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43400 Serdang, Selangor, Malaysia
Tel: +603 8947 1622, 8947 1619, 8947 1616

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Social Interaction in Urban Areas: A Case Study of Mixed and Mono-Ethnic Neighbourhoods in Kuala Lumpur

NOBAYA AHMAD & SHARIFAH NORAZIZAN SYED ABDUL RASHID

*Department of Social and Development Science,
Faculty of Human Ecology, Universiti Putra Malaysia,
43400 UPM, Serdang,
Selangor, Malaysia*

*E-mail: nobaya@putra.upm.edu.my
sharifah@eco1.upm.edu.my*

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ABSTRAK

Sebagai sebuah negara yang berbilang kaum, Malaysia sering menjadi tumpuan kajian-kajian yang menjurus ke arah memahami interaksi dan integrasi etnik. Kajian ini menerangkan pola interaksi sosial yang berlaku di kawasan kejiranan di Kuala Lumpur. Analisis dibuat dengan melihat kepada perbezaan interaksi sosial di kalangan penduduk kawasan kejiranan yang didiami oleh pelbagai etnik, dan kawasan kejiranan yang didiami oleh majoriti satu etnik sahaja iaitu Melayu atau Cina. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa terdapat perbezaan dari segi pola interaksi sosial yang berlaku di mana kawasan kejiranan pelbagai etnik menunjukkan interaksi sosial yang melibatkan pelbagai kumpulan etnik manakala mereka yang mendiami penempatan yang tertumpu kepada satu etnik sahaja lebih kerap berinteraksi dengan rakan-rakan daripada etnik yang sama.

ABSTRACT

Malaysia has always been the focus of research towards understanding the social interaction and integration patterns of its multiethnic society. This study describes the social interaction patterns in residential neighbourhoods in Kuala Lumpur. The analysis was done to compare social interaction patterns between those who lived in mixed and mono-ethnic neighbourhoods, mainly Chinese or Malay. The findings suggested that there is a difference in the social interaction patterns where there were more socialisers, that is those who mixed with other ethnic groups, in mixed residential neighbourhoods compared to those who lived in mono-ethnic neighbourhoods.

INTRODUCTION

It is expected that by the year 2005, more than half of the world's population will be living in urban areas (Gottdiener and Hutchinson 2000). Dogan and Kasarda (1988) predicted that more than 500 metropolises with a population of more than 1 million will be created across the globe within the same period. Therefore, within the next few years, we will no longer be talking just about cities, but about megacities.

Urban sociologists regard space as a container of social activities. However, the factor of space does not only consist of social relations; people also alter space and construct new environments to fit their needs. This perspective

of the dual relationship between people and space is known as settlement space which refers to the built environment in which people live, and where their thoughts and actions have resulted in the creation of meaningful places (Gottdiener and Hutchinson 2000).

Urban areas, with their anonymity, heterogeneity and fast pace, may not be conducive to societal co-operation. The evolution of our built environment and, the ways in which we modify and interact with the natural environment, are a manifestation of our societal values. With the growth of the 'not in my backyard' attitude, we are exhibiting a belief in individualism, at the expense of public needs

and values (Beatley and Manning 1997). Blakely and Snyder (1995) summarized the 'forting up' phenomenon and the narrowing of our social contract and contact:

"What is the measure of nationhood when neighbours require armed patrol and electric fencing to keep out citizens? When public services and even local government are privatized and when the community of responsibility stops at the subdivision gates, what happens to the function and the very idea of democracy? In short, can this nation fulfil its social contract in the absence of social contact?"

The role of housing as a tool of social interaction and integration is not something new. Wirth (1947) in his discussion on how housing influences human lives sociologically explained housing as a social value. Many writers support the idea that housing can foster better social relationships between residents (Mann 1958; Gans 1972, Bassett and Short 1980). According to Mann (1958):

"When residents are brought together through the use of common recreational facilities, they come to know one another better and friendly reactions ensue. Existing developments with neighbourhood unit features have consistently produced face-to-face social conditions."

Therefore, the aim of this paper is to describe the patterns of social interaction in different types of neighbourhoods in Kuala Lumpur, the capital city of Malaysia. As a multicultural and multiethnic society, Malaysia has often been the testing ground of ethnic diversity and its effect on national integration. The paper will look into the social interaction patterns between Malays and Chinese residing in the three different types of residential areas. The rationale for investigating the social interaction between Malays and Chinese is that both ethnic groups form the majority in Kuala Lumpur, that is 38 % Malays and 45% Chinese (Dept. of Statistics 1990). For the purpose of this study, social interaction is defined as a process of communicating; the exchange of information and instructions and in the process, behaviour is affected (Rabushka 1971).

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted in selected neighbourhoods in Kuala Lumpur, which has a high concentration of Malays and Chinese

(mono-ethnic areas) and an almost equal proportion of Malays and Chinese population (mixed). This information was obtained using the 1991 census district data from the Department of Statistics 8 districts were found to fulfil the criteria for mono-ethnic areas, and 3 districts were found to have an equal proportion of both ethnic groups (mixed). Housing estates within the selected census districts were then selected. In order to control the effects of physical layout design and density on social interaction, only terraced residential developments (low, middle and high cost) with a minimum of 200 units and built at least 5 years ago were selected. A total of 27 housing estates were selected and 223 residents responded to the survey. A questionnaire was used to gather the information on social interaction patterns. The questions covered aspects on the how well they know their neighbours, their knowledge and participation in neighbourhood associations, the extent of their daily interaction like borrowing items or exchanging food and involvement in social activities.

FINDINGS

The first task was to establish the current social interaction patterns between the Malay and Chinese respondents. The respondents were asked to respond to the statement 'Other than your family members, your current friends are:

- a. mostly Malays
- b. mostly Chinese
- c. mostly Indians
- d. mixed (Malays, Chinese, Indians, others)

For the purpose of analysis, social interaction patterns between the ethnic groups will be discussed under the category of 'socialisers', that is individuals whose social interaction pattern is extended to those from other ethnic groups, and 'non-socialisers' to describe individuals whose social interaction pattern is strictly with members from the same ethnic group. This will provide a general socio-economic profile of those who socialised with other ethnic groups and those who did not.

Table 1 shows the percentage of socialisers (respondents who stated that their current social interaction patterns included other ethnic groups-Chinese, Indian and mixed) and non-socialisers (respondents who claimed that they socialised only within their own ethnic group).

Based on Table 1, it was found that there was a significant difference at $p < 0.05$ in terms of social interaction patterns between Malays and Chinese. There was a greater proportion of non-socialisers in both ethnic groups (78% Malays and 71% Chinese) compared with socialisers.

Types of Residential Area and Social Interaction Patterns

The next stage is to investigate the form of social interaction patterns between Malays and Chinese residing in the different types of residential areas.

Social Interaction Patterns

The responses from the respondents based on the types of areas are shown in Table 2.

Although more than 82% Malays and about 68% Chinese socialised with mostly members from the same ethnic groups, 18% of the Malays and about a third of the Chinese in mixed areas socialised with members from other ethnic groups including Indians (socialisers).

As in the mixed areas, about 26% of the Malays in mono-ethnic Malay areas can be considered socialisers. The socialisers were mostly those who were within the middle to upper income group, earning between RM 2000-3000 and were employed in the professional, administrative and clerical and sales sectors. They were also employed in the private sectors (Nobaya Ahmad 1999). On the other hand, 81.4% of the Chinese in homogenous Chinese areas were non-socialisers compared to 18.6% socialisers in Chinese areas.

Compared with the Chinese in mixed areas, a slightly small percentage of the Chinese in mono-ethnic Chinese areas socialised with the Malays. This group of socialisers were mostly in the sales and clerical sectors, earning between RM1500-2000 (Nobaya Ahmad 1999). Most likely, they socialised with people they met as part of their work, considering that more than two thirds of them were employed in the private sector and about half of them worked with Malay colleagues.

TABLE 1
Social interaction patterns

Social interaction pattern	Malays (%) n=146	Chinese (%) n=77
Mostly Malays	78.1	2.6
Mostly Chinese	2.7	71.4
Mostly Indians	-	2.6
Mixed (Malays, Chinese, Indian)	19.2	23.4
	100.0	100.0

chi-square : 0.000, $p < 0.05$

Source: Nobaya Ahmad, 1999

TABLE 2
Social interaction patterns based on residential types

Residential Types	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
	Malays (%) n=78	Chinese (%) n=34	(%) n=68	(%) n=43
Mostly Malays	82.1	5.9	73.5	2.3
Mostly Chinese	2.6	67.6	2.9	81.4
Mixed (Malays, Chinese, Indians)	15.4	20.6	23.5	16.3
Mostly Indians	-	5.9	-	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square : 0.212, $p > 0.05$,

Source: Nobaya Ahmad, 1999

Closest Friends

When asked to identify their closest friend, that is someone they could confide in during times of need, all the respondents, both Malay and Chinese stated that their closest friend came from the same ethnic group. This indicated that although their social interaction patterns were multiethnic, all respondents confided in people of their own ethnic groups on matters of a confidential nature. A larger portion of the people they confided in consisted of their family members (Table 3).

For the Malays in mono-ethnic Malay areas, when asked about the people they confided in times of need, all of them stated that their closest friends were Malays and 76.4% stated that they turn to their family members in times of need. Hence, family relationship still plays a significant role in the lives of the Malay respondents. Similarly, when asked about their closest friend, the Chinese in mono-ethnic areas also stated that they had close relationships with

their family. 61% of them stated that they confided in family members and 35% confided in their best friend. All of them stated that their closest friend were of the same ethnic group. Table 4 compares the residence of the closest friend for respondents from the three types of areas.

Most of the closest friends of the Chinese respondents from the mixed areas resided in different neighbourhoods within Kuala Lumpur. Since a majority of them were former residents of the city, this indicated that they still maintained a close link with family members residing in other areas. This pattern was also found among Chinese in homogenous Chinese areas. Most of their closest friend lived either in the same neighbourhood (42%) or in a different neighbourhood in Kuala Lumpur (33%). This was hardly surprising considering the fact that less than 10% of the respondents came from outside Kuala Lumpur. On the other hand, the closest friends of the Malays in mixed areas lived

TABLE 3
Closest friend

Residential Types	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
	Malays (%) n=78	Chinese (%) n=34	(%) n=68	(%) n=43
Closest friend				
Family members (including immediate and extended family)	80.8	88.2	76.4	60.5
Office colleagues	-	11.8	11.8	4.7
Best friend	19.2	-	11.8	34.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Nobaya Ahmad, 1999

TABLE 4
Residence of closest friends

Residential Types	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
	Malays (%) n=43	Chinese (%) n=20	(%) n=23	(%) n=15
Same neighbourhood	21.8	17.6	17.6	42
Different neighbourhood in Kuala Lumpur	17.9	44.1	61.8	33
Different state	60.3	38.2	17.6	25
	100.0	100.0	100.0	

chi-square:0.0135,p<0.05

Source: Nobaya Ahmad,1999

outside the capital, but this was not found to be the case for the Malays in Malay areas.

Participation in Organisations

One of the key indicators of social interaction process at neighbourhood level was the involvement of residents in neighbourhood activities. The respondents were first asked to identify the presence of certain neighbourhood organisations that were quite common in residential areas in Malaysia. Participation in organisations at a higher level than the neighbourhood is another indicator that can be used as a measure of social contact, provided that the organisations are multiethnic. The social interaction that occurs will be informal and will not involve competition in terms of work promotion and the like, which means there is likely to be less conflict between the ethnic groups.

The organisations were the Residents' Association (normally set up by the residents with the support of the Ministry of National Unity and Community Development), The Parent-Teacher Associations, local neighbourhood associations, local religious associated associations (normally set up by the local religious groups) and Rukun Tetangga or Neighbourhood Watch (a body set up by the Department of National Unity). Apart from the religious associations, the other organisations are usually multiracial. Table 5 provides the responses given by the respondents with regard to the presence of the above-mentioned associations in their residential areas.

Overall, there seemed to be a lower level of awareness among the Chinese, compared with the Malays, about the presence of the organisations in their neighbourhoods. Chinese respondents, especially in the Chinese areas, seemed unaware of the existence of associations in the neighbourhood other than the Resident's Association and Rukun Tetangga. Most of these respondents were new residents of the housing areas and amongst the Chinese respondents, only 28% of them had children of primary school-going age (between 7-12 years) compared with the Malays (42%). The choice of schools where parents send their children may also be a reason why there was a lack of participation in the local neighbourhood school's association. Parents have a choice about where to send their children and some may have chosen Chinese

medium schools or schools near their workplace, far from their home.

With regard to participation in organisations in neighbourhood areas, both ethnic groups did not seem to participate actively in the organisations. Only 18% of the Malays and 6% of the Chinese respondents in mixed areas participated. The organisations that the Malays were involved in were mostly Residents' Association, Religious Association and the Neighbourhood Watch whereas the Chinese were involved in mostly the Residents' Association and Neighbourhood Watch. The lack of participation in organisations reflected the sample where overall participation seemed to be lacking in both ethnic groups.

Of the 24% of the Malays in mono-ethnic areas who were involved in organisations at neighbourhood level, 63% were members of the religious association, 25% were members of the Resident's Association and 12% were involved in the Parents Teachers Association. Again, the low level of participation in neighbourhood organisations may be due to the age group of the respondents most of whom were within the 26-35 years of age and only 38.3 % of the respondents had children in the primary school-going age. Cultural and religious factors explained the higher rate of participation in religious associations. For the Chinese in mono-ethnic areas, only 13% participated in neighbourhood activities, mostly in Neighbourhood Watch (71%) and Residents' Association (20%).

The higher percentage of Malays involved in local neighbourhood activities can be explained by cultural and religious factors. Part of the religious requirement for the Malays is the need for congregation in certain matters like daily prayers especially Friday prayers, weddings and funerals. Hence, the Malays felt the need to establish local neighbourhood facilities earlier in their residence as part of the responsibilities in the community. However, Malays and Chinese in mixed areas seemed more aware of organisations in their neighbourhood than those in mono-ethnic areas.

In terms of participation in organisations at levels other than the neighbourhood, only 17% of the Malays and 15% of the Chinese respondents were involved in organisations. Table 6 describes the types of organisations. The Chinese seemed to be more involved in

TABLE 5
Knowledge on organisations at neighbourhood areas

Residential Types	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
	Malays (%) n=78	Chinese (%) n=34	(%) n=68	(%) n=43
Neighbourhood Association				
Yes	47.4	17.6	26.5	4.7
No	19.2	38.2	20.6	11.6
Don't know	33.3	44.1	52.9	83.7
chi-square:0.008, p<0.05				
Residents' Association				
Yes	59.0	58.8	64.7	18.6
No	15.4	17.6	5.9	11.6
Don't Know	25.6	23.5	29.4	69.8
chi-square: 0.943, p>0.05				
	Mixed		Malays(%)	Chinese(%)
	Malays(%)	Chinese(%)		
Rukun Tetangga				
Yes	33.3	55.9	17.6	23.3
No	38.5	5.9	38.2	25.6
Don't know	28.2	38.2	44.2	51.2
chi-square: 0.0085, p<0.05				
Parents' Teachers Association				
Yes	64.1	35.3	47.1	44.2
No	20.5	-	14.7	-
Don't know	15.4	64.7	38.2	55.8
chi-square: 0.0000, p<0.05				
Religious Association				
Yes	44.9	-	88.3	32.6
No	25.6	38.2	2.9	2.3
Don't know	29.5	61.8	8.8	65.1
chi-square: 0.000, p<0.05				

Source: Nobaya Ahmad,1999

TABLE 6
Mixed areas - Types of organisation at state level

	Malays(%)	Chinese(%)
Charity/Social Organisations	46.2	17.1
Sport and Recreational Organisation	23.1	20.6
Professional Organisations	30.8	62.3
	100.0	100.0
chi-square:0.0246,p<0.05		

Source: Nobaya Ahmad,1999

organisations at higher levels than the Malays. Similar to the mixed areas, the participation rate of the respondents in Malay areas was very low. Only 24% stated that they were involved in an organisation at neighbourhood level and 12% in organisations at higher level than the neighbourhood.

There are significant differences in terms of their involvement in the types of organisations. The Malays were mostly involved in social organisations set up at the work place. Most of the Chinese respondents were involved in professional organisations related to their employment. On the whole, although the respondents in these mixed areas were considered to be in the upper income group, participation in organisations at the neighbourhood and higher level seemed to be lacking. Hence, other than at the work place, social interaction between members from other ethnic groups at other social spheres was minimal.

The lack of participation in organisations at higher levels than the neighbourhood for the groups under study may be due to the stage of their life cycle where most of the respondents were within the age group still in the process of 'climbing the corporate ladder'. It was expected that more Chinese than Malays will be involved in organisations other than the professional and those related to the workplace.

Of the 12% involved in organisations at the district or state levels, 50% were involved in associations related to their profession like Institute of Engineers and Malaysia, Association of Nursing 25% were involved in associations set up at the work place and 25% were involved in associations related to recreational and sporting activities like badminton and football associations.

In the Chinese areas, none of the respondents interviewed were involved in any of the organisations at the state level.

Social Interaction Patterns at Neighbourhood

In order to provide a broader understanding of the social interaction patterns at the neighbourhood level, respondents were asked questions about the presence of friends or family members in residential areas and the frequency of their visits. On the average, about 68% of the respondents in mixed areas did not have relatives living in the same neighbourhood. Only 27% of the Malays and 35% of the Chinese had relatives living in the same neighbourhood. The frequency of visits also varied between Malays and Chinese with more Chinese visiting than Malays. This pattern was also reflected in the overall sample. In general, there was only a marginally significant difference between the visiting patterns of Malays and Chinese residing in mixed areas. In Malay areas, most of the respondents were born and brought up in the city. However, only 44.1% of them had relatives residing in the same neighbourhood and 57% visited them about once a month.

This pattern was the same in mixed areas. Like the Malays, the Chinese were also in close contact with their family members and relatives. A majority of the respondents in Chinese areas were permanent city dwellers. However, only 26% of them had relatives living in the same neighbourhood. 45% of them visited their relatives at least once a week invariably. Maintaining family relationships was still important for both ethnic groups. Table 7 provides a detailed breakdown of the frequency of visits.

TABLE 7
Frequency of visiting relatives

Residential Types	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
	Malays (%)	Chinese (%)	(%)	(%)
Always	28.6	64.3	33.3	45.0
Sometimes	42.9	35.7	56.7	55.0
Rarely	19.0	-	10.0	-
Never	9.5	-	-	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square:0.0451,p<0.05

Source: Nobaya Ahmad,1999

With regard to friends from other ethnic groups living in the same neighbourhood, 62% of the Chinese and 47% of the Malays had friends living in the same residential area. However, there was a higher frequency of visiting by the Chinese compared with the Malays. There was also a higher percentage of Chinese having friends of other ethnic groups in the mixed area than in the overall Chinese sample. Hence, there was more opportunity for Chinese in mixed areas to have friends from other ethnic group, compared to the Chinese sample as a whole. Table 8 shows the breakdown.

With regard to visiting friends from the same ethnic group (Table 9), there did not seem to be any difference between the Malays and Chinese residing in mixed areas. Most of the respondents from both ethnic groups had friends from the same ethnic group residing in the same residential area. In terms of visits, nearly half of them visited their friends at least once a month.

79% of the Malay respondents in Malay areas had friends of the same ethnic group living in the neighbourhood. 50% of them had friends of different ethnic groups living in the same neighbourhood. Most of them responses reflected similar patterns of visiting friends of the same ethnic group and different ethnic groups about once a month. 59% of the Malay respondents had visitors during the period of the survey. 80% of the visitors were family members who were Malays. More than half of the visits were personal and family related. However, for the Chinese in mono-ethnic areas, 93% of them had friends of the same ethnic group residing in the neighbourhood and only 35% had friends of other ethnic groups residing

in the same neighbourhood. The frequency of visiting friends of the same ethnic group and of different ethnic groups was similar to the respondents that was residing in Malay mono-ethnic areas who were about once a month.

Inter-ethnic visits seem to occur more amongst the Malays residing in both mixed and mono-ethnic areas. However, Chinese in mixed areas showed a higher frequency of inter-ethnic visits compared to Chinese in mono-ethnic areas (Table 10).

Identifying Neighbours

One would expect that a neighbour is someone who can be relied upon in times of emergencies at home. When asked to identify their immediate neighbours, only 3% of the Malays and none of the Chinese in mixed areas know all their neighbours. For the Malays in mono-ethnic areas, more than half of them can identify at least 50% of their neighbours.

Despite their lack of attachment to the neighbourhood, more than half of the Chinese respondents in Chinese areas claimed that they could identify at least half of their neighbours. This was much more than the Chinese in the mixed areas who could only identify less than a quarter of their neighbours. Table 11 provides the details.

More than half of the respondents said that they did talk to at least one of their neighbours not less than a week ago. Hence, there was contact between neighbours although infrequent. However, most of the contact between neighbours tends to be just a formal exchange of greetings because 92% of the Malays and none of the Chinese had been involved in any

TABLE 8
Frequency of visiting friends from other ethnic groups

Residential Types	Mixed		Malays (%)	Chinese (%)
	Malays (%) n=37	Chinese (%) n=23	n=34	n=13
Always	-	-	5.9	-
Sometimes	27.0	65.2	76.5	15.4
Rarely	37.8	17.4	17.6	53.8
Never	35.1	17.4	-	30.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square: 0.0038, p<0.05

Source: Fieldwork, 1999

TABLE 9
Visiting friends from same ethnic groups

Residential Types	Mixed		Malays (%)	Chinese (%)
	Malays (%) n=62	Chinese (%) n=21	n=54	n=43
Always	9.7	-	25.9	39.6
Sometimes	54.8	47.6	63.0	48.8
Rarely	25.8	42.9	11.1	11.6
Never	9.7	9.5	-	-
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square:0.1264,p>0.05

Source: Nobaya Ahmad,1999

TABLE 10
Frequency of visiting friends from other ethnic groups by area

Residential Types	Mixed		Malays (%)	Chinese (%)
	Malays (%) n=37	Chinese (%) n=23	n=34	n=13
Always	-	-	5.9	-
Sometimes	65.2	27.0	76.5	15.4
Rarely	17.4	37.8	17.6	53.8
Never	17.4	35.1	-	30.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Nobaya Ahmad,1999

TABLE 11
Know the neighbours

Residential Types	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
	Malays (%)	Chinese (%)	(%)	(%)
All of them	2.6	-	14.7	-
More than 75%	32.1	11.8	32.4	25.6
50-75%	9.0	29.4	20.6	23.3
25-49%	15.4	8.8	5.9	30.9
Less than 25%	38.5	50.0	26.5	30.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square:0.812,p>0.05

Source: Nobaya Ahmad,1999

sort of social activities like picnics with members from the same or different ethnic groups. Exchanging goods like borrowing of tools, magazines, or exchanging food from members of the same ethnic groups was less frequent amongst the Malays (32%) and more common amongst the Chinese (59%). However, when

asked about the possibility of exchanging items with neighbours from different ethnic groups, 84% of the Malays said they would not want to do it but 53% of the Chinese were willing to exchange items with neighbours from other ethnic groups. Table 12 provides the information

TABLE 12
Exchanging goods between neighbours of same ethnic group

	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
	Malays(%) n=37	Chinese(%) n=24	(%) n=30	(%) n=32
Always	12.8	-	2.9	-
Sometimes	19.2	58.8	58.8	51.2
Rarely	38.5	5.9	17.6	34.8
Never	29.5	35.3	20.6	14.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square:0.0000,p<0.05

Source: Nobaya Ahmad 1999

regarding exchanging of goods between neighbours of the same ethnic group.

It was found that exchanging goods with neighbours from the same ethnic group happened more often Malays who resided in Malay areas than Malays who resided in mixed areas. This may indicate a deeper sense of neighbourliness amongst the Malay in mono-ethnic areas than the Malays in mixed areas. The spirit of community present in rural villages may still be lingering in these Malay urban areas, despite undergoing urbanisation. However, most of these Malay areas were formerly 'Malay kampungs' in the city and had only recently been undergoing development.

However, when asked about exchanging goods with neighbours from different ethnic groups, only 29.4% of them would consider doing it. Again, religious barrier and ignorance of the implications of a pluralistic society may be influencing the attitude of the Malays. Despite the frequency of exchanging of items in the neighbourhood, other social activities were found to be lacking. When asked about whether they had picnics together with their neighbours, 82.4% of them stated that they had never done so. The relationship was probably not close enough to enable the respondents to interact socially outside their home environment. None of them would consider going out socially on a picnic with a neighbour from a different ethnic group.

For the Chinese in mono-ethnic areas, about 70% claimed that they had recent contact with their neighbour that is they had talked to their neighbour within the last few days. More than half of the respondents had exchanged or borrow things from their neighbours from the same

ethnic group. Considering that a majority of them had friends residing in the same neighbourhood, it was not surprising that exchanging goods took place, despite most of the respondents being male and single. However, when asked about the possibility of exchanging goods with neighbours from different ethnic group, only 9% of them expressed willingness to do so.

Although the respondents were a relatively young group, social activities like picnics between neighbours of the same ethnic group were rare. 86% of them stated that they had never go for a picnic with their neighbours.

Visiting Patterns during Festivals

As a multicultural society, Malaysia is rich with diversities in terms of the religious and cultural celebrations. Since the 1990's, the concept of 'open house' during festivals has become a part of the Malaysian way of life. When the question of visiting during festivals was posed about 21% of the Malays said that they visited their friends from other ethnic groups every year compared to 18% of the Chinese. This pattern was reflected in the sample. Table 13 provides the details of the visiting pattern.

Visits during festivals took place between friends from different ethnic groups. However, since the number of friends visited was not asked for, it could not be established whether the visits related to many houses during the festival or only specific to a particular house every year. In terms of visiting during festivals, 64% of the Malays in Malay areas claimed that they visited their friends from other ethnic groups during festivals about once in two years.

TABLE 13
Visiting during festivals

Residential Types	Mixed		Malays	Chinese
	Malays (%) n=47	Chinese (%) n=24	(%) n=33	(%) n=15
Every year	20.5	17.6	8.8	9.3
Sometimes	33.3	47.1	64.7	39.5
Rarely	24.4	23.5	14.7	37.2
Never	21.8	11.8	11.8	14
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

chi-square:0.464,p>0.05

Source: Nobaya Ahmad 1999

CONCLUSION

The study has found that mixed residential policy has an effect on social interaction patterns amongst residents from different ethnic groups. However, in general, there are more non-socialisers than socialisers among both ethnic groups. It was found that there were more socialisers amongst Malays and Chinese residing in mixed areas compared to those in mono-ethnic areas. In confidential and family matters, both the Malays and Chinese tend to confide mostly in their family members. Hence, in both societies, the family still plays an important role in the lives of their members despite living in urban areas. Primary relationship is still maintained despite residing in urban areas. The strong family relationship is a cultural factor of both the Malays and the Chinese, perhaps influenced by religion.

Social interaction at neighbourhood level took place between Malays and Chinese residing in mixed areas although the Chinese tend to make more effort to socialise with neighbours from different ethnic groups compared to their Malay neighbours. Malays tend to visit friends from the same ethnic group but the Chinese visit their friends from the other groups. This was also reflected in the visits during festivals where irrespective of which area they were residing in the Chinese visit their friends during the festivals.

However, there seemed to be a lack of participation amongst the Chinese in neighbourhood activities compared to the Malays. The Malays tend to participate in organisations mostly as part of their obligations to the community, which was required by religion.

However, the findings suggested that Chinese were more involved in organisations at higher level than the Malays. Hence, this is one avenue where social interaction can be encouraged across ethnic groups but because it is voluntary in nature, this can prove to be difficult.

Although Kuala Lumpur is undergoing rapid urbanisation, social interaction at the neighbourhood level is still an important part of the daily lives of the residents especially amongst the socialisers. Whatever avenues there are to foster social contacts between the different ethnic groups, they should be encouraged to reduce social distance between the races.

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Islamic Revivalism, Religious Freedom and the Non-Muslims in Malaysia: A Preliminary Discussion

AMINI AMIR BIN ABDULLAH
*Department of Social Sciences and Development
Faculty of Human Ecology, Universiti Putra Malaysia
43400 UPM, Serdang, Selangor, Malaysia*

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ABSTRAK

Respons bukan Islam terhadap dasar Islamisasi kerajaan dan kebangkitan Islam di Malaysia serta matlamat organisasi mereka berkaitan dengan hal-ehwal bukan Islam mempunyai banyak persamaan. Seseorang dapat membuat kesimpulan mengenai respons bukan Islam di Malaysia daripada soal selidik dan wawancara. Sungguhpun Perlembagaan Malaysia menjamin kebebasan beragama dan hak-hak bukan Islam, apa yang menjadi soal di sini ialah amalan sebenar kerajaan Malaysia dan kakitangan kerajaan dalam melaksanakan peruntukan-peruntukan dalam perlembagaan. Orang bukan Islam tidak yakin dengan hak-hak mereka dalam perlembagaan. Secara umumnya, kerisauan mereka berdasarkan kepada kurangnya penjelasan yang jelas dan perbincangan terbuka. Rasa tidak selamat di kalangan bukan Islam akan meningkat selama mana hak-hak mereka dinafikan ataupun diabaikan. Cubaan untuk mengislamkan Malaysia akan meningkatkan rasa keterpinggiran dan mereka akan bertindak untuk mempertahankan hak-hak mereka.

ABSTRACT

The non-Muslims' responses towards the Islamization policy of the government and Islamic revivalism in Malaysia and their major organisation aims regarding non-Muslims affairs have many things in common. From the questionnaires and interviews, it is possible to summarise the responses of the non-Muslims in Malaysia. Although the Malaysian constitution guarantees the non-Muslims religious freedom and rights, what matters are the actual practices of the Malaysian government and civil servants in implementing the constitutional provisions. The non-Muslims are not convinced about their constitutional rights. Generally, their fear are based on the lack of a clear and open discussion. The non-Muslims sense of insecurity will be increased as long as their rights are denied or neglected. Attempts to Islamize Malaysia will further intensify the non-Muslim's feeling of disadvantage and they will react to fight for their rights.

INTRODUCTION

The importance of Islamic revivalism is based on the reassertion of Islam in Muslim economic, social, political, and personal life. Islam becomes a vital and dynamic sociopolitical force in Muslim communities. Without discounting other factors, the characteristics of Islamic teachings and dynamism are the primary attributes of the broad-based phenomenon of Islamic revivalism. Hence, the phenomenon of Islamic revivalism in Malaysia

and elsewhere are a very interesting topic for discussion.

The Meaning of Islamic Revivalism

The concept of *al-din* is a unique one in comparison to other religions.¹ There is no separation between worldly affairs and religious affairs. It is also inconceivable to separate religion and State. *Al-Qur'an* and *al-Sunnah* are the legitimate sources of law and their role is

¹ For further explanation see Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas. 1992. *Islam: The Concept of Religion and the Foundation of Ethics and Morality*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

inherent in Islam.² The role of the State is to enforce the law.

There are four basic elements for a spirit of revivalism:

1. The performance of the demands of faith, the design, development and way of life in accordance with the demands of the *Shari'ah*;
2. The practice of moral and ethical norms of Islam;
3. The assimilation of the virtues into the soul as modes of being (*akhlaq*);
4. The performing of good deeds and the eradication of the evils in public dealing (*mu'amalah*).

Most Muslims attempt to address political and social issues in their countries in terms of Islam and or Islamic terms. "Islam is a major component of the framework in which these issues are discussed. This is because Islam has always addressed all aspects of a believer's life..."³ In examining the rise of Islamic revivalism and the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt, Hasan al-Banna explains that the decisive factor is the perfection of Islam itself. The discovery of Islamic perfection by Islamic thinkers neglected by Muslims for a long time, exposed to the masses the bad attributes of other heritages. He shows the role of Muslim thinkers in comparing Islamic perfection with the social system of other society's heritages. He further adds:

...God had enlightened their thinkers and they had compared the social rules of their religion with what they had been told by the greatest sociologists and the cleverest leading theorists, they noted the wide gap and the great distance between a heritage of immense value on one side and the conditions experienced on the other. Then, Muslims could not do justice to the spirit and the history of their people, proclaiming the value of this heritage and inviting all peoples - nonpracticing Muslims or non-Muslims - to follow the sacred path that God had traced for them and to hold a straight path.⁴

On the other hand, the growth of Islamic revivalism was not dependent upon the natural outgrowth of the truth and the intrinsic flexibility of Islam but it also is related to the direct relationship between Islamic movements and the political, social and cultural factors.⁵

Khurshid Ahmad suggests that in examining the phenomenon led by Islamic movements, they "...must be understood not merely by examining (the movements) as reactions to colonial rule but in the context of the positive aspirations of the Islamic ummah to regain the position it lost (to) Western civilization."⁶ The massive activities of Islamic movements all over the world show that Islam is rising rapidly with large numbers of followers, political impact, social influence, strength of belief and economic power. At this time, one can commonly equate the Islamic revival with an institutionalized Islam which has taken hold in many Muslim countries.

Islamic Revivalism in Malaysia: Meaning and Perspectives

Islamic revivalism literally means a new birth of Islam or the phenomenon describes the rebirth of the importance of Islam or it simply means Islam revives so as to regenerate the awareness of the essence of Islamic teachings.⁷ To describe the phenomenon of Islamic revivalism, it might be assumed that there is a rising, a motion or movement on the part of Muslims. There is a desire to take Islam in a state of sensibility and free it from mental bondage and stagnation. There are also efforts to remove bad elements which restrain Muslims from becoming awake.

Islamic revivalism is hence a religious phenomenon resulting from the rise of Muslim awareness of Islam and a return to Islam as a way of life solving their worldly difficulties in all aspects of life from psychological to governmental

² *Surah al-Hashr*, 59: 7. "...And whatsoever the Messenger (Muhammad s.a.w.) gives you, take it; and whatsoever he forbids you, abstain (from it). And fear Allah; verily, Allah is Severe in punishment."

³ William R. Darrow. 1987. *Marxism and religion: Islam*. In *Movements and Issues in World Religions. A Sourcebook and Analysis of Developments since 1945: Religion, Ideology and Politics*, ed. Charles Wei-bsun Fu and Gerhard E. Spiegler, p. 394. Westport: Greenwood Press.

⁴ Hasan al-Banna. 1982. *Renaissance in the Islamic world*. In *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East*, ed. Kemal H. Karpat, p. 100. Revised and enlarged edition. New York: Praeger.

⁵ Enayat: *Modern Islamic...*, p. 84.

⁶ Khurshid Ahmad. 1983. *The nature of the Islamic resurgence*. In *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, ed. John. L. Esposito, p. 220. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁷ On the meaning of revival see also Munir Ba'alaki. 1975. *Al-Mawrid*. fifth edition, Beirut: Dar al-'Ilm li al-Malayin, p. 786. On resurgence, see p. 782.

problems. As a result, Muslims become more attached to Islam as a defence and a solution in whatever crisis they face. Knowledge of Arabic is an indispensable tool since "Islamic revivalism depends on *ijtihad* in religious law, and *ijtihad* is impossible without a proper understanding of the sources of law, that is the Arabic language".⁸

The specific characteristic of Islamic revivalism is not only based on spirit, verbal expression or slogans. The true revival of Islam is based on the total commitment to Islam, its ethics and morality, and its worldview. The youth are the backbone of this revival.⁹ Allah says:

(The believers whose lives Allah has purchased are) those who turn to Allah in repentance (from polytheism and hypocrisy), who worship (Him), who praise (Him), who fast (or go out in Allah's Cause), who bow down (in prayer), who enjoin (on people) Al-Ma'ruf (i.e. Islamic Monotheism and all what Islam has ordained) and forbid (people) from al-Munkar (i.e. disbelief, polytheism of all kinds and all that Islam has forbidden), and who observe the limits set by Allah (do all that Allah has ordained and abstain from all kinds of sins and evil deeds which Allah has forbidden). And give glad tidings to the believers.¹⁰

Their movements obviously are a great phenomenon in the modern world. Although the revival of Islam among the youth cannot be doubted, certain comments need to be made:

- They must be moderate in the sense of doing something within the realm of necessity.
- They must master not only the different branches of knowledge but more importantly they have to be imbued with knowledge.
- They must respect the opinion of the others although they have their own opinion.
- They must be conscious and keep abreast of the contemporary reality and the

environment while being prepared to undertake much-needed changes and adjustments.

- They must avoid disagreements over petty and technical issues. Be more tolerant on petty issues.

Tajdid and Islah in Relation to Islamic Revivalism

The reformists or revivalists represent objectives to protect Islam and the institutional structures upholding it. In a limited degree, they are younger 'ulama' who accept modernization or changes because of rational awareness of the current situation and needs, but on the other hand they oppose secularization and westernization. In a certain sense their movement is involved in social change with various methods within Islamic flexibility, thus they are described as a religious movement.¹¹

Every group has its own contribution to make. Each of the groups plays a significant role in Islamic revivalism. However, conflicts and disagreements prevent them from cooperating with each other. They should have a complementary role in their *da'wah* activities in the light of the Islamic brotherhood. The Muslim traditionalist, reformist and modernist goals were founded basically on the Islamic notions of *tajdid* and *islah*. "*Tajdid* is translated as 'renewal' and *islah* as 'reform'.¹² "*Islah* has been the word generally used by Arab scholars to mean 'reform'.¹³

The concept of *tajdid* is derived from the *hadith* of the Prophet which says: "God will send to this *ummah* at the beginning of each century those who will renew its faith."¹⁴ On the other hand, the concept of *islah* is based on Quranic verses commanding Muslims to carry out *islah*

⁸ Muhammad Rashid Rida quoted in Hamid Enayat. 1982. *Modern Islamic Political Thought*. p. 75. Austin: University of Texas Press.

⁹ Credit should be given to the 'ulama' and the proponents of the revival. There is usually a surge of Islamic literature and history, pamphlets and articles published for guidance or direction. The youth who are the backbone of this revival can be seen everywhere practising Islam. The wearing of *jilbab* can be seen among the women.

¹⁰ *Surah al-Taubah*, 9: 112.

¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹² John Obert Voll. 1983. Renewal and reform in Islamic history: *Tajdid* and *Islah*. In *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, ed. John L. Esposito, p. 32. New York: Oxford University Press.

¹³ Hassan Saab. 1963. The spirit of reform in Islam. *Islamic Studies* 2 (March): 1, p. 18.

¹⁴ Al-Imam Sulaiman bin al-Ash'ath al-Sijistani. 1956. *Sunan Abu Daud*. Vol. 4. *Tahqiq* Muhammad Mahy al-Din 'Abd al-Samad, Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-Tijariyyah al-Kubra, p. 109.

among their people¹⁵ and assuring God's reward to *al-Muslihun*.¹⁶ The concept of *islah* has a very broad meaning. One can trace its significance by referring to the literal meaning of *islah* itself. The word *islah* is an infinitive noun. According to Lane, it means:

...made, or rendered, it or him, good, incorrupt, right, just, righteous, virtuous, or honest; constituted it, disposed it, or qualified it, well, rightly, or properly; rectified, corrected, redressed, or reformed, it; put it into a good, incorrupt, sound, right, or proper, state; or restored it such a state; put it to rights, or in a state of order; set it right, set it in order, ordered it, managed it well, cultured it; adjusted, dressed, or trimmed, it; prepared it properly for us; repaired, mended, amended, or improved, it; made it, or him, to thrive;...¹⁷

The person who promotes *islah* is called *muslih* or in plural, *muslihun*. They are of the people who occupy themselves in the things conducive to good, not the things conducive to evil or bad in the light of Islamic essences. They considered the things that were good for Islam, the people, creatures, environment and universe.

Perhaps, to best describe the idea of reformism in Islam one may refer to one of the sayings of the Prophet's companions. Husin ibn Ali in a gathering in Mina and 'Arafah during the hajj season, declared his intention to launch his reform campaign. There he repeated the pronouncements of his father, saying:

*O God! You know that our struggle, moves, protests, and campaigns have not been, and are not, for the sake of rivalry and for obtaining power, neither are they for the sake of personal ambition nor for worldly ends, nor for the purpose of accumulating wealth and acquiring worldly advantages. But to reestablish the landmarks of your religion, that we may make reform manifest in your lands, so that the oppressed among your servants may have security, and your laws, which have been suspended and cast into neglect, may be reinstated.*¹⁸

Therefore, the goals of reformism in Islam are:

- Not for the sake of competition and obtaining power
- Not for the sake of personal ambition or interest

- Not for the sake of worldly ends
- Not for the purpose of accumulating wealth and acquiring worldly advantages
- To uphold and establish the teachings of *al-Qur'an* and *al-Sunnah*
- To reform life in all aspects included the material conditions of man's life, and
- To establish *Shari'ah* in this world.

The nature of *islah* in Islam is a basic and gradual process, that is fundamental and substantial. It is in light of these interpretations that the phenomenon of Islamic revivalism should be observed.

Religious Freedom and the Non-Muslims Responses: Methodological Rationale

The responses discussed in this section were based on the analysis of data revealed by the respondents through the questionnaires.

The findings are reported under several thematic headings. The analyses are primarily based on the answers obtained from the questionnaires. The analysed data is then backed up by library research and qualitative interviews, which were carried out with ordinary non-Muslims as well as their religious leaders. The frequency and percentage results derived from the four-point scale questionnaires are expressed in two ways. Firstly, the total frequency or percentage of 'agreement' (strongly agree and agree) or 'disagreement' (strongly disagree and disagree) and secondly, the actual frequency and percentages obtained from each answer in the multiple answer questionnaires. Supplementary information was obtained from interviews and various publications. Information obtained from the literatures and interviews might help to show an indication of possible relationships that may exist between variables. Certain variables from the survey data were also treated through cross tabulation to examine and demonstrate the presence or absence of a relationship. This would help to build up a

¹⁵ *Surah al-Nisa'*, 4: 114. "There is no good in most of their secret talks save (in) him who orders *Sadaqah* (charity in Allah's Cause), or *Ma'ruf* (Islamic Monotheism and all the good and righteous deeds which Allah has ordained), or conciliation between mankind; and he who does this, seeking the good Pleasure of Allah, We shall give him a great reward."

¹⁶ *Surah al-A'raf*, 7: 170. "And as to those who hold fast to the Book (i.e. act on its teachings) and perform *As-Salat*, certainly we shall never waste the reward of those who do righteous deeds."

¹⁷ Lane: *English-Arabic Lexicon*..., p. 1714.

¹⁸ *Nahj al-Balaghah*, "Khutab", p. 131.

clearer explanation about the nature of the phenomenon being studied.

Before we go further, it is important to explore some of the Malaysian non-Muslim grievances as a result of the Islamic revivalism. This is to understand the general views of the non-Muslims before shifting to a specific analysis.

The Non-Muslims' Grievances

Many non-Muslim writers emphasize that although religious freedom is technically protected, different faiths are treated unequally. The non-Muslims are restricted by the Constitution from promoting their religion among Muslims including the prohibition of publishing materials containing elements of non-Islamic religious teachings. Those who have broken these restrictions have faced internment under the Internal Security Act (ISA). One issue which is of deep concern to non-Muslims concerns the freedom of worship. According to CRC, the principle of religious freedom under the *Shari'ah* appears to be violated by some countries, "...e.g. Saudi Arabia and Qatar, which place obstacles to worship and religious education, and by Iran, which censor non-Muslim textbooks in the light of Islamic teaching."¹⁹

The non-Muslims claim that they are facing few significant restrictions on their internal religious activities. The most burning issue is in the area of rights to build places of worship. The Government was accused of limiting the non-Muslim places of worship. Another problem faced by the non-Muslims is the difficulty in getting approval for the building of a church or temple,

and applying for a land marked for a church, a temple or a burial ground.

The Non-Muslims' Responses

With the creation of the Federation of Malaya in 1948, the constitution (the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya 1948) declared that, subjected to Clause 48 of that Agreement which gave the power to the British High Commissioner and Sultans to make laws in Malaya,²⁰ the religion of the State "...shall be the Muslim religion heretofore professed and practised in the State..."²¹

The first serious discussion on Islam as the religion of Malaysia and the right and freedom of the non-Muslims was highlighted in the draft constitution proposed by the Reid Commission.²² Interestingly, there was no provision similar to Article 3 of the Federal Constitution. When touching on the question of religion and the right and freedom of the non-Muslim in Malaya, the Reid Commission Report observed:

*We have considered the question whether there should be any statement in the Constitution to the effect that Islam should be the State Religion. There was universal agreement that if any such provision was inserted, it must be made clear that it would not in any way affect the civil rights of non-Muslims. In the memorandum submitted by the Alliance it was stated "the religion of Malaya shall be Islam. The observance of this principle shall not impose any disability on non-Muslim nationals professing and practising their own religions and shall not imply that the State is not a secular State". There is nothing in the draft Constitution to affect the continuance of the present position in the States with regard to the recognition of Islam or to prevent the recognition of Islam in the Federation by legislation or otherwise in any respect which does not prejudice the civil rights of non-Muslim individuals.*²³

¹⁹ CRC: Islamization of Malaysian Laws..., p. 21.

²⁰ J. de V. Allen, A.J. Stockwell and L.R. Wright (eds.) 1981. *A Collection of Treaties and Other Documents Affecting the States of Malaysia: 1761-1963*. Vol. 2, p. 138. New York: Oceana Publication Inc.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

²² After several meetings, a committee consists of the British Secretary of State, the Malay Rulers (Sultan) and the new Alliance Ministers (consist of UMNO, MCA, and MIC), agreed to appoint five members of a commission to draft the Malaysian Federal Constitution. Strangely, not a single Malaysian serving in that commission. The members were led by Lord Reid, a Lord of appeal in Ordinary; Sir Ivor Jennings, Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, Justice Abdul Hamid of the West Pakistan High Court; Sir William McKell, a former Governor-General of Australia, and Mr. B. Malik, a former Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court. This committee was known as the Reid Commission.

²³ Colonial Office. 1957. Report of the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Commission 1957, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, p. 73. See also Philip Koh Tong Ngee. 1987. *Freedom of Religion in Malaysia: The Legal Dimension*. p. 2. Petaling Jaya: GCF. For further details on the fundamental liberties of Malaysian citizen see H. E. Groves. 1979. Fundamental liberties in the constitution of the Federation of Malaysia. In *The Constitution of Malaysia - Its Development: 1957-1977*, ed. Tun Mohamed Suffian et al., p. 27-40. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

The Commission eventually agreed to allocate a provision on the position of Islam in the Federal Constitution. According to the Federal Constitution, Islam is the official religion of Malaysia. According to Sheridan and Groves, "The words may impose an obligation on the participants in any federal ceremonial to regulate any religious part of the ceremony according to Muslim rites".²⁴ Islam as a religion in the interpretation of Sheridan and Groves seemed to emphasize only ritual ceremonies which was incorrect.

As soon as Malaya gained independence on 31st of August 1957, some of the Muslim leaders wanted the application of Islamic law in the country and the establishment of an Islamic state.²⁵ Datuk Haji Yahya, representing many Muslim leaders warned and reminded the government in a very strong motion:

It would be sufficient if I remind our Islamic government that it is pointless for the independent Federation Government to recognise itself as an Islamic Government if the teachings of Islam and the laws of Shara' are neglected and the honour of Islam sacrificed through actions forbidden by the Hukum Shara'... We have been officially recognised as an Islamic State. The state must therefore respect the rules of Islam and the Islamic laws, as far as possible. An Islamic Government, is a pure government and if we challenge the sanctity of its laws, I am sure this is one way for our government to be condemned by the Almighty Allah who has the power to bring down tragedies upon our country.²⁶

Islam as the Religion of Malaysia

Although Islam is the official religion of Malaysia, every person has the right to profess and practise

his own religion, and the right to propagate his faith. But the right to propagate other religions amongst persons who are Muslims is not permitted by law. In other words, although Islam is the religion of Malaysia, non-Muslims enjoy their own religious liberty except in propagating their faith to the Muslims.

Based on this premise, the respondents were asked to state their stand. The first question is on the constitution's provision which stated that Islam was the religion of the Federation. Table 1 shows the stand chosen by the respondents according to their religious faith. It seems from the data that 56.1% of the respondents show agreement with the constitution provision that Islam is the religion of Malaysia, 17.9% of the respondents show disagreement and 25.9 gave no response. Irrespective of their religious beliefs and ethnic origins, the majority of the respondents seem to have accepted the mentioned constitutional provision. Living in a multiracial country with its unique historical background, these respondents understand the significance of Islam being the religion of Malaysia. Furthermore, they realize that their right to profess and practice their own religion is guaranteed. Moreover, the non-Muslims themselves feel that the provision does not affect their social, economic, and religious liberty. In fact, they were given full religious freedom in the sense that they would not be compelled to pay any tax for the purpose of any religion other than their own, the right to manage their own religious affairs, to establish and maintain

TABLE 1
Respondents' stand on Islam as the religion of Malaysia

Religion	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Buddhist	3 (1.9%)	8 (4.9%)	18 (11.1%)	48 (29.6%)	4 (2.5%)	81
Christian	2 (1.2%)	10 (6.2%)	14 (8.6%)	15 (9.3%)	1 (.6%)	42
Hindu	-	5 (3.1%)	9 (5.6%)	14 (8.6%)	8 (4.9%)	36
Sikh	-	1 (.6%)	1 (.6%)	1 (.6%)	-	3
Total	5 (3.1%)	24 (14.8%)	42 (25.9%)	78 (48.1%)	13 (8.0%)	162

²⁴ L. A. Sheridan and Harry E. Groves. 1979. *The Constitution of Malaysia*. p. 37. Singapore: Malayan Law Journal (PTE) Ltd.

²⁵ Hamid Jusoh. 1991. *The Position of Islamic Law in the Malaysian Constitution with Special Reference to the Conversion Case in Family Law*. p. 98. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

²⁶ Quoted in Ahmad Ibrahim. 1979. The position of Islam in the constitution of Malaysia. In *The Constitution of Malaysia, Its Development: 1957-1977*, ed. Tun Mohamed Suffian, H.P. Lee and F.A. Trindade, p. 55. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

religious institutions and charitable purposes, and to acquire and hold any property.²⁷

In other words, the non-Muslims religious freedom is guaranteed within the framework of the interpretation of the constitution. The non-Muslims who accepted the provision are the ones who have shown their tolerance and respect towards the Malays who own the country, and towards their leaders and the Malay leaders in preparing such an important provision in the constitution. Despite the agreement, one could look further into the differences among the groups. Many non-Muslim religious leaders also show their agreement with the provision.²⁸ Although the Constitution stated the special position of Islam as the official religion of Malaysia, many non-Muslims, referring to the first Prime Minister of Malaysia, interpret Malaysia as a secular state, in the sense that Islam is concerned only with spiritual and ritual matters.²⁹

When some one speaks about preserving the country as a secular state, it means that the state has no connection with religion, the society is no longer under the control or influence of religion, and the religion is not allowed to play a part in civil affairs.³⁰ Therefore, Malaysia is not a secular state in one sense. However, Malaysia

can be regarded as a secular state if the term secular is applied according to the definition of being "... concerned with worldly affairs than spiritual ones".³¹

As to the question of which religion should become the religion of Malaysia, the majority of the followers of every religion have chosen their own religion. 42% of all the respondents show agreement to the statement, 19.1% show disagreement and 38.3% were uncertain (see Table 2).

However, the percentage of agreement within every religious group is quite different. Within the Buddhists, 39.5% show agreement with their religion becoming the religion of Malaysia, 14.8% show disagreement and 45.7% were uncertain. Among the Christians, 61.9% show agreement with their religion becoming the religion of Malaysia, 14.3% show disagreement and 23.8% uncertain. Among the Hindus, 25% show agreement, 33.3% show disagreement and 41.7% were uncertain. Among the Sikhs, 66.7% show agreement while 33.3% show disagreement (see Table 3).

Not every religious group wanted their religion to be the religion of Malaysia. This is because the majority of Malaysian multiracial

TABLE 2
Respondents' opinion on own religion should become the religion of Malaysia

Religion	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
Buddhist	1 (.6)	11 (6.8)	37 (22.8)	26 (16.0)	6 (3.7)
Christian	2 (1.2)	4 (2.5)	10 (6.2)	19 (11.7)	7 (4.3)
Hindu	4 (2.5)	8 (4.9)	15 (9.3)	6 (3.7)	3 (1.9)
Sikh	-	1 (.6%)	-	2 (1.2%)	3 (1.9)
TOTAL	7 (4.3%)	24 (14.8%)	62 (38.3%)	53 (32.7%)	16 (9.9%)

²⁷ Ahmad Ibrahim: "The Position of Islam...", p. 51.

²⁸ See for example Tan Chee Khoo. 1984. Constitutional provisions for religious freedom in Malaysia. In *Contemporary Issues on Malaysian Religions*, ed. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra et al., p. 29. Petaling Jaya (Malaysia): Pelanduk Publications. S.M. Ponniah. 1984. A Hindu perspective. In *Contemporary Issues on Malaysian Religions*, ed. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra et al., p. 77. Petaling Jaya (Malaysia): Pelanduk Publications.

²⁹ This provision needs to be correctly elaborated further if misconceptions are to be removed. Many questions arise regarding this issue and confuse many people. According to Syed Naquib al-Attas, the term 'secular': "... is meant to denote not merely secular ideologies such as for example, communism or socialism in its various forms, but encompasses also all expressions of the secular world view including that projected by secularization, which is none other than a secular historical relativism which I have called secularizationism." See Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas. 1978. *Islam and Secularism*. p. 45. Kuala Lumpur: ABIM.

³⁰ See the meaning of secular, secularism, secularity and secularize in *Kamus Dwibahasa Bahasa Inggeris - Bahasa Malaysia*. p. 1123. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka and Kementerian Pendidikan Malaysia. See also J. B. Sykes. 1982. *Concise Oxford Dictionary*. 7th Edition. p. 950. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

³¹ See Ehrlich Eugene. 1980. *Oxford American Dictionary*. p. 612. New York: Oxford University Press.

TABLE 3
 Respondents' opinion on own religion should become the religion
 of Malaysia based on every religious group

Religion	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Buddhist	1 (1.2%)	11 (13.6%)	37 (45.7%)	26 (32.1%)	6 (7.4%)	
Christian	2 (4.8%)	4 (9.5%)	10 (23.8%)	19 (45.2%)	7 (16.7%)	
Hindu	4 (11.1%)	8 (22.2%)	15 (41.7%)	6 (16.7%)	3 (8.3%)	
Sikh	-	1 (33.3%)	-	2 (66.7%)	-	

society are Muslims while the non-Muslims form the minorities. The religion of Malaysia was never queried. The constitution has provided a fair provision for religious freedom, the right of conscience and worship in accordance with the non-Muslim religious beliefs. Malaysia also is known as "... a country where there is no State coercion or interference with other religions."³² There was a sort of agreement between Muslims and non-Muslims on the matter of the official religion of Malaysia. Lim Kim Sai, a Chinese political leader is of the opinion that "... Islam is not a problem to non-Muslims in Malaysia. For a long time, we all have come to know its importance to the Malays. So, we respect the wishes of the Malays".³³ However he raised his fears about the extremist and fundamentalist activities which might reduce the confidence of the non-Muslims who live in the country. A senior opposition leader, Tan Chee Koon, had a similar view. He pointed out:

*Islam is not a big problem in this country. The Chinese, for instance, do not care so much about what is happening as long as they can continue to do business and are not deprived... with a careful approach to the whole matter, Islamisation in Malaysia does not necessarily mean worse things to come.*³⁴

Nevertheless, from this questionnaire survey, the non-Muslims show an inclination towards their own religion to become the religion of Malaysia. This is because every religious group

has its religious loyalties, that is the sense of belonging.

In respect of religious freedom, the Federal Constitution stated that: (a) "Every person has the right to profess and practise his religion and, subject to Clause (4), to propagate it"³⁵. (b) The State and Federal law for Wilayah Persekutuan Kuala Lumpur and Labuan "may control or restrict the propagation of any religious doctrine or belief among persons professing the Muslim religion."³⁶ (c) No person under the age of 18 years "shall be required to receive instruction in or to take part in any ceremony or act of worship of a religion other than his own."³⁷ The religion of a person under the age of 18 years shall be decided by his parent or guardian.³⁸ (d) "No person shall be compelled to pay any tax the proceeds of which are specially allocated in whole or in part for the purposes of a religion other than his own."³⁹ (e) "Every religious group has the right: (i) to manage its own religious affairs; (ii) to establish and maintain institutions for religious or charitable purposes; and (iii) to acquire and own property and hold and administer it in accordance with law."⁴⁰

The Restriction of Propagating Other Religion Among Muslims

Islam is the official religion of the country⁴¹, but all these fundamental rights of non-Muslims are

³² Lim Kit Siang: Malaysia: Crisis..., p. 39.

³³ Quoted in Hussin Mutalib: Islam in Malaysia..., p. 102.

³⁴ Quoted in Ibid., p. 101.

³⁵ Article 11(1), Federal Constitution.

³⁶ Article 11(4), Federal Constitution.

³⁷ Article 12(3), Federal Constitution.

³⁸ Article 12(4), Federal Constitution.

³⁹ Article 11(2), Federal Constitution.

⁴⁰ Article 11(3), Federal Constitution.

⁴¹ Article 3, Federal Constitution states: "Islam is the religion of the Federation; but other religions may be practised in peace and harmony in any part of the Federation".

not interfered with, except propagating any religious doctrine or belief among Muslims. The State or Federal law may restrict any kind of propagation of any non-Muslim religious doctrine or belief among the Muslims. Based on this fact, the respondents were asked to give their opinions on the restriction of propagating other religions among persons professing Islam. The responses are shown in Table 4.

From the table, one can see that the majority of the respondents (either agree or fully agree, 50%) are of the opinion that there is a restriction of propagating other religions among persons professing Islam. The Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, and Sikhs regard Muslims secure in terms of their faith. This is indicated by 24% of the Buddhists, 12.4% of the Christians, 11.7% of the Hindus and 1.3% of the Sikh. Interestingly, 34.6% of our respondents are not certain about the restriction. Perhaps, this results from a lack of knowledge of the Federal Constitution.

The non-Muslims see that the Muslims are protected from proselytization. Thus, in their view, the Muslims are always secure in terms of their faith. As one Christian respondent put it:

In term of faith security, I think the Muslims are very fortunate. May be, this is because Malaysia is a Muslim country and the official religion is Islam. So, the security of faith of the Muslims must be protected from any form of proselytization. This is not new. In Afghanistan, Brunei and the majority of the Muslim countries, Muslims are protected from proselytization...⁴²

But it is not only in the field of faith that the non-Muslims see other ethnic groups (the

Muslims) as more secure than their own. It also involves other fields such as economy, education and politics.

Islam is the official religion of Malaysia and the Muslims are protected from being exposed to other religious doctrines. This is not a strange practice and policy. For a comparison, we found that in most of the Muslim countries i.e. Afghanistan, Brunei, Maldives and Pakistan, the state religion is Islam, and proselytism is illegal although believers of other religions may practise their rites and religious teachings. In Malaysia, Islam is the state religion and proselytization is prohibited. In Bangladesh, although the state religion is Islam, proselytism is permitted.⁴³ In Indonesia, only five religions are recognized, namely Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism and Hinduism. Atheism, Jehovah's Witnesses, Bahaism, Confucianism and some other religions have been banned by the government.⁴⁴

The practice is also recognized by other non-Muslim countries. Many non-Muslim countries prohibit proselytization among certain religious groups, for example, Bhutan, Burma, Laos and Nepal. Bhutan's state religion is Buddhism. Although citizens of other faiths may practice their religion, they are not allowed to proselytize. Conversion to another faith is illegal.⁴⁵ In Burma, the Buddhists enjoy a special position in the country and the government has been making an effort to link itself with Buddhism to establish its popular legitimacy. Permanent foreign religious missions have not been permitted until the 1960s.⁴⁶ Laos gave its

TABLE 4
Respondents opinions on the restriction of propagating other religions among persons professing Islam

Religion	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Buddhist	3 (1.9%)	6 (3.7%)	33 (20.4%)	26 (16.0%)	13 (8.0%)	81
Christian	2 (1.2%)	8 (4.9%)	12 (7.4%)	15 (9.3%)	5 (3.1%)	42
Hindu	-	6 (3.7%)	11 (6.8%)	11 (6.8%)	8 (4.9%)	36
Sikh	-	-	-	3 (1.9%)	-	3
Total	5 (3.1%)	20 (12.3%)	56 (34.6%)	55 (34.0%)	26 (16.0%)	162

⁴² Interview with respondent no. 19.

⁴³ See <http://www.religiousfreedom.com/wrpt/Aprt.htm#Bangladesh>

⁴⁴ For further details see <http://www.religiousfreedom.com/wrpt/Aprt.htm#Indonesia>

⁴⁵ See <http://www.religiousfreedom.com/wrpt/Aprt.htm#Bhutan>

⁴⁶ See <http://www.religiousfreedom.com/wrpt/Aprt.htm#Burma>

citizens the right and freedom to believe or not to believe in religion but the government encourages Buddhism. The government also forbids proselytizing by foreigners.⁴⁷ In Nepal, the official religion of the country is Hindu. People are free to practice their own religion as long as they do not proselytize.⁴⁸

The main purpose of the protection given to the Muslims in terms of prohibiting propagation of other religions is to protect the Muslim's faith. The main focus is on Christian missionaries although it cannot be denied that it is applicable to others. This is because in this world, the most obvious and active missionary religion is Christianity. Historically, since the 16th century the Christian missionaries under the encouragement of the British have had full freedom to propagate Christianity in Malaysia. Christianity came to Malaysia in relation to colonialism. One of the serious efforts to establish Christian missionary work among the Malays began in 1875.⁴⁹ Foreign missionaries played a vital role in this mission of proselytization especially from the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand. Hundreds of missionary groups were established under various names. Financial and personnel support was received from various parts of the world. In the word of one Christian, "...in colonial times, it was natural to look elsewhere for help - to London, or New York, or Canterbury."⁵⁰ This is also true at the present time.

The law for protection of the Muslims from other religious teachings, which is provided by the Federal Constitution is in line with the

teachings of Islam. Every human being is free to follow the creed which he is satisfied with. Allah's guidance to man has been given through the agency of prophets. Mankind has been given the choice, however limited that choice might be, to accept or reject the direction which comes to him through the prophets. The promise which Allah made with Adam a.s. was:

We said: "Get ye down all from here; and if, as is sure, there comes to you guidance from Me," whosoever follows My guidance, on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve. "But those who reject faith and belie Our signs, they shall be Companions of the Fire; they shall abide therein."⁵¹

Thus, the freedom of will and action is the basis of the virtuous life in Islam.⁵² However, the free will is restricted, but that does not mean that man's actions are predetermined. Human's deeds are recorded at the time when they are done.⁵³ God expects man to follow the Divine guidance but the decision is left to man himself whether or not he likes to surrender his will freely to the Will of Allah and thus work in harmony and participation with His Creator.

In Islam, once a person becomes a Muslim, he or she is subjected to the rule and law of Islam. Apostasy is a serious sin in Islam. Once becoming a Muslim, no one is allowed to convert to another religion. Although Allah will not be hurt by the false beliefs of unbelievers (if he had wished, all the people on the earth would have believed in Him⁵⁴), a Muslim is not free to follow any other religion. The punishment for apostasy in Islam is death. In one *hadith sahih*, the Prophet Muhammad s.a.w. said: "Whosoever

⁴⁷ See <http://www.religiousfreedom.com/wrpt/Aprt.htm#Laos>

⁴⁸ See <http://www.religiousfreedom.com/wrpt/Aprt.htm#Nepal>

⁴⁹ One of the active missionaries who carried out work on the Malays and the Malay-speaking Chinese (Baba) was Benjamin Keasberry. See John R. Fleming. 1969. Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei: the Church in a racial melting pot. In *Christ and Crisis in Southeast Asia*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson, p. 87. New York: Friendship Press.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ *Surah al-Baqarah*, 2: 38-39. See also 7: 35-36.

⁵² Allah has truly shown mankind the path and the way, therefore they may accept it or reject it. But Allah has prepared a fire of Hell for those who reject it. *Surah al-Kahf*, 18: 29. Allah also has shown "clear proofs" and it is for mankind's own good. *Surah al-Dahr*, 76: 3-5. Allah warns man that whoever is "blind", it is for his "own harm". *Surah al-Balad*, 90: 8-10. Mankind who believe in Allah are the Companions of the Right Hand and mankind who reject Allah, they are the Companions of the Left Hand. *Surah al-Balad*, 90: 17-20. Allah also emphasized that if mankind does good things, it is for their own souls, and if they do evil it is also for them. *Surah al-An'am* 6:105. Allah also clarifies, there is no compulsion in religion but the right way [*al-Rushd*] is clearly distinct from error [*al-Ghay*]. *Surah Bani Isra'il*, 17: 7.

⁵³ *Surah Qaf*, 50: 17.

⁵⁴ *Surah al-An'am*, 7: 35.

changes his religion, slay him.”⁵⁵ Although the words of this *hadith* are general, the majority of the Muslim jurists are of the opinion that the warning is confined only to Muslims but not non-Muslims. There is also disagreement among the jurists whether the *hadith* applies to a woman apostate or not. The question is quite complex here. Therefore, the law for Muslims from being exposed to other beliefs and doctrines is a kind of way of preventing the Muslims from committing apostasy.

In Malaysia every person has the right to profess and practise his or her own religion but except in some states, every person's religion under the age of eighteen years shall be decided by his parent or guardian. Every person has also the right to propagate his own religion. However there are restrictions in propagating other religions among persons professing Islam. In a sense, it seems that the Muslims are protected from being exposed to other beliefs or ideologies. The government also assumes that the ethnic Malays are protected from being converted to other faiths by the statement of Tunku Abdul Rahman, who said: "...a Malay who gives up his religion will cease to be a Malay".⁵⁶ Based on these facts, we asked our respondents about the protection given to the Muslims.

There were 50.7% (either strongly agree or agree) of all the respondents who said that the Muslims are being protected from other religious doctrines. Interestingly, 45.1% of our respondents were uncertain on the protection given to the Muslims while 4.4% either strongly disagree or disagree on that particular issue (see Table 5).

This finding shows that most of the non-Muslims believe that the Muslims are protected

from other religious beliefs. It appears that there is a protection for the Malaysian Muslims. However, since there is a provision in the constitution that every person has the right to practise his religion, the protection cannot be interpreted to say that the Muslim has no freedom to choose a faith of his own choice. Furthermore, there is no law prohibiting the Muslims from committing apostasy although it is a serious sin in Islam. A few of the Malay Muslims and converted Muslims have become Christians and Hindus. In this respect, although the Federal and State constitutions impose a limit on religious liberty, it did not impose any limit on Muslim personal religious liberty. This is the weakness of the provision itself. The term "...a Malay who gives up his religion will cease to be a Malay" has no significance at all in this context since a non-Malay who converted to Islam is not regarded as Malay. Therefore, how can a Malay convert to another faith be regarded as a non-Malay? The protection given to Malay beliefs is still not enough. On the one hand the constitution appears to protect the Muslims from proselytism but on the other hand, neither the state laws nor the "*Shari'ah* courts" nor the constitution itself protect the Muslims from converting to other religions. In other words, no provision in the Federal Constitution prohibits the Muslims from changing their belief or religion.

The differences among religious groups shows that 28.4% of the Buddhist respondents reply that Muslims are protected in terms of belief, 10.5% of the Christians, 11.1% of the Hindus, and 0.6% of the Sikhs take the same stand. In the eye of the non-Muslims, Muslims are protected by the constitution. Besides that, the Yang diPertuan Agong and Sultans, who

TABLE 5
Respondents' opinion on the belief protection given to the Muslims

Religion	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Buddhist	-	2 (1.2%)	33 (20.4%)	32 (19.8%)	14 (8.6%)	81
Christian	3 (1.9%)	1 (.6%)	21 (13.0%)	14 (8.6%)	3 (1.9%)	42
Hindu	-	-	18 (11.1%)	14 (8.6%)	4 (2.5%)	36
Sikh	-	1 (.6%)	1 (.6%)	1 (.6%)	-	3
Total	3 (1.9%)	4 (2.5%)	73 (45.1%)	61 (37.7%)	21 (13.0%)	162

⁵⁵ Quoted in S.A. Rahman. 1996. *Punishment of Apostasy in Islam*. p. 59. New Delhi: Kitab Bhavan.

⁵⁶ Tunku Abdul Rahman. 1985. *Challenging Time*. p. 28. Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publication.

head the Malay states also act as protectors of Islam, Muslims and their affairs. This result is in line with Batumalai's statements. Batumalai mentions that the Malays need to preserve and protect their religion in terms of their customs and cultural practices and the Malays do need means to safeguard their religion and royalty.⁵⁷ In this case the protectors of the Muslims are the Sultans who might be identified as the symbols of the Malay political elite while there is no elite for the non-Muslims. Hence, the non-Muslims feel the Muslims are protected in terms of belief. In Malaysia, although there are social pressures against Muslims converting, missionary activities are generally directed toward the Chinese, Hindu and tribal communities.

The Right to Profess and Practise Religion in Malaysia

It is a matter of fact that the State Constitution imposes a limit on religious liberty for non-Muslims in the sense that they are not allowed to propagate their religion while the Muslims are protected from proselytization. But one must remember, there were several cases where non-Muslim politicians voted to pass Islamic laws on that particular issue. On the one hand, one might argue it could have been merely for their political survival, but on the other hand, this might give evidence to the support of non-Muslims on the Muslim protection of belief. Many non-Muslim political leaders voted for the passing of the Administration of Islamic Law Enactment 1989 in the Selangor State and the passing of "...an Enactment to control and restrict the propagation of non-Islamic religious doctrines and beliefs among persons professing

the religion of Islam" on 16th November 1991 in the Johor state.⁵⁸

We included an extensive questioning of these facts. We attempted to examine the respondents' knowledge of the concept of religious freedom and propagation of one's religion as stated in the Malaysian Constitution. Several statements were put in the questionnaire based on the above Clause. The questions were also intended to detect and assess reaction to (a) the freedom and right to practise and profess one's religion, (b) freedom and restriction in propagating their religion (c) the protection given to the Muslims from other religious doctrines.

92.6% show agreement with the statement that every person has the right to profess and practise his or her religion in Malaysia, 4.4% show disagreement and 3.1% are uncertain (see Table 6). These responses show that the majority of the non-Muslims have a clear idea of their right to profess and practise their own religion.

On the question of restriction in propagating another religion among persons professing Islam, the majority of the non-Muslims stated they 'strongly agree' or 'agree' (50%) with the statement that there is a restriction in propagating other religions among persons professing Islam and in reality the restriction exists. 15.4% 'strongly disagree' or 'disagree' while 34.6% of the respondents are 'uncertain' regarding the restriction (see Table 7). These responses illustrate that the non-Muslims oppose the regulation restricting propagating other religions among the Muslims. The majority of the respondents also believed that the non-Muslims have the right to propagate their own

TABLE 6
The right to profess and practice religion in Malaysia

Religion	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
Buddhist	2 (1.2%)	2 (1.2%)	1 (0.6%)	27 (16.7%)	49 (30.2%)
Christian	1 (0.6%)	-	1 (0.6%)	15 (9.3%)	25 (15.4%)
Hindu	-	1 (0.6%)	3 (1.9%)	8 (4.9%)	24 (14.8%)
Sikh	-	1 (0.6%)	-	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.6%)
TOTAL	3 (1.9%)	4 (2.5%)	5 (3.1%)	51 (31.5%)	99 (61.1%)

⁵⁷ Batumalai: *Islamic Resurgence*...., p. 70.

⁵⁸ Malaysian Consultative Council of Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and Sikhism [n.d.]. *Should Islamic Law Be Introduced in Malaysia*. p. 3. Kuala Lumpur: MCCBCHS.

religion. But the Federal Constitution restricted the propagation only on the Muslims but not the non-Muslims. Therefore, the non-Muslims can propagate their religion among followers of all religions except the Muslims. For instance, the Christian preachers can approach the non-Muslims; the Buddhists and the Hindus⁵⁹ and the aborigines in their religious activities. This is because Christianity is an active missionary religion and there is no such regulation prohibiting propagation of religion among non-Muslims. The clause in the Federal Constitution also protects the Muslims from other religious beliefs and doctrines but does not protect them from committing apostasy.

The Federal Constitution provides that every religious group has the right to manage its own religious affairs. When asked whether there is a restriction in managing non-Muslims religious affairs, 94 of our respondents claim that there is no restriction, 32 are uncertain while 36 respondents claim that there is a restriction (see Table 8).

Freedom of Worship/Propagation of Faith (Freedom to Manifest Religion or Belief)

The individual's right to establish a place of worship for himself in his private house for his own use does not raise any serious question. However, establishing buildings for communities to worship in is rather different. In Malaysia, the right to build religious institutions is recognized by the Malaysian constitution. The constitution recognizes the right to establish religious institutions for Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Nevertheless, there are rules and regulations governing the building and construction of any religious building. Any construction for religious worship must be approved by the local authorities. To prevent any illegal building of religious centres or institutions, rules and regulations have to be fulfilled before the building program can be started.

The letter of the law is quite ideal but the actual situation is somewhat different especially in establishing places of worship for the non-Muslims. When we questioned non-Muslims about this, the majority (57.4%) of them agreed

TABLE 7
Restriction in propagating other religion among the Muslims

Religion	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
Buddhist	3 (1.9%)	6 (3.7%)	33 (20.4%)	26 (16.0%)	13 (8.0%)
Christian	2 (1.2%)	8 (4.9%)	12 (7.4%)	15 (9.3%)	5 (3.1%)
Hindu	-	6 (3.7%)	11 (6.8%)	11 (6.8%)	8 (4.9%)
Sikh	-	-	-	3 (1.9%)	-
TOTAL	5 (3.1%)	20 (12.3%)	56 (34.6%)	55 (34.0%)	26 (16.0%)

TABLE 8
Respondents' opinion on restriction in managing non-Muslim religious affairs

Religion	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
Buddhist	16 (9.9%)	30 (18.5%)	18 (11.1%)	14 (8.6%)	3 (1.9%)
Christian	5 (3.1%)	21 (13.0%)	6 (3.7%)	6 (3.7%)	4 (2.5%)
Hindu	6 (3.7%)	15 (9.3%)	6 (3.7%)	7 (4.3%)	2 (1.2%)
Sikh	1 (0.6%)	-	2 (1.2%)	-	-
TOTAL	28 (17.3%)	66 (40.7%)	32 (19.8%)	27 (16.7%)	9 (5.6%)

⁵⁹ Amran Kasimin. 1984. *Saudara Baru Cina di Wilayah dan Selangor*, p. 131. Bangi: Fakulti Sains Kemasyarakatan dan Kemanusiaan, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. Mr. Vitalingham, the President of Malaysia Hindu Sangam at the first Hindu Unity Rally (5 October 1997), in his address said that the Hindu community should seriously study and need to know the reasons for those being converted by some Christian religious extremist groups. See "2000 Hindus at Rally", SANGAM (Newsletter), No. 2, December 1997.

(Table 9) that there are all sorts of bureaucratic and red-tape problems in gaining permission from the authorities for establishing places of worship for the non-Muslims. We also examined the non-Muslims attitude regarding the regulation of constructing a church in a locality in Malaysia. The Christians for example, need about 4000 residents in a locality to be allowed to construct a church. Overall, 54.3% of our respondents claimed that the regulation was not fair, 17.9% claimed it was fair enough, 15.4% did not know, and 12.3% gave no response at all (Table 10). Laws regarding building non-Muslim's places of worship should take into consideration the locality occupied by a majority of the non-Muslims. According to Muslim jurists, in an Islamic state, the non-Muslims cannot

build their places of worship in a locality largely inhabited by the Muslims.⁶⁰

When we questioned non-Muslims about the ban on placing Bibles in hotels in Malaysia, the majority of the non-Muslims (56.2%) did not agree with the banning, 24.1% either fully agreed or agreed, and 13.8% either did not know or gave no response to the question (Table 11). In our opinion, the ban on placing of Bibles in hotels in Malaysia is reasonable because it is a sort of Christian proselytization and it is against the constitution. The placing of Bibles in hotels in Malaysia was a practice which was duplicated from the western countries and is perceived as being a threat to the faith of Muslims.

TABLE 9.
Respondents' opinion on laws relating to building places of worship for non-Muslims

Religion	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
Buddhist	3 (1.9 %)	21 (13.0%)	14 (8.6%)	29 (17.9%)	14 (8.6%)
Christian	2 (1.2%)	10 (6.2%)	6 (3.7%)	16 (9.9%)	8 (4.9%)
Hindu	3 (1.9%)	3 (1.9%)	7 (4.3%)	13 (8.0%)	10 (6.2%)
Sikh	-	-	-	2 (1.2%)	1 (0.6%)
TOTAL	8 (4.9%)	34 (21.0%)	27 (16.7%)	67 (37.0%)	33 (20.4%)

TABLE 10
Respondents' opinion on regulation of constructing a church

Religion	Fair Enough	Not Fair	Do Not Know	No Response
Buddhist	19 (11.7%)	39 (24.1%)	12 (7.4%)	11 (6.8%)
Christian	3 (1.9%)	30 (18.5%)	4 (2.5%)	5 (3.1%)
Hindu	7 (4.3%)	16 (9.9%)	9 (5.6%)	4 (2.5%)
Sikh	-	3 (1.9%)	-	-
TOTAL	29 (17.9%)	88 (54.3%)	25 (15.4%)	20 (12.3%)

TABLE 11
Respondents' opinion on the ban on placing Bibles in hotels

Religion	Fully Agree	Agree	Do not Agree	Don't Know	No Response
Buddhist	6 (3.7%)	14 (8.6%)	44 (27.2%)	11 (6.8%)	6 (3.7%)
Christian	1 (0.6%)	6 (3.7%)	27 (16.7%)	5 (3.1%)	3 (1.9%)
Hindu	3 (1.9%)	7 (4.3%)	19 (11.7%)	6 (3.7%)	1 (0.6%)
Sikh	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.6%)	-	-
TOTAL	11 (6.8%)	28 (17.3%)	91 (56.2%)	22 (13.6%)	10 (0.2%)

⁶⁰ See Abd al-Karim Zaidan. 1976. *Ahkam al-Dhimmiyyin wa al-Musta'minin*. p. 96-99. Beirut: Muassasah al-Risalah, See also Yusuf al-Qaradawi. 1977. *Ghair al-Muslimin fi al-Mujtama' al-Islami*. p. 20-21. Cairo: Maktabah Wahbah.

CONCLUSION

The above findings suggest that the non-Muslim religious leaders' responses towards the Islamization policy of the government and Islamic revivalism in Malaysia and their major organisational aims regarding non-Muslim affairs have many things in common. From the questionnaires and interviews, it is possible to summarise the responses of the non-Muslims in Malaysia. Although the Malaysian constitution guarantees the non-Muslims religious freedom and rights, what matters is the actual practices of the Malaysian government and civil servants in implementing the constitutional provisions. The non-Muslims are not convinced about their constitutional rights. Generally, their fears are based on the lack of a clear and open discussion. The non-Muslims' sense of insecurity will increase as long as their rights are denied or neglected. Attempts to Islamize Malaysia will further intensify the non-Muslim's feeling of disadvantage and they will react and fight for their rights.

This study revealed a number of problems faced by the non-Muslims in Malaysia with different levels of complexity. The origin of these problems can be traced back to their misunderstanding of the teachings of Islam on the one hand and on the other hand the Malay ethnic preference policy of the government. Perhaps, they were influenced by researchers or the media whose understanding of the Malaysian society was circumscribed by personal grievances and prejudices and whose views of the Malaysian scenario is far too narrow.

Our interviews have shown many negative aspects of the elements of Islam in Malaysia, although some of the respondents also expressed positive feelings. The general impression is that there really exists a fear and dissatisfaction among non-Muslims and the Islamization program of the government.

With greater demands from the Muslims to totally implement Islamic teachings in the country, the government has to respond to them. On the other hand, the government also has to face criticism from the non-Muslims since this implementation of the Islamization policy directly or indirectly affects them.

Based on this study, the non-Muslims are generally cautious and fearful of the pronounced emphasis upon Islam by the government on behalf of the political parties. The non-Muslims feel the efforts of the state in setting up Islamic

institutions in almost every aspect of Malaysian life are more than a ritualistic and symbolic nature. The label "Islam" or "Islamic" invites a polemic and dilemma in the non-Muslim's mind. As a result the non-Muslims feel left out and ignored. The government needs to provide a satisfactory answer to the non-Muslims on this issue. The establishment of IKIM (*Institut Kefahaman Islam Malaysia*) can play this role.

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Model Pembangunan Komuniti

MOHAMMAD SHATAR SABRAN

*Jabatan Sains Kemasyarakatan dan Pembangunan
Fakulti Ekologi Manusia, Universiti Putra Malaysia
43400 UPM, Serdang, Selangor, Malaysia
E-mel: shatar@putra.upm.edu.my*

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ABSTRAK

Semenjak Malaysia mencapai kemerdekaannya pada tahun 1957, pelbagai projek dan program telah dijalankan oleh pihak kerajaan untuk membantu masyarakat miskin di negara ini. Pihak kerajaan telah membelanjakan berjuta-juta ringgit untuk memastikan hasrat dan tujuan untuk membebaskan masyarakatnya daripada belunggu kemiskinan tercapai. Walaupun fenomena kemiskinan di negara ini telah menurun, bilangan golongan miskin masih lagi tinggi terutamanya di kawasan luar bandar. Salah satu punca mengapa dan kenapa keadaan sebegini berlaku adalah disebabkan kegagalan dan kurangnya keberkesanan dasar dan strategi pembangunan komuniti ataupun desa yang dilaksanakan. Model Pembangunan Komuniti yang memberikan penekanan kepada lima elemen utama dipercayai mampu untuk membantu menyelesaikan masalah kemiskinan terutamanya masyarakat yang tinggal di luar bandar dengan lebih berkesan. Di antara lima penumpuan utama di dalam model ini ialah pemimpin masyarakat, masyarakat tempatan, teras pembangunan komuniti, proses pembangunan komuniti dan hasil pembangunan komuniti. Model ini menjelaskan dengan terperinci proses yang perlu dilalui oleh setiap masyarakat atau agensi yang berminat untuk membantu golongan miskin di negara ini melalui projek-projek yang dijalankan. Dengan mengikuti proses yang dicadangkan oleh model ini, bukan sahaja masalah kemiskinan dapat diselesaikan dengan berkesan, malah ia mampu untuk membantu negara membuat pelaburan di dalam projek-projek pembangunan masyarakat yang mencapai matlamat penubuhannya.

ABSTRACT

Since independence in 1957, the government of Malaysia has implemented several projects and programs to help reduce the problem of poverty among the poor in the country. Billions of ringgit have been invested for that purpose. Though the problem of poverty has been reduced, the number of people who are poor remains high especially in the rural areas. One of the reasons for persistent poverty problems is the failure of rural development strategies and programs to alleviate poverty-related problem effectively. The Community Development Model proposed in this article focuses on five major elements believed to be effective in helping to alleviate the problems of poverty among the poor in rural areas. The five elements of the Community Development Model are local leaders, local residents, the core of community development, community development process and the results of community development. This model explains in detail the process that needs to be implemented by communities or agencies which are interested in helping the rural poor resolve the problems of poverty through the implementation of projects or programs. By following the processes suggested in the model, it will not only help resolve the poverty problems but also assist the country to invest in development projects that achieve the intended goals.

PENGENALAN

Semenjak Malaysia mencapai kemerdekaan pada tahun 1957, pelbagai usaha telah dijalankan oleh

kerajaan untuk memastikan rakyat di negara ini bebas dari belunggu kemiskinan (Abdul Aziz 2000). Kerajaan telah membelanjakan berjuta-

juta ringgit bagi memastikan hasrat dan cita-cita untuk membebaskan rakyat di negara ini daripada belenggu kemiskinan tercapai. Pelbagai projek telah dijalankan oleh pihak kerajaan untuk mencapai hasrat tersebut. Antara projek-projek utama yang telah dijalankan untuk tujuan tersebut ialah projek Kemajuan Masyarakat (KEMAS), *Federal Land Development Authority* (FELDA), Gerakan Desa Wawasan (GDW), Projek Kesejahteraan Rakyat (PPRT) dan projek Amanah Ikhtiar Malaysia (Chamhuri 2000).

Pada keseluruhannya, fenomena kemiskinan di negara ini telah menurun, namun bilangan golongan miskin masih lagi dianggap serius terutamanya di kalangan masyarakat di luar bandar. Salah satu punca mengapa dan kenapa keadaan sebegini berlaku adalah disebabkan kegagalan dan kurangnya keberkesanan dasar dan strategi pembangunan komuniti ataupun pembangunan desa yang dilaksanakan (Ishak 1992, 1994). Mengikut laporan statistik yang telah dikeluarkan oleh Rancangan Malaysia Kelapan (RM8), peratus golongan miskin di negara ini terutamanya yang tinggal di luar bandar ialah di antara 11% hingga 13% (Malaysia 2001). Walaupun peratus kemiskinan di negara ini berada pada tahap yang rendah, usaha dan perancangan perlulah dilaksanakan untuk memastikan hasrat kerajaan mencapai kemiskinan sifar menjelang tahun 2020 terlaksana dengan jayanya.

Menyedari keadaan sedemikian pihak kerajaan dan juga agensi-agensinya bukan kerajaan telah melaksanakan pelbagai perancangan dan program untuk tujuan pembasmian kemiskinan. Berjuta-juta ringgit telah dibelanjakan oleh pihak-pihak yang terlibat untuk membasmi masalah kemiskinan ini. Walau bagaimanapun, fenomena dan jumlah masyarakat miskin masih lagi wujud, malah ada di antara masalah tersebut menjadi semakin serius terutamanya di era globalisasi ini (Chamhuri 2001). Persoalannya sekarang ialah di manakah silapnya?

Berdasarkan kepada senario tersebut, makalah ini ditulis untuk memberikan penjelasan dan penerangan mengapa dan kenapa perkara tersebut boleh berlaku dan bagaimanakah insiden tersebut dapat dielakkan. Model pembangunan komuniti yang akan ditonjolkan di dalam makalah ini mungkin mampu untuk memberikan penjelasan dan penyelesaian terhadap masalah yang dihadapi selama ini.

Sebelum perbincangan mengenai model tersebut dibuat, adalah perlu untuk memberikan penjelasan asas tentang perkara yang berkaitan dengan pembangunan komuniti, seperti definisi, objektif dan kepentingannya ke arah pembangunan masyarakat untuk membasmi masalah kemiskinan ini.

APA ITU PEMBANGUNAN KOMUNITI

Terdapat pelbagai definisi tentang pembangunan komuniti. Definisi ini berbeza-beza bergantung kepada lokasi dan budaya serta masyarakat yang terlibat. Walau bagaimanapun terdapat beberapa ciri yang utama yang menyamakan definisi pembangunan komuniti ini tanpa mengira di mana pembangunan komuniti ini dipraktikkan. Mengikut Ploch (1976), pembangunan komuniti ialah penglibatan yang aktif daripada masyarakat setempat untuk menjalankan program-program yang dapat meningkatkan kualiti kehidupan mereka. Hope (1980) pula melihat pembangunan komuniti sebagai satu proses. Mengikut beliau, proses ini bermula daripada mengenal pasti masalah masyarakat yang terlibat sehinggalah kepada proses penyelesaian masalah tersebut. Mengikut Hope, perubahan akan dapat dirasai oleh masyarakat yang terlibat sekiranya proses ini disertai oleh semua pihak sama ada pihak kerajaan, bukan kerajaan dan masyarakat itu sendiri.

CDA atau *Community Development Academy* (1997) pula melihat pembangunan komuniti ini sebagai penglibatan daripada semua pihak dan agensi untuk mencapai matlamat yang sama iaitu memperbaiki kualiti kehidupan masyarakat yang terlibat. Mengikut CDA, pembangunan komuniti ialah usaha yang menyeluruh dan bersungguh-sungguh daripada semua pihak yang terlibat sama ada secara langsung atau tidak untuk mencapai matlamat dan objektif yang telah ditentukan. Elemen-elemen seperti kerjasama, toleransi dan memaksimumkan penggunaan sumber-sumber dalaman merupakan sebahagian daripada perkara yang ditekankan oleh CDA untuk mencapai matlamat yang ditentukan.

Berdasarkan kepada beberapa definisi pembangunan komuniti di atas, dapat dirumuskan bahawa pembangunan komuniti ialah usaha yang bersungguh-sungguh daripada semua pihak terutamanya masyarakat yang terlibat untuk memperbaiki taraf hidup dan kualiti kehidupan mereka. Elemen-elemen kerjasama dan penggunaan segala sumber yang

ada adalah perkara penting untuk memberikan kejayaan kepada usaha memperbaiki kualiti kehidupan masyarakat yang terlibat.

TUJUAN PEMBANGUNAN KOMUNITI

Seperti definisi pembangunan komuniti, tujuan pembangunan komuniti juga berbeza-beza bergantung kepada budaya, lokasi dan jenis masyarakat setempat. Walau bagaimanapun, secara umumnya tujuan utama pembangunan komuniti ialah untuk memperbaiki taraf hidup ataupun kualiti kehidupan masyarakat di tempat tersebut.

Pembangunan komuniti membantu untuk mempertingkatkan kualiti sosial dan ekonomi masyarakat komuniti. Ianya menyediakan rangka kerja yang jelas untuk membolehkan masyarakat yang terlibat bekerjasama dan saling bantu-membantu di antara satu sama lain, berkongsi wawasan dan tanggungjawab untuk kebaikan dan kemajuan bersama. Pembangunan komuniti juga membantu masyarakat yang terlibat untuk berdikari dan mempunyai sifat jati diri yang tinggi. Dengan sikap sebegini masyarakat yang terlibat mampu untuk menentukan hala tuju kehidupan mereka dan juga mengenal pasti masalah-masalah yang mendatang (Hayes 1981).

Tujuan pembangunan komuniti yang lebih komprehensif telah dijelaskan oleh Christenson, Fendley dan Robinson (1989). Mengikut mereka, tujuan utama pembangunan komuniti ialah untuk membantu masyarakat memperbaiki keadaan sosial dan ekonomi mereka. Rasional yang digunakan oleh mereka ialah masyarakat adalah subjek dan bukan objek. Oleh yang demikian sekiranya sesebuah masyarakat menghadapi sesuatu masalah maka agensi dan masyarakat yang terlibat haruslah melakukan sesuatu untuk menyelesaikan masalah tersebut

dan bukan hanya sekadar memberi komen tanpa sebarang usaha dan reaksi yang wajar.

MENGAPA PEMBANGUNAN KOMUNITI PENTING

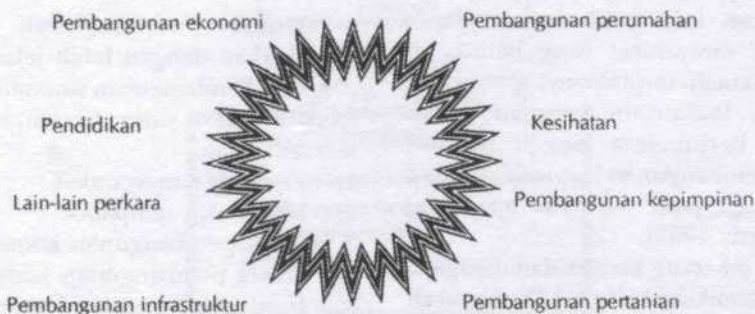
Pembangunan komuniti ini penting kepada masyarakat berdasarkan kepada dua sebab utama yang berikut:

1. Pembangunan komuniti menyediakan rangka kerja yang sistematik untuk pembangunan masyarakat terutamanya di dalam usaha membasmi kemiskinan.
2. Pembangunan komuniti penting untuk kejayaan jangka panjang di dalam era globalisasi.

Dua perkara tersebut amat penting kerana pembangunan komuniti merupakan sebuah payung yang besar yang di bawahnya mengandungi pelbagai aspek dan aktiviti yang berkaitan dengan masyarakat. Pendidikan, kesihatan, perumahan dan kepimpinan merupakan sebahagian daripada elemen yang berada di bawah payung pembangunan komuniti. *Rajah 1* menunjukkan sebahagian daripada elemen yang berada di bawah payung pembangunan komuniti ini.

PEMBANGUNAN KOMUNITI DAN PEMBANGUNAN MASYARAKAT

Pada masa kini didapati sebahagian besar daripada masyarakat dunia sama ada di negara membangun ataupun sedang membangun yang menggunakan pendekatan pembangunan komuniti sebagai kaedah utama untuk membantu masyarakat mereka dalam mempertingkat kualiti kehidupan masing-masing terutamanya di kalangan masyarakat miskin luar bandar.



Rajah 1: Elemen-elemen yang dipayungi oleh pembangunan komuniti

tempatan ialah masyarakat yang sentiasa peka dan sentiasa mengambil tahu apa yang berlaku di dalam masyarakat mereka. Mengikut perspektif ini, pemimpin masyarakat dan masyarakat tempatan haruslah bekerjasama di antara satu sama lain.

Kedua-dua pihak ini perlulah sentiasa berbincang di antara satu sama lain untuk kemajuan dan pembangunan masyarakat tersebut. Kedua-dua kumpulan ini haruslah mempunyai kemahiran dan strategi komunikasi yang berkesan agar matlamat dan objektif untuk kemajuan dan pembangunan masyarakat tercapai. Untuk membantu mereka mempunyai kemahiran komunikasi berkesan, kedua-dua kumpulan ini haruslah memastikan kewujudan empat elemen berikut di dalam proses komunikasi mereka:

1. Kedua-dua pihak perlulah mempunyai komitmen yang kuat dan bersungguh-sungguh untuk memajukan masyarakat tersebut;
2. Sifat percaya-mempercayai perlulah wujud di antara kedua-dua pihak iaitu pemimpin dan masyarakat tempatan;
3. Setiap individu yang ada di dalam masyarakat tersebut perlulah diberikan peluang untuk melibatkan diri di dalam semua aktiviti yang dijalankan dalam masyarakat tersebut. Tidak ada yang dikecualikan kecuali atas kehendak dan kemahuan mereka sendiri;
4. Kejayaan dan kegagalan yang diperolehi perlulah dikongsi bersama oleh semua pihak terutamanya pemimpin dan masyarakat yang terlibat. Oleh yang demikian budaya menuding jari dapat dielakkan daripada berlaku dalam masyarakat.

Melalui proses komunikasi yang sedemikian, adalah diharapkan agar pemimpin dan masyarakat yang terlibat akan mudah untuk mencapai kata putus ataupun persetujuan di dalam semua perkara yang melibatkan masyarakat tersebut. Sebarang perbezaan dan jurang yang wujud di antara pihak-pihak yang terlibat akan mudah diselesaikan sekiranya semua pihak yang terlibat bersedia untuk mengamalkan cara dan kaedah komunikasi berkesan. Dengan adanya komunikasi dan persetujuan yang sebegini masyarakat tersebut boleh mencapai kemajuan dan pembangunan yang diharapkan oleh semua.

Teras Pembangunan Komuniti

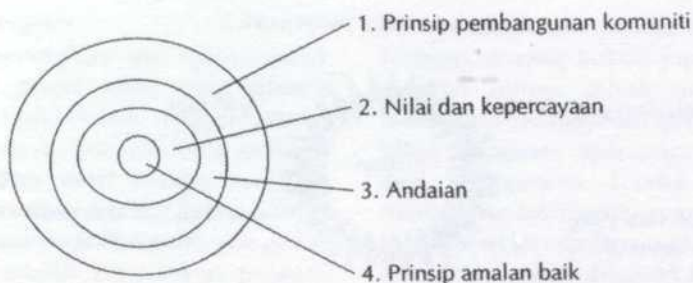
Teras pembangunan komuniti ialah peringkat yang kedua di dalam model ini. Peringkat ini harus dilalui oleh setiap masyarakat atau komuniti untuk mencapai pembangunan dan kejayaan yang diharap-harapkan. Peringkat ini walau bagaimanapun hanya boleh dilalui sekiranya persetujuan telah dicapai di peringkat yang pertama iaitu di antara pemimpin dan masyarakat tempatan yang terlibat. Kejayaan mencapai persetujuan di peringkat yang pertama di atas adalah penentu kepada kejayaan di peringkat ini. Fungsi utama bahagian ini ialah untuk memastikan kedua-dua pihak iaitu pemimpin dan masyarakat yang terlibat telah mempunyai persediaan yang cukup baik dari aspek sosial ataupun fizikalnya untuk menerima projek ataupun program yang akan dijalankan di dalam masyarakat tersebut.

Untuk memastikan matlamat ini tercapai, pelbagai kaedah dan strategi dijalankan. Salah satu daripada kaedah yang boleh digunakan ialah dengan memberikan ceramah motivasi kepada mereka yang terlibat. Ceramah ini perlu dan penting kerana ia mampu memberikan kesedaran kepada masyarakat yang terlibat mengenai keperluan dan perkara-perkara yang boleh membantu mereka untuk mencapai kejayaan dan kemajuan yang diinginkan. Selain daripada itu kaedah lawatan sambil belajar ke kawasan-kawasan yang berjaya juga boleh digunakan untuk menaikkan semangat dan motivasi masyarakat yang terlibat. Terdapat empat bahagian utama yang perlu didedahkan kepada masyarakat yang terlibat untuk membolehkan tujuan dan hasrat teras pembangunan komuniti tercapai. Perkara-perkara tersebut ialah seperti yang dipaparkan di dalam *Rajah 3*.

Adalah diharapkan dengan adanya langkah-langkah yang sebegini, ianya dapat membantu kedua-dua pihak pemimpin dan masyarakat tempatan untuk lebih bersedia dengan komitmen yang cukup untuk menerima projek dan program yang akan dijalankan di kawasan mereka.

Berdasarkan kepada *Rajah 3*, didapati bahawa pembangunan komuniti mempunyai pelbagai teras yang perlu diambil kira untuk memastikan pelaksanaan pembangunan komuniti mampu mencapai matlamat yang diharapkan. Setiap elemen yang wujud di dalam teras tersebut mempunyai ciri-ciri yang tertentu.

Model Pembangunan Komuniti



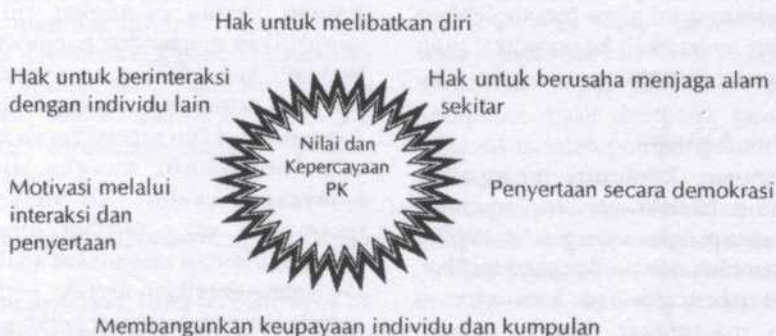
Rajah 3: Teras pembangunan komuniti

Sebagai contoh, prinsip amalan baik mempunyai elemen-elemen yang tersendiri dan begitu juga dengan prinsip pembangunan komuniti, nilai dan kepercayaan dan andaian. *Rajah 4, 5, 6 dan 7* menunjukkan dengan lebih terperinci berhubung dengan elemen-elemen yang wujud di dalam setiap bahagian yang menjadi teras kepada pembangunan komuniti (PK).

Untuk membolehkan sesuatu pembangunan komuniti mencapai matlamatnya dengan cara yang berkesan, semua perkara dan elemen yang telah dibincangkan di atas perlu dilalui terlebih dahulu. Kedua-dua pihak terutamanya pemimpin

masyarakat dan masyarakat tempatan haruslah memastikan semua perkara tersebut dapat dilaksanakan atau diimplementasikan di dalam program pembangunan komuniti di tempat tersebut. Seandainya perkara tersebut gagal untuk diimplementasikan, maka amatlah sukar bagi masyarakat tersebut melihat kejayaan yang diharap-harapkan.

Ini adalah disebabkan di dalam model pembangunan komuniti ini, setiap bahagian memainkan peranan yang sama penting. Kejayaan atau kegagalan di satu bahagian akan menentukan kejayaan atau kegagalan di



Rajah 4: Nilai dan kepercayaan pembangunan komuniti (PK)



Rajah 5: Prinsip pembangunan komuniti (PK)

Pembelajaran melalui penyertaan



Rajah 6: Andaian pembangunan komuniti

Keupayaan pemimpin



Rajah 7: Prinsip amalan baik komuniti (PK)

keseluruhan model ini. Kejayaan masyarakat dan pemimpin tempatan melalui proses teras pembangunan komuniti ini akan membolehkan masyarakat tersebut melangkah ke peringkat yang seterusnya iaitu proses pembangunan komuniti.

Proses Pembangunan Komuniti

Proses pembangunan komuniti merupakan bahagian di mana berlakunya implementasi terhadap projek atau program yang telah dipilih untuk dilaksanakan oleh masyarakat yang terlibat. Mengikut model pembangunan komuniti, di bahagian inilah masyarakat dan pemimpin tempatan berpeluang untuk menjalankan projek atau program pembangunan komuniti sendiri setelah menjalani pelbagai latihan dan persediaan sebelum ini. Oleh yang sedemikian, proses pembangunan komuniti merupakan bahagian yang terpenting sekali di dalam model ini.

Untuk memastikan proses implementasi projek dapat dijalankan dengan cara yang efektif, beberapa peringkat perlu diambil. Mengikut apa yang dicadangkan oleh Akafor (1982), terdapat sekurang-kurangnya lima peringkat yang perlu dilaksanakan di dalam proses pembangunan komuniti ini. Lima peringkat tersebut ialah seperti berikut:

1. Mewujudkan kesedaran umum di kalangan masyarakat yang terlibat
Tujuan utama peringkat ini ialah untuk meyakinkan masyarakat bahawa mereka perlulah berkerja keras untuk menjayakan projek atau program yang dijalankan di kawasan mereka. Agensi-agensi lain seperti kerajaan ataupun swasta akan membantu mereka untuk mencapai kejayaan tersebut. Di peringkat ini juga masyarakat yang terlibat diberitahu bahawa keperluan setiap masyarakat adalah berbeza-beza. Oleh yang demikian mereka perlu melaksanakan projek ataupun program pembangunan komuniti yang menepati kehendak masyarakat setempat.
2. Analisis yang sistematik tentang masalah yang wujud
Di peringkat ini masyarakat haruslah tahu bahawa setiap masyarakat mempunyai masalah dan cara penyelesaian yang tersendiri. Oleh yang demikian, setiap masyarakat perlulah kreatif dan inovatif ketika berhadapan dengan suasana seperti ini. Sumber-sumber dalaman dan luaran perlulah digemblengkan untuk mendapatkan hasil yang maksimum di dalam usaha untuk membangunkan komuniti yang terlibat.

3. Melatih ketua projek

Tujuan utama peringkat ini ialah untuk memastikan ketua projek yang telah dilantik mampu untuk menjalankan tanggungjawab mereka dengan jayanya. Langkah yang pertama yang perlu dilakukan ialah dengan melantik ketua projek secara demokratik. Telah banyak penyelidikan yang membuktikan salah satu punca kegagalan projek adalah disebabkan peranan pemimpin itu sendiri (Sabran 1999). Kesilapan melantik pemimpin akan memberikan kesan yang buruk terhadap kejayaan projek yang dijalankan. Kerjasama dan bantuan masyarakat mungkin sukar diterima oleh pemimpin yang tidak dipilih secara demokratik oleh masyarakat yang terlibat. Oleh yang demikian, pemimpin yang dipilih hendaklah pemimpin yang telah dipersetujui oleh masyarakat yang terlibat dengan projek atau program yang dijalankan.

4. Penglibatan masyarakat

Penglibatan masyarakat di dalam projek dan program pembangunan komuniti amatlah penting. Ini adalah disebabkan hanya dengan penglibatan yang menyeluruh, masyarakat akan merasakan projek atau program yang dijalankan adalah hak mereka bersama. Sekiranya projek atau program tersebut hanya disertai oleh sebahagian kecil masyarakat sahaja, kejayaannya amatlah diragui kerana masyarakat ramai pada keseluruhannya tidak akan memberikan kerjasama yang sepatutnya kepada projek tersebut (CDA 1997).

5. Mewujudkan keyakinan dan hubungan dengan kumpulan luar

Pemimpin dan masyarakat yang terlibat dengan projek pembangunan komuniti haruslah berusaha untuk mewujudkan keyakinan diri yang

kuat untuk menjayakan projek tersebut. Hubungan yang kukuh juga perlu diwujudkan dengan semua pihak yang mampu untuk membantu menjayakan projek tersebut seperti pihak kerajaan, agensi-agensi bukan kerajaan dan sebagainya. Usaha-usaha seperti ini merupakan komponen yang penting yang boleh membantu tercapainya matlamat pembangunan komuniti yang dijalankan selain daripada kerjasama yang erat di antara pemimpin dan masyarakat tempatan yang terlibat.

Selain daripada Okafor, Cawley (1989) dan Fischer (1989) juga memberikan penjelasan yang hampir sama seperti yang telah dijelaskan oleh Okafor tentang proses pembangunan komuniti. Walau bagaimanapun, mereka bertiga bersetuju bahawa di peringkat ini masyarakat yang terlibat haruslah melalui beberapa peringkat sebelum mereka mencapai kejayaan pembangunan komuniti yang dijalankan di tempat mereka.

Rajah 8 menunjukkan secara ringkas mengenai proses pembangunan komuniti yang disarankan oleh Fischer.

Adalah diharapkan apabila kedua-dua pihak terutamanya pemimpin dan masyarakat tempatan telah melalui semua proses yang telah dijelaskan di dalam model pembangunan komuniti ini maka mereka akan dapat melihat hasil yang amat memuaskan. Di antara output yang mungkin dapat dinikmati oleh masyarakat tempatan hasil daripada pembangunan yang dijalankan ialah pembangunan fizikal, sosial dan sahsiah masyarakat yang terlibat. Dengan pencapaian yang sedemikian adalah diharapkan masalah kemiskinan yang dihadapi oleh masyarakat miskin, terutamanya kemiskinan di luar bandar akan dapat diatasi dengan sebaik mungkin.



Rajah 8: Proses pembangunan komuniti

KESIMPULAN

Masalah kemiskinan merupakan isu yang menjadi agenda utama kepada kebanyakan negara terutamanya di kalangan negara-negara yang sedang membangun. Pelbagai pihak yang bertanggungjawab terutamanya pihak kerajaan di negara-negara yang terlibat telah berusaha dengan melaksanakan pelbagai program dan perancangan untuk membasmi masalah kemiskinan yang melanda masyarakat mereka.

Walaupun telah banyak wang dan tenaga dilaburkan, namun hasilnya tidaklah setimpal dengan apa yang telah dibelanjakan untuk tujuan tersebut. Peratus golongan yang miskin masih lagi berada di tahap yang tinggi. Di Malaysia umpamanya, jumlah peratus golongan miskin terutamanya di luar bandar ialah di antara 11% hingga 13% (Malaysia 2001). Persoalannya sekarang ialah di manakah silapnya? Mengikuti kajian yang dilakukan oleh Ishak (1992, 1994), salah satu punca mengapa kadar kemiskinan di negara ini masih lagi berada di tahap yang tinggi ialah kerana kegagalan dan kurangnya keberkesanan dasar dan strategi pembangunan komuniti ataupun desa.

Model Pembangunan Komuniti yang telah menjadi fokus di dalam perbincangan ini adalah diharapkan mampu untuk memberikan penjelasan mengapa dan kenapa senario yang sedemikian berlaku. Seterusnya model yang direka bentuk itu diharapkan mampu untuk membantu mengurangkan masalah kemiskinan melalui pelaksanaan projek yang berkesan apabila setiap program yang dilaksanakan mencapai matlamat masing-masing. Oleh yang demikian, usaha kerajaan untuk membasmi kemiskinan ke tahap yang paling minimal ataupun kemiskinan sifar mungkin tercapai dengan sepenuhnya menjelang tahun 2020.

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Collaborative Interactions Among Preschool Children in a Computer Environment

MOHD SHARANI AHMAD & MOHAMAD IBRANI SHAHRIMIN ADAM ASSIM

*Department of Human Development and Family Studies,
Faculty of Human Ecology, Universiti Putra Malaysia,
43400 UPM, Serdang, Selangor, Malaysia*

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ABSTRAK

Kajian ini melaporkan penyelidikan mengenai pola interaksi kolaboratif yang ditunjukkan oleh kanak-kanak prasekolah berumur 5 tahun dalam suasana pendidikan berkomputer. Kaedah kajian kes digunakan di sebuah prasekolah di kota metropolitan untuk memeriksa paten interaksi kolaboratif di kalangan kumpulan kanak-kanak bersekitarkan komputer dalam suasana kelas sebenar. 243 interaksi telah dikenal pasti dan diklasifikasikan kepada 16 pola interaksi. Faktor-faktor yang memudahkan interaksi kolaboratif telah dikenal pasti seperti: kesesuaian *software*, kompetensi komputer sebelumnya dan sikap terhadap komputer; tolak ansur di kalangan kanak-kanak; tujuan sosial kanak-kanak; struktur persekitaran pembelajaran yang menyeronokkan; kesefahaman dalam sistem gilir sewaktu menggunakan komputer; dan susun atur tanpa pengasingan. Kesannya, kajian ini menunjukkan guru-guru prasekolah berada dalam kedudukan yang lebih baik menggabungkan komputer dalam pengajaran di kelas dan untuk meningkatkan interaksi sosial di kalangan kanak-kanak sewaktu menggunakan komputer seperti penggunaan alatan pembelajaran dan alatan aktiviti lain.

ABSTRACT

This paper reports on a study which investigated the collaborative interaction patterns exhibited by five-year-old pre-primary children in an educational computer environment. A case study method was used in one pre-primary centre in a metropolitan city, to examine the patterns of collaborative interaction among young children whilst engaged, in dyads, with the computer within a naturalistic classroom environment. A total of 243 interactions were identified and classified into 16 interaction patterns. Factors facilitating and inhibiting collaborative interaction were identified as: developmental appropriateness of the software; preexisting computer competency and attitude towards computer; mutual friendship between collaborators; children's social goals; appropriate structure of enjoyable learning environment; mutual understanding of the turn-taking system; and non-isolated physical settings. In effect, this study shows that early childhood educators will be in a better position to integrate the computer into their classroom and to promote positive prosocial interaction among children whilst engaged at the computer, if it were to be afforded the same status as other traditional early childhood learning materials and activities.

INTRODUCTION

Computer technology plays a central role in education. However, most of this technology has not been fully integrated to make child-computer and child-child interaction optimal (Crook 1995). While there were earlier concerns of computers being too abstract and difficult for young children to use (Hattie and Fitzgerald 1987;

Clarke 1990), many educators now believe that computers can be used to promote learning and development in early childhood education if they are used appropriately. Children need to be aware of the nature and uses of computers in order to meet the challenges presented by the present and future technological society.

Computers in Schools

The growing use of computers in offices, factories, homes, and schools is often cited as a reason for introducing computers to children at ever earlier ages. Hattie and Fitzgerald (1987) reported that, students of upper primary and lower secondary years demonstrated very positive attitudes towards computers. Clarke (1990) advances the argument that most primary-aged children display a high interest in using computers, with boys demonstrating a greater interest than girls. As indicated by Silvern and Silvern (1990), as long as computers are emotionally satisfying, satisfy the "need to know", and provide self-constructive activity, then using computers with young children is as appropriate as any other "good" early learning activity. Hohmann (1994) argues that for preschoolers and kindergarteners, the addition of computers and appropriate software to their environment has positive social consequences and appears not to disrupt other classroom social interactions. Hohmann (1994) advances the argument that computer activity can also enhance young children's self-esteem and effectively promote self-control.

Computers in Early Childhood Classrooms

Children have their own style of learning about themselves and the world. They acquire skills and learn about their world through exploration and discovery, through trial and error, and through experiencing cause and effect relationships (Berk 1994; Berk 2000a; Berk 2000b; Haugland and Wright 1997). Children need to be aware of the nature and uses of computers in order to be able to cope with the present and future technological society (Lipinski, Nida, Shade and Watson 1986; Nastasi and Clements 1992; Lomangino, Nicholson and Sulzby 1999; Nicholson, Gelpi, Young and Sulzby 1998; Teng 1997; Solomon 1998; Haugland 2000b). Computers allow for development, adaptation and delivery of tools which may facilitate more effective thinking, problem solving and learning (Papert 1993; Haugland and Wright 1997). Together with an appropriate program, children are able to experience enjoyment by playing games in education (Haugland and Wright 1997; Haugland and Shade 1988; Teng 1997; Papert 1993).

Learning to use computers can also assist children's development. The computer provides

us with the view that it is not an end in itself (a new task for children to master) but one more tool for children to use in discovering and mastering the world of familiar experience (Hohmann 1994). Research has also convincingly demonstrated that teachers who are involved in integrating computers into their early childhood classrooms often believe that with appropriate strategies and techniques, computer activities can support autonomy and facilitate the normal activities of early childhood classrooms (Hohmann 1994). Early childhood educators often develop effective learning techniques and devise appropriate strategies to incorporate computers into the classroom. Such strategies are comfortable for teachers and in harmony with the social and emotional needs of young children (Shade 1994; NAEYC 1996; Haugland 1997b).

Research has indicated that the computer area in the classroom is rich ground for social interaction, as children frequently prefer working with peers to using the computer alone (Bergin, Ford and Hess 1993; Haugland 1997a; Haugland 2000a). According to Haugland (1997a), speculations on characteristic patterns of interacting with computers may serve to organise distinctive patterns of interacting around computers. Thus, it is argued that there is a need to research task structures and the way in which they promote different styles of interaction (Crook 1994).

Collaborative Interactions in Early Childhood

The word 'collaboration' is often used in research on computer-mediated collaborative learning in the fields of education, psychology and computer science, even though the elements embedded within the definition can be interpreted in different ways (Dillenbourg 1999). Literature reveals that collaborative computer use is often associated with the social nature of interactions occasioned by the social demands of complex collaborative activities on computers (Lomangino *et al.* 1999; Permuter, Behrend, Kuo and Muller 1989; Haugland and Wright 1997). Lomangino *et al.* (1999) and Nicholson *et al.* (1998) convincingly demonstrate the successfulness of children's computer-mediated collaborative composing activities within the early childhood classroom context. However, in both studies, the notion of collaborative interaction implicitly refers only to composing activities, which are

task-focused and concentrated on localized task completion.

Clements and Nastasi (1988) state that the investigation of social interactions within different educational environments is significant, not only because social development is a fundamental educational goal, but also because these valuable interactions are essential components of children's cognitive growth. Literature also confirms that the social effects of using computers in the classroom are "overwhelmingly positive" (Bergin *et al.* 1993). However, Lomangino *et al.* (1999) suggest from their study that teachers need to be aware of both the positive and negative peer discussions and behaviours that often accompany young children's collaborative interactions. Identifying these interactions may provide understanding and empower teachers to carefully structure other collaborative activity settings for success. Information about these discourses will assist educators to make informed judgments on the learning benefits and potential of educational computer software packages, and their suitability and potential to foster positive collaborative behaviour among young children. Also, information pertaining to the patterns of collaborative interaction occurring between young children whilst engaged in educational computer programs will assist in providing guidelines for the development of children's educational software. It is important to ensure that future educational computer software packages are structured and developed so as to best maximise young children's collaborative behaviour, so they may scaffold one another's learning. Moreover, it is up to the teachers of young children to ensure that computers live up to their potential. The educational goals of computer usage can only be achieved, however, if the teachers, early childhood educators, and researchers are informed of the relevant issues, demand that computer programs used with children are appropriate, and contribute to both theoretical and experimental data bases to guide computer use with children (Silvern and Silvern 1990).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Over the preschool years, cooperative play becomes common in most early childhood classrooms, although solitary and parallel play are also frequent (Berk 2000a). Central to the

neo-Vygotskian analysis of social interactions, the emphasis on negotiation and joint construction of understanding between children has been previously studied (Mercer 1999; Littleton and Hakkinen 1999). Even though preschoolers do not have a mature understanding of relationship, interactions between friends are already more positive, emotionally expressive, rewarding, and they may also assume greater responsibility for keeping a conversation going, cooperating, planning, and setting goals for a play theme than with adults or other siblings (Berk 1994; 2000a; 2000b). Moreover, these responsibilities concerning social interactions have been demonstrated in the studies of young children whilst collaboratively engaged at the computer (Mercer 1994; Mercer 1999; Lomangino *et al.* 1999; Nicholson *et al.* 1998)

More recently, educationists have drawn upon theories such as those of Vygotsky (1978) to show that learning takes place in a social context, and thus cognitive and social frameworks can be structured by teachers to mutually support learning (Littleton and Hakkinen 1999). For example, Vygotsky (1978) saw make-believe play as the ideal social context for fostering cognitive development in early childhood. Language was seen as the foundation for all higher cognitive processes, including controlled attention, deliberate memorisation and recall, categorisation, planning, problem solving, and self-reflection (Berk 2000a). As children repeatedly see that others hold viewpoints different from their own, the egocentric speech gradually declines and is replaced by social speech, in which children adapt what they say to their listeners (Werstch 1991).

The benefits of collaborative computer activity have both theoretical and empirical support from the developmental theories of Vygotsky which stress the importance of interaction with others for learning (Lomagnino *et al.* 1999, Teng 1997; Burgess and Trinidad 1995). While Piaget emphasized social interaction, and more specifically peer interaction, from the perspective of its specific role in the development of logical reasoning (Wertsch 1985), Vygotsky (1978) however, conceptualised social interaction as being at the core of the developmental process.

Research Study

Given the fact that computers are an integral part of education, with most primary schools

having at least one computer between two classrooms and most having one computer per class, including preschools and pre-primaries (Burgess and Trinidad 1995; Trinidad 1992), and given the importance of social interaction and discourse with others in extending children's learning, it is important to investigate the appropriateness of collaborative computer social interactions in the naturalistic classroom setting. The specific questions this study sought to answer were:

- What are the patterns of collaborative interaction exhibited by five-year-old pre-primary children whilst engaged collaboratively with the computer?
- What factors facilitate collaborative interaction of five-year-old pre-primary children whilst engaged collaboratively with the computer?;
- What factors inhibit collaborative interaction of five-year-old pre-primary children whilst engaged collaboratively with the computer?

METHOD

Subjects

Subjects for the study were six pairs of children, aged five years, from a Kuala Lumpur pre-school centre. Six children were randomly selected by the classroom teacher, and assigned to the study. Each of the six randomly chosen children in turn subsequently chose a partner with whom to collaborate and interact at the computer.

Procedure

The participants were observed and interviewed using a semi-structured questionnaire to guide the researcher to ascertain data from four recurring themes in relation to the research questions. The themes were:

- attitude and experience towards computers at home and preschool;
- knowledge about software (computer games and educational software);

- accessibility to computer(s) at home and preschool; and
- cooperative activity with friends in relation to computer activity.

The classroom teacher was also informally interviewed to gain relevant information on the children's general social skills, computer experiences and her educational philosophy and beliefs in relation to computer use in the early childhood environment. Each child was videotaped once, together with their partner for a total of 10 minutes. All observations took place during the children's daily classroom activities.

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

The interaction patterns of each dyad, obtained from verbal transcripts and audio taped interviews between the participants and the researcher were presented in written and narrative forms. The findings served to construct the emerging patterns of, and factors associated with, the collaborative interactions. The results are also presented and discussed in the context of three variables: teacher variable; children variable, and; software and environment variable. Overall, there were 243 interactions exhibited by twelve five-year-old pre-school children, over a period of three weeks of observation. Prior to each observation session, the classroom teacher would invite the subjects to take and randomly choose a child and assign them to the researcher. Each of the six randomly chosen children in turn subsequently chose a partner with whom to collaborate and interact with at the computer. On two separate occasions, two of the children selected by the teacher to participate in this study were chosen again by two other participants as their partners. Sex/gender dyads by case and control of the mouse device are shown in Table 1.

Data collected from the naturalistic non-participant observations were analysed according

TABLE 1
Sex/gender dyads by case and control of the mouse device

	Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5	Case 6
Controller	Female	Female	Female	Female	Male	Female
Partner	Male	Femal	Male	Female	Male	Female

to three sources. These were after the study of Mercer (1994); a partial application of the System for Observation of Children's Social Interactions (SOCSI), developed by Brown, Odom and Holcombe (1996); and the study of Nastasi and Clements (1992). A second coder reviewed the videotapes and recorded observations to ensure inter-rater reliability. Initially, the researcher decided that agreement between coders could be checked by looking at totals of categories across each dimension in the interaction patterns. However, this was not considered sufficiently rigorous since a measure of agreement across totals would not necessarily mean a close agreement in the coding, making the validity of any claims made from the results suspect. An early decision, therefore, was that agreement between coders would be measured pattern by pattern, comparing within a pattern each coder's analysis for each conversational sequence. The inter-rater reliability proceeded as follows: (1) The coding was completed by the researcher, with some checking for consistency included at this stage. (2) The coding rules and procedures were given to the second coder along with a sample of tapes so that the identification of the patterns could be checked for reliability. It was found that there was 50% agreement on the identification of relevant patterns, although only 8% were in disagreement. The discrepancy arose because the second coder tended to define the social behaviours exhibited by the participants, without using the appropriate instruments (as listed above), thus merging the first coder's patterns into a smaller number. (3) The researcher and the second coder then agreed on the definition of a pattern and the second coder returned to step (2). There was a high degree of agreement (91%). (4) The second coder tested the reliability of the categories by coding the conversation according to the agreed definition of a pattern. There was a high degree of agreement on the categories of collaborative interactions (93%), and non-collaborative interactions (90%). The goal of the analysis was to distinguish all collaborative and non-collaborative behaviour.

Directing partner's actions was the most frequently occurring interaction pattern (23.0%). Other interactions exhibited included: providing information (19.8%); asking for information/explanation (10.3%); self-monitor/repetition (9.5%); declarative planning (7.0%); disagreeing

with partner (6.2%); showing pleasure (6.2%); suggesting ideas (3.7%); defending control (2.9%); showing displeasure (2.5%); terminal response (1.2%); defending competence (1.2%); correcting others (1.2%); accepting guidance (0.8%); and sharing control (0.8%). Directing other's actions was exhibited in relation to their partner who was in control of the mouse. All the interaction patterns exhibited by the children are presented in Fig. 1.

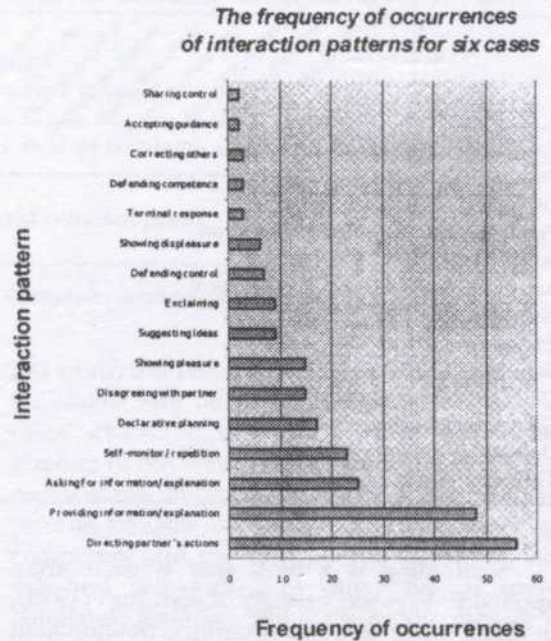


Fig.1: The frequency of occurrences of interaction patterns

The first research question examined the patterns of collaborative interaction exhibited by five-year-old pre-primary children whilst engaged collaboratively with the computer. The results of six observational sessions conducted during the course of this research give valuable insight into the collaborative interaction patterns of pre-primary children whilst engaged with the computer. According to Vygotsky's sociocultural theory (1978), cooperative dialogues between children and more knowledgeable members of society is necessary for children to acquire the ways of thinking and behaving that make up a community's culture (Van der Veer and Valsiner 1991). The findings of Case 2 (Table 2) and Case 4 (Table 3) suggest that even with minimal or no adult assistance, five-year-old children exhibit many constructive patterns of interaction whilst working on computers.

TABLE 2
Case 2 - Girl 2 and Girl 3: Percentages of occurrences of interactions

Frequency of interaction patterns employed by both children throughout interaction	
Directing partner's actions	19.6% (11 out of 56 times)
Providing information/explanation	20.8% (10 out of 48 times)
Suggesting ideas	11.1% (1 out of 9 times)
Asking for information/explanation	16.0% (4 out of 25 times)
Self-monitor/repetition	30.4% (7 out of 23 times)
Showing pleasure	46.7% (7 out of 15 times)
Exclaiming	11.1% (1 out of 9 times)
Showing displeasure	16.7% (1 out of 6 times)

TABLE 3
Case 4 - Girl 4 and Boy 2: Percentages of occurrences of interactions

Frequency of interaction patterns employed by both children throughout interaction	
Directing partner's actions	21.4% (12 out of 56 times)
Providing information/explanation	16.7% (8 out of 48 times)
Suggesting ideas	33.3% (3 out of 9 times)
Asking for information/explanation	8.0% (2 out of 25 times)
Showing pleasure	6.6% (1 out of 15 times)
Exclaiming	11.1% (1 out of 9 times)
Showing displeasure	33.3% (2 out of 6 times)
Declarative planning	11.8% (2 out of 17 times)
Disagreeing with partner	26.7% (4 out of 15 times)
Defending control	28.6% (2 out of 7 times)
Terminal response	66.7% (2 out of 3 times)

Scaffolding is a term that is most often applied to Vygotsky's theory of learning (1978), in which it is believed that cognitive development in children occurs through the interaction of a child with more capable members of the same culture, such as adults or more knowledgeable peers. These people serve as guides and teachers for the child, providing information and support necessary for the child to grow intellectually. Even so, conflicts may arise within these interactions as exhibited by Girl 4 (in Case 3) and both Girl 7 and Girl 8 in Case 6 (as depicted in Fig. 2). Mercer (1994) suggests that when conflict arises between children whilst they are engaged in collaborative interaction at the computer, disputational talk may occur. According to Mercer (1994), disputational talk displays the speakers challenging other speakers' views, or actions, without attempting to justify their challenge by building on previous utterances, or offering no information. In a certain context, Teng's (1997) terminal response category of interaction pattern supports the features of this negative behaviour. However,

Mercer (1994, 1999) emphasized that the features and characteristics of these verbal interactions are representational of the children's social mode of thought.

The second and third research question examined the factors that facilitate and inhibit collaborative interaction of five-year-old pre-school children whilst engaged collaboratively with the computer. Interaction patterns observed within all cases involved a continual process of an integrated turn taking system for control over the computer. The children's discourse reflected the successive efforts to gain physical control of the mouse device and share the technology with their partner. Children's differential levels of computer competencies within the peer group were reflected in the range of social behaviours they displayed and the amount of control over the technology and the success of accepting suggestions and ideas from their collaborative partners. Even so, some of the collaborative partners exhibited different interactive patterns, thus reflecting the diversity of their social relationships, social configurations,

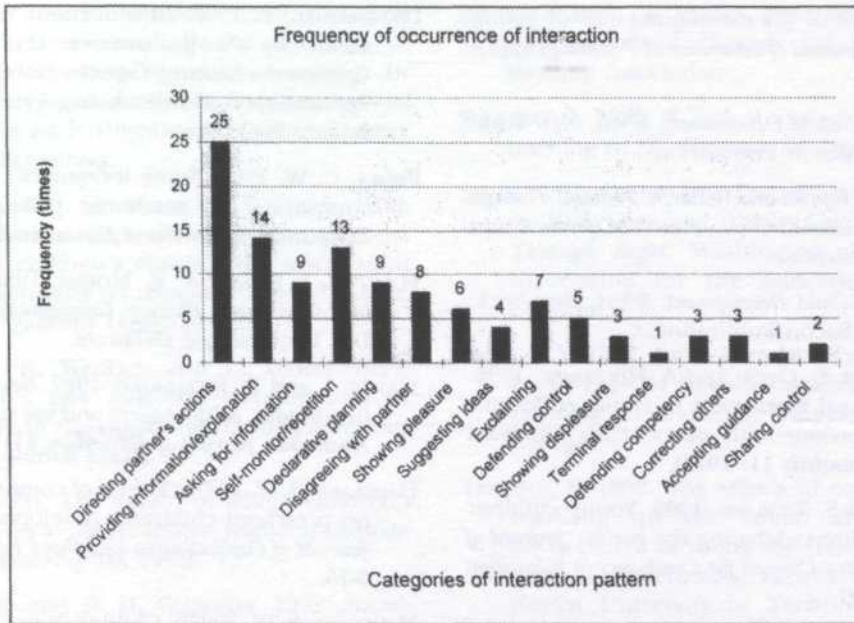


Fig. 2: Frequency of occurrence of interactions exhibited in Case 6

and social goals. Based on the observation of all six cases, these variables were identified as possible factors, that may facilitate or inhibit the collaborative interaction of five-year-old preschool children whilst engaged collaboratively with the computer:

- Social relationships between collaborators
- Social goals of each child
- Social status hierarchies among the children
- Developmental appropriateness of the computer program
- Task structure of the computer program
- Turn taking system applied by the teacher
- The physical setting of the computer environment
- Prior experience and computer competency of children
- Interest in and attitude towards computer

Implications for Early Childhood Education

The findings of this study have been examined and discussed in relation to the broader sociocultural and sociocognitive contexts that shaped and produced the interactions of the children. Collaborative interactions, did not always reflect accepted developmental theory. This highlights the need for research which investigates the relevance and suitability of neo-Vygotskian theory. In view of the emphasis placed upon a drill and practice software package in

this study, this research investigation needs to be replicated with an open-ended software and a more structured task, in order to determine whether or not they differ in facilitating children's collaborative interactions. Furthermore, it may provide valuable insight on how integration of computers into the classroom is similar to the use and integration of other typical early childhood materials and activities theories, in a range of socially and culturally diverse early childhood settings. Also, it is recommended that research be conducted among children with special needs.

CONCLUSIONS

Computers are here to stay. Computers have enormous potential as well as limitations. By integrating computer technology through appropriate strategies, and promoting and modelling prosocial behaviours, teachers can help children develop positive interaction patterns during collaborative activities on computer. Therefore, it is imperative for early childhood educators to afford appropriate ICTs the same status as other traditional early childhood learning materials and activities.

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Neighbourliness and Community: A Study of Changing Social Relationship Patterns in a Malay Rice Growing Village

ZAHID EMBY

*Department of Social and Development Science
Faculty of Human Ecology, Universiti Putra Malaysia
43400 UPM, Serdang, Selangor, Malaysia*

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ABSTRAK

Kampung Paya (nama samaran) adalah sebuah kampung dalam Skim Pengairan Muda (MADA) yang penduduknya terdiri daripada pesawah. Kampung ini pertama kali dikaji oleh penulis pada tahun 1975 dengan menggunakan kaedah pemerhatian-ikutserta. Data tambahan telah dikumpul melalui beberapa lawatan susulan sehingga kali terakhirnya pada bulan Mei 2002. Data tambahan ini juga dikumpul dengan menggunakan kaedah yang sama seperti yang digunakan dalam kajian terdahulu (1975) iaitu pemerhatian, penyertaan dan temu bual formal dan tidak formal. Kajian ini adalah suatu penelitian mengenai pola perhubungan sosial yang telah muncul di dalam kampung ini sejak penerimaan penanaman padi dua kali setahun dan teknik-teknik penanaman moden oleh penduduk kampung ini. Kajian ini mendapati bahawa teknik penanaman moden yang digunakan oleh penduduk kampung ini telah mengurangkan keperluan bagi pesawah untuk berada di tempat kerja mereka (sawah) buat jangka masa yang lama. Ini pula mengurangkan kuantiti dan kualiti perhubungan sosial di tempat kerja mereka. Walau bagaimanapun, peningkatan pendapatan telah membenarkan mereka berbelanja lebih banyak wang di kedai kopi dan restoran kampung tersebut yang telah bertambah dalam beberapa tahun yang lepas seperti cendawan selepas hujan. Ini bermakna lokasi ini telah mengambil alih bukan sahaja daripada tempat kerja tetapi juga daripada masjid dan rumah mereka sebagai "pusat perjumpaan". Dalam beberapa tahun kebelakangan ini, telah muncul suatu pola yang menunjukkan kurangnya ziarah-menziarahi antara jiran dan rendahnya kehadiran semasa sembahyang berjemaah pada waktu zohor, asar, maghrib dan isya'. Ini bermakna tempat ini bukan lagi menjadi tempat tumpuan bagi penduduk untuk berhubung antara satu sama lain. Walau bagaimanapun, pada keseluruhannya, perhubungan sosial yang terdapat di kampung ini pada masa kini walaupun berbeza dari segi bentuk dan kualiti daripada pola yang wujud pada masa lepas, masih cukup rapat untuk meneruskan semangat kejiranan dan komuniti di kalangan penduduk.

ABSTRACT

Kampung Paya (a fictitious name) is a Malay rice growing village within the Muda Irrigation Scheme (MADA). The village was first studied by the author in 1975 employing the participant-observation method. Additional data was collected through regular visits to the village, the last visit being in May 2002. Additional data was collected using the same method as previously employed in the 1975 research project which was observation, participation and formal and informal interviews. This is a study of the pattern of social relationships that has emerged in the village ever since its adoption of double-cropping of rice and the accompanying modern techniques of cultivation. The study found that the modern cultivation techniques employed by the villagers had reduced the need for the rice farmers to be at their work place (the rice fields) for long periods of time. This in turn reduced the quantity and quality of their social relationships at the work place. However, an increase in income had permitted them to spend more money in the village coffee shops and restaurants (food stalls) which had mushroomed in the last few years, thus turning these locations into "meeting centres" for the villagers, taking over this role not only from their work place but also from the mosque and their home. In recent years, a

pattern has emerged showing that social visits to neighbours' homes were on the decline and that attendance at the mosque for the noonday, afternoon, evening and night time prayers has also declined. This means that these locations are no longer important foci for social relationships to occur. However, on the whole, the fabric of social relationship that is in existence at present, though different in form and quality from the pattern that existed in the past, is close-knitted enough to maintain neighbourliness and a semblance of community among the villagers.

INTRODUCTION

The picture of village relationships and community life painted by anthropologists over the years has fluctuated from one extreme to the other. At one extreme the villagers were seen by anthropologists like Foster (1967) as individualistic, suspicious and jealous of their neighbours, uncaring and uncooperative, reminiscent of Marx's "sack of potatoes". However, others like Lewis (1966) saw the village community as close-knitted, characterised by close and personal relationships and close cooperation among its members. Early writings on the rural society of Peninsular Malaysia tended to lean more toward the latter description of the peasant community. Anthropologists like Firth (1946), Swift (1965) and Wilson (1967) tended to highlight the close-knitted nature of the village society though not ignoring altogether the friction and factions found in these communities. However later scholars, writing in the era of modernization and the Green Revolution, began to dwell more on social and class differentiation and the friction and competition among the villagers in the local economic and political spheres (S. Husin Ali 1975; de Koninck 1993; Bailey 1983; Shamsul Amri Baharuddin 1986; Wan Hashim Wan Teh 1978; Scott 1985). One writer pointed out that even in colonial and precolonial days friction and resistance existed in the village (Cheah 1988). An anthropologist, Zahid Emby (1977), interpreted villagers' emphasis on maintaining good relations in economic terms seeing the maintenance of good relationships as essential for the much-needed exchange labour ("derau" and "pinjam") and even local wage labour to run smoothly. He argued that the institutions of "derau" and "pinjam", still important to the economic life of the villagers at that time would collapse if there were no good relations among the villagers. Reasonably priced local wage labour would also be threatened if relationships between villagers became bad as strained relations between employers and employees might encourage employees to demand higher

wages (Zahid Emby 1977). Another writer, Scott wrote about "on-stage" and "off-stage" behaviour, where "on-stage" one would see good, close interpersonal relationship being maintained, while "off-stage", gossips and frictions would abound. Aggression, violence, anger and expressions of class struggle were restricted to the "off-stage" sphere (Scott 1985).

The pattern of social relationships in the rural communities of Malaysia has been changing over the years. In more recent years, while the maintenance of good social relations and community life "hidup bermasyarakat" continue to be emphasised outwardly by the villagers, "on-stage" strain, friction and competition are also appearing more regularly in their relationships. Contributing factors have been scarcity of agricultural land, modernization and the Green Revolution. Rice farmers in irrigation schemes had to compete for land as well as for wage labour as "derau" had disappeared from the scene. Mechanization and the use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides had brought changes to land ownership and tenancy patterns and this in turn brought changes to the village pattern of social relationships (Scott 1985; de Koninck 1992; Muhamad Ikmal Said 1985). Another factor was the changing work process which reduced face to face relationships. With the changing work process, villagers were finding it increasingly difficult to relate to each other daily as the amount of time they spent at their work place had been reduced drastically. This means that a lot of their social relationships had to be made at home, in the village or at the mosque or prayer house (surau). Even relationships among family members have changed over the years. Regular and frequent relationships among the villagers have become rare.

The Challenge of Maintaining Community: The Case of Kampung Paya

The researcher began his study of Kampung Paya (a fictitious name), a rice farming village in the Muda Irrigation Scheme (MADA), in 1975, employing the participant-observation method.

Since then, the researcher has visited the village regularly and observed and participated in village activities and interviewed various key informants. Kampung Paya is a small village of 146 households whose members earn their living planting rice twice a year on rice fields whose sizes range from 1 to 35 relong (1 relong equals 0.71 acre). The household heads consist of mainly owner-operators and tenants, with a few who are agricultural wage labourers "kerja kampung". Besides changes in the economic life, the village social relationships pattern also underwent change. This article addresses the latter issue. This is a description and an analysis of the pattern of social relationships that has emerged in the village, a pattern that is in many ways different from the pattern that existed in 1975, when the villagers had just begun adopting double-cropping of irrigated rice. Social relationships in the past were frequent and closely-knit. This was essential in an economy and culture that depended on the community and communal labour "derau", "pinjam", "gotong-royong") not only for community works (maintenance of the mosque and graveyard, village road and bridges, the "balai raya", etc) but also for rice production, house-building and house-moving, and the performance of important rituals and ceremonies that accompany births, coming of age, marriages and deaths. An absence of frequent and close social relationships would undermine communal labour and could threaten their economic and cultural life. However with the coming of double-cropping of rice and modern techniques of rice farming, communal labour was replaced by machinery and wage labour. Rice production was no longer dependent on communal labour, and thus the absence of frequent and close social relationships would not threaten their economic life anymore. But the community and communal labour was still needed in their cultural life specifically in the performance of rituals and ceremonies. Hence the need to continue maintaining a pattern of social relationships that was reasonably closely-knit, although not necessarily in the form that it existed in the past. The following discussion examines this altered pattern of social relationships which can be observed at the work place and other locations in the village such as coffee shops and restaurants, their homes and the mosque.

Social Relationships at the Work Place

In Kampung Paya, the work place (the rice fields) had ceased being an important place for the villagers to meet and socialise and exchange information and gossip. In the rice-growing village of Kampung Paya, the rice-fields which used to serve as the work place as well as an important meeting point for the villagers, had ceased to be so. Rice-farming had changed in nature. The farmers no longer worked the fields themselves. Most of the work was done by machines and wage labour. In preparing the fields, the farmers, be they owner-operators or tenants, hired workers to plough the fields using tractors. They only dropped by on-and-off to see that the work was properly carried out. At this stage of the rice production process, a farmer would spend at the most a total of an hour or so a day in the field, visiting it in the morning and the evening. However, since each farmer would select the time most suitable for him, the farmers might not even see, let alone relate, with each other during their brief visits to the field. This was quite different from the time when the farmers ploughed the fields themselves, either with the buffalo or the tractor, and thus spending practically the whole day there. They would, throughout the day, take short breaks from the ploughing and these breaks would normally be spent talking to each other, exchanging ideas, information, gossip and stories. Nowadays, only the tractor drivers spend the whole day in the fields. Thus at this stage of the production process, the work place serves as a social gathering point only for a limited number of people, mainly the younger people of the village who are hired by the farmers as their tractor drivers. Some of these drivers are the sons of the richer farmers who own the tractors and use them to plough their own land as well as hire them out to the smaller owner-operators and the tenants who cannot afford to buy tractors of their own. The farmers (owners or tenants) could no longer use the rice field as a place to meet and socialise during the ploughing season as they do not spend much time in the fields during this season.

The rice fields during the planting or transplanting season were at one time equally important as a work place as well as a place for villagers to meet and interact. During breaks or even while working, the women would communicate with each other. During this

labour-intensive process of transplanting there would be people working in various parts of the field; everywhere, work and recreation seemed to merge.

However, in the last few years changes have occurred. Transplanting has been replaced by direct seeding. Local village women who traditionally used to transplant the rice seedlings are no longer required to do the job. Thus, during this season farmer participation in the cultivation process has again been reduced to brief visits to the field to check on the workers who are hired to do the direct seeding. An hour or so in the morning and an hour or so in the evening is all the time that farmers spend in the field. As direct seeding requires only a limited number of people, the rice fields ceased functioning not only as a work place but also as a place where villagers meet for interaction and recreation.

The period between transplanting and harvesting used to be the period of least activity in the rice fields. However, after the introduction of irrigation, double-cropping, wage labour and mechanization, it has become the period that the farmers are at their most active in relation to the other stages of the production process. The need for regular application of chemical fertilisers and pesticides and the need to control grass and weeds meant that farmers had to spend more time in the field as compared to the days of single-cropping (farmers tended to do this work themselves rather than using wage labourers). The high yielding variety (HYV) of rice grown in the irrigated areas including the village under study required that fertilisers and pesticides be applied at regular intervals while the rice plants were growing. This variety also had to be protected from grass and weeds which grew rapidly in the rice fields, especially during the off-season when low water levels in the field gave the grass and weeds an advantage over rice. In order to control them farmers had to spray herbicides or use the mower regularly. Thus, the farmers had to spend from three to four hours per day for this work depending on the size of their land. It was only during this stage of the production process that farmers could be found in late morning or in the evening interacting with each other in the field.

The harvesting season in the past was the most popular season among the cultivators, be they labourers, tenants or owner-operators.

Working in the daytime as well as on moonlit nights, labourers and farmers, men and women, adults and young teenagers, would be together in the fields, harvesting and threshing. Work, socialising and recreation became one.

However, with the introduction of double-cropping, the work pattern has undergone changes and with this the patterns of social relationships at the work place, the rice field, have also been altered. The combine harvester made its appearance in the village in the late 1970s and since then has taken over harvesting completely. Manual harvesting and threshing and the transport of rice from the field to the farmhouse by bicycle, motorbike and the "anok" (a sled pulled by a buffalo) have become things of the past. During the harvesting season only the harvester (with driver and assistant) was seen in the field, with farmers appearing now and then checking to make sure that their fields were properly harvested and all the rice harvested loaded directly on to lorries waiting for the harvester by the road side. The farmers would only spend more time in the field if problems cropped up. As only a few harvesters, owned and driven by outsiders, would be working at one time, this would mean that only a few farmers would be in the field during that time. Social relationships among the farmers would thus be minimal during this season as even when a few of them were in the field, they would be some distance from each other and too occupied with their work of checking and supervising the mechanised harvesting to have time to interact and communicate with each other. The pattern of social relationships between farmers at their work place during the harvesting season would be different in quality and quantity from that of the premechanised harvesting days. Whenever interactions occurred in the field, it was seldom random, unplanned or for socialising only. The interaction that they embarked on was normally to discuss problems that had arisen in the course of the harvesting. The social interaction was hence professional rather than recreational.

The rice field in this village had thus become a work place in the real sense of the word where socialising and recreation had been reduced to a minimum. Rice cultivation as work and recreation combined had disappeared. The growing of rice had become an income-generating occupation, separated from recreation. The recreation had to be sought

elsewhere. As a farmer stated (confirmed by others):

"Buat bendang dulu seronok. Meriah. Ramai orang kat padang. Tapi la ni malas rasa nak pi padang. Sunyi. Tak ramai orang".

(Planting rice used to be fun. Great fun. There were many people in the fields. But now I do not feel like going to the field. Quiet and lonely. Not many people around).

The farmers who owned rubber smallholdings which they established some miles away from the village by clearing the forest also expressed the same view regarding work on their smallholdings. People were spending less time on their holding, the young preferring easier work elsewhere, and the older farmers, due to their age, visiting their holding only irregularly. In the past they would be sure to see other people working. But in the last few years they could work the whole day without seeing anyone else. The term "sunyi" (lonely) was also used to describe working in their rubber holdings. In other words they could no longer take short breaks from their work to socialise with others as they seldom met other people. Social interaction and communication in the rubber smallholdings was thus minimal. The pattern of social relationships at the work place, both the rice fields and the rubber smallholdings, had been reduced to irregular and infrequent contacts.

The merging of work and recreation had been characteristic of village life in the past in all the communities studied. In fact the maintenance of good relations among villagers owed a lot to social relationships embarked on at the work place. However, with the advent of modernization in agriculture, the introduction of cash crops and the conversion of rice into a commercial crop, work had become separated from recreation, and the work place ceased to be a place where people met, socialised and exchanged news, information and gossip. Regular, daily face-to-face social interaction at the work place became irregular or ceased to exist altogether. Daily social relationships were left in the other spheres of village life only. When this occurred a large portion of daily social interaction which contributed toward the maintenance of good relations among villagers ceased to exist as well.

Social Relationships at the Village Coffee Shops/ Food Stalls

Other than the work place, the village itself was another area in which interaction took place. Certain areas in the village, especially the village coffee shops, were "meeting centres" where villagers stopped to talk and while away their free time. These places were visited by various villagers throughout the day. The village coffee shops were crowded early in the morning with villagers buying breakfast to take home or to be consumed on the premises. The afternoons would normally be quiet in the village as villagers would be staying home, out of the hot midday sun. "Life" would return to the village in the evening as villagers would once again leave their homes to stop by the village "meeting centres", to talk and relate with each other. Some would stop there briefly before going to the fields or when returning from the fields.

In Kampung Paya, the seven coffee shops and small restaurants or food stalls formed popular meeting places for these villagers as well as other residents of nearby villages. The three coffee shops were only open in the morning while the four small restaurants would open in the evening and remain open until late at night. It was to these shops that villagers would come to spend some of their spare time interacting with other villagers and catching up on local news.

The three coffee shops opened for business at about 7.00 every morning and closed three to four hours later. Starting from opening time a stream of villagers would visit the shops, stay awhile and then leave to be replaced by others. This went on until closing time. The villagers who dropped by and stayed briefly were mainly heads of households. These shops were not popular "hang-outs" for the younger members of the village who preferred the small restaurants which opened in the evening. The four small restaurants were only visited by the older members of the village for a purpose, that is to buy food. They might remain awhile if there were other older villagers in the restaurant. Normally they would not. Thus, there were two "meeting centres" for the village, one for the young and the other for the older residents. They came to these places to socialise and interact with village members of their own age. Thus, through their interaction at these shops and restaurants villagers kept in touch with each

other, maintain good relationships, and contribute to maintaining the village as a community.

The socialising and the whiling away of free time at these shops contributed greatly to maintaining the community spirit. At these gatherings, villagers conversed, joked, told stories and exchanged news and experiences. Through these activities villagers kept in touch with each other and obtained news of planned and past village activities like "gotong-royong", weddings and funerals. The village as a community remained in the collective mind.

VISITING FELLOW VILLAGERS

Regular visits of fellow villagers had become an activity of the past in Kampung Paya. Visits of one's neighbours were becoming rare as villagers got more involved with meeting their personal needs than community needs. In the past, visiting one's neighbours was recreational, but in recent years visiting was becoming a chore and responsibility. For the most part one would visit one's neighbours only when one was invited (to a wedding or a feast) or for a specific reason like visiting a sick person or to discuss a problem.

In Kampung Paya, farmers recalled the days of single-cropping and the early days of double-cropping, when television was rare and the main form of entertainment at night was visiting friends and neighbours when they would spend hours talking. The author experienced a similar situation during his short stay in the village in 1975. The nights were for socialising and there was a lot of movement at night even though at that time the village had no electricity supply. The few houses that had television sets (powered by generators) became the foci of social gatherings. Visiting friends and neighbours was indeed a form of entertainment and recreation.

However, after the introduction of double-cropping of rice and electricity, most people in the village seemed to have lost interest in visiting friends and relatives be it in the day or at night. When they did visit a friend or relative normally it was for a reason. When a friend or relative was sick, when there was a problem to be discussed or when it had become too long since the last visit to an older relative's house, then the visit would be undertaken. Visiting had become an obligation to these villagers. It is no longer for entertainment and recreation. The changing values and attitudes of the villagers had altered

their perceptions of the importance of visiting in maintaining good relations and a sense of community.

Social Relationships at the Mosque

The mosque did not play a very important role in encouraging social relations among villagers in the village studied. This was demonstrated by the fact that attendance at the mosque for afternoon (Zuhur and 'Asar), evening (Maghrib) and night (Isyak) prayers was low. The mosque was visited in the main by the older people of the village. Only a few of the younger members came. This low percentage of villagers visiting the mosque regularly meant that widespread interaction among villagers did not occur at these places.

In Kampung Paya, Maghrib and Isyak prayers at the mosque were attended by fewer than twenty people, most of whom were from neighbouring villages.

This was not the case in 1975 when attendance was much higher and thus the mosque played a more important role in bringing villagers together.

CONCLUSION

Casual social interaction at the work place, in the village and at the mosque, which had in the past held the people together and knit them into a community had become infrequent and irregular in recent years. The fabric of social relationships in the village were no longer closely woven. This "loosening" of the fabric of social relationships in village society meant that the existing pattern of social relationships would be quite different from the pattern found in the village in the days prior to modernization and development. The social relationships had become "purposeful", undertaken in order to achieve a certain objective. For some, even their visits to the coffee shops were for a purpose – to keep in touch with what was happening in the village and to "show their face" so that others would not accuse them of not being "friendly" and uninterested in village affairs. Thus neighbourliness and a semblance of community still exist. This "loosening" of the social fabric, which in the past would have undermined their economic life (rice production was dependent on communal labour), does not do so at present as the production process is dependent on machinery and wage labour, not communal

labour. However, as villagers still need the community in the performance of the important rites of passage (birth, puberty, marriage and death) and community works, neighbourliness and a semblance of community has to be maintained. The fabric of social relationships that exists in the village at present is sufficient to ensure the participation of villagers in ceremonies and rituals sponsored by fellow villagers and to a lesser extent in community work. Their participation in these ceremonies and community work in turn help to strengthen the fabric of village social relationships.

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Promoting Quality of Life Through Participation in Healthy Cities Programme: Sharing the Experiences of Kuching City

AISHAH EDRIS

*Department of Social and Development Sciences
Faculty of Human Ecology, Universiti Putra Malaysia
43400 UPM, Serdang, Selangor, Malaysia*

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ABSTRAK

Kita berada di era di mana isu 'kualiti hidup' khususnya di kawasan bandar telah menimbulkan rasa bimbang, terutamanya terhadap kemerosotan dalam kedudukan alam sekitar dan sosial, rasa kurang selamat yang kian bertambah dan pendedahan kepada penyakit-penyakit yang berjangkit dan berisiko tinggi; maka tidak hairanlah jika bandar raya dipersalahkan atas kemerosotan dalam kualiti hidup. Kemerosotan dalam kedudukan sosial dan alam sekitar di kawasan bandar menuntut keperluan untuk mencari jalan penyelesaian segera dan mengambil tindakan-tindakan konkrit supaya kemerosotan berlanjutan boleh disekatkan. Gerakan Bandar Raya Sihat adalah hasil daripada kesedaran yang kian meningkat terhadap krisis yang berpunca daripada perbuatan manusia sendiri yang terpaksa ditanggung oleh penduduk bandar raya. Selari dengan semangat Gerakan Bandar Raya Sihat, bandar raya Kuching bersetuju untuk menyertai Program Bandar Raya Sihat yang bermula pada tahun 1995 dan berakhir pada 2000. Tujuan kertas kerja ini ialah untuk berkongsi pengalaman-pengalaman bandar raya Kuching dalam melaksanakan program ini dengan memberi tumpuan kepada aspek bagaimana tindakan di peringkat tempatan dikoordinasikan melalui pendekatan pelbagai sektor atau 'rakan bestari' yang kemudiannya telah menghasilkan jalinan hubungan antara agensi. Maklumat yang digunakan untuk tujuan kertas kerja adalah daripada sumber sekunder.

ABSTRACT

We live in an era where the issue of 'quality of life' is of prime concern with special reference to urban areas in the face of environmental and social deterioration, growing human insecurity and exposure to infectious and high risk diseases; not surprisingly, cities are blamed for the declining quality of life. The declining social and environmental conditions in urban areas warrant the need for swift solutions to be found and concrete measures/actions to be taken to arrest the further worsening of urban conditions. The Healthy Cities Movement was conceived as a result of the growing realization of the gravity of human-induced crisis that has besieged urban dwellers. It is in line with the spirit of Healthy Cities Movement that Kuching agreed to participate in the Healthy City Programme which began in 1995 and ended in 2000. The purpose to be served by this paper is to share the experiences of Kuching city in implementing the programme with a focus on how coordinated local action is achieved through multisectoral approach or 'smart partnership' which in turn engenders collaboration through community participation and inter-agency linkages. The information collated for the purpose of this paper is mostly derived from secondary sources.

INTRODUCTION

Improving urban environment underlines the importance of sustainable human settlements and for continuous effort to be directed toward achieving better quality of life for city dwellers.

The varied definitions of 'quality of life' are in themselves a reflection of the multi-dimensional issues which confront human society and the dynamic relationship between man and his environment. International initiatives like the

"Earth Summit" held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (articulated in Agenda 21) and Habitat II - the "City Summit" in Istanbul (1996) have set the global agenda for sustainable development including promoting sustainable cities through international programmes and cooperation. It is believed that a productive, healthy and sustainable city will contribute to social and economic development.

Earlier on, the idea of Healthy Cities was introduced in a 1984 Conference entitled 'Beyond Health Care' held in Toronto, Canada. The Healthy Cities Project is intended to provide support to city-based health promotion efforts. The WHO Healthy Cities Programme was first initiated in Europe where it had its first international meeting in Lisbon, Portugal in 1986 with the participation of 27 cities. Since then, many cities have participated in Healthy Cities Project including Quebec, Liverpool, Kyoto, Toronto, Pasadena, Bangkok, Katmandu, Chittagong, Lahore and Teheran. Each city has its own unique set of problems and thus has its own reasons for participating in the project. The World Health Organization (WHO) project started as an invitation only project but presently a group of 35 cities are working directly with WHO and over 2,000 Healthy City projects have commenced in cities, towns and villages across the globe.¹ Though the preliminary work was first started in Europe which began in 1985, the healthy city project has been adopted and implemented across the globe. Participating countries have been encouraged by WHO to set up their own national networks and these vary from place to place, even within countries. To further illustrate this, in Europe the project was called Healthy Cities but as it went around the globe the name changed. In Canada it is called the Healthy Communities and the reason for this is that smaller towns in Canada are not cities and therefore the name 'Healthy City' is inappropriate because people in smaller towns feel they are not directly linked with the programme. However, in the Western Pacific situation, the programme is called the Healthy Islands Programme.

The underlying spirit of Healthy Cities Movement is that health is an important part of

the development of the city and its people. The approach adopted incorporates a broad definition of health and it encompasses all aspects of people's lives including housing, education, employment, cultural and religion, nutrition, leisure and recreation, health and medical care, good transportation, a clean and green environment, safe streets and parks and friendly people which are all factors that help to promote a Healthy City. But the underlying value being promoted is empowering the people through their involvement in public health; where a Healthy City is a shared responsibility of the entire community, not just the health care providers or professionals. This would mean that decisions about health must involve local people, which at the same time, shall make them more aware of how their lives will be affected by these decisions. By involving local people the hard-to-reach group like the poor family, the squatters and the homeless, the young and the elderly would have a greater chance of not being isolated or excluded from a community's decisions or actions. Importantly, beside the involvement of the public, a Healthy City recognizes health also as the responsibility of the private and nonprofit sectors. Hence, the Healthy Cities approach provides a framework for the community problem-solving process by bringing together a partnership between community (through their leaders) and government, private and voluntary agencies, institutions and organizations. The Healthy Cities process helps to empower community leaders by helping them to realize the importance of their role in promoting community's health through coordinated local action.

The basic principle of Healthy Cities is - health for all- by reducing inequalities in health, preventing diseases and problems, promoting community participation, emphasizing primary health care (as opposed to tertiary care in hospital) in health care systems, reducing environmental risks and fostering intersectoral cooperation and international cooperation. Healthy Cities focused on urban health, and among the key development problems addressed are poor health among urban dwellers especially in high-density low-income settlements, deficient

¹ Dr. Trevor Hancock . "The Healthy Cities Programme." An article based on an interview with Dr Hancock published in *RAKAN SARAWAK/SCSN*. The date and year of the newsletter was not stated.

basic services, poor housing and environmental pollution in certain areas and the inability of many government agencies to act alone on certain health and environmental issues.

Thus, this paper focuses on the issue of how the mission of the Healthy City is being implemented by Kuching city, and shares the experiences of what has been achieved. The intention of this paper is to account the practical experiences of Kuching city in implementing the Healthy Cities project by looking at how co-ordinated action at the community and inter-agency level were organised and implemented. This is achieved by highlighting the experiences raised in several papers presented at a series of conferences related to Healthy City held in the major towns of Sarawak (the conferences are mentioned at the end of this paper).

The Kuching City Experience

Kuching is one of the two Malaysian cities (the other being Johor Baru) selected to participate in the WHO Healthy Cities Programme. Dr. Trevor Hancock², one of the co-founders of the programme, got his inspiration for this idea when he was a volunteer teacher in Lundu (a town in the First Division of Sarawak). There are positive factors that facilitate the entry of Kuching into the programme among which are: (i) the city was in the good state when it joined the programme in 1994, (ii) a good networking across different sectors and (iii) a vibrant community spirit.

Healthy City for Kuching is defined as a "city that enhances the quality of life of its citizens". The mission of the Healthy City is achieved by (i) enabling the citizens of Kuching to increase control over their health and improving their health at the individual, family, organisation and society levels, and (ii) developing and supporting a broad, multisectoral approach to make the city environment (physical, economic and social) conducive to healthy living. Although Kuching has achieved city status and

has award-winning landmarks like the Kuching waterfront, the Sarawak Cultural Village and the internationally renowned museum, it still has problems which range from squatters, cleanliness of the marketplace, outbreak of diseases, unsafe and improper accommodation for construction workers, the use of residential houses as business premises, flash floods and others.

Kuching participated in the Healthy Cities project in 1994 with the agreement of Kuching North City Hall and The Council of Kuching City South. Though the project was scheduled to run from the year 1995 to 2000 the concept of Healthy City continues to be embodied in the way of life and the way to plan the city. Both the Kuching North City Hall and The Council of Kuching City South have their own vision of Kuching. The Kuching North City Hall envisioned Kuching as a "beautiful, well-planned and cultured City," while the vision for The Council of Kuching City South is "clean, green and beautiful Kuching." Following the briefing of Dr. Hisashi Ogawa, a WHO consultant, a committee was formed. It was jointly chaired by the mayors of the two city councils with the State Health Department acting as technical advisor. The first task of the Committee was to organise the first Healthy City Kuching Conference which was held at the end of 1994. This was followed by Second Inter Agency Conference to Develop Plan for Healthy City Kuching in March 1995 and a follow up by another Fourth Inter Agency Conference held in Sibu in April 1998. The most recent one was the 6th Healthy City Kuching Conference held in Miri in June, 2000. On the part of the implementing committee and agencies, there is a concerted effort to create awareness about the Healthy Cities programme through conferences and activities and at the same time to instill the commitment and to harness support from all sectors from top leadership in government and the civil service to agencies, the private sector, the business community and members of the public. It can

² He worked as a volunteer at a secondary school in Lundu, Sarawak from 1966 to 1967. He is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University, Toronto where he teaches in the area of health promotion, healthy cities and healthy public policy. He worked for the City of Toronto Health Department in 1980. It started with the mission statement to make Toronto the healthiest city in North America and the opportunity came when he organized a conference in 1984 to mark the 100th Anniversary of the Board of Health of the City of Toronto. Part of the conference was a one day workshop called "Healthy Toronto 2000", where the layout for the agenda of a healthy city was laid out.

be said here that the smart partnership approach has actually facilitated the implementation of the programme where each sector has a contributing role in making the programme a success.

The Consolidated Multi Agency Plan for Healthy City Kuching was actualised from the plans of action presented by individual departments and agencies at the Second Inter Agency Conference as well as the outcomes of the workshop discussions at the conference. The plan which had been developed identifies three broad dimensions as shown in Table 1 and the areas of concern were addressed for each dimension. In general, the dimensions and factors essential for Healthy City Kuching are as shown in Table 1 and characteristics of Healthy City Kuching in Table 2.

A few interesting questions to raise at this juncture are: what are the necessary elements

needed in the implementation process of Healthy Cities Programme or what is the kind of capacity and support required to carry it out? What are the experiences that have been learned? These questions are dealt with in the section that follows.

Capacity and Support at Public and Community Level – through Multisectoral or Smart Partnership Approach.

In implementing a programme which adopts a multisectoral approach or smart partnership approach requires looking into many things. One is the willingness and readiness of the public to embrace the value advocated by Healthy Cities. This is determined by factors like the level of awareness and knowledge of the public of the 'good value' in Healthy Cities Programme. Two, how much is the public willing to change its attitude because it would be a hopeless effort if the public mindset remains unchanged and

TABLE 1
Dimensions and factors for Healthy City Kuching

Economic Dimension	Social Dimension	Physical Dimension
1. Employment	1. Community Safety	1. Environment
2. Labour	2. Food	2. Housing
3. Industry	3. Entertainment	3. Open space/parks
4. Occupational Safety and Health	4. Leisure/sports/recreation	4. River
5. Energy resource needs	5. Alcohol	5. Transportation
	6. Family values	6. Road
	7. Vagrancy	7. Buildings
	8. Tourism	8. Factories
	9. Caring society	9. Drainage
	10. Religion	10. Solid waste management system
	11. Health	
	12. Education	
	13. Art and cultural heritage	

Source: <http://sarawak.health.gov.my/hcity/charac.htm>

TABLE 2
Characteristics of Healthy City Kuching

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provides the basic amenities for all its citizens; • is one where racial harmony exists between ethnic groups and religious beliefs; • is safe, secure and affordable; • has efficient management and delivery systems and services; • is well-planned; • has responsible, dedicated, disciplined, caring and health-conscious citizens; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • is a dynamic City, with a vibrant and resilient economy, and ample employment opportunities for all; • has state-of-the-art transport, communication and information systems; • is beautiful, clean, and pollution-free; • has adequate and easily accessible recreation facilities, to meet the diverse needs of its citizens; • is a City where the culture and arts are actively promoted and appreciated; and • has available and affordable opportunities for further education.
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Source: <http://sarawak.health.gov.my/hcity/charac.htm>

the public still harbour the old notion that the task of keeping the city clean and beautiful is the job of the public servants of town halls and government departments. What is certain is that efforts need to be constantly directed at educating the public on environmental issues and one of the ways is making Healthy City Plans available to the public, and also to increase public participation through public discussions or forums and town hall meetings. Though the programme schedule ended in 2000, the commitment to upkeep the image of Healthy City needs to be maintained as it would be an added mileage for state tourism.

In spite of the promised support, the low commitment by some agencies and a lack of full awareness of the Healthy Cities programme by the public, one of the significant changes that has taken shape is that the Healthy Cities project has provided a common forum to discuss issues in the City; hence, paving the way for inter-agency co-operation and co-ordination which was of minimal consequence before.

Dr. Andrew Kiyu (2000) identified the stakeholders, players and others who have roles to play in the city as depicted in Fig. 1. The diagram which he presented is useful for understanding the key players in Healthy Cities Programme in Sarawak.

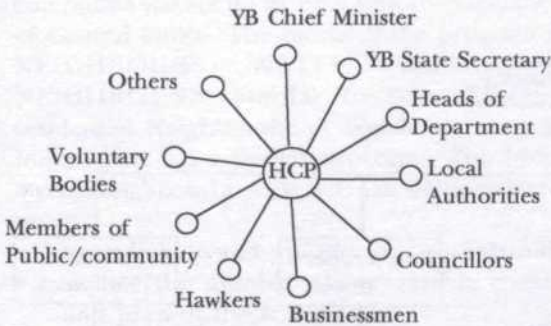


Fig. 1: Key players surrounding healthy cities programme in Sarawak

From the above diagram, it is obvious that full support and commitment are needed not only from top leadership in the government and civil service but also from members of the public, business community, community leaders and representatives and voluntary bodies.

Thus, this paper highlights the examples of public/community participation through multisectoral projects. One of the outstanding

achievements of the Programme has been consolidating local actions in promoting healthy settings which are defined as places where people live, play, work and this includes work places, residential areas, schools, market, hospitals, streets and others. Some of the public/community activities in promoting healthy living settings are home frontage beautification projects, Neighbourhood Watch Programme, motor cycle lanes and Safe Industries Competition. Examples of multisectoral projects are like improving sanitation of traditional villages along the Sarawak river bank, reinforcing remedial measures for business activities carried out within residential premises, Neighbourhood and Environment Watch (NEW), Health Promoting School Programme and Hawker Resettlement programme.

A further illustration of co-ordinated local action involving community and local agency participation is the Neighbourhood Watch Programme which will be discussed in detail as a case. The Neighbourhood Watch presented illustrates the partnership of Kuching South Town Hall Council, Royal Malaysia Police and local community as in the case of Batu Lintang residential Neighbourhood Watch and Royal Malaysia Police and business community as in the case of India Street Pedestrian Mall.

Neighbourhood Watch Programme as a Case

The Neighbourhood Watch programme was first conceived by the Royal Malaysia Police and introduced with the intention of familiarising the local community neighbourhoods with the idea of community policy. Involving community in fighting against crimes in residential areas is viewed as a necessary effort in helping to reduce fear of crime and enhancing the quality of life in the community as the Police cannot be everywhere at all times. Community policing is a collaborative effort involving the police, town hall council, politicians and the community with the intended purpose of building resilience and self-sufficiency at the community level in identifying and preventing problems of crime and disorder. The case presented in this paper is the Neighbourhood Watch programme in Batu Lintang residential area and India Street Pedestrian Mall in Kuching.

For the Batu Lintang residential area, a Neighbourhood Watch Bureau was set up with several objectives in mind: first, prevention of

comfort of members in a community neighbourhood. Through the CIR, the Town Hall Council can take immediate action to ensure Environmental Watch is effectively carried out.

- Creating a venue for forum and health education talks. The Neighbourhood Watch Bureau holds regular dialogues with the community in residential houses in the evening that help the Town Council to gather feedback on environmental problems and at the same time to impart knowledge on health-related matters and conduct health education talks on mosquitoes and dengue, which is still a major health concern in the State.

A second case presented is India Street Pedestrian Mall which is a shopping mall famous for its fabric and textile trade. Crime has been a growing problem in India Street Pedestrian Mall for the last few years and the common ones are pick-pocketing, burglary and shoplifting. The business community in India Street is concerned about the growing crime because the Pedestrian Mall is a popular spot for tourists looking for inexpensive merchandise. Hence, they decided to organise a Neighbourhood Watch which serves as information feeder to the Police.

India Street Neighbourhood Watch committee was set up in 1998 with the assistance of Central Police. The motto of the program is NEIGHBOURS WATCH OUT FOR NEIGHBOURS. Similar to Batu Lintang residential Neighbourhood Watch, the one in India Street has a similar structure. The India Street Neighbourhood Watch Committee aimed to:

- provide help and support for crime victims.
- reduce the number of preventable crimes and prevent the fear of crim.
- improve personal and household security.
- Implement and maintain an effective system for reporting and recording criminal activities.
- implement and maintain property marking and identification scheme which will:
 - discourage theft.

- assist in the identification and return of property when located.
- develop a greater sense of neighbourly cooperation and responsibility.
- promote the importance of reporting crime and suspicious activities.
- enhance the relationship between police and the residents of India Street.

Beside public participation and multisectoral projects, other achievements include policy (gazettement of Greens and Parks, prescribed Activities Act and financial funding for Healthy City, inter-agency co-ordination) and recognition by WHO as one of the successful healthy cities.

Based on the above examples of Neighbourhood Watch for the residential and business area, the role of the community in ensuring the success of community-based programme is of great significance. Furthermore, the existence of a working partnership between community and relevant departments or agencies such as in community policing or environmental watch would aid communication and co-operation in co-ordinating joint actions.

CONCLUSION

Healthy Cities Programme is not just about medical health but it is about enhancing the quality of life in the city through shared responsibility and commitment by the entire city community in public health. The underlying force is the people themselves and how much of the values of the caring society and the cultured society are internalised and manifested in their actions. Raising public awareness through educational programmes, public campaigns and activities by all sectors about the importance of health and cleanliness will help towards creating responsible, caring and health-conscious citizens. One aspect is unique The Kuching city experiences have shown the importance of community mobilisation through participation in city-health promotion programmes and how co-ordinated local actions are achieved through multisectoral and inter-agency collaborative linkages. A healthy city is a sustainable and healthy community that has three interacting

Note: This paper is written based on collation of information from papers presented at conferences, namely, *Fourth Inter-Agency Conference on Healthy City/Towns in Sarawak* held at Tanahmas Hotel, Sibul, Sarawak 21st - 24th April 1998 and *Healthy City Kuching Conference* at Rihga Royal Hotel, Miri, Sarawak 20th - 22nd June 2000.

elements - environment, economy and community - working in tandem towards the betterment of people and quality living environment.

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