, "The Emergence and Social Function of Chinese Religious Associations in Singapore", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (April, 1961) p. 298.

Panama hat); a simple funeral carriage being pulled by people of the community and bearing a covered wooden coffin; the closest relatives, clad in sackcloth, following immediately behind the coffin; and then the remaining relatives, with friends trailing on behind. The procession is not long; the largest of those witnessed was only about half the size of those seen in towns. Neither does it take long to reach its point of dispersal, which is the edge of the village where the casket is raised onto a waiting lorry for transport to the burial ground. The immediate family and other relatives enter a chartered bus and follow the lorry to its destination; the other mourners return home.

It is usual throughout Malaya for a particular graveyard to be used by only those of a single dialect group. The site of the grave is selected not on the basis of the deceased's clan or family identity as was previously the case in China, but by his dialect.¹²

THE TEMPLE

Temples vary greatly from village to village: in size, in organization of their respective committees, and in function. The temple in Village A was managed by a committee elected from its patrons. It sponsored no community festivals, and had not done so for several years. Initially it appeared that its only function was the provision of facilities for worship, eventually it was learned that the temple also offers the services of two spirit-mediums.¹³

The temple in Village E is somewhat more active and easy to enter. It is managed by an association, composed of all those who worship regularly. Each year, at its annual meeting, the association invites its members to bid for the management of the temple, the position going to the highest bidder. It is he, possibly with a few assistants, who is then responsible for the temple's upkeep. He receives all moneys, hires the monk, and takes care of

12. The deceased from Village A are buried in an area not far from Kuala Lumpur. Strung out along a single road are graveyards used by the different districts represented in the Chinese populace. Few are buried in grounds not belonging to their own dialect group. Freedman, *op. cit.*, p. 205, describes how the dead of a single household may be scattered all over a cemetery.

13. There is a reluctance to admit the existence of such officiants in the community; see p. 134.

all other expenses.¹⁴

A small temple in Village C is organized quite differently. This temple is owned by a village woman who runs it as a private enterprise; it sponsors no festivals or other activities.

Occasionally a temple is found to exert a real influence within a village, the temple association organizing community-wide religious festivals. A village two miles away from Village A was noted for this. The primary festival was an annual affair, but special observances would be organized in time of particular need. According to the writer's colleague in the area, the yearly festival followed a pattern common to numerous communities in Malaya and Singapore.¹⁵ The activities covered a three-day period and centred alternately on the temple, on the edge of the community, and around a large stage erected at a crossroads in the centre of the village.¹⁶ The evening events revolved around the stage and drew the larger crowd. A play was presented in three episodes over the three successive nights.

In years of plenty the association engaged a troop of actors to present the drama, while successive lean years led instead to the hiring of a puppet act. During the following year two young village children were killed in a car accident. The villagers were persuaded that the accident occurred because the gods of the temple were offended that so little money had been spent on the previous year's festival. Then a woman was killed in an accident. This led to an attempt to appease the gods by holding a feast in their honour. It was held on the street in the middle of the village, and all villagers attended. Apparently, this further experience with death was enough to convince the villagers that the gods were really angry; thus, for the following year's annual festival the puppets were forgotten and the actors re-engaged.¹⁷

14. Alan J. A. Elliot, *Chinese Spirit-Medium Cults in Singapore* (London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1955) p. 41, also describes the election of the temple manager and adds that he is known by the title 'stove-master'.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

16. Nearly two weeks were passed to erect and dismantle the large wooden stage.

17. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 147, states that travelling theatrical companies charge M\$1,000 to M\$2,000 for a two-day stand.

CHINESE NEW YEAR¹⁸

The ceremony of sending off the kitchen gods to report on happenings within the family during the past year, and the many other observances marking the extended season of the New Year have been amply described elsewhere.¹⁹ We will limit ourselves to the community aspects of the festival.

New Year is a season when the appearance of newness is desirable. We have already seen that it is presaged by an upsurge in house-building.²⁰ Where new homes are not being built or old ones repaired, they are given a thorough cleaning. Front yards are cluttered with furniture, bicycles and sewing machines while the interiors are swept and washed. The exterior of the house may be whitewashed. The red papers fixed to either side of the front door and hanging from the lintel, faded and torn after one year's weathering, are replaced by new ones. The yard is swept bare, half-dead bushes are dug up and all waste material burned. Throughout the community there is the appearance of neatness and cleanliness.

Similar attention is given to one's own appearance. Girls and young women have permanent waves and new clothes.²¹ Even the little boys have new suits and shoes.

Meanwhile, the preparation of special foods for the New Year begins. Round biscuits made of rice powder pressed into a mould are set out in the sun to dry and harden. Larger cakes are made and wrapped in banana leaves.²² As the day draws near, the shops are crowded with people making last minute purchases, and large trucks from the soft drink plants in the city go from store to store unloading additional supplies.

No one plans to return to their place of employment for at

18. Information on this festival is based on study in Village A only.

19. Martin Yang, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-37, 90-94.

20. See p. 50.

21. Ed. Note: The ideological-left considers the permanent wave as part of the old order and symptomatic of 'yellow culture', thus amongst this group one would more readily find straight hair which may still be braided by young women in their twenties.

22. Although the Chinese name literally means 'New Year's Cake', the object described is meant to be sliced and fried. It is of a gummy consistency and quite sweet.

least a few days. Even those who work far out-station have returned home by this time.²³ The entire village is in a gay mood. Gifts are exchanged between neighbours and friends: New Year cakes, oranges, cans of Ovaltine, condensed milk, canned pineapples, canned lichees, fancy Chinese biscuits, fresh pomelos, and other delights. Friends invite friends to visit their homes the following day. The size of the *mah-jong* crowds in the coffee shops and assembly hall multiplies.

The promenade of young girls with their new permanent waves and dresses, draws the comments of boys nearby, who may be making plans to attend the cinema on New Year's Day.

New Year's Eve is the time of the family feast. This is a joyous occasion. Chicken is almost certain to be the main dish. After the meal, in the few hours left before the family retires, young people hurry to the homes of friends to give last minute invitations to visit the next day.

New Year's Day dawns to the sound of firecrackers. It is a day set aside for visiting and then rest or a film. Stores are closed.²⁴ All homes are open to visitors and those sitting inside call eagerly to passers-by to join them. Opportunities for hospitality are frequent, for wherever one looks, there are groups wandering casually about the village. Tables in the front room of each house are generously set out with soft drinks, peanuts, melon seeds, biscuits, cake, sliced apples and oranges, bananas, sliced pineapple, and such other delicacies as the household might have prepared. Many minutes are spent at the table conversing and savouring a little of this or that. Then several of those seated will excuse themselves and continue strolling around the village, until once again they are invited into a home to enjoy the New Year hospitality.

Visiting drops off sharply about noon. But throughout the afternoon small groups may still be seen walking or riding around the village, and if invited into a home, they will not refuse. Young people of non-Chinese ethnic origin are also seen wandering about

23. Out-station workers usually have about two weeks' holiday. A few of those who work in the village, or on rubber plantations nearby, may also take an equally long holiday, but most people are back to work within a week.

24. Only three people in the entire village, all hawkers, worked on this particular New Year's Day: an ice cream man, an elderly woman selling sugar cane, and a man selling sliced water-melon.

the village just observing the festivities or in response to invitations to visit their Chinese friends.

The firecrackers with which the day began are heard throughout the daylight hours, dying out only in the evening. The evening darkness is broken by the light of many candles, as is New Year's Eve, but by ten o'clock all lights are out and quiet prevails.

Ch'ing Ming 清明 the time when graves of relatives are visited and cleaned, is a more subdued holiday than the New Year.²⁵ No special feasts mark the day, and only the visit to the graves indicates the day's importance. Visits to the graves, made in small family groups, are brief, and this is definitely not an occasion for reunion.²⁶ A tendency was observed in Villages A and M to reproduce the pattern of New Year's visiting, though on a much smaller scale; many of the same kinds of food are served, but the number of guests is smaller.

The Fifth Month Festival, 端午節 *tuán wu chieh* or the 龍舟節 *lung chou chieh*, Dragon Boat Festival, is another holiday that draws home those who work out-station. Special foods are prepared but only on the day of the festival itself. This holiday is not important in the life of the village, there is an air of festivity but business continues as usual. Still other festivals, such as 鬼節 *kuei chieh*, Hungry Ghost Festival, lend a holiday atmosphere, but they are not sufficiently important to be described.

NATIONAL CELEBRATIONS

Seldom is the celebration of *Merdeka* (Independence Day) or any other national holiday of significance within the village itself. In larger villages, particularly those attached to towns, there may be small processions and ceremonial arches erected at the approaches to the settlement. National flags are displayed by some village stores. (Children, of course, are taught the National Anthem in school.) Malays from nearby *kampongs* (hamlets) may be seen walking along the main road dressed in their most colourful cos-

25. *Ch'ing Ming*, literally 'clear and bright'; 'All Souls' Day'.

26. Freedman, *op. cit.*, p. 216, describes similar conditions in Singapore, adding that brothers maintaining separate households are likely to go to the graves at different times.

tumes. For the most part, however, the Merdeka Celebration is one which attracts New Villagers out of the village and to some nearby town or city where a pageant or procession is the centre of interest for a whole district. Organized sporting events, with a soccer match between nationally-ranked teams, and parades of lighted floats, draw many youths from Village A, and others from still further away, to the Capital.

National Language Month sometimes occasions a procession within the village, particularly in villages adjacent to a Malay *kampong* or to a community with a National Language (Malay) school. In preparation for the celebration, children in both Malay and Chinese schools rehearse the National Language Month theme song. On the day of the celebration prominent leaders of nearby Malay communities, village leaders, and children of both the village Chinese language school and the nearby Malay school all assemble on the Malay school playground in parade formation. Each contingent is headed by two standard-bearers carrying a banner in Malay urging people to study and use the National Language as a means of achieving national unity among the various ethnic groups in this plural society.

The parade is headed by Malay and Chinese community leaders, followed by children from the National Language school, the village Chinese school and, finally, any other members of either community who wish to join. The procession moves through the Malay *kampong*, through the New Village, returning to the school-ground where a stage has been erected. A Malay dignitary delivers a speech in the National Language.

In the processions witnessed, very few villagers participated. The speech following the procession was attended primarily by the school personnel. Only a few adults were present, mostly from the Malay *kampong*.

The visit of a dignitary, usually a Malay, is an occasion for the curious to gather and gaze.²⁷ Leaders of the community pay their respects. Innumerable homes display formal group pictures taken at the welcoming party.

27. The official most commonly engaged in visiting New Village communities is the District Officer; see n. 5, Chapter X.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and that its history is a history of growth and development. The second is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these immigrants. The third is the fact that the United States is a nation of free men, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these free men.

The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of law, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these laws. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these peace. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of justice, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these justice. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of liberty, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these liberty. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of equality, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these equality. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of unity, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these unity. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of progress, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these progress.

The eleventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of hope, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these hope. The twelfth is the fact that the United States is a nation of faith, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these faith. The thirteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of love, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these love. The fourteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of courage, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these courage. The fifteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of strength, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these strength.

The sixteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of wisdom, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these wisdom. The seventeenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of power, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these power. The eighteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of glory, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these glory. The nineteenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of honor, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these honor. The twentieth is the fact that the United States is a nation of respect, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these respect.

The twenty-first is the fact that the United States is a nation of peace, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these peace. The twenty-second is the fact that the United States is a nation of justice, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these justice. The twenty-third is the fact that the United States is a nation of liberty, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these liberty. The twenty-fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of equality, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these equality. The twenty-fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of unity, and that its history is a history of the struggle for the rights of these unity.

VI

THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY

*Most men, bringing up sons, wish for them intellect ;
But I by my intellect have had a life-time of failure.
I would only desire that my child should be simple and dull,
That with no ill-fortune and no troubles he may attain to highest
office.*

SU SHIH

The washing of the infant.

VI

THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY

GOVERNMENT POLICY¹

AN aim of all schools, regardless of the language of instruction, is to train the young to be loyal citizens. A further intention of the Government is to overcome the cultural exclusiveness previously perpetuated by Chinese schools. Chinese teachers are no longer brought in from other countries. Emphasis has been shifted from Chinese history to Malaysian history. Today, practically all text books are locally produced. Where Chinese texts are imported they are first carefully screened.

Since 1962, six years of free primary education has been provided for all, available in the four different languages of instruction: National Language (Malay), Tamil, English and Chinese. The Government also aids the Chinese schools to serve the community. Assistance is given in building the school; extensive subsidies enable it to meet certain minimum standards. Chinese teachers can find training at Normal Schools. Special training courses to raise the level of teacher competence are conducted in the large cities during the holiday periods.

The low standard of instruction in Chinese schools was deplored in the Fenn-Wu report. The standards for Chinese texts have since been raised; texts are sought which are both more extensive and more suitable for use in the classroom.² The study of the National Language (Malay) is mandatory. An effort is being made to increase competence in English. Large subsidies are

1. Information in this section is drawn from the Fenn-Wu report, *Chinese Schools and the Education of Chinese Malaysians* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Printer, 1951); also the Federation of Malaya, *Annual Report 1954* (Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1955) pp. 212-213, 226.

2. By 1955 new texts in the following areas were ready for use in primary school: *Kuo-yü* (Chinese language), Civics, Nature Study, Arithmetic, Hygiene, Geography and History. Federation of Malaya, *Annual Report 1954*, *op. cit.*, p. 213

available as an inducement to schools to raise their standards of instruction.

Over-age students are barred from attending the regular school sessions; night classes are being organized to meet their needs. Such night classes, where several subjects are offered each evening, are conducted in the school of Village M. When the writer worked there, four different classes were all well-attended. Over-age students are also admitted to commercial institutes in larger centres nearby.

THE SCHOOL PROGRAMME

The village school schedule is determined by the work pattern of the community. Because many children assist their parents at their occupations, or do the housework and care for the infants while the parents are away, most schools have no morning lessons. Young girls seen making their way to the village stream in the morning with a baby on one hip and a pan of washing on the other, are seen in the afternoon clad in immaculate white blouses and black skirts, a few books under one arm, on their way to school. Bare-foot boys dressed in dirty clothing, who chase one another around in the morning, are transformed in the afternoon by the standard school uniform of clean white shirts and black shorts.

The small towns to which such villages may be attached follow the same pattern. In Village A the school of the old community has been replaced by the new and larger school of the New Village attached to it and which its children now attend.

The only observed exception to this pattern was Village M whose economy was based on agriculture rather than rubber tapping. Labourers came home in the early evening rather than at noon. The teachers chose to open school in the morning. The evening programme served over-age students and some of those unable to attend during the day. The only afternoon activity was recreational: children playing ping-pong in the main hall of the building and the basketball team practicing on the playground. A few teachers might remain checking papers written in the morning classes.

When school is in session, the building is a scene of great activity. One class may be heard learning a new song. A language

teacher reads aloud a passage of Chinese and the class repeats the passage in unison. Teachers of English or Malay pronounce words for their students to imitate. Other teachers explain lessons outlined on the blackboard. Outside on the playground a physical education instructor leads yet another class in drill, his cadences being heard clearly above the sound of stamping feet. These blended sounds of singing, recitation, lecture, and the rhythm of the physical education drill, are characteristic of the village Chinese school.

In mid-afternoon there is a short recess, and the classes spill indiscriminately out of the classrooms, some children going to the playground for games, some into the main school hall to play ping-pong, and others to the small tuck shop near the school gate to buy a few sweets.³ A buzzer ends the recess and the classes continue.

The percentage of children who attend school varies with different villages; those with an agricultural base have the poorest attendance. Previous to the introduction of free primary education, a school principal in a tobacco-growing village in northern Malaya estimated that only forty per cent of the school-age children were actually in school. In Village M where gardening predominates, the percentage was nearly the same. Of the total village population of over two thousand, more than 600 were children of primary school age, and of these only 321 were in school. Table IX shows the attendance figures for a typical day in the lower primary classes in December, 1959.

TABLE IX
A TYPICAL DAY'S ATTENDANCE IN LOWER
PRIMARY CLASSES IN VILLAGE M, 1959

CLASS	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
1A	27	17	44
2A	22	17	39
3A	20	14	34
3B	21	14	35
TOTAL	90	62	152

3. The tuck shop is part of the Malayan school scene. It is a small store where sweets, soft drinks and such are sold; in the larger city schools, school supplies are also sold. The tuck shop is usually separate from the rest of the school plant.

Boys outnumber girls in every class. Attendance figures for the total student body on that day were 239 boys and 82 girls. Whereas in the lower classes, girls made up 40 per cent of the students, they represented only 25 per cent of the total student body. This results from the sharp fall-off in the number of girls attending the later years of primary school. This pattern is repeated throughout many villages; from the outset the number of girls attending school is noticeably smaller than that of boys, and within a few years that number drops even further.⁴

Attendance averages are higher in villages where the primary economic activity is rubber tapping. In such villages, school is held in the afternoon when all tappers, and such helpers as they may have engaged, have returned home.

Before the introduction of free primary education in 1962, some school-age children were unable to attend school because their families were unable to pay the basic monthly school fees. Numerous village schools admitted these children without fees. Other students whose parents were temporarily in economic difficulties were allowed to fall behind in the payment of their monthly fees. Schools which accepted Government subsidies came under Government regulations for the granting of scholarships; if a student was the only one from a family attending school, he could not be granted free tuition, regardless of the family's financial situation.⁵ This provision strained relationships between the village and the school, and in villages like M, there was already too little contact.

The introduction of free primary education brought a substantial reduction in the cost of education. No more fees were paid, with the possible exception of a nominal recreation fee. But meanwhile the cost of books had been increasing. Not only were books produced locally, whereas cheaper editions had previously been imported from one of a very few approved publishers abroad, but also the practice evolved of frequently changing texts, sometimes as often as once a term. A younger child could no longer

4. See p. 55.

5. The monthly fee is really quite small. Numerous families kept their children home to work not because they could not afford to send them to school, but because they did not fully appreciate the value of education. The Christian Churches and Mission groups assisted students who were seriously distressed by this provision.

use texts first purchased for his older brother or sister. Ministry of Education statistics for 1967 give the average cost of text books in the Chinese stream as: M\$4.60 for Standard (Primary) I; M\$4.63 for Std.2; M\$7.46 for Std.3; M\$9.04 for Std.4; M\$10.19 for Std.5; and M\$10.53 for Std. 6.⁶

All schools are required to have courses in the National Language (Malay) even from the early years. Such courses are invariably taught by a Malay, as few Chinese have sufficient training. In Village M the National Language class is taught by a Malay teacher who lives in a nearby town and is employed by several Chinese language village schools in that area. Regular classes are taught during the morning school hours. Additional classes are given in the evening when older village youth and even adults take this opportunity to learn the National Language.

In Village A the National Language is taught by a young Malay who lives in the village itself. The regular classes are taught during the afternoon school hours. This village has no evening school, but a special evening class in the National Language is conducted by the same teacher for those who wish to brush up on the language in preparation for examinations. This evening class is poorly attended as it competes with National Language classes sponsored by both political party youth groups.

Those who plan to continue their education beyond the primary level have much incentive to concentrate on the National Language, as an examination in the language is a part of major examinations to be taken in the future. But even those who do not plan to continue their education are aware that to deal effectively with Government departments, the National Language is essential.

The vast majority of New Villages have no secondary school. In a very few cases Middle Schools are found close by, while in

6. Ed. Note: These figures represent averages for the eleven states in Malaya and they total M\$46.45 for the six years of primary school. However, the cost of texts in the State of Penang, for instance, was considerably more, M\$65.90. The greater cost of an English education is epitomized by the cost of textbooks in that stream: M\$11.63 in Std. 1; M\$12.67 in Std. 2; M\$16.71 in Std. 3; M\$22.78 in Std. 4; M\$25.78 in Std. 5; and M\$27.63 in Std. 6; totalling M\$117.20 as opposed to M\$46.45 in the Chinese stream. Books are cheapest in the Chinese stream followed by the Tamil stream, then the National Language (Malay) stream and are most expensive in the English stream. (*Educational Statistics of Malaysia, 1938 to 1967*, (Kuala Lumpur: The Ministry of Education Malaysia, 1968) Table 118, p. 115; Table 120, p. 117.

others they are so distant that a student with sufficient finances to attend must live in a hostel provided by the school. Where a Chinese Middle School is close enough to allow a student to commute, the cost of transportation, in many cases, is more than the school fees which are themselves three times as high as the monthly fee previously charged in Primary School.⁷ Youth in Village C and M, as well as from other villages in that area, reported that the cost of fares, ten to fifteen miles each way, added to the school fees, brought the total monthly expenditure for their education to well over M\$20.00. This represents a significant proportion of a family's monthly income which may average no more than M\$150.00 down to M\$90.00. Accordingly, the elimination of the Secondary School Entrance Examination and the automatic promotion into lower secondary school of Standard 6 graduates in 1964 has not radically affected the educational prognosis of the New Village child as only a minority of children are financially able to proceed to secondary school.

Secondary schools in the cities have both morning and afternoon sessions. New Village youth more frequently attend the afternoon sessions, either because they work in the morning, or because the morning session is already filled with students who previously attended primary school in the same institution, or simply because they are accustomed to afternoon studies. Associations with friends may be affected. The friends with whom they previously associated work in the morning. After supper they may have an occasion for fellowship but their friends, having to rise

7. English language secondary schools were somewhat less expensive as they were more heavily subsidized by the Government.

Ed. Note: To transfer to an English language secondary school, the Chinese educated student has to face a shift in language of instruction which is not always easy despite the existence of Remove Classes in which students coming from the Chinese, Tamil, and Malay streams are given an extra year before entering the normal secondary school classes during which they are supposed to gain a sufficient command of the language so as to be able to compete with those whose entire educational background has been in the English language. Further, the average cost of textbooks in the English secondary school per year is considerably more than what the student had paid per year in the Chinese language primary school: M\$23.18 for the Remove Class; M\$38.09 for Secondary Form I; M\$42.78 for Form II; M\$49.67 for Form III; M\$2.44 for Form IV; M\$86.46 for Form V; M\$164.18 for Lower VI; and M\$162.38 for Upper VI; totalling M\$560.12. *Educational Statistics of Malaysia, op. cit.*, Table 122, p. 118.

early in the morning, go to bed early. Because of these differing schedules they can seldom swim or cycle together. Girls' groups are the more frequently affected, as their groups are usually larger than those of the boys, and to this conflict of school and work programme is added the difficulty of planning for a large group.

THE SCHOOL STAFF

In those village schools studied, the oldest members of the staff were the maintenance men, and the janitorial assistants. These men usually live in the village where the school is situated. Next in age comes the principal, from 35 to 55 years old. The teachers of both sexes are usually under 35.

Many teachers do not live in the village where they work. Of the entire staff of teachers in Village M, only one lived in the village, another lived in a large town some miles to the north, and the remainder in a city ten miles to the south. Only the young Malay teacher lived in Village A, all other teachers commuted from a town six miles away. The principal and entire staff arrived immediately before the afternoon session and left immediately thereafter. As the teachers are extraneous to the village, playing no role in the community's life, many villagers have no contact whatsoever with the school in their midst. Furthermore, the medium of instruction is Mandarin, the National Speech of China; thus the teachers are not necessarily able to converse in the dominant dialect of the village. How then would a parent seek consultation unless he is fortunate enough to command Mandarin? This gap between the teachers, a potential source of leadership to the village masses, and the mass they would ostensibly serve, has serious consequences in terms of the overall social development of the New Villages.

In some of the more remote areas the Government has had to build dormitories for the teachers. These dormitories consist of a row of simple apartments, each with one small work room and a bedroom, for single teachers. Apartments such as these are provided in each of the 'Valley Villages' in northern Malaya.

While teachers who do not reside in the village apparently have little concern for the community, those who do live in may

be active and accorded a place of eminence.⁸ We have seen that the headmaster in Village E was asked to officiate at weddings. Teachers in one of the 'Valley Villages' organized a choir which practiced regularly. They and their colleagues in the two nearby villages were the prime organizers of community basketball teams in each place, and the setting up of regular inter-village competitions, with yearly championships and prize cups.⁹ The teachers themselves took part in these and other sporting events. In that same area one of the teachers acted as Secretary to the Local Council. Concern for the welfare of the community was evidenced by the public health posters displayed on the outside of the school building.

THE COMMUNITY'S PERCEPTION OF THE SCHOOL

There is uncertainty within the community as to the role of the Chinese school. By virtue of tradition, the tradition of the Mandarins, it is respected and highly valued, and the language that it transmits and perpetuates is warmly cherished. The Chinese school is a sufficiently emotive issue to be mentioned in every political rally during a long campaign in Village A, both the party in power and the opposition accusing each other of intending to do away with Chinese-language education.¹⁰ Despite this the community does not always take full advantage of the educational programme in its school.¹¹ Why should this be so?

It was teachers in the valley schools who reportedly complained about the lack of community appreciation of the importance of education.¹² Many children did not attend school, and those who did progressed very slowly, for when they returned home they were immediately put to work performing some task such as sorting out

8. A first attempt to use school facilities in Village M to give talks on public health and initiate health campaigns met with a negative response from commuting teachers: "The people can't learn—they won't benefit by it." Similar attempts in Village O, however, where teachers live in the village, were warmly received from the outset.

9. The village holding the championship was extremely proud of its team, and public subscriptions were collected to build a large basketball court. Prize cups are given for countless purposes in Malaya and are seen in public buildings, halls, and schools throughout the country. All inter-school competitions are organized on the initiative of individuals (usually teachers) in the local area; there are no organizations that sponsor such activities.

10. See p. 152.

tobacco leaves. Finally, few children could qualify to go on to secondary school. These were the complaints of the same teachers who were most involved in their communities, perhaps reflecting their greater concern.

Such complaints are objectively based, for parallel with the public desire to preserve Chinese language education, is a private rejection of the Chinese language educational programme, which is a rejection of the language itself. Numerous New Village parents prefer English-language education for their children. One young family man in Village A sent his eight-year-old son to live with relatives in a large town many miles away so that he might attend an English language primary school. Another young man in Village B was making similar arrangements. It is not often that such arrangements are made due to the expense involved, but they are indicative of a feeling which is widespread particularly in villages close to urban centres where great emphasis is put on English language education.

English is perceived as the language of educational advancement and job opportunity. Not all parents have appreciated the need to study the National Language (Malay) which, unfortunately, has commanded neither economic power nor the prestige of being a language of international communication. To study Mandarin closes many doors in Malaya: there is no Chinese language university, and degrees from Nanyang University, the Chinese language university in Singapore, are not recognized; the language of the civil service, of public office, of the courts, is English which is slowly being replaced by the National Language; the professions, and executive positions in the modern industrial sector are also the

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11. It is not only in Malaya that the Chinese have sometimes shown a lack of appreciation for the programme of their local school. Tsien, *op. cit.*, p. 178, reports that in Madagascar: "*Les Chinois dépensent beaucoup d'argent pour leurs écoles; ils construisent des bâtiments magnifiques, mais ils semblent qu'ils n'ont pas exactement bien compris l'importance de l'éducation. Ils s'attachent plus au faste extérieur qu'à l'instruction, proprement dite. Ainsi ils n'hésitent pas à faire manquer la classe aux enfants s'ils ont besoin d'aide dans la boutique.*" (The Chinese spend a lot of money on their schools; they construct magnificent buildings, but it seems they do not well understand the importance of education. They give more importance to outward display than to the teaching itself. Thus, they do not hesitate to cause their children to miss classes if they need help in the shop.) This is true not only of Overseas Chinese, it apparently had been true in parts of China as well, Fei, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
 12. By report of a colleague in that area.

preserve of the English educated.

One resolution to this conflict is to follow two complete programmes of education in two different languages. For instance, Village A is situated to one side of the main road; on the other side is the National Language school of the Malay *kampong*, thus for many this school is as convenient as the village Chinese school; moreover, it has always been free, being fully supported by the Government. A large number of village children attended the morning session of the National Language (Malay) school and the Chinese language village school's afternoon session. These were the children of the more prosperous in the village who were not required to work in the morning and who, as it happened, lived closest to the National Language school. Recently, the Government forbade simultaneous attendance in two schools.

These families seem to have fully accepted the Government's aim of creating a united nation centred on one National Language. But they had not abandoned the language of their ancestors and showed no more inclination to do so than did any other families within the community. Though economically able to afford an English language education for their children, they have chosen otherwise, making it apparent that such education assumes a different value in their eyes.

Status is ascribed to leaders in the Overseas Chinese communities by their election to the Boards of Management of Chinese schools.¹³ However, Skinner in his study of Chinese leadership in Thailand, points out that when the Thai Government assumed a greater degree of control over the Chinese schools, decreasing the hours of Chinese taught, introducing courses that could be taught only in Thai, and making other changes which drastically altered the nature of education in the Chinese schools, the leaders of the community lost interest in serving on School Boards, and these posts ceased to be considered as ascribing status.¹⁴ Has a similar thing happened in Malaya, as Government policy has radically affected the educational programme of Chinese schools?

Certainly, the need to liaise with the State Education Department in respect of the qualifications and salaries of teachers, has made the authority of the Boards with regard to school personnel

13. T'ien, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-77.

14. Skinner, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-130.

more nominal than actual.

In Village A a man's status was indicated by mentioning his rubber holdings, family size, position on the Local Council, but never election to the School Board.¹⁵ This was also the case in other villages. However, the pattern of electing men of wealth and power to membership on School Boards still prevails, for such men are likely to be the political leaders in the community.¹⁶

The school playground is used both by the young and by organizations. The Government Information Services may show films there; political parties may use the playground for rallies. School benches are rented to groups for special events. The school building is occasionally put to public use for meetings of outside organizations and it is the main polling place on election day.¹⁷ However, the gap between the community and the school is further evidenced by the little use made of the school building by the community as a whole.

15. Schools may be run by Local Councils. However, even where ultimate authority rests with the Local Council, the actual running of the school is likely to be done by a School Board selected by the Council. See Appendix VII, p. 228.

16. For further discussion of the ascription of status, see pp. 121, 136-137, 146, 183-184, 186.

17. The church made use of a number of school buildings until chapels were built in those villages. Re elections see p. 153.

VII

RELATIONS BETWEEN DIALECT GROUPS

*The ice in the pool is three feet thick,
White snow covers a thousand li.
My heart is like the pine and cypress,[†]
But what is your heart like?*

LI PO.

1. Symbol of constancy.

RELATIONS BETWEEN DIALECTS

The following table shows the results of the analysis of the dialects of the various groups. The numbers in the parentheses indicate the number of dialects in each group.

VII

RELATIONS BETWEEN DIALECT GROUPS

RESIDENCE AND OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS

IF a New Villager is asked 你是什麼人 *ni shih shih-mo jèn*, "what person are you?", he will spontaneously reply that he is Hakka, Hokkien, Cantonese, or of some other dialect group.¹ Even though he may not know the specific district in China from which his father's ancestors sprang and may himself most frequently speak another dialect at home, he will nevertheless identify with his father's dialect group. There are potentially many and complex divisions within a community divided by dialect affiliation. Comradeship may cross dialect lines, but one is buried in one's own dialect cemetery.

We have seen that there is no organization of those of the same surname, whether they be of the same dialect group or not.² We also recall that the presence of many members of one dialect group does not necessarily mean there are extensive ties among them; and soon we shall see there is no organization of the total dialect group at village level.³ In the creation of New Villages, the Government did not take cognizance of surname (clan) or dialect group. Ties between small groups of households in each village which transcend dialect or surname differences and which predate the founding of the villages have been strengthened. In Village M a whole neighbourhood has achieved such cohesion.⁴ Thus despite the objective problem of forming relationships where people do not understand one another's dialect, the major dialect divisions, which have for so long distinguished one group from another, may become less significant.

At present dialect groups may yet be singled out as separate

1. See pp. 18-22.

2. See pp. 44-45.

3. See p. 124.

4. See p. 76.

entities conscious of their own identity. Rarely would one find a settlement of rural Chinese representative of all or even most of the dialect groups found in Malaya but New Villages have dialect clusterings. In Village A, for example, there is an area known as the Hokkien neighbourhood. Such grouping may be fortuitous in some instances. Regroupment from a predominantly Hokkien area may have taken place after a particular New Village had been established for some time and these Hokkien new arrivals settled near to one another. Other clusterings of Hokkiens in a shophouse section reflects an occupational rather than a dialect grouping, as nearly all the shops in Village A are owned by Hokkiens.⁵

There are other minor groupings of Hokkiens and Hakkas in different parts of Village A, and it is possible that the ability to speak with one's neighbours in one's mother-dialect has been a contributory factor in neighbourhood formation.⁶ In New Villages one more frequently finds indiscriminate mixing, with perhaps a few families of the same dialect as immediate neighbours. A striking instance of such dialect scattering is in Village M, where a Hokkien widow found herself with a Cantonese family on one side and a Hakka family on the other and she was unable to speak with either.⁷

There is always a tendency to stereotype dialect groups. Thus the Hakkas of Village A perceive the Hokkiens as those that run the businesses, and the Hokkiens type Hakkas as labourers.⁸ This attitude of Hokkien 'superiority' extends to other activities. A Hakka of Village A, asked about the number of pigs raised in the village, replied that the Hokkiens breed many pigs, but the Hakkas very few, the Hokkiens being the more 'active' dialect group. A Hokkien neighbour proffered that there were two Hakka 'spirit mediums' in the village and two Hokkien 'mediums', with

5. Hokkiens are noted to have the greater share of commerce and industry throughout much of Southeast Asia. See T'ien, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-61.

6. The two major dialect groups in Village A are Hokkiens and Hakkas, being nearly equal in size. Among the Cantonese, a minor dialect group in Village A, there are no clusterings whatsoever, the various families being completely scattered. Recall also that Cen Sin Sang, himself a Cantonese, when asked about relations with others of his dialect group, said that one's real fellowship was with one's next door neighbours, not with a group scattered over town.

7. Ed. Note: this points to the need for the National Language (Malay) not only to allow for communication between ethnic groups but as between the many Chinese dialect groups.

8. However, see p. 146.

the hastily-added qualification that the Hokkien mediums did not go into a trance the way the Hakkas did. Hakkas of the area repeatedly described Hokkiens as more 'zealous' in worship than themselves.

It is significant that with the exception of Village B such stereotyped characterization of other dialect groups was verbalized only by the older generation. Village B has a sizeable settlement of Kwongsai people—the only village in that district where this dialect group is found. Although the Kwongsai have been in this area for many years, they identify with other Kwongsai settlements far to the north. Kwongsai youths were heard to categorize Hakkas of their village as rubber landowners, contrasting them with their own dialect group which "doesn't own land." One must not conclude that New Village youth never label those who are different from themselves. They do, constantly, but on a class basis which inadvertently may parallel dialect groupings.⁹

The traditional stereotype of Hokkiens as business men, and Hakkas as labourers, is still in evidence, although in this particular village most Hokkiens are rubber tappers and one Hakka is a contractor. Such broad distinctions in occupational affiliation parallel those drawn by T'ien in Sarawak.¹⁰ In Village A, however, there is an important difference. T'ien has described how the dialect of the local village shop owners with whom the rubber tappers deal directly reflects the dialect composition of the area. However, in Village A where Hakkas predominate, all four village shops are owned by Hokkiens. The urban-rural origins of the two groups may well be responsible for this: Hakkas have formed the largest part of the rural Chinese population for many years, while the Hokkiens were primarily urban. When the urban dweller was forcibly moved to the New Village 'countryside' he maintained and utilized connections with urban-based wholesalers to establish successful businesses. Those without such entrees would find it hard to get started. In Village M and many other such agricultural villages, there is no such division of occupation, partly because of the lack of trading opportunities. But dialect occupational composition varies greatly from village to village. In Village B it is primarily Hakkas who own rubber land while in Village A, only

9. This is explained at some length on pp. 145-146.

10. T'ien, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 61.

five miles away, it is primarily the non-Hakkas. In Village A it is the Hokkiens who are engaged in pig-breeding while Village C, overwhelmingly Hakka in composition, is noted as the pig-breeding centre of that area.

There is, then, no consistent, recognizable pattern. The influence of traditional occupational affiliations may still be seen, as well as the influence of the urban or rural background of the various dialect groups who now make up the New Village population, but many traditional differences are no longer as apparent, and in most villages the major occupations are followed by all dialect groups.¹¹

Villagers are frequently heard categorizing others in terms of their religious practices. Such characterizations are invariably pejorative such as, "*they* believe in evil spirits." One must not generalize a dialect group's religious practices from such remarks. A survey of Village A failed to reveal any significant differences in religious practice between dialect groups.¹² Colleagues in Village D have explained its practices as characteristic of Hokkiens. But we have seen that Hakkas make up about 40 per cent of Village D's population.¹³ In nearby Village A, Hokkiens make up nearly half the population, yet community festivals such as those observed in Village D are not promoted.

We have already noted the difference of response to association membership between those who stand to gain from potential business contacts and those who have no motive for such contacts. Where businesses are under the control of one dialect group, there may be a *de facto* dialect grouping in an association. This reflects business interests and not a greater appreciation for association activities in those who belong to the dominant dialect group.

One significant difference in association membership has been encountered. The Kwongsai in Village B have a relatively high frequency of association membership.¹⁴ This comparatively isolated and self-contained group seems to feel a need for fellow-

11. See Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951) p. 271.

12. See pp. 60-61.

13. There are also about two hundred Hakkas regrouped on a plantation just outside the village bringing the number of Hakkas nearly up to that of the Hokkiens.

ship with others of their own group which the associations provide.¹⁵

It is now necessary to anticipate our discussion of political parties in Chapter X to discuss the relation between dialect group and party membership.¹⁶ Circumstantially, there might appear to be a connection between the two, as it is not unusual to find one of the major village dialect groups forming the bulk of one party and a second major group the bulk of another. But the actual basis of party membership is evidenced by those villages that do not fit this pattern. These cases show that class is the determinant of party membership. Landowners and the otherwise better-off amongst the Village A population, for example, chose membership in the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA), one of the three communally based parties which together constitute the ruling Alliance. The labouring classes, on the contrary, chose the opposing Socialist Front (SF).¹⁷ Others who find it politic to be associated with the higher class, though themselves not yet of that class, also chose membership in the ruling MCA. The gentleman quoted earlier as saying "the Yaps all join the Socialist Front" is of this opportunistic category.¹⁸ He did not seem willing to concede the actual reasons which prompted his choosing one party and the Yaps another.

Thus the factors which give rise to broad groupings within the villages are primarily economic. The organizations that consolidate these groupings are not guilds or formal dialect associations, but political party branches and the organizations they sponsor.

CROSS DIALECT COMMUNICATION

The problem of communication across dialect groups varies widely from one small area to another. Frequently the dialect

14. See also p. 123.

15. Differences in patterns of membership may also result from the practical matter of whether or not an association's recruitment programme offers sufficient inducement. See Chapter VIII for a more intensive discussion of associations *per se*.

16. The following is based on intimate knowledge of Villages A and B. See also p. 146.

17. See p. 146.

18. See p. 45, n. 31.

of one of the larger groups in the village is the same as that spoken in a nearby urban centre in which case that dialect may become the *lingua franca* of the village. But if the town or established community with which the village is associated is insignificant, the influence of its dialect is hardly felt.¹⁹

The characteristics of the New Village community itself may determine how dialect differences are handled. Village D has been mentioned before as a relatively close-knit New Village.²⁰ A colleague, after several years' work in the village, reported its composition to be about nine-tenths Hokkien and one-tenth Hakka. However, a detailed survey conducted by the Government Officer revealed that Hakkas made up 40 per cent of the population. This discrepancy reflected my Hokkien colleague's assumption that those who understood his Hokkien were themselves Hokkien. What had evidently happened was that the close-knit village social life brought such intimate contact that the dialect of the larger Hokkien group was learned by most of the Hakkas. Of exceptional interest is that the majority Hokkien group had also learned the minority's Hakka dialect. The author spoke in Hakka to a fairly large group in the village chapel. Before he began, his colleague asked if there were any present who did not understand Hakka. Not a hand was raised. The author watched each face for signs of incomprehension and was convinced that each person understood what he said. In Village A, however, where Hakkas outnumbered Hokkiens by less than a hundred, many Hokkiens could speak Hakka, but there seemed little tendency for the reverse to occur.

The economic structure of a village is relevant. Village M, which is agricultural, had the greatest difficulty of inter-dialect communication. The inhabitants worked as family units throughout the day, arrived home only in the early evening, and had comparatively little leisure for outside relationships. The fellowship of the Hokkien woman living between Hakka and Cantonese neighbours was with a group of Hokkien families on the other side of town. A Teochiu family complained that they had no communication with their neighbours.

19. This was true of Village M, for example.

20. See also p. 131.

Among older people many more men than women are able to speak at least one additional dialect. Where a second dialect is spoken by both husband and wife, it will be spoken with greater fluency by the man. It is the man who frequents the coffee shop where he will be exposed to conversations in dialects other than his own from which he will certainly retain something. Further, it is the man, more than the woman, who will go out-station to work, and undoubtedly many pick up a new dialect in this way.

More appreciable differences in dialect ability exist between age groups. Occasionally parents have some fluency in a second dialect. But while many very young children speak only the dialect of the household, they soon outstrip their parents in dialect fluency.²¹ The most striking difference, however, is between the middle-aged and the elderly. Almost every middle-aged man of the minority group in Village A was able to speak the majority dialect fluently. Many of their wives were also able to speak that dialect, if haltingly. But hardly any of the elderly were able to speak a second dialect, Cen Sin Sang being a rare exception.

These differences influence relationships formed by the various age groups. The elderly will associate almost wholly with others of the same dialect. While middle-aged women are usually able to carry on a conversation with those they meet, they too seem to prefer women of their own dialect group. Middle-aged men, on the contrary, do not so restrict their fellowship; the coffee shop crowd is an indiscriminate mixture of dialect groups. Young people have no difficulty in conversing with one another. The school extends their dialect capabilities by bringing together young people of different dialect groups. A group of girls planning an outing included one Hokchiew, two Hokkiens, and two Hakkas; one had graduated from junior middle school, one or two from the village primary school and the others had an incomplete primary education. In their conversation all spoke Mandarin. Play groups of much younger girls, which often include Hokkien, Hakka, and Cantonese girls, frequently use Mandarin in their conversation.

Mandarin, the National Speech of China, has been the language of instruction in nearly all Malaysian Chinese schools for many years. However, its use in conversation is common only

21. This occurs in areas of dialect clustering. For the first few years of his life a child may have no playmates outside his own dialect group.

in the younger generation. Many men over thirty will readily listen to a Mandarin conversation but hesitate to participate. In Village A, which had a fairly high school attendance rate, almost all school age children used Mandarin with facility. There was, however, a tendency at all ages for girls to speak Mandarin more frequently than boys. Older girls understandably use Mandarin more frequently than boys of their own age, for the groups in which they associate are larger and more likely to bring together girls of different dialects.

The Chinese school, even where it has little apparent connection with the community and its teachers play no role in community life, is a prime agent in bringing the various Chinese dialect groups together by providing them with a common dialect which is Mandarin. It remains to be seen whether the New Village youth will retain this Mandarin fluency more than did those of the previous Mandarin educated generation.²²

22. Ed. Note: When a Hokkien speaker goes to a Cantonese area, for example, and he wishes to communicate with the middle-aged, he will more often use the National Language (Malay). There has been an unfortunate tendency among the young Chinese political activists to use Mandarin, the National Speech of China, whether or not it is comprehended by the Chinese rural masses.

VIII

DIALECT AND TERRITORIAL ASSOCIATIONS

*Nestling on a mountain, looking down on the sea, is the old
frontier town;*

*Shadows of banners fluttering in the breeze show the border
keep.*

*Behind my horse are peach-trees in bloom, before my horse
is the snow;*

*As I pass the border, how can I forbear from turning back my
head?*

HSÜ LAN

Crossing the frontier.

DILECT AND TERRITORIAL
ASSOCIATIONS

The study of the dialects of the English language is a branch of the science of linguistics. It is a branch of the science of linguistics which deals with the study of the dialects of the English language. The study of the dialects of the English language is a branch of the science of linguistics. It is a branch of the science of linguistics which deals with the study of the dialects of the English language.

1887-1888

1887-1888

VIII

DIALECT AND TERRITORIAL ASSOCIATIONS

TIES WITH THE HOMELAND

ALL literature on the Nanyang or South Seas Chinese emphasizes their attachment to the homeland, the desire of many to return, the regular remittances to relatives at home, and the support of clan temples in home villages.¹ As mentioned earlier, numbers of New Villagers still maintain contact with persons in China and give limited financial assistance.² Occasionally the contact with the homeland is more direct and personal. An elderly man in Village A, just returned from a trip to China, had visited his former home and relatives there.³ In a conversation with another village man who originated from the same district, the traveller told of what he had seen: places, scenes and buildings known to both. The listener was eager for the story of the journey; individual buildings and sites formed images in his mind. But there had been many changes and each time one was mentioned the listener shook his head in disbelief.

These men were able to speak from common knowledge even of individual rooms in famous buildings in their part of China. But the young have never been to China. Moreover, tales brought back by visitors and carried in letters from relatives, make the elders less than enthusiastic, with the result that the young are told little that gives them contact with the home district. Though many New Villagers can still name the district in China from which their ancestors came, a significant number among the

1. See Purcell, T'ien, Freedman, and others.

2. See p. 32.

3. The Government gave those who wished to visit China re-entry permits valid for four months. Allowing time for travel from Malaya to the person's ancestral home in China and back, this left approximately two-and-a-half to three months which could be spent in China. See Federation of Malaya, *Annual Report*, 1954, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

younger generation cannot.

The dialect and territorial associations, with meeting places in large towns and cities throughout Southeast Asia, helped to perpetuate the tie to the homeland.⁴ District associations gave financial assistance to the poor from their district, and if the need arose helped them to return to China. Dialect associations maintained schools offering Chinese history, culture, and language, as the most important elements of the curriculum. District associations were even known to send representatives to the National Legislature of Republican China.⁵

In Malaya, such functions are now either non-existent or greatly changed. Few people need to return to China because of poverty; furthermore, increasing numbers of Chinese are citizens. The direction and tone of Chinese education has been changed; schools are now heavily subsidized by the Government and supervised by Local Councils.⁶ And, lastly, the privilege of representation in the Government of China no longer obtains.

ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITIES

The organizational structure of the associations is uniformly top-heavy.⁷ The Ka Yin Association, for example, has a full complement of officers, a committee of trustees consisting of the president and three other members, and an executive committee of fifty-three persons.⁸

General meetings are held once a year. Special meetings may be called at the discretion of the president or upon request of any ten Association members. The executive committee meets once every three months. Here, again, the president has the power to call special meetings, and special meetings must be called on the request of any five executive committee members.

4. T'ien, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 ff., found the active core of such associations not broadly representative of the district as a whole or representative of all dialect sub-groups but drawn from one specific county or one specific sub-group.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

6. See pp. 100, 110, 228.

7. Skinner, *op. cit.*, p. 109, gives an analysis of the organizational aspect of association life.

8. Information taken from the Constitution of the Ka Yin Association.

Enlistment from outside the metropolitan area is promoted by employing members of outlying communities as organizers.⁹ These enlists are associate members of the Association's central governing body and are elected from those New Villages and smaller towns already having numerous members in the Association.¹⁰

Several associations commented that before the Second World War, and the Emergency and resettlement which succeeded it, they had a very large membership. With the ending of the Emergency the associations worked to regain their losses. As incentives, they offered benefits and a programme of activities. Those associations with smaller memberships have had the greater recruitment problem. One of the benefits of association membership is the lump sums given at the time of life crises: marriage, sickness and death. These sums are raised by subscriptions from among the members. Thus the greater the membership, the greater the potential benefit and the greater the inducement of their recruitment programme.

Assistance in crises is far more significant for the New Villager than the city dweller. The infrequency of his visits to the town or city centre where the association is located, restricts his participation in an association's activities. Further, villagers residing outside of a five mile radius from the association's centre (which forms a membership unit of at least a hundred persons) cannot achieve status by being elected to full membership of an association's governing body unless the community from which they come can mobilize at least one hundred members to form their own membership unit. With the removal of these two major incentives, increased membership from the villages is sought by offering greater financial benefits. Interviews with officials of a number of associations reveal that their governing bodies are concentrating on increasing welfare inducements.

9. Based on an interview with officials of the Ka Yin (Hakka) Association in Kuala Lumpur.

10. Full membership can only be accorded to those residing within a five mile radius of the town or city where the Association is based. Full members may not be elected from membership coming from outside that area, unless such membership should come in groups of 100 or more from a single village, which in reality rarely happens. We find, as a result, that the Ka Yin Association has 27 full members on its Executive Committee, and 26 associate members.

The associations offer two major programmes: one of activities and one of benefits. In some associations both programmes are exceedingly limited. The activities may consist of no more than informal fellowship in the association's reading room or *mah-jong* games; benefits may include no more than every member contributing M\$1.00 on the death of a member or a member's father.¹¹

An almost uniform practice is to hold an annual banquet for all members. This is an elaborate affair and costs about M\$6.00 per person, an unusually heavy charge for a restaurant dinner in Malaya. In many associations this is the only activity of an organized nature. Other associations provide rooms where members from other parts of the country may stay overnight. Some provide facilities for weddings and other celebrations, or for worship.¹² Others have started mutual benefit associations. A number sponsor musical societies and sporting clubs for young people.¹³ The associations may from time to time alter or add to their programme as they find among their members the necessary talent for leading other activities.

Members participate in important events in the lives of fellow-members: births of children, marriages, and funerals. Involvement is not always voluntary; the Ka Yin Association appoints ten members to join in funeral processions and another ten to participate in wedding celebrations.

Benefits provided by an association increase as the membership and wealth of the association grow. Contributions may be requested from the members not only on the occasion of death, but in sickness or for a marriage. Scholarships for secondary school and university may be provided where finances permit.¹⁴

11. A M\$1.00 contribution from each member is apparently the minimum. Not all this money goes to the bereaved, however. Freedman, *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore*, p. 192, reveals that 20 per cent of the money is used to pay the transportation expenses of members attending the funeral, 20 per cent is put into the treasury of the association, and 60 per cent is given to the bereaved.

12. See Topley, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-296, for the fullest discussion of this function of associations.

13. The Ka Yin Association, one of the wealthiest in the capital, is exceptional in that it sponsors all the activities mentioned above.

14. The Ka Yin Association in the capital joined with other Ka Yin Associations throughout Malaya in sponsoring four university scholarships and was making plans to offer secondary school scholarships as well.

The programme of benefits does not always parallel the size of membership, for a few associations are able to secure higher contributions than the minimum and usual M\$1.00.¹⁵ Contributions as high as M\$2.40 per member have been reported. It is entirely proper to assume that these higher contributions reflect the solidarity of the members and a greater desire to support and perpetuate the association than is commonly encountered.

There are incidental functions of the associations which are not a direct outgrowth of their objects but are nevertheless fully and clearly understood by the members. For example, they provide an accepted way of ascribing status to influential members of the Chinese community through election to posts of leadership. Associations have served such a purpose throughout Southeast Asia.¹⁶

A second incidental function is the owning of property, both land and buildings, and its maintenance and extension. Property may be acquired either for association use or for rental. The Ka Yin Association in the capital has engaged in a long-range programme to strengthen itself financially by constructing a large three-storey building, which houses a number of stores and offices. Though the income from such property may be essential to the operation of the association, the ownership is incidental to the purposes of the organization.

DEGREE OF PARTICIPATION IN ASSOCIATIONS

What, in the minds of those villagers who have joined associations, are the benefits to be gained from such membership? Kwongsai people in Village B, when speaking of their association, would inevitably take from their walls the group pictures of association members and point out some person. They would recall how that person and themselves had both come from the same part of Malaya, how they had known one another for a long time, and so on. One may assume fellowship as the motive. These are not commercial people, or even landowners, who would benefit from business contacts gained through association membership.

15. This was true of the Kwongsai Association to which the Kwongsai people of Village B belonged.

16. See Skinner, *op. cit.*

And they do not live near enough to the association's headquarters to benefit from its activities. Individuals do occasionally go into the city on business, and then they invariably visit the association's quarters. The pattern of association membership in Village A, on the contrary, is uniformly one of seeking business contacts.

Active participation in associations is at a much lower level today than several decades ago. During the Japanese occupation, and the subsequent period of the resettlement, many rural Chinese were forced to move away from the locale of their association, lost their membership by default, and had not sufficient interest to rejoin. The Ka Yin Association reported that before the depression it had enjoyed a large membership. But during the depression, war, and resettlement, many members moved and addresses were lost. A public notice in the newspaper in 1958 recovered only 600 out of a registered membership of 1,850; and since 1958 the membership has grown only slowly. Individuals who have resigned from associations have cited disillusionment with the status-seeking association leadership as the cause.

Some rural Chinese were members of associations which sprang up locally and were disbanded during the Emergency. How widespread, or the extent of participation, is difficult to assess. One such local association existed in the area later occupied by Village A.¹⁷ During the early years of the Emergency, the leaders had been arrested as Communist sympathizers. The association disbanded and was never reconstituted. Those who had belonged laughed when it was suggested that they might join the city-based association. They said that few working men joined that association due to the amount of membership fees and the difficulty of reaching association headquarters. Convenience is important to villagers, as leisure hours are few. The colleague in Village A reported that no one in that village participated in any of the numerous musical societies and dramatic associations in the nearby city. Officials of the Ka Yin Association in Kuala Lumpur noted that 'working men' from the villages were unable to participate in their association's activities.

With the exception of particular groups such as the Kwongsai

17. This information is from several older residents in the Village A area who had been members.

in Village B, association membership is an individual concern. Few people who do not themselves belong to associations are able to evaluate the extent of participation by inhabitants of their village.

Figures from the Ka Yin Association show membership from some villages included in our study:

- Village A (900 Hakkas, only a small percentage from Ka Yin district) — 'very few' members.
- Village B (980 Hakkas, heavily weighted with those from Ka Yin district) — 80 members.
- Village E (3,623 Hakkas, large percentage from Ka Yin district) — 60 members.

The Hakkas of Village B parallel their Kwongsai neighbours in their unusually high percentage of participation, though not in their willingness to contribute financially. The Hakkas of Village E, like those of Village B, include a large number of landowners, the group most likely to participate in associations, but their greater distance from the capital makes it more difficult for them to benefit from such membership.

POLITICAL PARTIES SUPPLANT ASSOCIATIONS

Having said that one's real fellowship was with one's neighbours rather than members of the same dialect group scattered over town, Cen Sin Sang added that for the younger generation, concern for surname and dialect group relationships had been supplanted by concern for political party activities and party comradeship. Another older man who had belonged to the pre-Emergency local dialect association also declared that the political parties had taken the place of the associations. He stated that he did not belong to either an association or a political party, mentioning both together in such a way as to indicate that to him they had a similar meaning.

Many who gave up membership in city or locally-based associations find in political party branches the fellowship previously afforded by these associations.¹⁸ For the younger generation the intensive programme of activities of the party branch or

18. See Chapter X.

its youth section prove a constant focus of interest. The party 'hall' is a centre of activity almost every night in the week. Musical societies and other activities of the associations are now also organized by the political youth organizations. The attendance of fellow association members at weddings and funerals has been replaced by the participation of party comrades. In these and still other ways the party branch has taken over the role of the association, for all practical purposes replacing it as an effective organization bringing people together for fellowship and concerted action.

IX

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES

*Down in the plain, and up on the mountain-top,
All nature's boundless glory is their prey.
But when they have sipped from a hundred flowers and made
honey,
For whom is this toil, for whom this nectar?*

LO YIN
Bees

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES

The first of the principal activities of the commercial department is the sale of the products of the department. The second is the purchase of the raw materials and the third is the sale of the finished goods. The fourth is the sale of the services of the department. The fifth is the sale of the real estate of the department. The sixth is the sale of the stocks and bonds of the department. The seventh is the sale of the patents of the department. The eighth is the sale of the franchises of the department. The ninth is the sale of the licenses of the department. The tenth is the sale of the trademarks of the department. The eleventh is the sale of the copyrights of the department. The twelfth is the sale of the patents of the department. The thirteenth is the sale of the franchises of the department. The fourteenth is the sale of the licenses of the department. The fifteenth is the sale of the trademarks of the department. The sixteenth is the sale of the copyrights of the department. The seventeenth is the sale of the patents of the department. The eighteenth is the sale of the franchises of the department. The nineteenth is the sale of the licenses of the department. The twentieth is the sale of the trademarks of the department. The twenty-first is the sale of the copyrights of the department. The twenty-second is the sale of the patents of the department. The twenty-third is the sale of the franchises of the department. The twenty-fourth is the sale of the licenses of the department. The twenty-fifth is the sale of the trademarks of the department. The twenty-sixth is the sale of the copyrights of the department. The twenty-seventh is the sale of the patents of the department. The twenty-eighth is the sale of the franchises of the department. The twenty-ninth is the sale of the licenses of the department. The thirtieth is the sale of the trademarks of the department. The thirty-first is the sale of the copyrights of the department. 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The ninety-second is the sale of the patents of the department. The ninety-third is the sale of the franchises of the department. The ninety-fourth is the sale of the licenses of the department. The ninety-fifth is the sale of the trademarks of the department. The ninety-sixth is the sale of the copyrights of the department. The ninety-seventh is the sale of the patents of the department. The ninety-eighth is the sale of the franchises of the department. The ninety-ninth is the sale of the licenses of the department. The hundredth is the sale of the trademarks of the department.

IX

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES

STORES

STORES usually cluster within one main area of the New Village, with only a few businesses located elsewhere. They may be concentrated in the centre of the village or on the perimeter, whichever is most accessible to those entering and leaving the village.¹ The same central area invariably serves as a focus for *mah-jong* players, evening strollers, and the coffee shop crowd.

The structure of Village A was different. When it was added to an older community through which ran a main road, the New Village was strung out further along this road, and extended as far from the road as the surrounding hills permitted. The stores were along this highway, but the fulcrum of life was elsewhere: a street intersection just behind the store area and closer to the village centre, and the point at which the New Village joined the older community, where the Community Hall, the market and several coffee shops were grouped.

The development of a centre of commerce and activity at a location between an older community and an attached New Village is not infrequent. Village B, for example, is located only a few hundred yards from an older town, the two communities being on opposite sides of a small bridge. Before resettlement, the town had its own shopping area on its side of the bridge. Since the formation of the New Village, the shopping centre has shifted to the other side of the bridge, at a point midway between the established town and the New Village. The new shopping centre is a gathering place for residents of both town and village, and the older stores and shops of the town area are relatively inactive.

Stores are occasionally used for meetings and in one village

1. An exception is Village O, where the main shopping centre is close to neither of the two village entrances.

a store served for a number of years as a school.² Christian evangelists frequently used the open space immediately in front of stores for their meetings, connecting their amplifier systems to store outlets. Here cloth merchants from the cities and various other pedlars spread out their wares. Shoppers share a brief fellowship.³ The store does not approach the coffee shop's importance as a centre for socialization. In the evening, when the village is at leisure, the store, though still open, is relatively quiet.

The outside world impinges on the lives of New Villagers via the store; on its shelves are bottles of soy sauce from the nearest large town, cigars made from tobacco raised in New Villages several hundred miles away, canned abalone from Mexico, powdered coffee from the U.S.A., cheap cloth from Hongkong, and products from elsewhere in Malaysia and abroad. The proprietor makes trips to the city to purchase rice and other bulk goods from wholesalers. Lorries of all sorts come to the store daily to unload their goods. A clerk may be seen taking daily issues of the *Nanyang Siang Pau*⁴ around the village on his bicycle.

Credit facilities provided by rural Chinese stores in Sarawak have been described at length by T'ien.⁵ The following arrangement is common. With his minimal income the customer frequently finds himself unable to settle his monthly bill. The storekeeper, hoping he may be able to pay the following month, gives what is needed for the remainder of the month on credit. Incomes are so low that once a man becomes indebted he is seldom able to save enough to extricate himself. More commonly debts grow larger and larger. As the storekeeper is usually of the same clan as the debtor, he cannot bring himself to press the debtor too strictly and, conversely, the debtor would lose face should he run away;

2. *Nanyang Siang Pau*, Jan. 1, 1960.

3. Most people shop when the households are the busiest, thus there is little tendency to linger.

4. Literally, 'South Seas Commercial Newspaper', one of the most popular Chinese newspapers in Southeast Asia.

Ed. Note: while *Nanyang's* distribution in Malaysia (Malaya, Sarawak, and Sabah) is 91,607, and 165,435 including Singapore, its readership is 689,000 or slightly over four readers per copy. *Sin Chew Jit Poh* has a daily distribution in Malaysia and Singapore of 142,023 and a readership of 538,000. The coffee shop contributes substantially to this multiple readership.

Source: SRM Media Index 1970, WM/SP Male/Female, Table 7A.

5. T'ien, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-65.

thus the debtor and creditor are inextricably bound.⁶

Arrangements in New Village stores are similar: debts are accumulated in the same way; the practice described for Sarawak by T'ien of receiving the tapper's rubber sheets and crediting the monthly account is found in numerous villages. Bills sometimes become quite large. One Village A storekeeper's account showed several thousand Malaysian dollars owed to the store, one man alone owing about M\$800.00 which may well represent eight months wages. When asked why he allowed bills to run so high, the storekeeper shrugged and said that sometimes creditors paid one-third or one-half of the bill, and all he could do was to retain them as customers in the hope of getting his money back. As long as debts do not run too high, the storekeeper is prepared to carry an advance on his books as it ensures a fairly steady clientele.

Unlike Sarawak the storekeeper-debtor relationship in Malaya is not commonly a relationship among clansmen. Thus storekeepers who allow substantial debts to accumulate run a greater risk, which may help to explain the bitterness with which a few storekeepers complained of the amounts outstanding in their books.

SELLING INSURANCE

Selling insurance is a comparatively recent activity for New Village storekeepers. The storekeepers act as agents for large, incorporated, city-based insurance companies, the villagers coming to the store to take out policies and to remit monthly premiums. The storekeepers receive a commission on all premiums paid. Agencies of this type did not appear in those villages under study until 1959 or 1960 but they rapidly spread with some storekeepers serving as agents for two or three different companies.

It was to the advantage of insurance companies to have storekeepers as agents, for they were experienced in business. A number of insurance company officials interviewed said they engaged only storekeepers as agents. The storekeeper might take up an agency as an additional income or merely to keep in business, as insurance became so popular that no store could afford to be without an agency. Village E storekeepers complained that people

6. See p. 181-182.

were buying so much insurance they had not enough money to pay their bills!

Large incorporated insurance companies first appeared in 1958 and 1959; they multiplied rapidly, until there were more than forty. Most originated in Ipoh, Perak, the pivot of capital accumulation from one of the world's richest tin areas.⁷ Offices were rapidly established in all major centres.

These companies, in contrast to the mutual-aid, death-benefit, societies organized among a circle of acquaintances, were fully incorporated usually with M\$1,000,000 of which M\$200,000 was deposited with the Government's Accountant-General for the protection of the insurees. A sample list of regulations governing membership in such companies, is given in Appendix VI. There were entrance fees, annual and monthly subscriptions, and several classes of membership according to the amount the prospective member was prepared to commit; the more expensive premiums, of course, carrying the higher benefit value. The minimum age for entry was 20. A member must have completed nine-months' membership before being entitled to receive benefits, and the beneficiary of a person dying before completion of that period received no return on the investment. After the period full benefits would be paid.

Such companies quickly replaced the local mutual-aid, death-benefit societies.⁸ Villagers and company officials considered that two factors were responsible: the member's investment being protected from the unscrupulous and the considerable gain on investment should the insuree die after the policy had been paid for nine months (when the beneficiary would reap the full benefit of the policy) and well within the ten year period during which payments must continue to be made.

Here we find the germ of what became a common pernicious motive in insurance buying. As it was lawful to take out policies on others, many young adults took policies of which they were the beneficiary, in the name of some older resident of the community,

7. A depression in the tin market and a severe restriction imposed on Malaya's tin output may have contributed to this as capital which might have gone into mining expansion was diverted into what recently had been discovered as most lucrative.

8. See pp. 58-59.

ostensibly to provide for the funeral expenses of the insured. Solitary old people were found to be heavily insured. Insurance buying became an investment in death. Implausible as it may sound, this has been reported by villagers, and insurance officials alike. An official in one of the foremost companies boldly labeled the attitude of many investors as gambling.⁹ He held, however, that the incidence of such 'gambling' was far higher in cities than in the New Villages where many only insured themselves or sons purchased insurance for their fathers.

Village E attempted to prohibit such gambling by restricting each person to two shares in a company. However, such restrictions were easily circumvented by buying shares in more than one company. There were then six agencies in the village and some individuals were reputed to have more than ten policies on one elderly person.

It was the Government which decisively curbed such predatory practices. The Life Assurance Companies (Compulsory Liquidation) Act of 1962 provided for compulsory liquidation of any company which did not follow Government's recommendations regarding schedules of premium payments. Within a short time many companies which had appeared so quickly were removed from the scene.

Incorporated insurance companies of the type described exerted their influence for such a brief period that it is difficult to assess what effect they might have had on New Village life and social organization. One negative result was the rapid disappearance of the locally organized mutual-aid group, one form of organization based entirely on local initiative. Mutual-aid groups had been referred to in the Government Officers' Language Course as a form of gambling, and are described by Fei in identical terms.¹⁰ If this be so, then the transition was from one form of gambling to another, the difference being that the second form was safer and the chances of profit greater.

9. His remarks were interesting for what they revealed of his attitude towards other dialect groups. He said that in Village D where he lived few Hokkiens bought insurance: "We Hokkiens don't feel good about buying this kind of insurance for someone else (even for our own parents, he later added), because we feel it's like gambling on someone else's life." We have previously noted that Village D exhibits a high degree of internal unity.

10. *Op. cit.*, p. 274. See also p. 59.

SHOPS

Other than coffee shops, there are but a limited number of shops in the smaller New Villages; cycle repair, tailoring and a tinsmith, are usual. Cycle repair is an absolute necessity as the cycle carries one to work, to school, and to the homes of friends. Tailor shops are also common, sometimes operated by a tailor with the assistance of family members, or by a village woman with the help of several young girls she has trained. The tinsmith is frequently found although not as often as the cycle repairer or the tailor. The tinsmith supplies villagers with buckets, lanterns, sprinkling cans, long-handled scoops used by vegetable gardeners, and other tin articles capable of local manufacture.

OTHER ENTERPRISES

Dealing in sheet-rubber has been mentioned as part of the storekeeping enterprise. In tobacco growing areas there is invariably a business man who handles this trade. Large bales of dried leaf fill his store which he will sell in the nearest city, or further. The buying and selling of used cars is found only in the larger New Villages.

Trucking is an enterprise in New Villages which are centres for vegetable farming. Vegetables are transported by lorry to the city market; as many as four lorries from one village have been seen lined up along the market at the same time.

The type of factories that are found varies according to the economic base of the area: smoke-houses in almost every village in rubber-tapping areas; tapioca processing factories; pineapple canneries, and so on.¹¹ There may also be small plants not directly related to the dominant occupation, for example, a sawmill in Village O and a coffee and tea packaging plant in Village A. The packaging plant is set up in a private home, the front room designed as a large warehouse. Coffee powder is purchased locally; tea leaves and tea dust are imported from Ceylon and a portion is brought from the hill areas of Malaya. The packagers, all members of the family

11. In Village A and the older settlement immediately adjacent to it, there were three large smoke-houses.

but one, sit at tables in the kitchen which is just behind the warehouse. Tins of about one quart and paper packages of varying sizes, the smallest being not much larger than a packet of chewing gum, are used for packaging. The girls in the family fill the containers with the powder, leaves, or dust, and weigh them; then they are sealed and wrapped by the young men. These are stacked at one end of the table, to be put into larger cases and taken into the warehouse. Later a van, bearing the brand name, transports the cases to stores outside the village.

There is little opportunity for villagers to gain employment in factories in the cities or in other centres far from their villages. They have not the contacts to obtain such jobs. Where they find work away from home it is almost always in smaller businesses, or in construction, or in agriculture.

Raising chickens became an important commercial enterprise in Village M. Imported white leghorns were used. Coops were built by the head of the Local Council for two thousand chickens. They were constructed in such a way that every egg laid would descend through a passage-way and appear in a trough which ran the full length of the coop. A chart was placed on the front of each coop for recording each chicken's egg-laying record. The eggs were larger than average for village chickens, and were shipped to the city for sale. Within one year of this farm's existence two other projects of similar size were begun.

In addition to the more lucrative insurance agencies, certain other agencies were found. For example, a 23-year-old man in Village B engaged in repairing radios, which he had learned as an apprentice in the capital, was an agent for several large stores in the city. On a bookshelf were catalogues put out by radio manufacturers through which radios could be ordered and he would receive a commission. Agencies of this type are not yet common in the New Villages; they will undoubtedly multiply rapidly should they prove profitable.

SERVICES

One of the most common services provided in New Villages is that of the spirit-medium although there is a reluctance to ack-

nowledge their existence.¹² It was only after considerable searching that four such officiants were finally uncovered in Village A and it was with equal difficulty that their dialect affiliation was learned.¹³ Spirit-mediums are patronized by only a small percentage of the village population.¹⁴ Mediums do not derive their livelihood wholly from this activity and there seem to be no cult groups to which they are attached.

Certain families are known to patronize mediums. Perhaps the most common reason for consulting a medium is to seek a cure for illness; this was true in those villages located in the same region as Villages A to E. The medium, after dialogue with the gods, which may or may not be accomplished through a trance, may prescribe a particular herb, instruct what else is to be done, or may even advise hospitalization.

Another frequent motive for consultation is gambling. Two favourite forms of gambling are the 百字票 *pê-tzū-p'iao* and the Government Social Welfare lottery. The *pê-tzū-p'iao* is not popular in Villages A to E but has been reported to be prevalent in those villages in the vicinity of T and the 'Valley Villages' and in that area it is common to approach a spirit-medium to seek 'an inside tip'.¹⁵

Patrons pay the medium for his services with the gift of a red packet (*ang pow*) which has been reported to contain from five to ten Malaysian dollars.

Another service found in the villages is the rubber processing station. There is at least one in every village where rubber is tapped, and many villages have two or more. The station consists of a roofed area of about ten by fifteen feet under which are several counters for holding large shallow pans of acid and water. Near the station, or under its roof, is a large hand-operated roller used for pressing masses of rubber into thick sheets which are taken

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12. See p. 94; Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 44. also notes that the profession is not highly esteemed.
 13. According to a Village A colleague, Village D has two spirit-mediums and Village C only one. However, as he had detected only one in Village A, when in reality there were four, the accuracy of this further information is dubious.
 14. Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 167, estimates that in Singapore not more than two to three per cent of the population are intensely devoted to such practices, and not more than ten per cent patronize mediums with any degree of regularity.
 15. A small New Village in that area which is only one-third the size of Village A is reported to have three spirit-mediums. By contrast, Village E, which is three times as large as Village A, has only five or six mediums.

home and hung out to dry. The station is individually owned and operated as a commercial enterprise. Commonly, each tapper is charged M\$1.00 per month for its use.

Private Chinese maternity homes are a third type of service found in the larger New Villages. In Village O, the maternity home occupies a house which is completely painted so that it stands out from those around it. It is run by a single woman who has had some training as a midwife. The establishment is small, and although the patrons are not numerous, they are sufficient to provide a livelihood for the owner.

One other service found in every village is the slaughter station. Whether a village consumes one or many pigs per day, slaughtering must be done every day to provide fresh meat for the market. In Village A the slaughter station adjoined the market. It was completely walled-in, with a concrete floor. One section was partitioned off and here a small number of pigs were kept until the day appointed for their slaughter. Slaughtering was done in the main part of the station between 3.00 and 4.00 a.m. each morning.

X

THE VILLAGER IN POLITICS

*This infinite spirit I restore to the mighty void,
But a loyal heart will shine for whatever time.
All that in this life I have left undone
I bequeath to posterity to make good.*

YANG CHI-SHENG

*(Said to have been composed
on the way to execution).*

X

THE VILLAGER IN POLITICS

THE LOCAL COUNCIL

THE first form of self-government many New Villages received was the Village Committee, an elected body with limited powers. There were no political parties to contest elections. Indeed, often there was no contest at all, and it was difficult to find villagers willing to fill offices.

Reasons for seeking, or merely accepting, to be head of a Village Committee were many and varied. Often the office was sought as an opportunity for private gain; suitable land acquisitions could be arranged for a 'consideration'. A former Village Committee head boasted of how many people he had so 'helped'. Another head of a Local Council, formerly the head of the Village Committee, bragged of being able to build on a plot of land for which he had not yet acquired title. In the same village a businessman was allowed to construct a tapioca factory and a two-story house on inalienable Government reserve land.¹

Encouragement was sometimes given to elect a man of some leisure and wealth, possibly with the thought, erroneous or otherwise, that such a person would be less likely to corrupt the office. Encouragement was unnecessary where prestige was attached to the position, either initially or with the growth from Village Committee to Local Council, for then the most influential resident of the community, who was also among the wealthiest, was invariably elected. In Village T the committee head was a tobacco dealer; in a village further north and in Village M, a store owner; in Village A, a rubber factory owner.

The village head is not always a person of influence or respect.

1. This was verified by examining the record books of the District Land Office. Three buildings had been constructed on land to which no title had been given, and in one case the land was not even open to application for title.

In Village A the head man was reputed to own a sizable portion of the property of the old community. He lived the life of a recluse, never appearing at community functions. Let alone respected, he was regarded as stingy. He had bought the old town's school and converted it into apartments where the residents were allowed water only at night, to prevent children from letting the taps run during the day, and where each apartment was given but a 15-watt light bulb for its illumination.

The anthithesis of this man was the one selected as head in Village T. A tobacco trader of some wealth, he had great personal influence and his word was highly respected. Previously he had been head of the village home guard.

In some instances personal influence may have been more critical than wealth in the choice of village head; in many cases these two factors coincided. Whatever the considerations, patterns were set which were to prevail for some years. Even after the election of local councillors, the man selected by them to serve as village head was usually the wealthiest and most influential of the group.

Local Councils were organized under the Local Councils Ordinance of 1952.² An area was designated a Local Council Area by the Ruler of the State and included not only the New Village but also any small town or *kampong* (Malay hamlet) to which it was attached. The size of the area and the extent of the population were not uniform. Furthermore, a Local Council could be established notwithstanding that the place was within an area of another local authority.³

Within each Local Council Area, a Local Council was established. It was a corporate body, capable of making contracts, suing and being sued, holding, maintaining, and disposing of property.⁴ It consisted of not fewer than seven nor more than fifteen persons. Everyone who had been resident in the Local Council Area for six months or more and was over twenty-one was entitled to vote and to hold office. The term of office was three

2. See Appendix VII for more details on the structure and workings of Local Councils, excerpts from the original ordinance and from The Local Councils (Amendment) Ordinance, 1954.

3. See Shirle Gordon, "The Fences Go Up Again" *Intisari*, IV, 1 (1972) chapter on Local Councils.

4. Central cooking stations used during the height of the Emergency were given over to the Local Councils.

years, and re-election for an indefinite number of terms was possible. The chairman of each Council was elected by the members of the Council from among their number.

The Council would meet at least once a month and make standing rules and orders, which required the approval of the District Officer.⁵ No member could vote on any matter in which he himself had a financial interest. No Council member except the secretary received any remuneration. As all records were legally required to be kept in English or Malay, secretaries were often paid employees, sometimes hired from outside the village.

According to the provisions of the Local Councils Ordinance, the duties of the Local Council included the following: imposition and collection of taxes and fees, and issuing of receipts; reporting to the District Officer any failure to pay taxes;⁶ care of all monies under its charge, preparation of annual estimates of revenue and expenditure, and auditing of accounts; engaging of a secretary and treasurer; construction and management of schools; public works, in particular, those involving communications, sanitation, market facilities, and recreation grounds; and miscellaneous tasks such as zoning and regulation of advertising.

One aspect of the work of Local Councils about which many villagers complained was the imposition and collection of taxes. Powers of taxation were all but limitless. The amended ordinance of 1954 gave the Councils authority to fix different tax rates within

5. Ed. Note: We thank the Honourable Tan Sri Hakim Suffian bin Hashim for the following definition of a District Officer (D.O.)—"A District Officer is a hybrid animal. He is appointed and paid by the State Government and takes his orders from them; but this is only in respect of State matters. He may also exercise Federal duties: for example, as a Magistrate or in connection with citizenship. Justice and citizenship are Federal matters and in respect of these the D.O. takes his orders from the relevant Federal authority. A D.O. in States which formed the old F.M.S. [Federated Malay States: Selangor, Perak, Negri Sembilan and Pahang] and S.S. [Straits Settlements: Penang, Malacca and Singapore] is personally a Federal Officer in the sense that he belongs to the Malayan Civil Service now known as the Malaysian Home and Foreign Service. He is therefore subject to the jurisdiction of the Federal Public Service Commission. A D.O. in the other five Malay States [Kedah, Perlis, Johore, Kelantan and Trengganu] is invariably an officer of the State Civil Service, except in Perlis where there is no D.O. Sometimes, but rarely, an officer of the Malaysian Home and Foreign Service has been appointed D.O. in Trengganu; but this has never happened in the other four States."

6. This led to an investigation by the District Officer and seizure of movable property where the person proved guilty. In Village M the shophouse of a man who had not paid his back taxes had been torn down.

a village. These differential rates were calculated according to a principle of assessment whereby larger and more substantial homes were assessed at a far higher rate than smaller homes, and a correspondingly higher tax was collected. The wife of Ho Tien' Kim felt that since the Council did not build her home for her, she should not have to pay more tax than others.⁷ Many were the complaints. Four different taxes were levied and the total was sometimes quite high.⁸

The Local Council had the general duty of preserving peace. The Council in Village M dealt quickly with a case of extortion, reporting the matter to the Government.⁹ The Village C Local Council banned gambling in coffee shops, as it had caused a real disturbance of the peace.

Settlement of disputes within a family could not be handled by the Local Council.¹⁰ But disputes between families frequently came before the Council and where the parties were irreconcilable, were handled in public hearing. An attempt was always made to prevent matters from reaching this stage. Each village councillor was responsible for helping to maintain accord within his ward. He would try to settle arguments before they erupted into outright conflict. A Village A councillor was seen stopping two young boys from different parts of his ward from throwing stones at one another, lest their parents become involved in an argument. But serious matters which could not be settled in this informal manner were brought before the Council in public session.

The following description of a public hearing witnessed by the writer will show how the Council operated in such situations. The case concerned a village girl who accused a village boy of being the father of her unborn child. The girl's parents went to the boy's parents and demanded that he marry their daughter. The boy, however, claimed the child was not his. A fight broke out between the two mothers, and both received injuries.

The hearing was to begin at 7.15 p.m. in the Community

7. She paid M\$92.00 tax per year for the house alone.

8. A young family man in Village A reported his total annual tax to be over M\$100.00. Another man, with a very small house, paid M\$60.00.

9. See Richard Winstedt, *Malaya and Its History* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1948) p. 99, for the origins of Malayan criminal law.

10. In the case of Chirn Pak Me, p. 55, the Council head was asked to intervene but refused.

Hall. By that time all the councillors and the two plaintiffs had arrived. A large crowd had collected to witness the proceedings. Only the Local Council Chairman had not arrived. Many said he was not eager to handle this case of disputed paternity which was compounded by the boy and girl belonging to opposing political parties for, no matter which way the decision went, he would lose face. And in fact the Chairman did not attend but delegated another councillor to act in his stead, and the meeting began soon after the appointed time.

The villagers crowded closely around the councillors and plaintiffs who were seated at a long table. The mothers were seated on one side of the table, separated by two of the councillors. The boy stood behind his mother. The remaining councillors sat around the other sides of the table; Socialist Front and MCA councillors being interspersed. Rows of people stood behind them; the crowd in the rear climbed onto benches and chairs to view the proceedings.

The councillors paid no attention to the crowd. At times they talked among themselves; at other times they directed questions to the two women. The councillor delegated to chair the meeting took charge of the questioning. The councillors seemed far more willing to tackle the argument between the mothers than the real issue of disputed paternity. Each woman answered when questioned. Sometimes one woman answered out of turn, and frequent arguments ensued, but the councillors attempted to keep order. The crowd was quiet, listening to every word, only low intermittent laughter being heard. The hearing continued for nearly two and a half hours and ended inconclusively.

A middle-aged villager reported such public hearings to be common. The only punishment was the imposition of fines which varied greatly, the largest he had heard of being around M\$200.00. He stated that sometimes both parties are fined and the money given to the local school. When the matter cannot be handled by the Local Council, it may be taken to court.¹¹

Now we turn to the relationship of the Local Council to the State Government. The Council was first instituted when a particular area had been declared a Local Council Area by the Ruler of the State, who reserved the power to revoke this declaration or to dissolve a Council. The *Měntēri Bēsar* (Chief Minister) or executive head of the State Government could appoint a few

members to the Local Council, in addition to the elected members, but only as many as were needed to ensure representation of minorities within the community; his was also the power to determine eligibility for Council membership. Seizure of property for failure to pay rates was under the authority of the District Officer, who also had limited supervisory duties over the income and expenditure of the Council, and approved by-laws of the Council. The Local Council had the privilege of requesting development funds from the State Government. If a project was justified and funds were available, it could have become a reality; but conditions such as the Confrontation with Indonesia intervened to cut the size of grants, even by more than half, to retard development, and to nullify political promises.

As early as 1962 there was a call to end all elections below the state level. This was renewed, and in 1964 the Government appointed a commission of inquiry to look into the future of local authorities. This commission was later scrapped in favour of a royal commission. In March 1965, all local elections were suspended. This was followed by a commission of inquiry which held hearings throughout the country on the functioning of local authorities. Recommendations were submitted to the Government in 1968. Another committee was then appointed to study the recommendations. Meanwhile, although administratively local government still functions, all local elections remain suspended. The Royal Commission's recommendations for a radical restructuring of local authorities are thoroughly presented and discussed in "The Fences Go Up Again" by Shirle Gordon.¹²

POLITICAL PARTY ORGANIZATION

There are few villages where political party branches have not been organized.¹³ Some smaller and more rural villages such

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11. His personal feeling was that both parties should be fined and the money given to the school. A companion disagreed maintaining that the matter should be brought to court. A third man felt that a doctor should examine both mothers and the one who sustained the most grievous injuries should receive damages from the other. All avoided the issue of the unmarried pregnant girl.
 12. *Intisari*, IV, 1 (1972) published by MSRI.
 13. The three 'Valley Villages' are purportedly without party branches, although active branches are found in a town fourteen miles away.

as Village C have only one party represented with a weak organization but most New Villages have branches of at least two contending parties. In those villages located in the same districts as Villages M, N, O, and T, the two opposing parties are the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) and the People's Progressive Party (PPP).¹⁴ In those villages in the area of Villages A to E, the two contending parties are the MCA and the Socialist Front (SF). The PPP and the SF have had electoral alliances to the extent of not contesting in an area where one of the two clearly predominates, to allow for a straight fight against the ruling Alliance which is comprised of the MCA (Malayan Chinese Association), MIC (Malayan Indian Congress) and UMNO (United Malays National Organization).¹⁵

The frequency of party branch meetings is indicative of the strength of a party in a particular village. The SF in Village C, for instance, is weak and not well-organized, the branch meeting only four times a year. Both the SF and the MCA in Village A meet far more often.

Branches meet to discuss tactics for Local Council elections, participation in campaigns conducted in other villages, policy towards New Village problems, and fund raising for party coffers. Another important activity is the instruction of villagers on how to register for village and state elections. Then, of course, there is the election itself, in which a village branch will receive help from other village branches.

The most crucial party activity is the sponsoring of youth organizations which absorbs more of the party's time and involves more people in support of the party than all other activities combined.¹⁶ The party's youth group sometimes becomes synonymous with the party branch itself. At a Village A election rally a taunt thrown by the opposition was that some young people were quite willing to join the MCA's youth organization but not the MCA itself.

14. The PPP's strength is primarily in Perak. It has no comprehensive policy; the essence of its appeal is a demand for the equal treatment of all ethnic groups.

15. Cen Sin Sang reported that there had been a few members of the PPP in Village A, but no organization was formed because the SF was strong in the area.

16. The MCA revised its constitution to provide for a number of auxiliaries and special activities. The only provision implemented was the organization of youth groups. See also p. 176.

All political party youth group members are required by Government regulations to be above the normal school graduation age to prohibit students from being politically active.

Youth organizations include both sexes; nevertheless boys continue to predominate whether from inclination, psychological feudalism, or as a result of their more intensive recruitment.¹⁷ Girls have risen to prominence in party activities through membership in the party's youth group. The leader of Village E's SF youth group is a young woman. Other young women spoke on SF platforms at Village A rallies. However, on a national level, when one thinks of prominent leaders, no woman's name automatically springs to mind even from within the ranks of the socialist forces.¹⁸

The activities of youth groups are many and varied: participation in political campaigns and rallies; organizing voters and working at registration booths on polling day; inter-party youth group meetings; providing reading room facilities consisting of newspapers and a few books; holding literacy classes in both the National Language (Malay) and Chinese for the benefit of their members and the public; mass attendance at the engagements and weddings of their members, and at the funerals of members or their parents; the development of choirs where songs have an ideological orientation; taking short excursions together; and offering ping-pong facilities for the daily recreation of their members.

Political party youth groups are exclusive; cross-party fraternization is not permitted. Thus they effectively polarize the youth population; of course, a few individuals do escape recruitment pressures. In one village, on the night that the SF was opening its headquarters and people came from all over the village to witness the programme, the MCA youth group went on an evening swimming excursion. When a few MCA youth appeared at the door of chapel in Village A wanting to attend a youth meeting in progress,

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17. This is reflected in the composition of church youth groups with some consisting almost wholly of girls. Village C, which had only one relatively weak political party branch, had the one church group with many boy members.
 18. Women are found among the guerilla forces of the Malayan Communist Party. They also participate in political fights: a colleague in Village C reported the arrest of a number of girls in a battle between the SF from Village C and the MCA from Village D.

the young boys at the meeting who were all friends of SF youth, rose and left the chapel, not returning until the MCA youth had left. Soon after this church youth group was organized, the SF branches of both that village and the next issued directives that none of their members were allowed to join any other organization in the community.¹⁹

Party affiliations do more than split the youth population into mutually antagonistic halves, they also divide families.²⁰ New Village families engaged in few activities as family units; rather, relationships are formed within one's own age group. Since young people are influenced in their choice of party youth group by their friends, it frequently happens that a father is a member of one party and some of his sons members of the opposition. In most cases studied where a division occurs, the eldest son will belong to his father's group.

Some fathers deliberately divide up their sons between opposing parties, partly to maintain business contacts with both groups in the community, and partly to protect themselves from extortion at the hands of thugs that may attach themselves to political parties.²¹

But the ideological split may also be real. A hawker in Village A had two sons and a daughter. The eldest son belonged to the MCA and the second son and the daughter to the SF. The eldest son mixed with other MCA members in the immediate vicinity of his father's home. The second son and his younger sister would frequently be seen cycling together to another part of the village for comradeship with other SF youth. The two brothers had little contact with one another, appearing nearly as antagonistic as the two political groups.

Such family divisions are not at all uncommon and the conflicts they engender reach into all the areas of family life which

19. New Village youth are confused as to what groups are mutually exclusive. A youth belonging to the MCA group said he had long wanted to join a church youth group but thought churches did not allow their members to join political parties.

20. Members of each group were heard frequently to remark that "those people [the other group] won't change—you can't work with them."

21. In such cases, children will, of course, retain their family unity though ostensibly divided by party boundaries. See also p. 183 where a similar tendency is noted with respect to secret society membership.

are touched by political party affiliation. A SF member in Village A died suddenly. His eldest son was also from the SF. The party members turned out in full strength for the funeral. At the head of the procession following the coffin was a party banner. The younger son had not joined a political party but leaned towards the MCA. The presence of so many SF members at the funeral and the manner in which the procession was conducted angered him; however, as officially he did not belong to the MCA, no situation of open conflict was created. But such conflict does occur. Cen Sin Sang told of a funeral where the deceased's eldest son belonged to the MCA, and the youngest to the SF. He could no longer remember the party affiliation of the deceased. Each son invited his comrades to the funeral, fighting broke out, and the police were called to separate the two groups.

Such divided ideological loyalties within the family may well negate the tendencies we have noted towards the formation of extended family groups.²² The ideological polarization will become more acute as parties expand their organizations into new areas and branches proliferate.

Recruitment of older members of the community is not nearly so intense as the recruitment of the young. While parties apparently do not actively proselytize amongst those who are organizationally committed, they do attempt to attract every uncommitted individual.²³ Young people repeatedly say how difficult it is not to identify politically where there are contending parties in a village.

Ho Tien Kim's wife verbalized the division between the two parties in Village A as between those who do not have money, the SF, and those who do, the MCA,—the have-nots' trying to take from the haves'. Her own sympathies were with neither. The situation is not always characterized in such simplistic and sarcastic terms, but this view is held by most villagers. The class bias of the political struggle is apparent and is openly commented upon.

In a recent political campaign an SF federal councillor remind-

22. In Village C, where we have noted the greatest tendency to form extended family groups, only one party is organizationally represented and no overt ideological struggle has taken place.

23. We noted on pp. 70-72 that friendships with members of other ethnic groups, with schoolmates from other towns, and church membership are usually recognized as valid connections.

ed the people that the MCA was a party of business men, while the SF was a party of working men; only five days later the chairman of the Local Council, who was also head of the MCA branch, declared that all the SF wanted was to deny everyone else the right to have more money than themselves, "If they have nothing then they will say others must have nothing also."

The difference between the two parties often is epitomized by the class position of their leaders. In Village A the head of the MCA is the owner of a smoke-house, and the head of the MCA youth group the son of the owner of a second smoke-house. By contrast, the head of the SF is a rubber tapper, and the head of that party's youth group an electrician.

We have noted that class divisions sometimes parallel dialect lines with the Hakkas forming the bulk of the 'working men's party' and the Hokkiens the bulk of the 'business men's party'. Indeed, the chairman of the Local Council, in the speech referred to above, spoke in Hakka that all 'working men' might understand, although he is Hokkien and his Hakka is not fluent. However, the preponderance of any one dialect group is no more than coincidental; Hakkas of any substance were found to belong to the MCA and not to the SF. The Cantonese in Village A were also divided along class lines. In Village B the situation was identical, with rubber landowners and successful business men belonging to the MCA, while the working class belonged to the SF.

Certain people, though themselves of the working class, opportunistically join the 'business men's party'. In Village A there was such a man. His membership in the MCA paid off in a sparetime job for his son in the coffee-packaging plant. Later he received a second reward for his decision when Contractor Yan was given the job of laying new water pipes for the village and hired him as a labourer. Just how frequently this occurs is difficult to tell, but the division between the two parties along class lines is not perfect in all instances.

SECRET SOCIETIES

Among the Overseas Chinese, secret societies exercised a function which was political in nature, that is, regulative of the

relationships of groups within society.²⁴ At times the colonial government chose to govern the Chinese under their jurisdiction by working through the leaders of these secret societies, men known to the governing authorities as *Kapitans* (headmen).²⁵ This was particularly true in Singapore during one period of its history. After their proscription by the colonial power at the end of the 19th Century, the societies were deformed into organizations infamous for extortion, gambling, and the management of prostitutes.²⁶ Their political orientation was given a new impetus and direction with the work of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic. Divergent Chinese groups overseas were united by common sympathy with the revolutionary cause.²⁷

When the right-wing Kuomintang split with the Communist Party of China in the 1920's, a division was soon effected between groups of secret societies with some showing left-wing sympathies and others right-wing. This division was apparent in Malaya. The 華記會 *Hua Chi*, with headquarters in the Federal Capital, was a right-wing group, as was the 洪民會 *Hung Min*, the 致公黨 *Chi Kang*, on the contrary, was noted as a left-wing group.²⁸

In evaluating the relationship of secret societies with the political parties in Malaya, one must give credence to the witness of the villagers themselves. Many inhabitants of Village A have spoken of a connection between the *Hua Chi* and the MCA, and between the *Hung Mun* (parent body of the *Hung Min*) and the SF.²⁹ One of the informants was himself identified by several other villagers as a member of the *Hung Mun*.

Whatever the relationship may be it is not brought to public debate. During a long election campaign, when the two parties in the village ceaselessly attacked each other, not once was a speaker heard to charge the opposing party with secret society connections. The only occasion when the writer heard societies mentioned was when the head of the SF youth group declared that the Government

24. See Leon Comber, *Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya*, pp. 33, 62; also Maurice Freedman, "Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth-Century Singapore", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1960) pp. 37-38, 46.

25. Comber, *op. cit.*, p. 71 and C. S. Wong, *A Gallery of Chinese Kapitans* (Singapore: Dewan Bahasa dan Kebudayaan, 1963).

26. Comber, *An Introduction to Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya*, pp. 29-31.

should not penalize secret society members by identifying them as thugs, as this only made it harder for them to secure jobs; rather the Government should try to deal with the root causes of secret society proliferation.³⁰

The societies do seem to have a definite interest in keeping party members within the party. A young rubber tapper from Village A said he had no choice but to join one particular party and, having joined, he could not leave or he would be attacked by the secret society members connected with that party. However, while he had joined the party, he had not joined the society.

27. Ed. Note: Dr Sun had many times visited Malaya and Singapore to intensify his campaign of race-nationalism, "...in the guise of a spectacled pedlar with knick-knacks in his wallet, he had travelled through the Malay Peninsula and the Straits Settlements, preaching the tenets of his belief that the people of China should 'rebel' in the true sense of the word, and attracting not only the labouring coolies in the plantations but the masters as well, getting the support of the latter in the form of large sums of money to further the campaign he had in hand." The adherents to the creed of Dr. Sun were numerically strong. In Singapore it was estimated that "...there were not less than 10,000 avowed revolutionaries while large sums of money were collected and sent to China to arm and support the revolutionary forces." In 1911 when reports were received that Peking was in the hands of the revolutionary party, many were the volunteers from Malaya who went to join the revolutionary war. Song Ong Siang, *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore* (London: John Murray, 1923) pp. 433-434, 471.

Despite this ferment in the Chinese community, the secret societies under colonial suppression had been so deformed that Feng Tzu-yu, himself a member of the Hung League with intimate knowledge of Dr Sun's connections with this secret society, wrote: "Besides the secret societies of U.S.A. and Canada, those of Japan, Hawaii, Mexico, and Australia had more or less helped the revolutionaries. Though the secret societies in British Malaya, Netherlands Indies, Indo-China, Siam, and Burma were more numerous and had a larger membership than those elsewhere, the nature of their organization had changed so radically under the strict control of foreign rule that they became mainly anti-social organizations. Hence the *Tung Meng Hui* in the Nanyang could be said to have little or nothing to do with these secret societies." Feng Tzu-yu, *Chung-hua-min-kuo*, Vol. I, p. 163, cited by Chen Mong Hock, *The Chinese Early Newspapers of Singapore, 1881-1912* (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1967) pp. 95-97, n. 33, n. 33. Dr Sun himself launched the *Tung Men Hui* in Singapore in 1966.

28. Comber, *An Introduction to Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya*, pp. 34-37.
29. Ed. Note: A leader of the Socialist Front admitted a relationship between his party and a secret society in a particular area but contended that this was necessary as secret societies allied with the MCA had in the past prevented known SF supporters from reaching the polling stations. Ratnam and Milne in their *Malayan Parliamentary Elections of 1964* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press: 1967) pp. 191-192, refer to the use of societies in the elections.

Frequent complaints by the older generation that party youth groups continually fight each other reflects a lack of distinction between secret societies and political party youth organizations. Purely secret society activities may be labelled with the name of the party which that society happens to support. Clearly not all party youth group members are members of a society. No informant who identified political parties with particular secret societies ever claimed that more than a minority of party youth were society members.

We have described the incident of two young men coming from another village to visit Village A girls.³¹ The young man who participated in the rescue of the two strangers identified both the attacking inner circle and the surrounding group as MCA youth. As he was a member of SF his testimony may be suspect. However, the writer himself recognized some young men in the crowd as active members of the MCA youth group, although these were not the young men who were carrying weapons. The behaviour of the attackers duplicated all that has been ascribed to secret society members: the ambush, gang attack, and even the weapons used. It is entirely possible that the attackers were members of the secret society connected with the MCA youth organization and that the MCA youth group members whom the writer clearly saw amongst the crowd and who later maintained they had also intervened to break up the fracas, were struggling to keep their secret society affiliates in check. This would support the picture given by the villagers of internal conflicts within the MCA youth organization. Such internal dissension has also been reported for the SF youth group. Small gang groupings described earlier may also be operating within the political parties.³²

We are left then with this situation. A connection of certain societies with particular parties is commonly recognized throughout Village A, although actual membership of party members in

30. Just prior to the political campaign, new identity cards had been issued to all persons living in Malaya. These cards had to be always on one's person as at any time there might be a security check. The SF was criticizing the Government for having issued secret society members along with 'bad hats' or RBCs (Registered Bad Characters) with brown cards, whereas citizens having no such record received blue cards, and alien residents red cards.

31. See p. 72.

32. See pp. 69-70.

secret societies cannot be demonstrated. When the MCA elsewhere was accused of having society members within its party, it offered its membership lists for scrutiny. It is not difficult to understand that a society might encourage membership in the political party it has chosen to support, for the larger and more influential the party, the greater would be its power and the less likely the opposing secret society would grow in influence. The more people the society can encourage or force to join its chosen party, the more it safeguards its own future.

CAMPAIGNING

Party branches expend considerable energy and money on Local Council election campaigns. They put on film shows, compose special songs, and secure nationally prominent party members and members from other branches as guest speakers. In Village A each party held three major rallies, equally elaborate and expensive. When asked for an explanation of the intensity of effort for what was after all but a local election, it was explained that political parties strive to create a favourable electorate for state and national elections by winning on the local level as these elections are watched for indications of political direction. Even villages which have a non-elected political structure, such as B which is under a Malay *penghulu* (a State-appointed 'headman', usually of a *mukim* (parish) or group of *mukim*, with some administrative and judicial authority), will nevertheless be included in political campaigning.

Campaigns involve house to house canvassing, posting of slogans and posters, and rallies which are major events in the life of a village. Rallies usually begin about 7.30 p.m. They are announced several hours earlier by a mobile loudspeaker unit; sometimes the topics are detailed. The party's youth group attend to the arrangements; it is they who announce the rally and prepare the stage and other equipment. The stage is a well-lit platform with a backdrop of party banners. Special seats, close to the platform, are reserved for officials of the local branch, visiting speakers and other participants. Behind these is a larger group of seats to be occupied by party faithfuls.

By starting time a large crowd has already gathered. The programme is opened with recorded music, often followed by a

film. Numerous speeches are made which are both long and loud. Between speeches, political messages, usually jibes at the opposing party, which have been set to Chinese songs are sung by a party member known for his pleasing voice. The crowd is generally quiet and appreciative, an audible response being elicited only by the clever barbs of the singer. Several different languages are successively used: Hakka, Hokkien, Cantonese, Mandarin, and the National Language (Malay); seldom are these translated.

Villagers continually come and go at the edge of the gathering. Younger members of the party sponsoring the rally, already knowing what is to be said, repeatedly leave and return, making the rounds of the village to ensure that the opposition is not stirring up trouble. Numbers of plain-clothes detectives, although mixed in with the crowd, are easily distinguishable as strangers to the community. Though members of both parties are interspersed there is no disturbance. At the periphery, little groups cluster around hawkers' stalls buying bowls of noodles as an evening snack.

Speakers identify themselves with the crowd by using 同胞們, *tung pao men*, 'those born of the same womb', as a term of address. Other means of establishing rapport with the audience may be employed: playing on the distinction between the 'working men's party' (SF) and the 'business men's party' (MCA); emphasizing that guest speakers are drawn from other New Villages whose constituencies, having the same problems as the listeners, support this party; implying that the leader of the opposition has no deep ties to Malaya and might run away if the going gets tough and further that the man "could not speak Chinese" (this was an MCA attack); and, a play which played on divisions between UMNO (the Malay-based party in the ruling Alliance) and MCA, charging that MCA Chinese had been humiliated by the UMNO Malay Prime Minister and by other UMNO Malays in power.

Personal attacks were frequent. Allegations were heard not only against important personages in the opposition party, but also against individuals in the community: local councillors of the MCA, the majority party in the Council, for holding a secret meeting away from the Community Hall; the Chairman of the Council for choosing an area of the village with a known concentration of MCA members for road repair; the singer of one party by the singer of

the other for a poor performance. The Chairman of the Local Council, at a MCA rally replied to the attacks by explaining the workings of the Council, some of the difficulties encountered, and the part played by the State Government in the operations of the Council.

Red-baiting was frequently employed in attacking the opposition. The SF said that Europeans should be asked to leave the country and Malaysians given full control over their own economy. The MCA replied by equating socialism with communism. They pointed to Russia and China as examples of socialist countries and characterised China by "the lack of things". SF leaders denied the charge of being communist, identifying their movement as socialist. It is interesting that T'ien also found right-wing leaders in Sarawak labelling any who opposed them as communist and that "it was the coming of the Kuomintang which created the so-called communist-element in Sarawak."³³

Each party attacked the education policy of the other, charging that they sought to do away with Chinese language education. The SF was attacked for its opposition to religion. A stern picture of the lack of freedom under a fully socialist economy was given. MCA speakers declared that under a non-socialist economy, when a man does manage to get some money, he can use it to buy what he likes. The SF replied by charging that the Government neglected the welfare of the villagers, made it difficult for them to register for citizenship or to approach Government Departments; important here is the association of these villagers with New Villagers at large, all of whom share common problems.

Two broad trends are thus seen. First, there is the constant identification of these villagers with villagers elsewhere, through the selection of guest speakers from other villages, the citing of party records in those villages, and the mentioning of problems common to the villages. This is far more than an attempt to unite the villagers in support of or in opposition to Government policy. It reflects a feeling of closeness which villagers already have with other New Villagers.

The choice of villages singled out for mention, or from which speakers are brought, is interesting. Large and prosperous New

33. *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

Villages near the capital which are the subject of popular discussion because of the progress they have made, receive most frequent mention; smaller and less progressive villages located some miles in the opposite direction receive scant notice.³⁴

A second tendency is to emphasize national issues and encourage support for the broad policy of the party, in an attempt to establish a favourable electorate for state and national elections.

VOTING

The election in Village A was held on a Sunday. Early that morning members of the local police force took their stations about the village. A riot squad was brought in from the nearest large town, taken on a reconnaissance of the village and assigned to posts. (Villagers reported that on previous election days small riots had been frequent.) Plain-clothes inspectors were also seen. All were at their posts by the time polling began at 9.00 a.m.

As is usual in Malaya, the polling station was in the village school. Preparations began on Saturday evening. Four tables for distributing ballots had been set up on the different roads leading to the school, three were manned by MCA personnel and one by young people of the SF. Party symbols were displayed throughout the town and banners were draped from the ballot tables. Electorate lists were kept at each table, and names were checked off as people came for their ballots. Each person receiving a ballot was carefully instructed as to the procedure for entering the polling station and marking the ballot. As people approached the polling station they were again briefed by the police on how to proceed.

Voting was light in the morning, the majority women and old people. Members of both parties provided cars which were busy most of the day transporting the sick and the aged. Old people who could not easily walk by themselves were assisted from the ballot tables into the polling station by party workers. At noon there was a noticeable lull and one ballot table was temporarily dismantled.

In the afternoon as the sun grew hot most of the ballot tables

34. It also happens that many inhabitants of Village A have relatives and in-laws living in the larger villages; see p. 30.

were shaded by canvas canopies and one of the groups retreated under the shelter of trees in front of the house of a party member. Large numbers of the party faithful milled around the ballot tables throughout the afternoon. Opposing groups did not fraternize, but jokes were occasionally made at the other's expense. The head of the SF youth group dashed about on a motor-scooter, urging people to get out and vote. Whereas the attitude in the morning was almost one of festivity, in the late afternoon smiles and jokes became less frequent as party workers became tired. There were, however, no signs of conflict; calm prevailed until the last ballot was counted.

When the polling ceased at 5.00 p.m., the ballots were taken immediately to the National Language school on the edge of the village and counted. The results were known less than two hours later: the SF won two seats, the MCA one.³⁵ By this time exhaustion had set in, and the results produced only a mild stir.

The number of people participating in village elections was increasing rapidly. The Assistant Resettlement Officer of Villages M and N said that the organization of political party branches in those villages had activated the masses. An MCA party worker in Village A said that the percentage of people voting in that village was increasing considerably as more young people became of age. The percentage of the eligible voting in local elections studied by the writer usually reached eighty-five to ninety-five per cent; this figure is high but is commonly attained.

There was a parallel increase in the strength of the opposition parties with the growth of interest in local elections. Villages M and N and others nearby became part of the PPP stronghold. Many large New Villages near Kuala Lumpur were controlled by the SF and in Village A, where it had previously held only two seats, the SF scored a victory in the subsequent election. Although it still did not have a majority in the Local Council, there were indications that the representation of the party would continue to grow with each succeeding election.³⁶

35. Similarly, the contest in the Malay *kampung* ward between UMNO and the opposition PMIP (Pan Malayan Islamic Party) was won by the PMIP candidate.

36. Ed. Note: It was precisely this increasing strength of the opposition in the Local and City Council elections that the opposition allege was the motive of the Alliance Federal Government in suspending local authorities. See pp. 141-142 and Gordon, *op. cit.*

It may be tempting to attribute the increasing strength of the opposition to lingering resentment at having been compelled to relocate in a place not of their choosing only to be surrounded with barbed wire and restricted in movement and association. But we have seen class considerations influencing the organization of New Village society, dividing the village into antagonistic groups which form blocks both in special observances and daily associations and, of course, in voting.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM 1630 TO 1880
BY
JOHN B. HENNING
OF THE
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
PUBLISHED BY THE
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY
1880

XI

RELATIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

*The grass may wither, but its roots die not,
And when Spring comes it renews its full life.
Only grief, so long as its roots remain,
Even without Spring, is of itself reborn.*

CH'EN SHAN-MIN
Grass.

XI

RELATIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

NON-CHINESE IN THE NEW VILLAGES

ALTHOUGH none of the villages in this study has a high concentration of non-Chinese, the villagers do come into contact with individuals of other ethnic origins.

Where there is any sizeable Indian population in a New Village there will be an Indian coffee shop. Chinese villagers frequent the Indian coffee shop as many of them, through long residence in Malaya, have developed a taste for spicy foods. In Village T, where a large number of Indian families are housed in labourers' lines built by a plantation company, there is also an Indian store. Indians also patronize the Chinese store. In such situations the National Language (Malay) is the medium of communication.¹

Many of the New Villages under study are adjacent to Malay hamlets. However, no Malay stores are found there, the Malays themselves patronizing the Chinese stores.² The *Masjid*, their school, or their homes, may be readily visible from the edge of the New Village, but no extensive interdependence exists between the two communities.³

Single families of other ethnic origins living within the Chinese community are in a different situation. The young Malay teacher in Village A did not form any close friendships with Chinese villagers nor did his small children learn to speak Chinese. However, children of an Indian family learned to speak Chinese well from their play-mates. A middle-aged Indian dresser in the Government's clinic in

1. The writer has never met a Chinese New Villager able to speak any of the languages of the Indians in Malaya.

2. Ed. Note: This situation is not peculiar to New Villages, it is endemic throughout Malaya with the notable exception of Kota Bharu, the capital of Kelantan, a State where Malays constitute 92 per cent of the population. Here one finds Malays, particularly women, active in the marketplace. See also footnote 4.

3. Village A being an exception, see p. 109.

Village T spoke several dialects of Chinese fluently; his children also learned Chinese from their friends.

Clinics, both stationary and mobile, bring people of different ethnic origins into regular weekly contact. A church clinic held in Village B drew many Malays from the *kampong* (Malay hamlet) in the district, until they regularly outnumbered the Chinese patients. Extended conversations seldom occurred between Chinese and Malays or Indians; only pleasantries were exchanged. A Malay woman alone among a group of Chinese women would often begin a conversation with one of them. If the Chinese woman to whom she spoke was young and had some knowledge of the National Language, they might engage in friendly conversation for some time but the conversation would end upon the appearance of another Malay woman.

Chinese villagers sometimes have contact with Malays, Indians or others who perform special functions in the village: teachers of the National Language in village schools, Indians who come around to buy papers, haul firewood or lumber in bullock carts, or work in village smoke-houses, and Malays and Indians who pick coconuts or assist in cutting down old trees.

On festival days or other important occasions non-Chinese visitors may be seen strolling through the village. On Chinese New Year, Malays from nearby *kampongs* come to visit Chinese acquaintances. Political party rallies draw a number of Malay observers, although seldom is a speech given in the National Language. Chinese weddings and funerals inevitably attract a group.

Fellowship between the Chinese and people of other ethnic groups living nearby is, thus, occasional and casual. Close cross-cultural friendships are rare, though contacts between individuals of different groups are superficially pleasant and little open antagonism has been witnessed.

Near the gate of the New Village is the police compound. In this wire-enclosed area lives the local contingent of police with their families; often the rank and file of the police are Malay although the officer corps is ethnically representative.⁴ The barrack-like structure, with its more substantial construction, and good coat of paint, stands out from most village homes. During the height of the Emergency neither the police nor their families would venture beyond the enclosure. Sometimes the compound even contained

a dirt court where the policemen or their children could engage in sports. With the receding of the Emergency and its memories, some policemen now may be seen riding their bicycles to the centre of the village, enjoying the evening air, in the same manner as the Chinese of the community, but for all too long there was little more contact between the policeman and the New Villager than the check point at the village gate.

Other government personnel have lived for short periods in the villages. Most prominent of these was the Assistant Resettlement Officer, an official of the State Government who had direct responsibility for a small group of New Villages. Other officials assigned to particular areas sometimes had their quarters in New Villages. All such personnel reside in sections of the villages which remain government property. Red Cross nurses, though not civil servants, formerly resided in the same areas, and thus Europeans were added to the list of non-Chinese residents of the villages.⁵ Seldom have any long-lasting relationships been formed between these transients and the Chinese from the community.

WORKING RELATIONSHIPS

Rarely do New Villagers seek employment with a government department or agency. One Village A man joined the police force, commuting daily to his station in the city; his working relationships were almost wholly with Malays. Public projects managed by local contractors for the Public Works Department or another agency of the Government did bring together Indian labourers and Chinese contract labourers from the village.

An elderly long-time resident of Village A reported that the area now covered by the village had previously been a rubber plantation owned by an Indian. Many of the tappers residing in the

4. Ed. Note: The rank and file of the police are lowly paid (approximately M\$90.00 per month). It is not that there was any ethnic bar to non-Malays entering the police force but that historically the immigrant peoples had little interest in such lowly paid jobs which offered little mobility. For an understanding of the historical reasons for the present identification of economic function with ethnic group, see *Intisari* (published by MSRI) III, 2, "Communalism and National Unity" and IV, 2, "Of Myths and Malays" by Shirle Gordon.

5. Church bodies eventually took over many of the Red Cross clinics and sent their own personnel, mostly Europeans, to live there.

village work on lands still owned by this man. The same situation is encountered in many villages where the Chinese New Village has been situated in an area where the land is owned primarily by people of other ethnic origins. Many residents of Village B report that they work under Malay landowners, as do many of the tobacco farmers in the 'Valley Villages'.⁶

Inter-ethnic work relationships are brief and perfunctory from which few friendships evolve. Only those young men brought together in police work showed any likelihood of forming more permanent attachments.⁷

POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Prominent Indian and Malay politicians are sometimes invited to speak at New Village election rallies. On such occasions many visitors may be seen in the village. However, in the campaign witnessed by the writer one opportunity for co-ordinating work between the different ethnic groups was disregarded. The United Malay National Organization (UMNO), a co-partner with the MCA in the ruling Alliance, campaigned against a PMIP candidate in the nearby Malay *kampung*. There seemed to be no united effort between MCA and UMNO on the one hand or between the SF and PMIP on the other; each worked independently.⁸

6. One of the 'Valley Villages' experienced a considerable fluctuation of population in poor growing seasons. The Government has attempted to help the villagers by opening up new land so that more might own and farm their own land.

7. Even the young Chinese man of Village A who spent much of his time with a Malay friend had been a Special Constable (a member of the emergency police force, disbanded at the end of the Emergency), see p. 71.

8. Ed. Note: The campaign in the Malay hamlet was between the ruling UMNO and the opposition PMIP, both Malay mass organizations. The campaign in the Chinese New Village was between the ruling MCA and the SF. It is to be remembered that the SF, the Socialist Front, was a front comprising the Partai Rakyat which was to have been primarily peasant based, appealing to the Malay masses, and the Labour Party whose strength was drawn from the Chinese and Indian working class. The SF in Chinese areas such as New Villages in reality meant the L.P. Thus the contest between the MCA and the SF was a struggle between two Chinese based parties. In this situation, "co-ordinated work" would have been a political liability to all concerned: the PMIP would not have welcomed SF(LP) support particularly as one of PMIP's charges against UMNO (the Alliance Government) was that Malay interests had been jeopardized through UMNO's alliance with Chinese interests (MCA). To the SF(LP), association with the Islamic Malayism of the PMIP

An MCA party-worker described the composition of the Local Council area of Village A. Village A itself was divided into three districts, the older community being attached to one of these districts. The nearby Malay *kampung* was included in the Council Area as a fourth district. Each district was represented on the Council by three men. The small group of Indians in the area was assured of one representative, thus bringing the total number of councillors to thirteen (nine Chinese, three Malays, one Indian).⁹ This pattern is encountered in many New Villages, as all minorities of Malays, Indians, Sikhs or others, however small, must be represented.

The M.C.C. Survey, discussed at length in Chapter I, states that in some New Villages where no Village Committee or Local Council has yet been set up, such as Village B, authority is exercised by a state-appointed Malay *penghulu* (headman).¹⁰ The wider area in which Village B is located is predominantly Malay, and the form of local government in existence prior to the founding of the New Village persists. Though villagers have organized party branches to contest state and national elections, they have not openly protested their exclusion from elected local government.¹¹ Most of the New Villagers have long been resident there and apparently are accustomed to the situation in which they find themselves.

would have been equally undesirable. And it has long been the contention of many in UMNO that MCA is a political noose to UMNO, while MCA factions have considered that its relationship with UMNO has alienated MCA from the Chinese masses. It is in the context of such communal realities that "united effort" would be shunned as a political liability to all concerned.

9. Provision in the Local Councils Ordinance for appointment of special councillors ensures the representation of minorities, see Appendix VII.

10. *Op. cit.*, p. 4 and see p. 150.

11. See p. 150.

XII

VISITORS TO THE VILLAGE

*In silence I sat facing my guest;
To the end I sat and said not a word.
I desired to make a show of friendship:
I sought in my mind but found nothing.
If good words are not joined to affection,
I trow that you, sir, would not desire such.
Our minds were open, and we both forgot each other,
What harm in this where you and I are concerned?*

KUEI TZŪ-MOU
Face to face.

VICTORY TO THE ALLIES

The Allies have won the war. The Axis powers have been defeated. The world is at peace. The future is bright. The people of the world are rejoicing. The Allies have won the war. The Axis powers have been defeated. The world is at peace. The future is bright. The people of the world are rejoicing.

1945

XII

VISITORS TO THE VILLAGE

SALESMEN AND BUYERS

NUMEROUS vans and lorries from nearby cities stop at village stores each day: vans from factories making Chinese sauce, soap, or incense sticks, paper money and other articles of worship; lorries from biscuit factories (almost every large town has at least one and every New Village store buys from several), from the new toothpaste factory, and from plants bottling soft drinks, soybean milk, and a cheap grade of aerated water. The lorry carrying Chinese newspapers calls early in the morning; the last lorry of the day leaves only at dusk. There is little difference in choice of goods between village stores.

But there are also business men who come not to sell but to buy, for instance, to Village C, which is a pig-breeding centre.

Medicine vendors appear unannounced in New Villages. Each village is but one stop on a tour that may cover several hundred miles. After a crowd has gathered, the seller begins his demonstration which may include a display of magic or an exhibition of physical strength.¹ He glowingly describes the medicinal value of his herbs and pills, promising cures for headaches, "bone-pains", tuberculosis, and every manner of illness and ailment. Only when his sales talk ends does the selling begin. Good-natured joking with the crowd accompanies further exhortations to buy.

Cloth merchants make similar tours selling both cloth and clothing. Many other merchants visit the villages, some regularly, others only occasionally. Two who came to Village A most frequently were a Chinese sauce merchant and a maker of rattan chairs. Neither set up displays, rather they made the rounds of the village stopping only briefly at any one place. The Chinese sauce merchant

1. See pp. 83-84.

came once or more a week. His sauce was cheaper than that sold in the stores and found many buyers. The lorry belonging to the maker of rattan chairs was often seen, loaded high with chairs. Rattan chairs are inexpensive and common in New Village homes, but they wear out quickly and must be continually repaired or replaced.

A hawker works on his own account, he is not the employee of any business, firm or market. He sells his products from a movable stand or a vehicle such as a bicycle. The most commonly seen hawker is the ice cream man. The ice cream hawker of Village A lived only six miles away. The ice cream was made at home by the family and was carried in a large box fixed to the rear of his bicycle. He started out early each morning following a regular route, arranging his schedule so as to stop at each centre at the most appropriate time. He first appeared about 9.00 a.m., when most children had already been up for hours, were hungry, beginning to feel the heat, and ready to spend part of their daily allowance. Small dips of ice cream put into cones were sold for M.05 cts. Business was always brisk.

He would ride from corner to corner, ringing a small bell on the handle-bar of his bicycle. After an hour or more in the village and town area, he would ride on to another village, stopping at Malay hamlets along the way. He would return to the village again late in the afternoon, just as school was being dismissed. Once again, business was good. He said that his profit was considerable, an estimated M\$300. per month after expenses, which is at least twice the total monthly income of many New Village families.

Recently a second ice cream hawker daily visited the village.² His product was more expensive and his business limited. Another touring hawker sold a kind of hard toffee, announcing his presence with a peculiar-sounding horn, to the delight of the children and the despair of the dogs. When the *langsats* were in season, a Malay from the nearby *kampong* (hamlet) would bicycle through the village, announcing the sale of this popular fruit in a high-pitched voice that was imitated by all the children.³

2. This man was connected with the European owned and directed Cold Storage Company of Malaya but his equipment and pattern of operation were no different.

There are those who come to the village to sell products who cannot be classed as either merchants or hawkers. In Village A there was a Malay who sold chickens which he transported in a wire cage on the rear of his bicycle. He made regular trips two or three times each week, parking his bicycle just across from the market; he did not sell in the market itself.

Girls, carrying baskets containing soap, toothpaste, and similar articles, often canvassed house to house. Tonic or food supplements are sold from door to door. Such canvassers represent companies in nearby cities.

All the products described, with the possible exception of rattan chairs, are available in New Village stores, but the salesmen appeal through their low prices, or new brand name, or the special quality and advantages of a particular brand, or through their knowledge and skill in the field of medicine. But the basic attraction is convenience. If the standard of living continues to rise in the New Villages, many more such vendors will undoubtedly appear.⁴

GOVERNMENT AND CHURCH WORKERS

Film shows put on by the Government Information Services have already been mentioned.⁵ According to many villagers, such shows were more frequent years ago, as often as once every several weeks, and are still a focus of interest. Asked what kind of films were shown, the few children who knew English immediately replied, "Cowboys and Indians!"⁶ After the show, a speech is

3. "*Langsat*, a variety of *Lansium domesticum*, is globular; the *duku*, another variety, is more elliptical." R. J. Wilkinson, *A Malay-English Dictionary*. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1955) p. 653.

4. Ed. Note: proliferation of hawking also occurs with increased unemployment.

5. See pp. 82-83.

6. "Cowboys and Indians" seem to have captured the attention of New Village children. After having watched a film on the life of Christ, a group of children from Village N said they would have liked the film better had it been "Cowboys and Indians". Ed. Note: Intentionally or otherwise, such films, where the Indian invariably loses and which are the product of a white power structured America not yet morally critical of the near genocide perpetrated on the American Indian, are an instrument of Western psychological domination; they teach that the white man with his superior technology always wins. As these are action films they are readily understood while the contemporary issue-oriented dialogue film is incomprehensible. Their appeal is all too widespread and, ironically, the death of the Indian is cheered by Malaya's non-white peoples.

made dealing with some aspect of the Government's work, good citizenship, or related subjects.⁷ The crowd which gathers for the film, loyally remains throughout the speech, with only a few exceptions.

A revised survey of the New Villages brought out by the Malayan Christian Council in 1959 states that of the 410 New Villages open to Christian evangelistic work (those not preponderantly Malay), 333 villages, or four-fifths, have work being carried on by eight different Christian groups.⁸

These figures vary somewhat from year to year as church personnel are moved about or new personnel are made available, but the percentage of New Villages covered has slowly increased. Co-ordination in New Village work was achieved through the New Villages Co-ordinating Committee of the Malayan Christian Council, an organization representative of most larger non-Catholic Christian groups working in Malaya.

Less than half of the 333 villages have Christian workers in residence, rather evangelists visit villages from some nearby centre. Calling door-to-door is one of the most important features of such work. If the worker is multi-lingual, or if one dialect is generally understood by everyone in the village, he may do such visiting alone; if not, he is often accompanied by a colleague.⁹ Sometimes the worker will converse with the family outside the house; more commonly he is invited inside. Pleasant conversation about the house, the family, or a recent incident in the life of the neighbourhood will be followed by a comment about some article of worship in the home, perhaps a plaque announcing "blessing

7. The Chinese expression used for such speeches and for the preaching of a Christian evangelist is 講道 *chiang tao*.

8. M.C.C. Survey, 1959, preface. Christian Churches are discouraged from working among Malays. The Malays are Muslim, Islam is the state religion, and they are, with varying degrees in different States, "protected by law from an active approach by Christian evangelistic workers."

Ed. Note: While it is true that it is illegal to proselytize amongst Muslims, this does not at all prohibit Christians from carrying out social action projects amongst Malays. Unfortunately, the Christian churches have seldom chosen to be involved in the development of the Malays within these restrictions.

9. The staff of the Lutheran Church included one young Indonesian-born Chinese who was able to speak fluently five dialects of Chinese and Malay (both the Indonesian and Malayan dialects) and could carry on an excellent conversation in English.

from the God of heaven", leading to a discussion of some portion of the Christian message. The worker concludes his visit by giving a tract to the head of the house, or to the woman of the house if the husband is not at home, and inviting the family to a coming evangelistic service.

The evangelist's work is sometimes co-ordinated with a clinic programme of the same church group. The worker learns to recognize symptoms and where emergency treatment is required, he will bring the clinic doctor to the home. The evangelistic worker may also have a supply of relief materials—flour, milk powder, or other foods—at his disposal for distribution to those in distress.

An important form of village church work is the open evangelistic meeting. Such meetings are held regularly, particularly in the early stages of work. Many times a shophouse is rented for the purpose, sometimes the school or Community Hall is used, and other times even the open space in front of a store. Meetings may begin with gospel recordings broadcast by loudspeaker. Gospel songs are taught to the assembled children. Gradually older people gather. The singing is sometimes followed by a religious film and then an address by the worker. At other times large pictures depicting Bible stories are used. The story is first told and then its application to village life is discussed in some detail. Initially such public meetings are well attended, however, where they are held weekly or fortnightly, interest soon slackens, and the crowd may consist mainly of children, with but twenty or even fewer adults.

After working for some time in a village, the evangelist is usually successful in establishing close contact with one or more persons who, by their continued attendance at meetings, have shown a real interest in the message which is being preached. The evangelist will seek an opportunity to hold simple services of worship or Bible-study sessions in their homes to which neighbours and friends can be invited.

Sometimes evangelistic meetings are supplemented by Sunday School for the children. Occasionally the Sunday School is the only evangelistic work, the worker being unable to fit an evening meeting into his schedule. Sunday Schools conducted by the Lutheran church drew an average of 30 to 60 children, with attendances as high as 150 in Village N. Boys and girls attend in

about equal numbers. Hymns, the words of which are written out on large white sheets, are taught through weekly repetition; stories are told; and Bible pictures are given to the children to colour. Mild interest is shown by the community, a few adults stopping by from time to time to listen and to watch the activity of the children.

We will return to the subject of Christian missions and visiting evangelists in Chapter XIII when we discuss programmes organized by outside agencies.

RECEPTION OF OUTSIDERS

If an outsider entering a New Village is courteous and considerate he will most certainly be welcomed, if not immediately, in time, but thoughtlessness is not easily forgotten. A man whose job required frequent visits to Village C, ran over and killed a dog. Rather than stop and seek out the owner, he became irritated and quickly drove on. A demand was later made that he pay an indemnity. The parents of the child whose pet it was, said that had the man stopped, sought out their son and apologized, there would have been no difficulty. Similar incidents have occurred and are long remembered; where a driver failed to stop, even the death of a chicken is marked.

Outsiders who observe proper behaviour may be accorded a warm welcome even from their first visit. This is especially true when villagers are in a holiday spirit. The writer visited Village M only a few days after the Government had arrested and detained about twenty people as "suspected Communist sympathizers". Newspapers reported the village to be sullen and silent. A poor reception was expected as 'Europeans', whether they be church workers or not, are often identified with the Government. However, the visit was timed for a festival day; no one had gone to work, and families were sitting in front of their homes talking. The writer was welcomed by almost every family he visited. Festivals demand hospitality and liberality, whether one be an outsider or a friend.

Apart from the traditional reception given on festivals, outsiders, after repeated contact, can gain a villager's friendship. The writer formed close relationships with a number of people in Village M, some of whom accompanied him on his visits about the village. A neighbour in Village A was always willing to speak

frankly; many early evenings were spent with him in front of his house.

One important factor in determining acceptance is dialect. Among themselves, villagers have made adjustments to the dialect problem, but it is still important for the outsider to speak their dialect. The neighbour mentioned above, himself Hokkien, when working on a pipe-laying job, commented that he could understand nothing of what was said by the Cantonese-speaking inspectors from the city when in fact his own neighbours were Cantonese, and he had worked with Cantonese labourers on a rubber plantation. Many of the Hakka youth in Village A had learned to understand a little Hokkien from their friends although they could not speak the dialect; nevertheless, a Hokkien speaker at a political rally was sure to confront an ever-dwindling audience. The writer always received the warmest welcome at the homes of those village families whose dialect he spoke.

XIII

PROGRAMMES ORGANIZED BY OUTSIDE AGENCIES

*The gourd hangs on the tree,
Light as a single leaf;
The wind blows it click-click in the night.
It were best to cast it away that my dreams may be pure.
The whole world is not so great, the gourd is not so small;
All things beyond the body are an encumbrance.*

WANG CHI-WU
Hsü Yu's gourd.

XIII

PROGRAMMES ORGANIZED BY OUTSIDE AGENCIES

CHURCHES AND RESIDENT EVANGELISM

IF a village responds to the work of the church or mission, a decision may be taken to provide a resident worker. Most churches secure land and build a house for the worker on the assumption that the small, growing congregation will continue to have a full-time evangelist present. One Christian group, however, encourages small congregations to assume responsibility for leadership and evangelism, withdrawing its full-time workers as soon as local leadership can be developed.¹

The congregation is united by weekly services of worship, by devotional services in homes (which all members are expected to attend), by praying for members who are ill or in danger of leaving the church, and by attendance at weddings and funerals of church members. Baptism is normally performed only at services of worship, in the presence of the whole congregation. Communion brings worshippers together at the front of the church. When a death occurs, it is usual for congregations in the surrounding villages and towns to send as many of their members as possible to join the funeral procession even as far as the graveside.

Within the Lutheran Church as local leadership developed and assumed responsibility in deciding congregational affairs, they were also made responsible for approving candidates for baptism. They were expected to assist in evangelistic work, both in their own and neighbouring villages.

Literacy work is undertaken in almost every village having a resident evangelist. No single pattern prevails; the nature of the class and students depending entirely on the need and on the

1. The CIM-OMF (Overseas Missionary Fellowship of the China Inland Mission), see McIntosh, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

ability of the worker. The writer taught three English classes, two in Village A and one in Village B: the largest class was for younger teenagers who had only a minimal knowledge of English; the second largest was for those having more knowledge; the smallest, consisting of only four persons, was for English Middle School students preparing for final examinations. Sometimes classes were set up for children; for example, a Chinese literacy class for pre-school and over-aged children was conducted in the Village D chapel. Special programmes were also established for adults.

A Village D colleague of high scholastic attainment taught Chinese to a large group of teenage girls; a colleague in Village C taught a mixed group of younger children. Not all classes, however, were matched to the abilities of the worker. A European co-worker had to learn the National Language himself in order to meet a request for a Malay class in one of the villages where he worked. His assistant was the Malay driver from the church.

Village youth seem eager to study languages. But such enthusiasm easily wanes. After studying one language for six months to a year the young people turn to a second language; impressed with the great need for language learning, they are impatient with the slow progress made in actual classroom study.

In spite of the social conditions described in Chapter X, youth work does form an important part of the life of New Village congregations. In Lutheran congregations, the greatest response to the youth programme was from older teenage school students of both sexes and from girls not in school, that is, from those not subject to intensive recruitment by political groups.²

This pattern does not always obtain. The youth group in Village A was primarily composed of girls, and the boys who joined were not students but a small group of young labourers who tried to avoid close association with the major village groups. Most older schoolboys were already bound by ties of friendship to still older boys who belonged to groups. A gang of these boys participated for some time in the Church youth group; only the gang leader, a member of one of the political youth groups, was not

2. See pp. 143-144.

a student.³ The gang participated fully in the Church youth group until members were asked to pay a monthly fee in order to stabilize the group and to maintain a regular programme of activities. Though the girls paid the fee without complaint, the gang without exception refused. They had been allowed by their leader to participate in all activities, but this kind of tie was apparently unacceptable and they soon ceased all participation.

Church youth groups usually have regular weekly meetings. Meetings may have formal programmes of Bible study, group discussion of a topic important to all the young people, a guest speaker, or worship. Recreation forms an important part of many programmes, and throughout the week the young people gather to use ping-pong sets or badminton courts which the group has provided for itself. The Village C youth group, in a concerted effort to offer more recreation to its members, built a badminton court alongside the chapel; the young people levelled the ground, bought sand and cement, and paved the court. Lights were installed and evening badminton games became popular.

Church youth groups have considerable contact with their counterparts in nearby villages: joint meetings are usual; festival observances, church dedications, annual retreats, special activities for youth such as courses for Sunday School teachers, and leadership training classes, bring together groups from a wide area.

Young people are given early training in leadership. They perform tasks in Church, teach Sunday School, sing in the choir, help in all festival programmes, go along on out-station evangelism (teaching Sunday School, leading singing in evangelistic programmes, occasionally speaking), and serve on Church Councils. Some of the more capable are given scholarships for higher studies. A few are sent to Bible Schools where they prepare for full-time church work.

Self-support is an aim towards which all church groups strive. An offering is taken at each regular worship service. Members are asked to clean the chapel and its compound. A single group within the church may undertake a major project at its own expense, as was done by the Village C youth group. Members may give special

3. See Chapter IV for a discussion of gangs.

offerings to support scholarships for needy students, or to help finance some special activity of the larger church. They may undertake the upkeep of their meeting place.⁴

According to the M.C.C. Survey, in the State of Perak, which has the largest number of New Villages, half of all New Village clinics were maintained by church or mission groups.⁵ Some of the clinics were stationary but most were visiting. Clinics were usually open twice a week, once in the morning and once in the afternoon. They were best attended when a doctor was present, the patients numbering as high as 100 or more in a single afternoon, while attendances of 50 or 60 were common.

Invariably a New Village chapel was used for a clinic, an area being partitioned off from the main room in which the patients waited. Where there was no chapel, a shop house or the village school served the purpose.

Patients formerly were asked to pay a uniform fee of M.20 cents a visit. Later the policy was changed and they were asked to pay only for medicines, which engendered respect for the prescriptions given.

The distribution of relief supplies was sometimes handled by the clinic rather than by the evangelistic worker. This was particularly true of powdered milk which was given to mothers where malnutrition was clearly present in the family. Dispersement of flour, corn meal, and food supplements was also occasionally the prerogative of the clinic.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

The M.C.C. Survey reports that the New Villages of Johore, Malacca, and Province Wellesley, were all serviced by Government clinics, either stationary or mobile.⁶ Selangor, Kedah, and Kelantan, provided medical services for a great majority of their New Villages. Only two States had a large number of New Villages not covered by any service: Perak with 56 villages and Pahang with 29.

4. It was policy in the Lutheran church that village chapels be small, first units. Expansion was to be the responsibility of the congregation.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

6. *Ibid.*

We have spoken of the Village T Government clinic and the dresser attached to it. The clinic and the dresser's residence are in separate buildings. The clinic is simple, consisting of a humble waiting room with a few benches, a single examination-treatment room, and a small room for drugs and equipment. Medicines and instruments are ranged on shelves in glass cabinets placed along the walls of the examination room. The clinic had a car for transporting patients to the hospital 14 miles away. The dresser had been stationed there for six years. Being the dresser for the whole area, he commuted to the other clinics. The medical officer, a doctor from the nearest large town, would see patients at the clinic twice a month.

Mobile clinics do not provide services of the quality provided by stationary clinics. They never visit a village more than once a week and in most instances not that often. The range of medicines dispensed is limited to what the workers are qualified to administer. Cases requiring a doctor are referred to the hospital.

The Government Welfare Department gives considerable relief by way of cash disbursements to needy families. Either the individual in need, a friend, an official of the local community, or a church worker may request the Department to investigate a specific case. The writer has found the Department's officials to be most co-operative: Chirn Pak Me in Village O, a young crippled woman in Village M, an elderly senile man in Village B, and others were recommended and their cases immediately investigated. An investigator is dispatched to look into each case.⁷ He must satisfy himself of the individual's need, the lack of assistance from family members, and other factors. In 1960 the Department gave monthly M\$15.00 to a single person and M\$30.00 to a married couple.

Sometimes the elderly are given glasses by a Government eye clinic, and the lame supplied with braces. Old people may be recommended for admission into a home for the aged. Homes for

7. It was reported, only a few years after the New Villages were founded, that social workers had to spend so much time on case investigations they had no time left for any constructive social work! "Minutes of the Twentieth Meeting of the Federal Coordinating Committee for Work in New Villages", Oct. 8, 1954.

the aged are common in some New Village areas. It is reported that in the State of Perak, for example, there is one such home for every two villages.⁸ These homes are not large; rather they approximate the average New Village house. Some homes have been set up by the MCA, some by the Social Welfare Department, and some by local benevolent groups. Until 1954, the residents of all homes, were given regular, limited, cash assistance of M\$5.00 per month per person by the Social Welfare Department and were provided with food by the Village Committees or Councils. Since then, Social Welfare assistance has been irregular, but local help has continued.

CO-OPERATIVES

The writer has not observed the operation of Government-sponsored co-operatives in New Villages, although co-operatives have been organized in a large number of New Villages. They are potentially of great importance, though at present they may not be supported enthusiastically by the whole working population.⁹

Mr. Chow Swee Meng, Chinese Co-operative Officer, Kuala Lumpur, writes that co-operatives first became known to the rural Chinese only after their regroupment into New Villages.¹⁰ The first co-operative formed was a marketing society for vegetable farmers and pig-breeders in a Province Wellesley village. The society had a membership of 306 persons. By the end of 1960, 120 societies had been organized, covering 100 New Villages, with a total membership of 15,000 and a paid-up share capital of about M\$588,000. Co-operatives formed stores, which were most common; an organization for fishermen; a sawmill; and societies for farming, marketing, rice milling, rural credit, timber extraction, rubber marketing and poultry rearing.

The farming and marketing societies both market and

8. "Minutes of the New Villages Coordinating Committee" (Malayan Christian Council), August 2, 1957.

9. See p. 79.

10. Government File No. 926/52/30: "The Co-operative Movement Amongst the New Villagers in the Federation of Malaya", Oct. 16, 1961.

purchase equipment and supplies wholesale. They mainly market leafy vegetables, fruits, tapioca, eggs, pigs, and fertilizers. Co-operatives get higher prices for the produce and pay less for the necessary equipment and supplies.

A two-week training course has been conducted annually at the Co-operative College in Petaling Jaya, near Kuala Lumpur; managers, book-keepers, and regular members of local co-operatives are encouraged to attend. One may learn book-keeping, business management, principles and practices of co-operatives and their organization. Regional training courses are held annually in different centres throughout the country.

The Government's Rural and Industrial Development Authority (RIDA),¹¹ an organization designed to raise the standard of living in rural areas, normally concentrated its efforts on rural settlements other than New Villages as the villages developed and were classed as urban.¹² However, in the first year after its inception, it did give some assistance in the form of loans: to one New Village for the purpose of setting up its electricity supply, to another for its farmers' co-operative stores society, and to a third for its co-operative farming society.¹³

MCA PROGRAMMES

The MCA was formed not long before the establishment of the New Villages. Not a political party by origin, its first task was that of helping, primarily financially, the Government and other agencies in the project of resettlement. Assistance was given by the MCA in many ways: relief of distress; contributions to the British Red Cross Society, Federation of Malaya, towards the purchasing of vans for use as travelling dispensaries in New Villages, to St. John's Ambulance Brigade, a service organization operating in units throughout much of the country, to Malay and Chinese political detainees in Morib Detention Camp, to the Kinta

11. Ed. Note: RIDA has since been replaced by MARA, *Majlis Amanah Ra'ayat*, 'Indigenous Peoples' Economic Development Trust'.

12. See pp. LV-LVii, 8.

13. Rural and Industrial Development Authority, *Annual Report*, 1954, pp. 41, 44, 46.

Valley Home Guards, a locally organized police force, primarily Chinese in composition; the construction in New Villages and Resettlement Areas of clinics, community centres (halls), and schools, as well as *masjids* for Malays; study grants to poor students in Resettlement areas; financing adult education; providing sports equipment for the encouragement of scouting among New Village children; outright gifts to UMNO members; financial assistance to Malay Settlements at New Villages; and donations towards Home Guards at Resettlements.¹⁴

The review of MCA activities demonstrates that although the MCA put much money into the New Villages, it was seldom in contact with the village masses. In most cases the money was given either through a Government agency or through one of the voluntary welfare agencies working in the New Villages. The Secretary-General of MCA stressed that aid was not restricted to Chinese New Villages but was distributed to all affected by resettlement.

These activities were carried out over a two-and-a-half-year period, the total expenditure amounting to more than four million Malayan dollars. Funds were derived from a lottery sponsored by the Association. But with the development of the Association from primarily a welfare organization into a political party, the lottery was banned and MCA's financial assistance to the villages ceased. With the organization of party branches in nearly all Chinese New Villages, the MCA was brought into direct contact with the villagers, but for an overtly political end.

One of the original purposes of the MCA was to promote harmony, understanding and co-operation between the different ethnic groups. This object was retained and re-stated many times in its revised constitution as was its determination to "preserve and sustain the use and study of the Chinese language", meaning *Kuo-yü*, the National Speech of China.¹⁵ To these two functions were added those which the organization exercises as a political party; these are explicit in its constitution. Then there are objects of an economic nature: to promote the development and utilization

14. Information supplied by the Secretary-General of the MCA in an interview, June 6, 1961.

15. *Constitution of the Malayan Chinese Association*, approved and adopted March, 1959.

of the economic assets of the country as a whole; to promote full and equitable employment for all citizens; to work for and promote a high standard of living by increasing and improving the production of the country. All of the purposes of the organization are stated quite broadly but perhaps the most wide-reaching are those revealed in the following statements: to foster, safeguard, advance and secure the political, social, educational, cultural, economic and other interests of its members by legitimate and constitutional means; to consider, assist and deal with problems affecting its members as a whole.

These aims are to be implemented through the following standing committees in each party branch: political, labour, youth, education, welfare, legal, publicity, finance, women, sports and games, and any other committees the party branch might decide to establish.¹⁶ However, it was reported that by June 1961, apart from special election sub-committees, the only standing committee that had been set up by virtually every MCA branch was the youth committee, the rationalization being that the branches did not yet "understand how to follow through on the remaining parts of the organizational structure."

16. *Ibid.*, p. 4.



A New Village family



Hawking provides employment...



...and an essential complement to ordinary New Village fare



Vegetable gardens supplement New Village diets and incomes

XIV

SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

Whatever Ah Q thought he was sure to tell people later, thus almost all who made fun of Ah Q knew that he had this means of winning a psychological victory. So after this anyone who pulled or twisted his brown pigtail would forestall him by saying: "Ah Q, this is not a son beating his father, it is a man beating a beast. Let's hear you say it: A man beating a beast!"

Then Ah Q, clutching at the root of his pigtail, his head on one side, would say: "Beating an insect—how about that? I am an insect—now will you let me go?"

However, although he was an insect the idlers would not let him go until they had knocked his head four or five times against something nearby, according to their custom, after which they would walk away satisfied that they had won the victory, confident that this time Ah Q was done for. But in less than ten seconds, Ah Q would walk away also satisfied that he had won the victory, thinking that he was the "foremost self-belittler", and that after subtracting "self-belittler" what remained was "foremost". Was not the highest successful candidate in the official examination also the "foremost"? "And what do you think you are?", he would say.

LU HSUN

The True Story of Ah Q

XIV

SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a summary of the findings of the study and to analyze the results in relation to the objectives of the research. The study was conducted in order to determine the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable. The results of the study are presented in the following table:

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation
1	1	10.5	2.5
2	2	12.0	3.0
3	3	11.0	2.0
4	4	13.0	3.5
5	5	12.5	2.5

The results of the study indicate that there is a significant difference between the groups. The mean scores for the independent variable are significantly higher than the mean scores for the dependent variable. This suggests that the independent variable has a positive effect on the dependent variable. The standard deviation for the independent variable is significantly higher than the standard deviation for the dependent variable. This suggests that the independent variable has a greater variability than the dependent variable. The results of the study are consistent with the findings of previous research. This suggests that the findings of this study are reliable and valid. The results of the study have important implications for the field of research. They suggest that the independent variable is a significant factor in the determination of the dependent variable. This information can be used to develop more effective interventions and to improve the quality of life for the population. The results of the study also have important implications for the field of education. They suggest that the independent variable is a significant factor in the determination of the dependent variable. This information can be used to develop more effective teaching strategies and to improve the quality of education for the population. The results of the study are a valuable contribution to the field of research and to the field of education. They provide a clear and concise summary of the findings of the study and a detailed analysis of the results. The results of the study are a valuable resource for researchers and for educators. They provide a clear and concise summary of the findings of the study and a detailed analysis of the results. The results of the study are a valuable resource for researchers and for educators. They provide a clear and concise summary of the findings of the study and a detailed analysis of the results.

XIV

SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

WE will now analyze New Village community life in terms of cohesion, disintegration, integration, relations with other New Villages, and in relation to the national society. We have seen that few rules apply to all New Villages but there are important and characteristic developments and we shall try to indicate their possible implications for the future.

COHESION

There are long-standing factors of social organization that provide stability and cohesion in the New Village community. Some of these unite the community as a whole; others unite specific groups within the community without causing unbridgeable divisions between groups.

The basic unit bringing people together in common thought and action is, of course, the family. By tradition, the ideal family organization in Chinese society was the extended system, made up of the household head, his wife, two or more of their married sons, perhaps other unmarried children, and the grandchildren. We have seen that this type of arrangement sometimes obtains in the New Villages, and in Village C is reported as common.¹ Even where parents are dead, brothers with their families may constitute one household.² The extended family in China was more common among the exploiting classes than among peasants.³ We have noted a similar tendency in our study, with the added consideration that the largest families are all to be found among those longest resident in an area. But two facets of New Village family life reflect the tra-

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1. More common, actually, than it is now reported to have been in China itself; see Martin Yang, *op. cit.*, p. 236ff, and Francis L. K. Hsu, *Under the Ancestors' Shadow*, pp. 108-122.
 2. See p. 42.
 3. Fei, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

ditional ideal: the persistence of some form of arrangement in marriage, and the widespread existence of the embryo extended family consisting of one or more grandparents, one married son (with, perhaps, unmarried brothers and sisters), and grandchildren.⁴ Families of this type have been found even among the working class in New Villages. Both parents work to support the grandparents who, in turn, contribute by doing a little gardening, pig-breeding, hawking of fruit or vegetables or some similar task. The different generations pull together, each with its own specific duties, all contributing to the maintenance of the family unit.

Such arrangements are familiar to students of Chinese society. The family works as an economic unit, even when housed in semi-detached quarters. Where both husband and wife go out to work as apparently separate income-producing units, the inter-working of those units is manifested either by the division of the household tasks, or where the husband, on coming home from a day's work, turns to gardening as a source of supplementary income, while the wife labours in the house.⁵ That the family may work as an economic unit without owning land or a business was made evident in our discussion of family labour in the fields, such as gardening, tobacco growing, or contract labour, and of family industry in the home, such as the preparation of various foods for sale in the village or the nearest large town. Even when the head of the household goes out-station to work, the family persists as an economic unit.⁶

There is no indication as yet of any tendency to encourage idleness among one's sons as a demonstration of economic status.⁷ Even families who own land or a business continue to function economically as units: Contractor Yan's younger brother works along with Yan's employees, Contractor Yan himself learned the trade from his father and is skilled at every task his workmen perform; all the sons of the Village A Local Council Chairman are

4. See pp. 34-35, 39-43.

5. See p. 53.

6. See p. 63.

7. Hsu, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-276; Fried, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 44; and Fei Hsiao-t'ung and Chang Chih-i, *Earthbound China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945) pp. 40-43.

engaged in profitable occupations, a few of them working in their father's rubber smoke-house; the vice-chairman of the MCA youth group in Village A, the only son of one of the wealthier men in the community who owns rubber land, taps rubber along with his young wife, and an older unmarried sister labours on the smallholding. True, such sons do not have to engage in subsidiary occupations to supplement their income as do the sons of the working class, but the family, nevertheless, is maintained as an economic unit through the daily labour of each member.

It should be clarified, however, that wealth is relative to New Village standards: the smoke-house owner sold some rubber land some years ago, an action unthinkable for other than economic reasons; the Su brothers set up their rubber trading business only three years before; and all owners of rubber land are actually smallholders having ten acres or less, these are definitely not plantation owners.

It is premature to predict whether the co-working of a family as an economic unit will continue, or whether it is merely a defensive reaction to a lingering uncertainty about the future arising from the experience of resettlement. The willingness to invest in house and property indicates that any residual uncertainty is not a conscious factor in the family's planning.⁸

The formation of extended families among those not owning land may be hindered by the inability of younger sons to find employment in the occupation of their fathers and older brothers. A few may take up a trade, as did those young men from C who took up machine work, and another who took up carpentry. There is as yet, however, only a limited demand for such skilled labour in the New Villages; the machinist commutes to the city to work, and the carpenter, significantly has left the village. Where new lands can be opened and the new generation economically absorbed, extended families may continue to be formed.

Relationships within families are generally relaxed and informal. Respect is maintained towards one's parents, and by the daughter-in-law towards her husband's parents but this does not exclude close relationships between father and son, even after

8. See pp. 50-51.

the son is grown, and seldom is the daughter-in-law relegated to an inferior position within the household.⁹

Another aspect of family life in China repeatedly noted is the intense attachment of the rural family to its land.¹⁰ However, we have seen the continuance of attachments to place of residence where there is neither landownership, nor wider kinship ties.¹¹ Emergency regulations restricting the villagers' free movement have been revoked, yet the New Villages remain. Ownership of land apparently is decisive in the villager's political affiliation, but is far less consequential in determining his attachment to his place of residence.

We have noted, also, a closeness of feeling among those of the same surname group.¹² This feeling does not rest on any group activity prior to the founding of the New Villages, nor does it result in any organization or common activity within the villages other than possibly visiting the graves together on *Ch'ing Ming*. Nevertheless, such closeness of feeling is a cohesive factor, especially where the number of surname groups is comparatively few, as in Village C.

Festivals continue to unite the family. Those who have gone out-station to work return home. All the family members help to prepare for the festivities, especially for Chinese New Year. A family meal is an integral part of the celebration.

It is at such times that the hospitality of the home is the warmest and most inclusive.¹³ All visitors are welcomed, and the chance mixing of members of different political parties who are friends of one or another member of the household causes no friction. Such hospitality binds the community together, as all homes are open to every one. Hospitality is not exclusive to the holiday season. The visitor is welcomed, led to the best chair in the front room and immediately offered tea or soda. Should one of the members of the family find a particular visitor displeasing, he would say little,

9. See p. 40.

10. See, for example, Martin Yang, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

11. In rural China, sources of livelihood were largely confined to the exploitation of land. In times of stress, the landless often left these communities (Fei and Chang, *op. cit.*, p. 267). Contrast this with what has been described, pp. 48-50.

12. See pp. 44-46.

13. See pp. 97-98.

and simply leave the house to find his own friends.¹⁴ The home is a place where families spend quiet leisure hours, where friends gather, where women visit one another.

Beyond the home, the coffee shop continues to unite large numbers of men in easy fellowship. Arguments are the prerogative of the gamblers; other small groups, sharing refreshments, are quiet in their conversation and actions.

Mah-jong has been known to result in tempers, loud voices, and the banging of counters. However, the outbreak of physical fighting has not been observed, though reportedly such disturbances were common in Village C. *Mah-jong* draws small groups together night after night, and holds them until after most others have gone to bed.

The gangs of small boys and the play groups of girls draw children together in a way that often cuts across divisions between their families, as New Village children no more appreciate the significance of such divisive factors than do children anywhere.¹⁵

Temple festivals in certain villages bind together whole communities. Everyone is expected to attend and to contribute generously. The evening dramatizations, whether using puppets or live actors, interest almost everyone. Such communities, in their united support of these programmes, stand out from those that surround them. Further, the fluency with which the dominant dialect is spoken by almost all in the community gives evidence to the closeness of fellowship between them.¹⁶

A final note: in rural China the peasant was bound to the soil not only by the ties of inheritance and other attachments of a strong sentimental nature, but also by an all but perpetual debtor-creditor relationship, the creditor being a landlord who was often an absentee. The tenancy rate in Kwangtung Province from where many of the Overseas Chinese originate was more than forty per cent, the highest in China.¹⁷ There is little such tenancy in New Villages. However, many villagers are bound to the store-keeper in a debtor-creditor relationship where most of their monthly

14. This may not extend to a sister bringing in boy friends from an opposition party.

15. See pp. 67-68.

16. See p. 116.

17. C. K. Yang, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

income is paid to the shopkeeper to maintain their credit.¹⁸

DISINTEGRATION

'Disintegration' does not imply the dissolution of New Village communities; for even those that experienced an initial loss of population seem to have stabilized, and the availability of new land near some of the New Villages has even led to a recovery of population, as in one of the 'Valley Villages'.¹⁹ By disintegrative forces are meant those that reduce cohesion and disturb harmony between groups, perhaps even dividing the village into mutually antagonistic camps. That such forces are at work is manifest in the decreased emphasis on community festivals in some villages, the denial of responsibility towards one's parents in others, arguments and fights between families, stealing by children of neighbouring households, and fighting among groups of youth.

One basic disintegrative factor has been unemployment. Many elderly couples and solitary persons are left to fend for themselves, with sometimes a minimum of assistance from relatives. The relatives themselves have little to spare, and a request for assistance may constitute an unbearable burden, thus straining the relationship. There can be no elaborate temple festivals where there are depressed conditions and even festivals such as New Year and *Ch'ing Ming* will be comparatively subdued.

One of the greatest divisive forces in the community is the secret society, to which unemployment may be a contributory factor. The Socialist Front speaker who asked the Government to grapple with the causes of secret society proliferation was referring to unemployment.²⁰ However, economic conditions are certainly not the only factor in the spread of societies, and a thorough study of the place of such groups in contemporary Malayan Chinese society might reveal that economics is not even the primary factor. For instance, societies were reported to have emerged in New Villages in the area of A and C five or more years after they

18. See pp. 128-129.

19. See pp. 48-50.

20. See p. 148.

were founded, subsequent to the solution of the initial employment difficulties. Whatever the factors, secret societies are active in almost all New Villages with which the writer is familiar. In Village A their membership does not include more than a fifth of the older youth of the community.²¹ Nevertheless, the constant struggle of one secret society to gain ascendancy over the other is behind many of the conflicts in the community. Societies are an effective impediment to the different political groups finding areas of co-operation; true party loyalty is compounded by the threat of physical violence.

Extortion by secret societies is also divisive, as storekeepers seeking protection may support one society while encouraging their sons to join another.

Political parties, particularly their youth organizations, polarize the community as they engage in active power struggles in the New Villages. Programmes designed to claim the loyalty of the young are intense.²² Every young person legally of age to organizationally affiliate to a political party is under relentless pressure. Even those in their middle teens who befriend members of a political group are reserved for future membership. By the organization of youth activities to the virtual exclusion of all else, parties utilize the intense loyalty of the young when moving and working in their own age groups. The young associate with one another in their party's headquarters, learn political songs, experience inter-community comradeship with other branches, and organize rallies and other political activities.

The most significant determinant of party or ideological alignment, is economic status.²³ The wage of the rubber tapper, the gardener, and the *dulang* washer is extremely low.²⁴ Both husband and wife, and often some of the younger children, must

21. The writer was given estimates for other New Villages by church workers and church members but these were indefinite ("a handful", "very many") or when specific ("a fifth", "a tenth") were based on impressions and in either case could not be credited.

22. See pp. 143-144.

23. See pp. 145-146.

24. *Dulang* is a large wooden dish used for washing ore. A *dulang* washer is one who washes the sediment at the edge of tin mining pools to recover the small amount of tin ore passed over by the regular mining process. Usually only women are engaged in this task.

work in order to subsist. The popular terms, 'working men's group', the SF, and 'business men's group', the MCA, reflect an already conscious class struggle. Those who own and manage their own rubber smallholdings are perceptibly distinct from the non-owning working class for they can gain three times as much per day as the average rubber tapper.²⁵ Both groups are conscious of these differences, which are verbalized in political rallies.²⁶ There is little attempt to bridge these differences, except by those who opportunistically align themselves.

Dialect remains a divisive, if non-antagonistic, force among the elderly as it constitutes a definite barrier to their communication.

Outside influences may disrupt and even destroy forces which brought cohesion. We recall the spread of the Incorporated Insurance Associations and the rapid disappearance of the locally-organized mutual-benefit associations.²⁷ Admittedly, the mutual-aid society engendered some tension as there was no legal recourse should a member abscond after a successful bid, but these societies did unite small groups of usually less than 20 and as such were a cohesive factor.

INTEGRATION

There are a number of integrating forces in New Village life that appear to be new or at least more relevant than before. The first of these is the neighbourhood, symbolized by the semi-detached house and by other arrangements necessitated by common residence.²⁸ The section of Village M composed primarily of such semi-detached structures has all the marks of the true neighbourhood: young boys of the area were anxious that an elderly couple receive aid, while the couple's married daughter, living in another part of the village, seemed unconcerned; the unmarried, crippled woman who lived there received all manner of assistance from her

25. A young man in Village A estimated that in 1961 a person who had his own rubber land earned more than M\$10.00 per day, while the tapper earned less than M\$4.00.

26. See pp. 151-152.

27. See pp. 129-131.

28. See pp. 76-77.

neighbours; one middle-aged man who had some skill at woodwork helped his neighbours with their furniture repairs; an elderly woman recommended another for relief. Such neighbourly feeling was not exclusive to that particular section. An elderly beggar in another part of the village was the subject of his neighbours' concern. Neighbours were most frequently seen in the evenings sitting outside, each family in front of its own house, talking across to one another. Here, where family relationships are most disintegrated, they are replaced in some measure by the neighbourhood.²⁹

Neighbourhood ties are evident in all New Villages in which the writer worked: girls play together in small groups; women visit one another, gossip as they wash clothes by the stream, linger by a neighbour's well; neighbours engage in pleasant conversation as they enjoy the evening air. The larger neighbourhoods are known to the community by certain distinguishing factors and they are formally unified through representation on the Local Council.³⁰

Marriage within the community, common even in small Villages like C, creates ties between different groups.³¹ Patterns of avoidance between families connected by marriage are uncommon, the informal air we have seen within the family prevails. Furthermore, New Village marriage tends to bring the new couple into a close relationship with the bride's family.³² The couple may even live with the bride's family, though without the husband adopting the bride's surname. If living apart, the couple will frequently visit the bride's parents, and in cases of financial distress, will assist them. Such help extends to the bride's brothers as well.

The school is an important integrative force. Through imparting Mandarin as a National Speech it provides one means of bridging the dialect gap. Associations between students completely disregard dialect boundaries. School basketball teams draw together the younger boys before the time of splitting into 'gangs' or separating as advance recruits of politically aligned friends. The school does not realize its integrative potential in many New Villages because the teachers, who might be expected

29. *Ibid.*

30. See pp. 77, 137.

31. See pp. 34-35.

32. See pp. 37, 44.

to lead, come from outside and remain on the outside.³³ Yet the school remains a focus for the community, as it continues to transmit a part of Chinese culture.

The purely social activities of the political parties serve a real function in the community. The mass attendance of party comrades at weddings and funerals not only provides fellowship and demonstrates the group's cohesion, but gives status to the individual.³⁴ The large dialect, district, and clan associations are not part of village life and are not represented at such celebrations. The need which these groups previously filled is now met by the party branch. A new and intense kind of comradeship develops, for those who bestow status by attendance at such functions are one's daily associates. The divisions which political affiliations introduce thoroughly penetrate every aspect of New Village life.³⁵ But the fellowship which they build within their own in-groups is correspondingly intense. The wider kinship group, not found in Malaya, was first replaced in some of its functions by the associations; these in turn have now been superseded by political party branches. Corporate worship, already of decreasing importance in the clan association is, of course, absent.³⁶

With the comradeship that we find in party branches, we have in another sense come a full circle. Whereas the clan, dialect and district associations once bound together people from a large area, the party branch has created strong ties within communities. If the collaboration with secret societies ceases and avenues of co-operation between opposing groups are discovered or an ideological crystallization takes place, the branch's tremendous potential for community stabilization may be realized.

One other small, but curiously significant, integrative factor should be mentioned—this is the photography bug. On the wall of every 'guest hall' one inevitably finds a large frame containing scores of small snapshots of friends, classmates, touring groups, church congregations and weddings. Everything is remembered by a picture. Pictures in New Village homes remind the residents of many past associations, some which may no longer subsist

33. See pp. 106-107.

34. See pp. 143, 145.

35. See pp. 144-146.

36. Topley, *op. cit.*, pp. 296-298.

because of the disintegrative factors mentioned above.

The role of the church as an integrating factor is not easy to assess. New Village congregations are, for the most part, very small. Sometimes the church is disintegrative, as it creates divisions within the family which may or may not result in open conflict. The church in New Villages has emphasized working with families: a concerted attempt is made to win whole families into the church; special family services rotate among the homes of members, attended by other families from the congregation.³⁷ Here the church serves an integrative function as it is not, either in its worship or other activities, exclusive in its attitude; others are welcomed regardless of the group from which they come, and church members are free to join any group, the purpose and teachings of which do not conflict with the faith of the church.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER NEW VILLAGES

Under restrictions imposed during the Emergency there was comparatively little contact between communities. Curfews kept people within village boundaries when they were not at work. But with the lifting of these impositions, visiting between New Villages, and between New Villages and small rural towns, became extensive. Much of this visiting is done unhurriedly by bicycle, as a form of recreation. On a holiday or another day when work is impossible, small groups of friends may be seen riding to and from the New Villages. Such inter-village communication may also be for business purposes.

One New Village may become a gathering place for people from other villages; the presence of a cinema creates such a focal point. Sometimes the centre for coming together may alternate, as in the 'Valley Villages' where competitions between the local teams rotated from village to village, or where party branches hold joint meetings.

There are also close kinship ties between different New Villages. We have seen that resettlement permanently separated close rela-

37. There are at least two reasons for this effort: first, it is considered that the Christian message has profound implications for the family; second, only in those congregations composed primarily of families is there a sound prospect for future development.

tives who were only temporarily living apart. Even though they are now permitted to move, these relatives seldom change their place of residence in order to live together.³⁸ Even parents and children may choose to continue living apart. But visiting is frequent, and the stay is sometimes prolonged.

There is a feeling of oneness between New Villages. We have seen this in political addresses, even in the choice of speakers for political rallies. Speakers from the opposition play on this feeling to unite villagers against the ruling party. This feeling was visible when slides were shown; of the shots taken throughout the country, the ones that excited most interest were those of other New Villages. Villagers are not concerned so much with the problems of New Villages *per se*; rather, they are interested in developments in particular villages with which they are familiar and where, perhaps, they have relatives, comparing those villages with their own.

THE NEW VILLAGE IN RELATION TO THE NATIONAL SOCIETY

What are the attitudes of those outside the New Villages towards the New Villagers? This is most pertinent when discussing the relationship of the New Villages with the national society. A common attitude has been that the New Villages were places of comparative lawlessness and hotbeds of communism.³⁹ Indeed, there were communist cells in some villages, but this was not true of all villages. Perhaps an even more common attitude towards the villages was that they were highly unstable, the people being dissatisfied and unlikely to remain after the Emergency restrictions were lifted.

Many have viewed the villagers as country cousins, a little backward and awkward. Watching preparations for a fun-fair just outside a large town in Perak, the writer was told by a companion that such fun-fairs were "not very good", and were "actually meant for village people". Salesmen from the city have

38. See pp. 48, 50.

39. A worker in the Lutheran Church, when asked many years ago to go into a New Village, was afraid to live there by himself even for a short period.

been known to be brash with villagers.

Some of these stereotypes are shared by the villagers themselves. The writer once drove a group of Village A young people to a church programme in a large town fifteen miles away. After the programme, the group approached a meeting hall where a reception was to be held. The boys entered readily, but the girls remained behind, somewhat shy. When questioned about this behaviour, one of the boys replied, "But that's the way village girls are!"

Whatever their reactions to strange places, village girls are much influenced by fashions current in the cities. They are skilful at making Western-style dresses, which are comparable with those available in the towns. Permanent waves are common although disapproved of by the ideological left.⁴⁰ Both girls and boys are interested in forms of recreation to be found in the larger towns and cities. They go occasionally to city films, especially on festival days. Sporting events, joint school athletic demonstrations and national soccer contests interest them greatly. Some of those who attend middle school in the city play on the school basketball team. National holidays draw them to the city for parades and exhibitions. Tours take them to urban centres all over the country.

Malay and English literacy classes allow the villagers access to the national society. English is the language of the modern sector of the economy and it remains the *lingua franca* among many groups in the city. The National Language, Malay, is necessary to further one's education and is increasingly indispensable in approaching Government departments and agencies. Linked with this study of the National Language is the entire educational policy of the Government, which attempts to give the Chinese-educated a greater knowledge of the country in which he lives and a deeper sense of identification with it.⁴¹

New Villagers who labour in rubber, tin, tobacco or pineapple growing are subject to the fluctuations in the national economy which, particularly in the case of rubber and tin, means that their lives are directly effected by the ever precarious international

40. There are no beauty salons in most villages with which the writer is familiar. In Village A there is a young hair stylist who gives permanent waves in the girls' own homes.

41. See pp. 100, 104.

market. Soon after the outset of a world depression in the tin market several years ago, vegetable gardens suddenly sprang up on every available foot of space in Village O, as those temporarily out of work turned to gardening as an alternative source of livelihood. The influence of the international economy is not always so obvious, yet the villager is repeatedly made conscious of it.⁴² The tobacco farmer's market is national. He, too, is acutely aware of his dependence; fluctuations in the price of tobacco directly affect his livelihood. And the Government, in an attempt to promote the use of locally-grown tobacco, has placed heavy duties on imports and simultaneously has opened new land for tobacco cultivation.

New Villages have been drawn into a growing process of urbanization in Malaya. In a review of settlement changes in the State of Johore brought about by the formation of New Villages, Dobby states that the rural population was "transformed ... from a dispersed pattern to an urban one".⁴³ An official of the Rural and Industrial Development Authority, in reply to an inquiry as to the extent of RIDA's involvement in New Villages, said that in the eyes of the Government the New Villages are urban, and therefore not within the scope of that Authority.⁴⁴ It has been contended, however, that the villages are urban only by definition. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that many villages have all the physical features of older and larger towns: paved streets, street lighting, piped water, and public playgrounds.⁴⁵ The setting aside of a lot for a post-office in Village T illustrated that the community was being drawn further into the process of urbanization; a permanent clinic and a water-purification plant had already served the village for many years. And when one compares the facilities in New Villages with what is available in Malay *kampongs* (hamlets) one can understand the distinction.

A more important mark of urban status was the designation

42. For a more detailed discussion see Ooi Jin-bee, "Rural Development in Tropical Areas", *The Journal of Tropical Geography*, Vol. 12 (1959) pp. 165-173.

43. E. H. G. Dobby, "Recent Settlement Changes in South Malaya", *The Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography*, Vol. 1 (1953) p. 6.

44. See pp. LV-LVII, 8, 174.

45. See B. W. Hodder, *Man in Malaya* (London: University of London Press, 1959) p. 75, who holds that functionally the larger towns in Malaya are no more than overgrown villages.

of some villages as Local Council Areas.⁴⁶ The idea of local government had first been conceived at the level of the municipality. The concept was extended to include these newly-formed communities in order to build a knowledge of self-government at ground level. Being defined as urban areas, the New Villages receive less financial and advisory help from the Government, but were favoured with Local Council status they had more responsibility for their own affairs than communities categorized as rural. Through Local Councils, self-government was exercised not through the indirect rule of the *penghulu* system but through modern electoral procedures. Help could be secured from the Government and its departments through requests by the Local Councils to the regular channels of governmental authority. Thus villagers were drawn more deeply into the life of the country than they could previously have been, and through Local Council activities they kept pace with the training in self-government given to other urban communities throughout the country. Any proposal to eliminate local government should be most carefully weighed in this context.⁴⁷

Improved transport facilities also draw villagers more deeply into the life of the country. One of the major aims of the resettlement programme had been to bring the rural squatters to places where they could be reached more quickly and thus controlled more easily.⁴⁸ Villagers can now make use of this facility. Those located on main roads have the best service; buses pass by Villages A and D every fifteen minutes. Villagers in O can get buses into the nearest city just as regularly. Almost all villages have regular services, although perhaps not so frequently. Villagers in M, B, and C, can get buses to the city once every hour during the daytime; service grows more intermittent in the evening, stopping altogether at an early hour.

Malaya has yet to evolve a system of regional secondary schools to service rural areas. Only a minority of village youth can afford to travel to secondary schools in the larger towns and cities; the majority are denied such education. Those who do commute are drawn into more intimate contact with others from outside their community. Sometimes friendships formed in school

46. See pp. 4-7.

47. See pp. 141, 154-155.

48. See p. xliii

become both intimate and permanent. It is still too soon to predict the place these middle school graduates will occupy in the New Village communities. Their number is very small and not all return to the village after graduation.⁴⁹ One Village B youth who did return carved out an occupational role for himself that was unique in that village, he handled the radio agency, and in the evenings he ran the projector in the local cinema. Other middle school graduates may play similar roles in New Village society in the years to come.

State and national elections play an important role in drawing the villager into the national stream. Even the Local Council elections place great emphasis on national issues, in preparation for the election of representatives to the state and federal legislatures.

Individuals in the village community become involved in organizations or assume positions that bring them into constant contact with others throughout the country. Members of Christian congregations become active in church bodies that are nationwide. The head of the MCA youth organization in Village A spent much time helping to organize MCA youth work nationwide and the pursuit of these tasks took him as far as the Philippines for a conference. A villager from B worked in a nearby Government co-operative through which he came to associate with co-operatives in other parts of the country and was sent as a delegate to a conference in Thailand. A tobacco dealer in Village T travelled throughout his State arranging for the sale of his bales of tobacco.

CONCLUSION

The New Villages of Malaya were established in the throes of the Emergency turmoil although they were dimly envisaged earlier as a possible solution to the wholesale illegal occupation of land by a squatter population comprising those who had fled the cities at the time of the depression and later in the wake of the Japanese Occupation. Resettlement, which was carried out with incredible speed, involved a million people, about one-seventh of the total population of the country. In many cases adequate preparation was not made, as problems of land acquisition

49. See pp. 71, 104-105.

and alienation were involved which, because of technical procedures and huge financial requirements, could be solved only slowly. Understandably, those New Villages situated most fortunately with respect to job opportunities and economic potential have had the most successful records of growth and of development towards self-government. It was the expectation of the Government that those New Villages situated most poorly would prove to be impermanent with the lifting of Emergency restrictions. However, with the exception of the large group of Malay New Villages in the State of Kelantan that were dismantled not long after their founding, even the New Villages that experienced a large initial decrease in population have become permanent settlements.

In the New Villages under study, many and varied developments are evident. Firstly, localism is strong in all villages and as long as job opportunities remain, is independent of landownership. There is little tendency to restore close residence with kinsfolk separated by war and kept apart by resettlement. But, on the other hand, there is a definite tendency to rebuild larger kinship structures in the new place of residence where job opportunities allow and political affiliation does not divide. With increasing ideological polarization and little job possibility in many villages, it appears that the extension of the family must suffer. The opening of new land has increased the absorptive capacity of some villages. A rising standard of living in the villages, which would enable craftsmen to create markets for their products, and a decrease in unemployment would help to further stabilize the New Villages.

An immediate task is to sever the connection between secret societies and political parties and, possibly, to provide structurally for community consensus and action, allowing for the participation of all political groups.

The associations and other group affiliations which for long had been so important to the Overseas Chinese have all, with the exception of the secret society, largely disappeared in New Village society, no local clan or dialect organizations having appeared to replace them.

We see now local ties evolving through marriages within the community. Though tradition is accorded its role in the formal arrangement of a marriage, young people are given relative freedom of choice in the selection of a marriage partner. The camaraderie

of the young of both sexes through political youth groups in all probability will ensure if not increase the tendency to marry within the community. Close and complex ties will bind affinal relatives to the family group but whether a bilateral system will develop remains to be seen.⁵⁰

Localism is organizationally reinforced by temple associations in some villages and, more commonly, by political youth groups. And such ties are spontaneously fostered by children's play groups, and the association of classmates, buddies, girlfriends, neighbourhood women, men of the coffee shop crowd, and neighbouring families who share the leisure hours.

Close and warm bonds of friendship are being woven between individuals and families within the community. However, true community spirit and effective community organization are still lacking, because of the strong divisive forces of class, and the resulting ideological struggle, and the conflicts of different secret societies. Meanwhile the village belongs to a wider New Village society and is rapidly being absorbed into the life of the nation as a whole. If the villagers can be brought into closer fellowship with those from other ethnic groups, they will become fully participating members of Malaya's rapidly advancing society.

50. Affinal relationships result from marriage, as for example, a man with his wife's family; in a bi-lateral system more or less equal weight is given to maternal and paternal lines in reckoning inheritance and kinship relationships.

APPENDICES

*The war is ended on the Huai border, and the trading roads
are open again;*

Stray crows come and go cawing in the wintry sky.

Alas for the white bones heaped together in desolate graves;

All had sought military honours for their leader.

CHANG PIN

*Lament for ten thousand
men's graves.*

APPENDIX I*

NEW VILLAGE POPULATION, AVERAGE SIZE AND RATES OF GROWTH OR DECLINE

Definitions of symbols used in Column 1:

- A — Entirely New Villages (not attached to previously existing settlements).
- B — New Villages attached to older communities other than towns.
- C — New Villages attached to older towns.
- D — 'Regroupment Areas' (labour forces in protected areas or 're-settling' from earlier New Villages).

LC — Local Council

Ab — Absorbed

NV — New Village

MV — Malay Village

RsA — Resettlement Area

TB — Town Board

Definitions of symbols used in last column to denote individual rates of growth or decline:

A — over 25% increase

X — 5-15% decrease

B — 16-25% increase

Y — 16-25% decrease

C — 5-15% increase

Z — over 25% decrease

O — 'static'

Each symbol is followed by the number of villages having that rate of growth or decline.

*Based on *SNVFM* and the MCC Survey.

JOHORE

CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION		AVERAGE SIZE OF POPULATION		PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	INDIVIDUAL VILLAGE RATES OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	
	INITIAL	PRESENT	INITIAL	PRESENT			
A - LC	47,666	55,098	1,222	1,413	16	A - 12 B - 7 C - 12	O - 6 Y - 1 Z - 1
NV	5,171	5,583	1,034	1,117	8	A - 2 C - 1	O - 2
RsA	9,098	9,366	337	347	3	B - 2 C - 3	O - 22
B - LC†	71,626	86,249	1,747	2,104	20	A - 22 B - 5 C - 8	O - 3 X - 1 Y - 1 Z - 1
NV‡	2,200	2,827					
RsA	686	809	343	405	18	B - 1	O - 1
C - LC	9,943	11,636	1,657	1,939	17	A - 4	O - 1 X - 1
Ab	6,631	2,210					
D - RsA	650	650	325	325	Static	O - 2	

† Includes one village with initial population of 514 later absorbed into a larger unit for which no population figure was given.

‡ Figures cannot be analyzed, as the second figure includes one New Village whose inhabitants were moved from their original village for which population figures are not known.

MALACCA

CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION		AVERAGE SIZE OF POPULATION		PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	INDIVIDUAL VILLAGE RATES OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	
	INITIAL	PRESENT	INITIAL	PRESENT			
A - NV	5,050	5,498	561	611	9	A - 2 B - 1 C - 2	O - 1 X - 2 Z - 1
B - NV *	4,100	5,306	513	663	29	A - 4 B - 1 C - 1	O - 1 X - 1

* Initial figures for three villages are based on percentage increase in families.

NEGRI SEMBILAN

CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION		AVERAGE SIZE OF POPULATION		PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	INDIVIDUAL VILLAGE RATES OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	
	INITIAL	PRESENT	INITIAL	PRESENT			
A - LC	5,157	5,942	1,031	1,188	15	A-2 C-1	O-1 Z-1
NV	13,242	14,929	631	711	13	A-6 B-4 C-1	O-5 X-2 Y-2 Z-1
B - LC	3,062	4,025	1,021	1,342	31	A-2 B-1	
NV	5,889	6,955	736	869	18	A-4 B-1 C-1	O-1 Y-1

SELANGOR

CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION		AVERAGE SIZE OF POPULATION		PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	INDIVIDUAL VILLAGE RATES OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	
	INITIAL	PRESENT	INITIAL	PRESENT			
A - LC*	39,517	48,896	3,592	4,445	24	A-3 B-5 C-1	O-1 X-1
NV †	7,395	10,668	924	1,334	44	A-4 B-1	O-2
RsA	500	554	500	554	11	C-1	
TB	6,000	7,367	6,000	7,367	23	B-1	
B - LC ‡	18,802	22,907	2,686	3,272	22	A-2 B-1 C-1	O-3
NV**	27,970	38,528	1,332	1,835	38	A-9 B-8 C-3	O-1
RsA	2,149	2,149	2,149	2,149	Static		O-1
TB	2,325	2,631	581	658	13	B-1 C-3	

* Four villages are combined under one Local Council.

† One New Village was still under construction and not classified.

‡ Two villages with combined increased population of 2,421, have no initial population figure. One village with an initial population figure of 200 has no increased figure but is listed as absorbed.

** Two villages with combined increased population of 3,515 have no initial population figure given.

PERAK

CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION		AVERAGE SIZE OF POPULATION		PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	INDIVIDUAL VILLAGE RATES OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	
	INITIAL	PRESENT	INITIAL	PRESENT			
A* - LC	64,550	79,076	1,699	2,081	21	A - 14 B - 4 C - 6	O - 2 X - 9 Y - 2 Z - 1
NV	50,162	46,488	965	894	7	A - 4 C - 3	O - 26 X - 12 Y - 4 Z - 3
B - LC	24,204	29,673	2,200	2,697	23	A - 4 B - 2 C - 2	O - 2 X - 1
NV	8,355	9,716	348	405	16	A - 3	O - 21
Ab	(one village — no figures)						
C - LC	42,245	57,018	3,520	4,752	35	A - 8 C - 3	O - 1
NV	2,468	2,724	494	545	10	A - 2 C - 1	O - 1 X - 1
D - LC	n.a.	2,293	n.a.	2,293			
RsA	n.a.	4,077	n.a.	2,039			

* No figures given for initial population; in each case initial size is estimated from stated rate of increase.

n.a. = not available.

KEDAH

CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION		AVERAGE SIZE OF POPULATION		PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	INDIVIDUAL VILLAGE RATES OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	
	INITIAL	PRESENT	INITIAL	PRESENT			
A - LC	1,000*						
NV	10,669	11,739	762	839	10	A - 2 B - 2 C - 3	O - 4 X - 1 Y - 2
B - LC †	3,691	4,996	1,230	1,665	35	A - 2 B - 1	
NV ‡	2,160	2,785	720	928	29	A - 1 B - 2	

* One single village, given as absorbed; no figure for increased population.

† Six villages, with combined initial population of 4,279, listed as absorbed; no separate figure for increased population given. One village, listed with increased population of 2,924, but no figure given for initial population.

‡ Two villages, with combined initial population of 561, listed as absorbed; no separate figure for increased population given. Two villages, with combined increased population of 1,765; no figures given for initial population.

PENANG & PROVINCE WELLESLEY

CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION		AVERAGE SIZE OF POPULATION		PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	INDIVIDUAL VILLAGE RATES OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	
	INITIAL	PRESENT	INITIAL	PRESENT			
A - NV	12,110	13,647	1,730	1,949	13	A-1 B-1 C-4	Z-1
B - NV	790	1,059	395	530	34	A-1 B-1	

PERLIS

CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION		AVERAGE SIZE OF POPULATION		PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	INDIVIDUAL VILLAGE RATES OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	
	INITIAL	PRESENT	INITIAL	PRESENT			
B - NV	500	682			36	A-1	

PAHANG

CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION		AVERAGE SIZE OF POPULATION		PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	INDIVIDUAL VILLAGE RATES OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	
	INITIAL	PRESENT	INITIAL	PRESENT			
A - LC	7,221	9,449	903	1,181	31	A-6 C-1	Z-1
NV	2,185	2,286	437	457	5	A-1 C-1	O-1 X-1 Y-1
RsA	3,982	4,175	284	298	5	A-1 B-2 C-3	O-5 X-1 Z-1
MV	220	280	110	140	27		O-2
TB	935	1,442	935	1,442	54	A-1	
B - LC	11,676	16,137	1,297	1,793	38	A-3 B-4 C-1	X-1
NV	3,456	4,511	576	752	31	A-3 B-1 C-1	O-1
RsA	5,282	5,167	311	304	-2	A-1 B-2 C-3	O-4 Y-2 Z-5
MV	150	100	150	100	-33		Z-1
C - LC	1,100	n.a.	550	n.a.			
Ab	4,204	5,100	1,051	1,275	21	A-1 B-1 C-2	

n.a. = not available.

TRENGGANU

CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION		AVERAGE SIZE OF POPULATION		PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	INDIVIDUAL VILLAGE RATES OF GROWTH OR DECLINE
	INITIAL	PRESENT	INITIAL	PRESENT		
A - LC	1,450	1,450	725	725	Static	O- 2
RsA	194	269	194	269	40	A - 1
B - NV	257	330	257	330	24	B - 1

KELANTAN

CATEGORY	TOTAL POPULATION		AVERAGE SIZE OF POPULATION		PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH OR DECLINE	INDIVIDUAL VILLAGE RATES OF GROWTH OR DECLINE
	INITIAL	PRESENT	INITIAL	PRESENT		
A - LC*		898			Static	
NV	3,980	4,895	995	1,224	23	A - 2 B - 1 C - 1
B - LC	4,690	6,376	1,173	1,594	36	A - 3 B - 1
NV †	3,656	4,106	332	373	12	A - 6 B - 2 C - 1
D - NV ‡	330	491	330	491	49	A - 1

* A single village; includes other villages added some time after founding, no initial population figures were given.

† Initial population figures for six villages are estimates based on percentage increase figures given for families. For one village no figures at all are given.

‡ Initial population figure for this village was based on percentage increase figure given for families.

APPENDIX II*

OCCUPATIONS IN NEW VILLAGES

Categories in Column 1 are defined on the first page of Appendix I. The symbols used in Columns 3 and 4 are defined as follows:

R	— Rubber Tapping		
FM	— Farming** (excluding smallholding and padi farming)		
M	— Mine work	E	— Estate labouring
S	— Shopkeeping***	OF	— Office and clerical work
FY	— Factory work	I	— Industry
SM	— Smallholding	Q	— Quarry work
P	— Padi planting	B	— Business, commercial
L	— General Labour †	NC	— Non-Chinese occupations (cattle rearing, bullock cart driving, betel growing)
PG	— Pig-breeding		
FS	— Fishing		
T	— Timber work	O	— Others †

* Based on data from the 1954 Report.

** Reports of 'Agriculture' and 'Gardening' are included in 'Farming', although slightly different meanings are implied by these words. All occupations which involve working the soil other than smallholding, padi farming and labouring on estates — i.e., vegetable gardening, tobacco growing, pineapple cultivation and tapioca farming — are included in this category.

*** Both shop owners and shop assistants are included in this category.

† This category refers to what the Chinese call 'odd-jobs' 散工 *san kung*.

† There are few 'Other' occupations not already listed. The numbers in this category are large because many reports submitted from villages indicated specifically only the several chief occupations. For example, where no category of 'shopkeepers' was indicated in a village report, it is certain that some shopkeepers are included as 'Others'.

JOHORE

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES (88)	NUMBER OF VILLAGES REPORTING EACH OCCUPATION			PERCENTAGE OF POPULACE ENGAGING IN OCCUPATION	
A - LC	33	R-32	SM-1	I-11	R-55	FS-5
		FM-28	L-2	B-11	FM-25	I-9
		M-2	PG-1	O-12	M-25	B-9
		S-7	FS-1		S-11	O-27
NV	5				SM-40	
		R-4	S-1	I-1	R-84	I-6
		FM-1	L-1	B-1	S-25	B-6
RsA	7				L-10	
		R-7	I-2	O-5	R-63	B-3
		FM-1	B-2		I-3	O-42
B - LC	32	R-31	FY-2	FS-4	R-55	L-14
		FM-23	L-7		FM-15	PG-10
		S-10	PG-1		S-10	FS-71
					FY-28	
NV	1	R-1			R-60	
		L-1			L-40	
RsA	1	R-1	B-1		R-63	B-17
		I-1	O-1		I-17	O-34
C - LC	7	R-7	S-2	O-5	R-61	L-20
		FM-6	L-1		FM-21	O-16
					S-5	
Ab	2	R-2	L-1	O-1	R-51	I-29
		FM-2	I-1		FM-4	B-29
		S-1	B-1		S-5	O-8
					L-20	

MALACCA

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES (17)	NUMBER OF VILLAGES REPORTING EACH OCCUPATION		PERCENTAGE OF POPULACE ENGAGING IN OCCUPATION	
A - NV	9	R-9	B-8	R-56	B-5
		FM-9	O-4	FM-35	O-9
B - NV	8	R-7	B-6	R-33	B-15
		FM-7	O-6	FM-42	O-25

NEGRI SEMBILAN

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES (36)	NUMBER OF VILLAGES REPORTING EACH OCCUPATION			PERCENTAGE OF POPULACE ENGAGING IN OCCUPATION	
A - LC	5	R-3 FM-3 P-1	L-2 I-2 B-2	O-1	R-45 P-80 L-8	O-20
NV	20	R-18 FM-14 M-1	S-3 P-1 L-3	T-1 B-1 O-6	R-46 FM-51 S-12 P-85	L-12 T-30 B-10 O-12
B - LC	4	R-4 FM-3	M-1 L-1		R-63 FM-20	M-20 L-15
NV	7	R-7 FM-4	P-1 L-2	B-1 O-3	R-73 FM-4 L-15	B-5 O-3

SELANGOR

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES (45)	NUMBER OF VILLAGES REPORTING EACH OCCUPATION			PERCENTAGE OF POPULACE ENGAGING IN OCCUPATION	
A - LC	9	R-6 FM-5 M-4	P-1 L-1 FS-1	E-1 I-1 O-2	R-49 FM-83 M-21 P-95	L-3 FS-2 O-40
NV	7	R-6 FM-2	M-3 L-1	OF-1 O-4	R-54 FM-20 M-9	L-10 OF-90 O-46
B - LC	4	R-4 FM-2	M-1 B-1	O-2	R-59 FM-29	O-34
NV	21	R-19 FM-5 M-1 S-1	L-1 PG-3 FS-2 OF-1	I-1 NC-1 O-15	R-67 FM-22 M-36 S-5 L-30	PG-23 FS-23 I-20 O-22
RsA	4	R-4 M-1	O-3		R-71 M-30	O-25

PERAK

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES (112)	NUMBER OF VILLAGES REPORTING EACH OCCUPATION			PERCENTAGE OF POPULACE ENGAGING IN OCCUPATION	
A - LC	36	R-29	FY-1	I-5	R-36	PG-80
		FM-23	L-2	O-4	FM-48	T-8
NV	32	M-9	PG-1		M-25	I-28
		S-7	T-3		S-6	O-21
NV	32	R-25	SM-2	NC-1	R-37	L-50
		FM-18	L-1	O-8	FM-41	PG-75
B - LC	10	M-7	PG-2		M-34	T-23
		S-3	T-2		S-12	NC-50
NV	12	R-10	SM-1	T-1	SM-13	O-25
		FM-6	P-1	O-4	R-33	PG-80
Ab	1	R-1			FM-22	I-23
					M-25	O-32
C - LC	17	R-15	SM-2	I-1	S-30	
		FM-3	L-2	O-2	R-52	P-79
NV	3	M-4	PG-1		FM-32	FS-35
		S-1	OF-1		M-45	T-20
D - NV	1	R-3			SM-30	O-23
		FM-1	M-1		R-35	L-43
NV	3	R-3			FM-24	PG-80
					M-36	OF-25
D - NV	1	R-1	M-1		S-3	I-31
		FM-1			SM-8	O-20
NV	3	R-3			R-25	
					R-35	M-20
D - NV	1	R-1	M-1		FM-20	
		FM-1				

KEDAH

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES (33)	NUMBER OF VILLAGES REPORTING EACH OCCUPATION			PERCENTAGE OF POPULACE ENGAGING IN OCCUPATION	
A - LC	1 (being formed)					
NV	14	R-7 FM-3 S-9	FY-1 SM-4 P-4	L-4 T-3 O-1	R-31 FM-33 S-16 FY-80 SM-68	P-100 L-14 T-40 O-10
B - LC	10	R-7 FM-4 M-1 S-8	SM-4 L-5 PG-1 T-2	E-1 O-1	R-31 FM-45 M-20 S-27 SM-41	L-18 PG-48 T-15 E-10 O-25
NV	8	R-6 FM-1 M-1	S-5 SM-2 P-1	L-4 T-1	R-44 FM-15 M-50 S-25	SM-48 P-100 L-20 T-70

PENANG and PROVINCE WELLESLEY

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES (9)	NUMBER OF VILLAGES REPORTING EACH OCCUPATION			PERCENTAGE OF POPULACE ENGAGING IN OCCUPATION	
A - NV	7	R-6 FM-6 S-5	SM-5 L-4 Q-1	O-2	R-23 FM-46 S-6 SM-18	L-19 Q-3 O-27
B - NV	2	R-2 FM-1	SM-2		R-83 FM-5	SM-15

PERLIS

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES (1)	NUMBER OF VILLAGES REPORTING EACH OCCUPATION			PERCENTAGE OF POPULACE ENGAGING IN OCCUPATION	
B - NV	1		FM-1 PG-1			

PAHANG

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES (63)	NUMBER OF VILLAGES REPORTING EACH OCCUPATION			PERCENTAGE OF POPULACE ENGAGING IN OCCUPATION	
A - LC	8	R-5 FM-5	SM-3 T-3	I-2 O-2	R-57 FM-50 SM-40	T-23 I-25 O-13
NV	5	R-1 FM-4			R-80 FM-90 to 95	
RsA	10	R-9 P-5	L-2		R-90	
MV	2	R-2 P-1	L-2			
TB	1	FM-1 I-1				
B - LC	11	R-9 FM-4 M-1 S-1	SM-5 PG-3 T-2 I-1	B-1 O-1	R-81 FM-5 S-15 SM-9	PG-7 T-10 O-25
NV	4	R-3 M-1	L-2 O-1		R-30 M-70	L-50 O-20
RsA	12	R-11 FM-5	M-1 SM-1	P-6 L-5	R-35 M-20	SM-20
MV	1	R-1 FM-1				
C - Ab	9	R-9 FM-2 SM-3	PG-1 OF-1 I-1	B-3 O-3	R-75 FM-20 SM-22 PG-10	OF-30 I-21 B-20 O-38

TRENGGANU

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES (2)	NUMBER OF VILLAGES REPORTING EACH OCCUPATION		PERCENTAGE OF POPULACE ENGAGING IN OCCUPATION	
A - RsA	1	R-1		R-100	
B - NV	1	R-1 SM-1		R-95 SM-5	

KELANTAN

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES (14)	NUMBER OF VILLAGES REPORTING EACH OCCUPATION			PERCENTAGE OF POPULACE ENGAGING IN OCCUPATION	
A - LC	1	R-1 P-1	B-1 O-1		R-2 P-70	B-15 O-18
NV	4	R-4 SM-1	P-4 B-1	O-3	R-21 SM-10 P-53	B-15 O-20
B - LC	4	R-4 FM-1	P-4 T-1	B-2 O-3	R-21 FM-7 P-51	T-10 B-23 O-18
NV	5	R-4 SM-1	P-4 B-2	O-4	R-31 SM-3 P-74	B-10 O-14

APPENDIX III*

APPLICATIONS FOR LAND TITLES IN NEW VILLAGES

Categories in Column I are defined on the first page of Appendix I. In column 4, the number of villages is followed by an indication of the average number, average percentage, or comment on applications for that many villages. Each number of villages is followed by a number, percentage or word because of the lack of a clearly defined system of reporting data. Thus '3-50' means that actual numbers of applications were given for these three villages and the average for the three is 50; '4-23 per cent' means that the average percentage for four villages who reported percentages rather than numbers is 23 per cent; and '2-Few' means that two villages are listed as having 'few' applicants for titles.

The villages in the States of Malacca, Perlis and Trengganu did not present applications for title.

* Based on data from the 1954 Report.

JOHORE

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES	NUMBER OF VILLAGES PRESENTING APPLICATIONS FOR TITLES	AVERAGE NUMBER OR PERCENTAGE OF APPLICATIONS, OR COMMENT
A - LC	33	19	1 — Satisfactory 5 — 155 13 — 62%
NV	5	2	1 — 47 1 — 92%
RsA	7	—	—
B - LC	32	21	1 — Satisfactory 1 — Few 5 — 39% 14 — 163
NV	1	1	1 — 187
RsA	1	—	—
C - LC	7	5	5 — 129
Ab	2	2	1 — 17% 1 — 147

NEGRI SEMBILAN

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES	NUMBER OF VILLAGES PRESENTING APPLICATIONS FOR TITLES	AVERAGE NUMBER OR PERCENTAGE OF APPLICATIONS, OR COMMENT
A - LC	5	3	1 — Few 2 — 98%
NV	20	6	1 — Few 3 — 78 2 — 95%
B - LC	4	—	—
NV	7	—	—

SELANGOR

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES	NUMBER OF VILLAGES PRESENTING APPLICATIONS FOR TITLES	AVERAGE NUMBER OR PERCENTAGE OF APPLICATIONS, OR COMMENT
A - LC	9	8	3 — Satisfactory 2 — Few 1 — 100% 2 — 223
NV	7	5	2 — Satisfactory 1 — Few 2 — 73
B - LC	4	4	1 — Satisfactory 3 — 202
NV	21	13	1 — Satisfactory 3 — Few 9 — 68
RsA	4	2	2 — 58

PERAK

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES	NUMBER OF VILLAGES PRESENTING APPLICATIONS FOR TITLES	AVERAGE NUMBER OR PERCENTAGE OF APPLICATIONS, OR COMMENT
A - LC	36	22	2 — Few 6 — Satisfactory 6 — 107 8 — 53%
NV	32	8	1 — Satisfactory 5 — Few 2 — 79%
B - LC	10	5	2 — Few 1 — 46 2 — 68%
NV	12	2	2 — 86%
Ab	1	1	1 — 323
C - LC	17	2	1 — Few 1 — 40%
NV	3	—	—
D - NV	1	—	—

KEDAH

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES	NUMBER OF VILLAGES PRESENTING APPLICATIONS FOR TITLES	AVERAGE NUMBER OR PERCENTAGE OF APPLICATIONS, OR COMMENT
A - LC	1 (being formed)		
NV	14	2	1 — 5% 1 — 40
B - LC	10	4	4 — 67
NV	8	1	1 — 40

PENANG and PROVINCE WELLESLEY

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES	NUMBER OF VILLAGES PRESENTING APPLICATIONS FOR TITLES	AVERAGE NUMBER OR PERCENTAGE OF APPLICATIONS, OR COMMENT
A - NV	7	7	7 — 61%
B - NV	2	—	—

PAHANG

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES	NUMBER OF VILLAGES PRESENTING APPLICATIONS FOR TITLES	AVERAGE NUMBER OR PERCENTAGE OF APPLICATIONS, OR COMMENT
A - LC	8	4	1 — 160 3 — Some
NV	5	—	—
RsA	10	1	1 — Few
MV	2	—	—
TB	1	1	1 — Few
B - LC	11	2	2 — Few
NV	4	3	2 — Few 1 — 21
RsA	12	6	6 — Few
MV	1	1	1 — Few
C - Ab	9	2	1 — Few 1 — 100%

KELANTAN

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES	NUMBER OF VILLAGES PRESENTING APPLICATIONS FOR TITLES	AVERAGE NUMBER OR PERCENTAGE OF APPLICATIONS, OR COMMENT
A - LC	1	1	1 — Few
NV	4	4	4 — Few
B - LC	4	4	4 — Few
NV	5	5	4 — Few 1 — 126

APPENDIX IV*

AVAILABILITY OF LAND IN NEW VILLAGES

Categories in Column I are defined on the first page of Appendix I. The symbols used to denote the amount of land available for expansion are as follows:

S — Sufficient

A — Available, but no indication whether amount is sufficient or insufficient

I — Insufficient

N — Not available

* Based on data from the 1954 Report.

JOHORE

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES WITH LAND FOR EXPANSION			
	S	A	I	N
A - LC	20	8	1	1
NV	3	—	1	—
RsA	6	—	—	—
B - LC	9	13	10	—
NV	—	—	—	1
RsA	1	—	—	—
C - LC	5	1	—	1
Ab	1	1	—	—

MALACCA

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES WITH LAND FOR EXPANSION			
	S	A	I	N
A - NV	9	—	—	—
B - NV	8	—	—	—

NEGRI SEMBILAN

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES WITH LAND FOR EXPANSION			
	S	A	I	N
A - LC	4	—	1	—
NV	14	—	6	—
B - LC	4	—	—	—
NV	6	—	1	—

SELANGOR

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES WITH LAND FOR EXPANSION			
	S	A	I	N
A - LC	3	—	6	—
NV	5	—	2	—
B - LC	3	1	—	—
NV	12	1	8	—
RsA	3	—	1	—

PERAK

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES WITH LAND FOR EXPANSION			
	S	A	I	N
A - LC	29	3	—	4
NV	24	3	3	1
B - LC	8	1	1	—
NV	10	—	—	—
Ab	—	—	8	1
C - LC	6	1	2	2
NV	—	—	—	1

KEDAH

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES WITH LAND FOR EXPANSION			
	S	A	I	N
A - LC	1 (being formed)			
NV	9	3	—	2
B - LC	5	2	1	2
NV	5	—	1	2

PENANG and PROVINCE WELLESLEY

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES WITH LAND FOR EXPANSION			
	S	A	I	N
A - NV	7	—	—	—
B - NV	2	—	—	—

PERLIS

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES WITH LAND FOR EXPANSION			
	S	A	I	N
B - NV	1	—	—	—

CHINESE NEW VILLAGES

PAHANG

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES WITH LAND FOR EXPANSION			
	S	A	I	N
A - LC	5	1	2	—
NV	1	—	—	4
RsA	9	—	1	—
MV	2	—	—	—
TB	—	—	—	1
B - LC	6	1	1	3
NV	4	—	—	—
RsA	9	—	3	—
MV	1	—	—	—
C - Ab	4	5	—	—

TRENGGANU

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES WITH LAND FOR EXPANSION			
	S	A	I	N
A - RsA	—	—	1	—
B - NV	—	—	1	—

KELANTAN

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES WITH LAND FOR EXPANSION			
	S	A	I	N
A - LC	1	—	—	—
NV	4	—	—	—
B - LC	4	—	—	—
NV	5	—	—	—

APPENDIX V*

JUDGEMENT OF NEW VILLAGE STABILITY

Categories in Column 1 are defined on the first page of Appendix I. The symbols used to denote the 1954 Report's judgement of degree of expected permanency are defined as follows:

P — Permanent

I — Intermediate

T — Temporary, expected to disappear with the Emergency

Under each symbol is listed the number of villages in that category. The last section of the Table elaborates on the comparison made on pages 21-25 between the 1954 Report expectations and a similar categorization based on the rates of growth or decline given in the M.C.C. Survey. The section shows how many of the original P, T, and I villages have moved into different categories.

* Based on data from the 1954 Report and the M.C.C. Survey.

JOHORE

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES JUDGED AS			NUMBER OF VILLAGES ORIGINALLY JUDGED AS					
	P	I	T	P which became		I which became		T which became	
				T	I	T	P	I	P
A - LC	20	8	5	2	4	—	4	2	3
NV	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	2
RsA	3	2	2	—	2	—	1	2	—
B - LC	24	6	1	—	1	1	4	—	—
NV	1	—	—	(No check possible)					
RsA	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
C - LC	5	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
Ab	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

MALACCA

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES JUDGED AS			NUMBER OF VILLAGES ORIGINALLY JUDGED AS					
	P	I	T	P which became		I which became		T which became	
				T	I	T	P	I	P
A - NV	7	2	—	1	1	1	—	—	—
B - NV	7	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—

NEGRI SEMBILAN

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES JUDGED AS			NUMBER OF VILLAGES ORIGINALLY JUDGED AS					
	P	I	T	P which became		I which became		T which became	
				T	I	T	P	I	P
A - LC	3	2	—	—	1	1	1	—	—
NV	7	7	6	2	2	1	4	2	2
B - LC	2	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
NV	3	3	1	1	—	—	1	—	1

SELANGOR

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES JUDGED AS			NUMBER OF VILLAGES ORIGINALLY JUDGED AS					
	P	I	T	P which became		I which became		T which became	
				T	I	T	P	I	P
A - LC	5	4	—	—	1	—	2	—	—
NV	5	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
B - LC	4	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
NV	15	4	2	—	1	1	3	—	2
RsA	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

PERAK

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES JUDGED AS			NUMBER OF VILLAGES ORIGINALLY JUDGED AS					
	P	I	T	P which became		I which became		T which became	
				T	I	T	P	I	P
A - LC	35	1	—	8	5	—	1	—	—
NV	19	11	1	8	9	4	2	1	—
B - LC	10	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
NV	9	2	1	—	6	—	—	1	—
Ab	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
C - LC	16	1	—	—	2	—	1	—	—
NV	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
D - NV	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

KEDAH

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES JUDGED AS			NUMBER OF VILLAGES ORIGINALLY JUDGED AS					
	P	I	T	P which became		I which became		T which became	
				T	I	T	P	I	P
A – LC	(being formed)								
NV	8	6	—	1	3	1	—	—	—
B – LC	10*	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
NV	5	2	1	—	—	—	1	—	1

* 7 villages listed as absorbed so that growth rate cannot be estimated.

PENANG and PROVINCE WELLESLEY

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES JUDGED AS			NUMBER OF VILLAGES ORIGINALLY JUDGED AS					
	P	I	T	P which became		I which became		T which became	
				T	I	T	P	I	P
A - NV	7	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—
B - NV	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2

PERLIS

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES JUDGED AS			NUMBER OF VILLAGES ORIGINALLY JUDGED AS					
	P	I	T	P which became		I which became		T which became	
				T	I	T	P	I	P
B - NV	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

PAHANG

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES JUDGED AS			NUMBER OF VILLAGES ORIGINALLY JUDGED AS					
	P	I	T	P which became		I which became		T which became	
				T	I	T	P	I	P
A - LC	5	3	—	1	—	—	3	—	—
NV	1	2	2	—	1	—	2	1	—
RsA	1	3	6	—	1	—	1	3	—
MV	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—
TB	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
B - LC	6	5	—	1	—	—	3	—	—
NV	2	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	—
RsA	4	7	1	1	2	3	2	—	—
MV	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
C - Ab	2	7	—	—	1	1	2	—	—

TRENGGANU

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES JUDGED AS			NUMBER OF VILLAGES ORIGINALLY JUDGED AS					
	P	I	T	P which became		I which became		T which became	
				T	I	T	P	I	P
A - RsA	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
B - NV	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—

KELANTAN

CATEGORY	NUMBER OF VILLAGES JUDGED AS			NUMBER OF VILLAGES ORIGINALLY JUDGED AS					
	P	I	T	P which became		I which became		T which became	
				T	I	T	P	I	P
A - LC	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
NV	1	1	2	—	—	—	1	—	—
B - LC	1	—	3	—	—	—	—	2	1
NV	1	4	—	—	—	—	2	—	—

APPENDIX VI

CHINESE DEATH-BENEFIT INSURANCE COMPANIES

THE following excerpts are from the list of regulations governing policies taken out with the Nam Tai Insurance Company of Ipoh, Perak.¹ Where regulations made by three other companies differ from those of the Nam Tai, note will be given in parentheses.²

Qualifications for Membership

Any person, irrespective of race, sex or age, who has attained the age of twenty or over, and who abides by the Rules and Regulations of the Company is welcome to be a Member of the Mutual Aid Department. (Two of the other companies set no age limit; one specifies sixteen years of age. All three state that the person must be in good health.)

Classes of Benefit Value

Different types of policies are available from Nam Tai. A table lists five types, entrance fees for which range from M\$3.00 to M\$10.00, annual and monthly subscriptions from M\$2.00 to M\$8.00 and paid up "Benefit Value" from M\$200.00 to M\$1,000.00. Maximum age limits for entrance into the Company range from no limit for the smallest policy to 64 years for the largest policy. After premiums are paid for ten years the policy is paid up. (Policies offered by other companies are very much the same, though both premiums and "Benefit Value" tend to be higher.)

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1. Information from an interview in the Company's Kuala Lumpur office July 21, 1961.
 2. Metro Enterprise Ltd., Head Offices, Ipoh, Perak; Billion Insurance Co. Ltd., Head Office, Ipoh, Perak; Poh Sin Assurance Co. Ltd., Head Offices, Ipoh, Perak.

Period of Entitlement to Benefits

Members of the Mutual Aid Department are entitled to receive Benefits as set out by the Department only after completing a period of nine months' membership. Any member who dies before the completion of such period will not be entitled to the Benefits and all fees and subscriptions paid by such member shall be forfeited. (One company advances the date when Benefits may be received from nine to six months.)

Drawing of Benefits

In the event of the death of any member who has completed nine full months' membership, the beneficiary will receive the full amount of the Benefit Value without any deduction, upon production to the Company of the death certificate and membership certificate of the deceased member. (Two of the other companies require that monthly premium receipts be presented along with the above-mentioned documents.)

Payment of Fees & Subscriptions (a note added only by Nam Tai)

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APPENDIX VII

LOCAL COUNCIL ORDINANCES

BELOW are excerpts of the more important provisions of two ordinances governing local councils. We will first consider *The Local Councils Ordinance, 1952*, sub-titled: "An Ordinance to make provision for the creation and administration of local council areas and matters related thereto."

3. (1) The Ruler in Council in a State and the High Commissioner in Nominated Council in a Settlement may by order notified in the Gazette declare any area to be a local council area for the purposes of this Ordinance and may define the limits thereof and may at any time revoke or vary such order by further order notified in like manner and may name such local council area.
4. In every local council area there shall be established a local council which shall be a body corporate and shall be entitled to make contracts and to sue and be sued in its own name.
5. (1) A council shall consist of not less than seven and not more than fifteen persons as shall in the first instance be specified...
- (2) The members of a council shall be elected by and from among the persons ordinarily resident in the local council area in such manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the District Officer:

Provided that the Mentri Besar in a State or the Resident Commissioner in a Settlement may, if he deems it necessary so to do in order to ensure the adequate representation of minorities, nominate such number of persons, not exceeding one-third of the whole number of the members of a council, to be members of the Council for such period not exceeding three years as he shall specify...

- (3) Every person ordinarily resident in a local council area who is twenty-one years of age or more shall be entitled to vote in any election.
 - (4) Every person shall be entitled to be elected a member of a council if he is ordinarily resident in the local council area and is twenty-one years of age or more unless the District Officer, with the approval of the Menteri Besar in a State or of the Resident Commissioner in a Settlement, disallows the candidature.
 - (6) (i) Subject to the provisions of this sub-section every member of a council shall hold office for a period of three years and those members who have been members for the longest period without re-election shall retire in every year on the anniversary of the first election in each local council area.
 - (9) There shall be a chairman of each council elected by and from among the members thereof:
Provided that if the chairman is absent or is precluded from proceeding in any matter, the members of a council shall elect one of themselves to preside temporarily as chairman.
 - (10) A member of a council shall not vote or be present at the discussion of any matter before the council or a committee thereof in which he has directly or indirectly by himself or by his partner any pecuniary interest.
 - (12) The quorum of a council for the purpose of meetings shall be not less than one half thereof.
 - (13) A council shall meet not less frequently than once in each month.
6. The High Commissioner in Council may by order notified in the Gazette prescribe the categories of rates, taxes and fees, and the Ruler in Council in a State and the High Commissioner in Nominated Council in a Settlement may by order notified in like manner prescribe the maximum amounts of such rates, taxes and fees, which may be imposed by a council.

7. (1) Subject to the provisions of section 6 a council may from time to time impose, take and receive such rates, taxes and fees as the council may determine and may direct by whom and to whom such rates, taxes and fees shall be paid.
 - (2) All rates, taxes and fees so imposed with the date or dates on which they become payable shall be published by posting them in conspicuous places in the local council area.
 - (4) (i) If any rate, tax or fee duly authorised remains unpaid for twenty-eight days after the day on which it became payable, the council shall report the same to the District Officer, who, having satisfied himself that payment has not been made by the person liable to pay the same, may order any person named in such order to seize so much of the moveable property of the said person in default as appears reasonably sufficient when sold to pay such rate, tax or fee.
8. (1) The money raised under the provisions of section 7 together with all monies otherwise received by the council by way of gift, grant or otherwise shall be called the local council fund.
 - (2) The fund shall be under the control of the council.
 - (5) (i) A council shall prepare annual estimates of its revenue and expenditure in advance and may from time to time prepare supplementary estimates of its revenue and expenditure...
 - (iii) No payment out of the fund shall be made otherwise than in accordance with the estimates of revenue and expenditure save with the approval of the District Officer.
10. (1) A council may appoint a secretary/treasurer or a secretary and a treasurer and such other staff as may be required and may pay to him or to them such remuneration as the council may deem proper.
11. (1) It shall be lawful for every council to establish schools, school gardens and playgrounds and to maintain and

- to manage such schools, school gardens and playgrounds.
- (2) It shall be lawful for every council to take over and to maintain and to manage schools, school gardens and playgrounds with the approval of the District Officer and with the consent of the managers of such schools, school gardens and playgrounds.
 - (4) A council may delegate its powers of management of schools and school gardens and playgrounds to an education committee appointed from among the members of the council and any other persons resident in the local council area.
12. (1) It shall be lawful for every council to perform any public work which may tend to improve communications and to promote sanitation and cleanliness in the local council area and the health, security or well-being of the inhabitants thereof.
- (2) Every council shall have power to make by-laws for carrying out any of the objects specified in subsection (1) and in particular, but without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, may make by-laws for any of the following purposes:
- (a) requiring the streets, drains and other public places to be kept clear of refuse or obstructions;
 - (b) prohibiting the accumulation on private property of filth or refuse dangerous to public health and requiring the abatement of any nuisance arising from private cesspits or drains or otherwise;
 - (c) requiring the cleaning, maintenance and protection from contamination of fountains, wells and other water supplies;
 - (d) providing and regulating public markets;
 - (e) providing and regulating community centres, public gardens, playing fields and playgrounds;
 - (f) protecting Government or other public property, including property of the council, lying within the local council area;
 - (g) providing for the manner of collecting any rate, tax or fee levied under this Ordinance;

- (6) Every person who by any act or omission shall contravene any by-law made under this section shall be punishable with imprisonment for a period not exceeding fifteen days or with a fine not exceeding fifty dollars as shall be specified in the by-law and any such fine shall be paid to the fund.

Now we turn to *The Local Councils (Amendment) Ordinance, 1954*. Section 4 of *The Local Councils Ordinance, 1952* is replaced by the following detailed section:

4. (1) In every local council area there shall be established a local council which shall be a body corporate and may sue and be sued in its own name, and shall have perpetual succession, and may enter into contracts, and may acquire, purchase, take, hold and enjoy movable and immovable property of every description, and may convey, assign, surrender and yield up, charge, mortgage, demise, re-assign, transfer or otherwise dispose of, or deal with, any movable or immovable property or any interest therein vested in the council upon such terms as to the council seem fit.

(This is no more than an elaboration of the original section, specifying what was implied in the original Ordinance. Sub-section (1) is followed by four more sub-sections, dealing with the seal of the council and other details of the carrying-out of business.)

Regulations governing voting for council elections are refined in two particulars:

- (a) by inserting in section 5, sub-section (4) immediately after the words "Every person" and before the words "shall be entitled", the words "not being in the paid employ of a council"; and
- (b) by inserting immediately after section 5, sub-section (4) the following new sub-section:
 - (4A) A person shall not be deemed to be ordinarily resident in a local council area for the purposes of this section unless he shall have been so resident in the aggregate

for six out of the immediately preceding nine months.

The council's powers of taxation, already broad, are broadened still further by adding to section 7, sub-section (1), the following phrase:

and a council may impose different rates, taxes or fees in respect of the same matters in different parts of the local council area

Houses are assessed, and different rates of taxation are set for each type of dwelling.

The activities and functions of the council are spelled out in still greater detail, with matters such as zoning, regulation of advertising, and licensing of places and hawkers of food being added.

APPENDIX VIII

NEW VILLAGE PERSONALITIES

THE following is a list of those persons discussed most frequently in this study. Their fictitious names were assigned them by the writer.

Village A

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Cen Sin Sang | An elderly man who lives with his wife in a substantial village house, his children having returned to China. Neither he nor his wife are able to pursue any regular occupation, but both are in fairly good health. |
| Ho Tien Kim | An elderly man. He and his wife own a large village home. The wife lives at home and carries on various small enterprises. Tien Kim spends most of the time with his two sons and their families who run a store in a large New Village about ten miles away. |
| Contractor Yan | A middle-aged man, born in the area of the village, who inherited a thriving business from his father. His parents both dead, he lives with a younger brother, the two families residing together in one of the better village homes. |
| Su Brothers | Three married brothers who, with their families, live together in the rear of a store inherited from their father; their mother lives with them. They run the store and also a rubber dealership set up more recently. |
| Yap Li Lian | A young unmarried woman living with her widowed mother; both tap rubber. |

Village B

- Wong A Pak** An elderly rubber tapper living with his wife and young son in one side of a very simple semi-detached house. A married daughter and her husband live on the other side of the same house.

Village O

- Chirn Pak Me** An elderly widow living with her youngest son. One son has returned to China. A daughter is married and lives about one hundred miles away.

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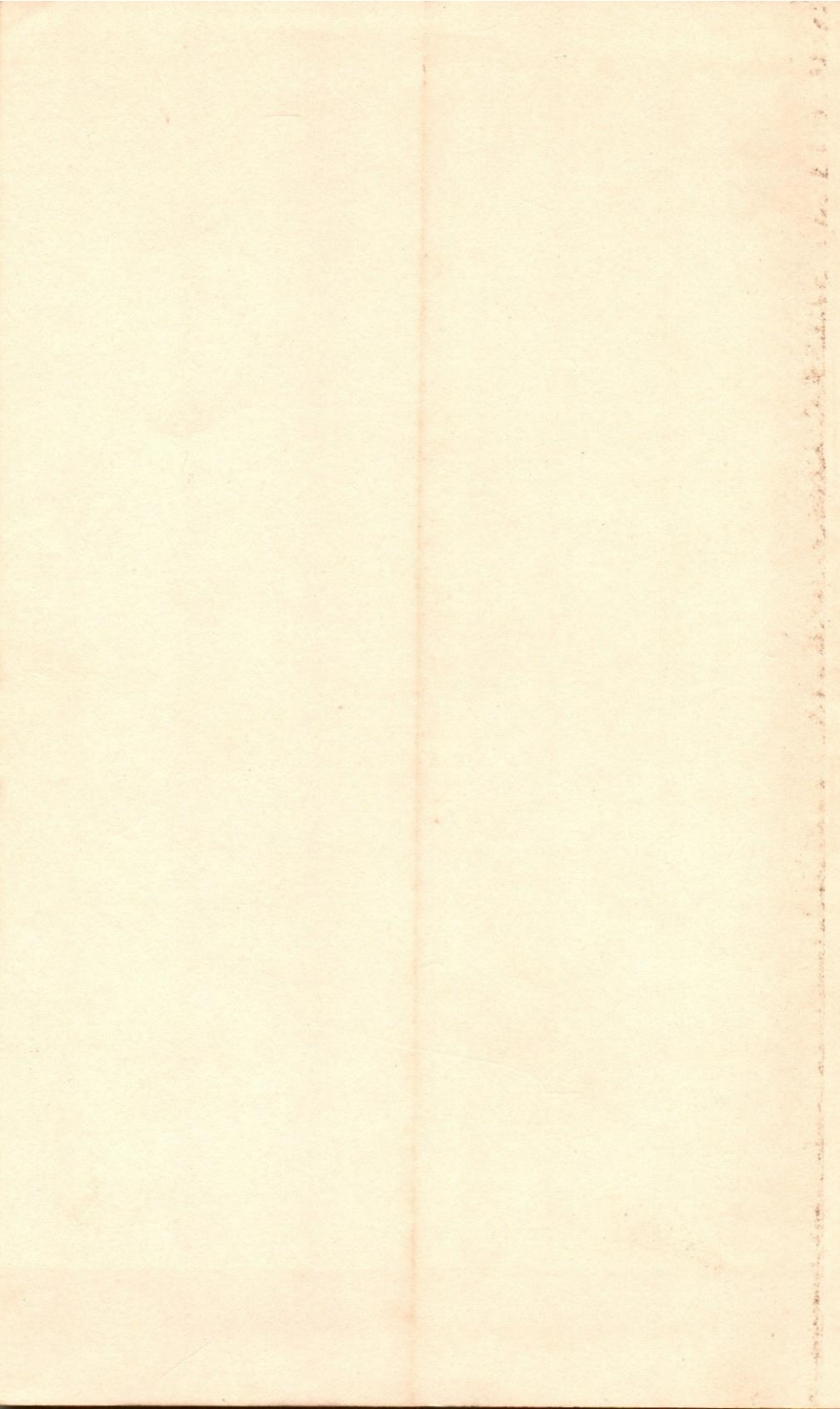
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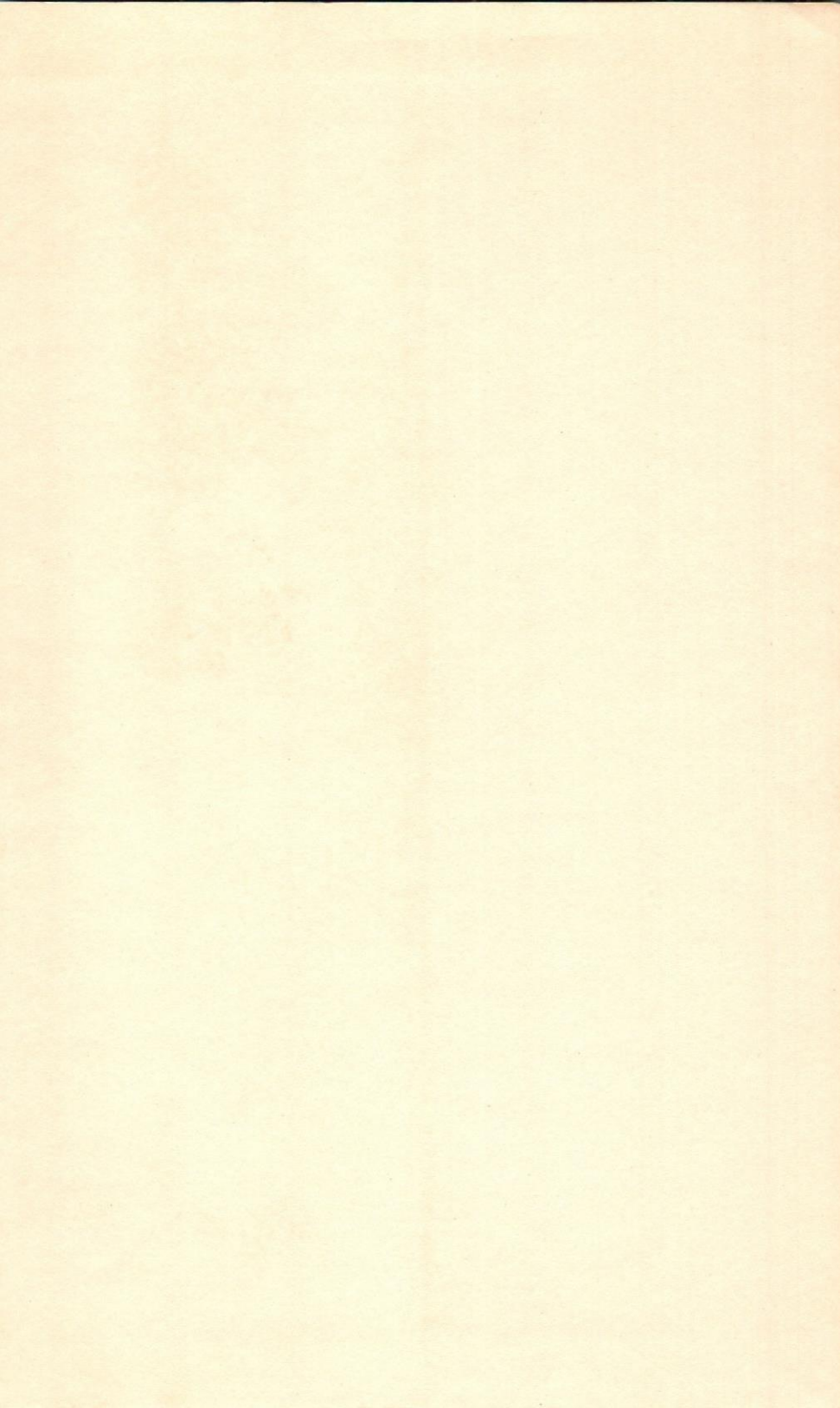
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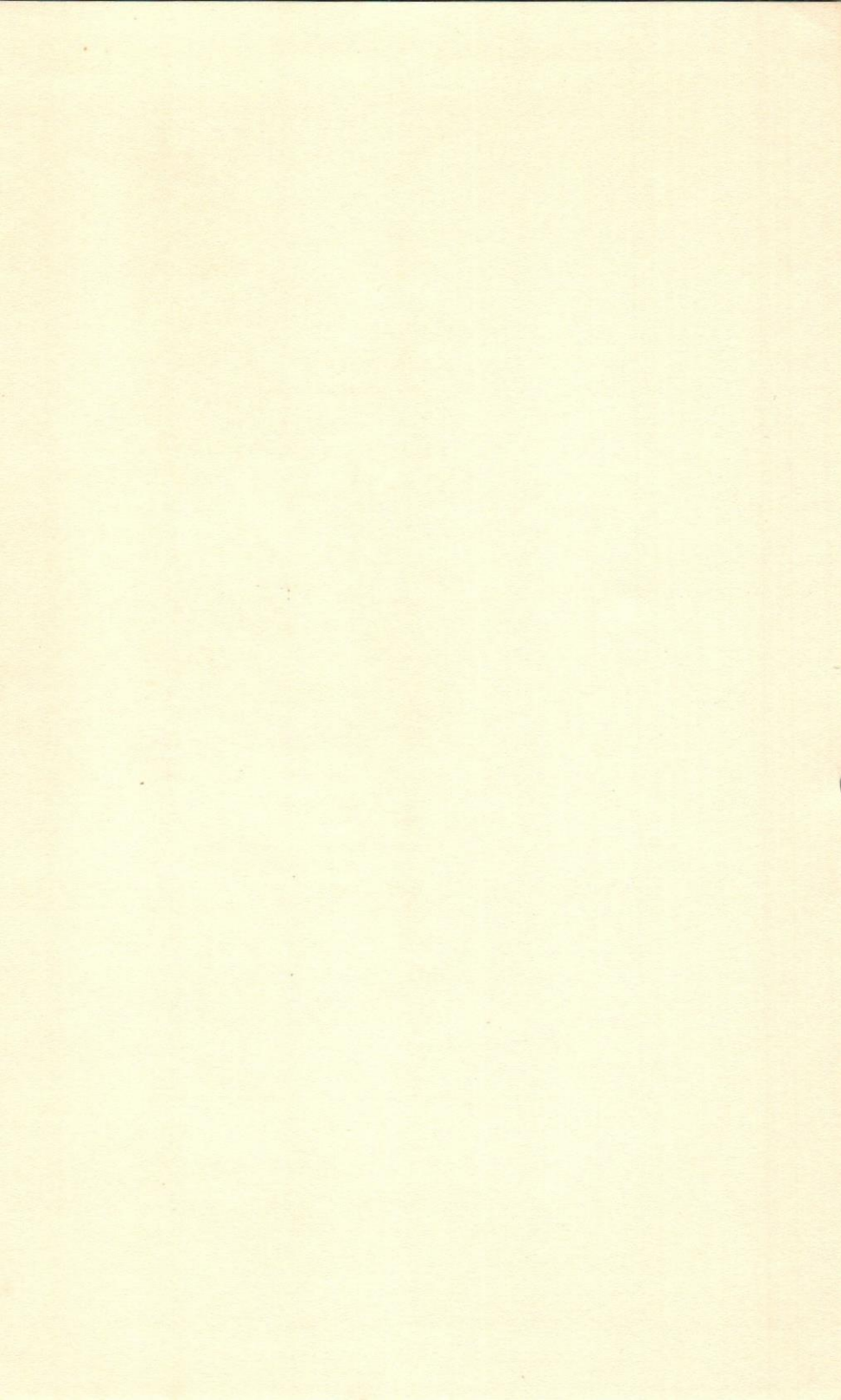
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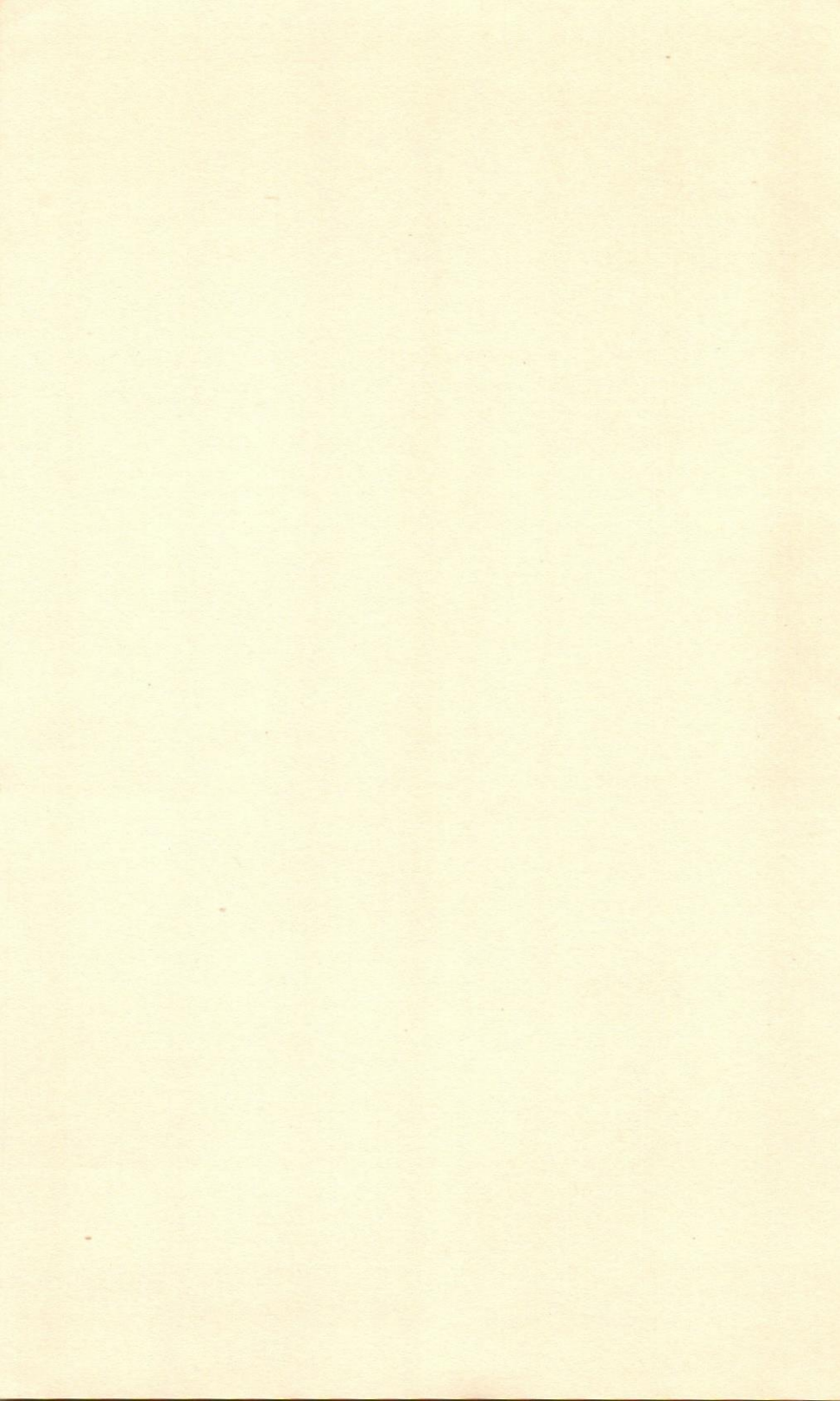
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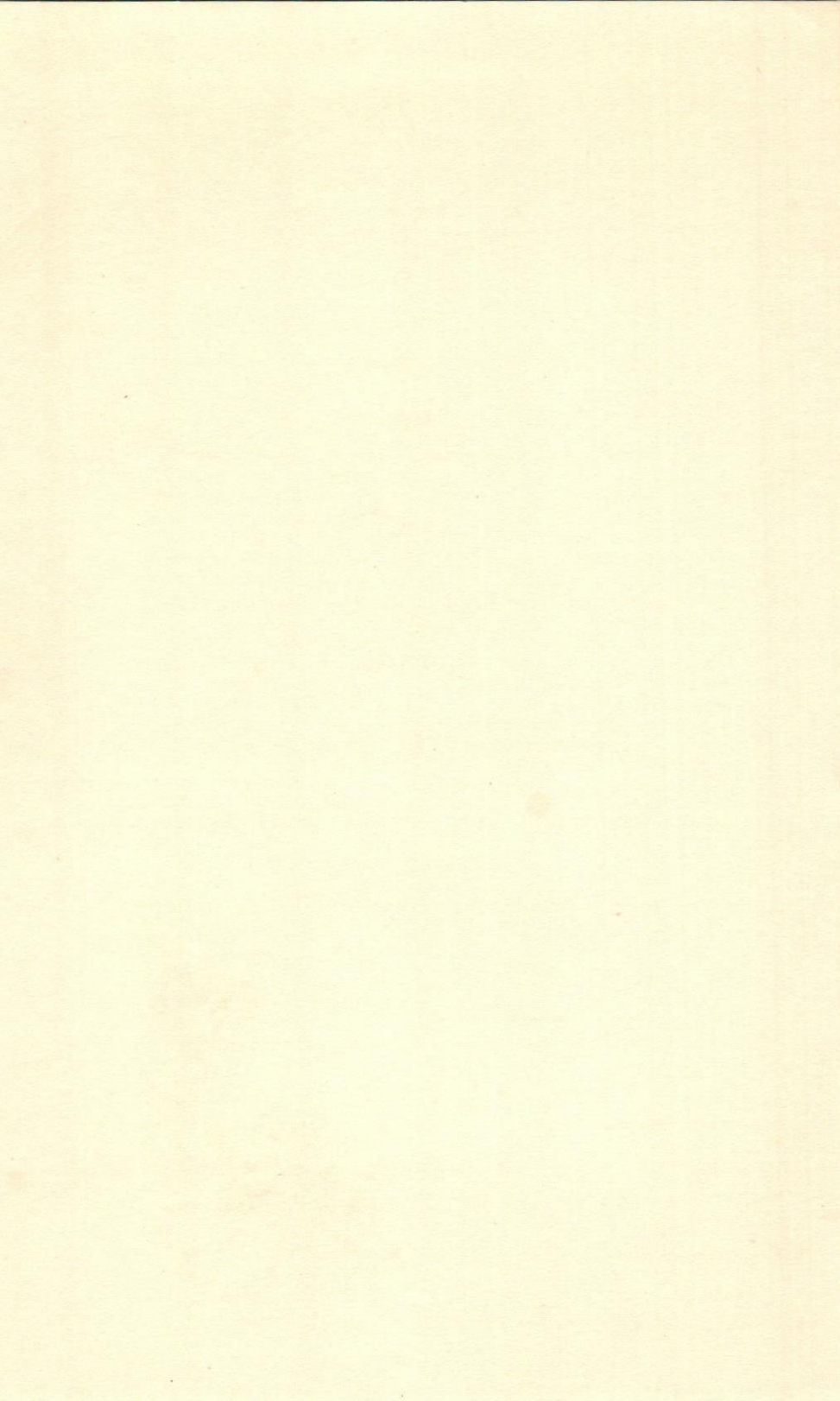
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