

Roots of the Malay Communities of Two Selected Villages in Western Johor, Malaysia

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I Introduction

This paper will attempt to reveal the roots of the Malay communities of two selected villages in Western Johor, Malaysia, based on a genealogical survey of the community members. Since the mid-nineteenth century the resource frontier in Peninsular Malaysia has been converted into agricultural land on a large scale and has attracted a great number of people of various socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds. Such a rapid expansion of human habitat has caused various important societal and academic problems associated with the social and economic development of the country. Like other social scientists, geographers have had a great research interest in land development of the resource frontier in Peninsular Malaysia, as geographical studies in nature are concerned with man/land relationships over time and space.

Since 1992 I have been conducting research which has focused on the social transformation and changing agricultural ecology of the Rengit area,¹ Batu Pahat district, the state of Johor (Figure 1). This area is situated in the lowlands of Western Johor along the Straits of Melaka and stretches from the coast inland for about 20 kilometers (Figure 2). The development of this area began at the end of the nineteenth century and most of the

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land was reclaimed from mangrove forest and peat swamp forest before the Second World War with the exception of the deep peat land area in the northeastern parts. Agricultural land in this area has been exclusively owned by smallholders. Coconut had been the main produce from the beginning of the development in this area until the 1970s. But since the 1980s due to the decline of the coconut market and rapid industrialization and urbanization of the country the almost abandoned coconut gardens have become a common sight. The oil palm gardens on the other hand, which were converted from the old coconut gardens, have been increasing in number.

The main theme of my study is to examine the people's changing survival strategies as well as the resultant social ups and downs, paying due attention to the people's attitudes and relationships to the land. Precise analyses focusing on each community member and each lot of land are equally essential in the study and have to be effectively related to each other. I have already written about the important facts and issues concern-

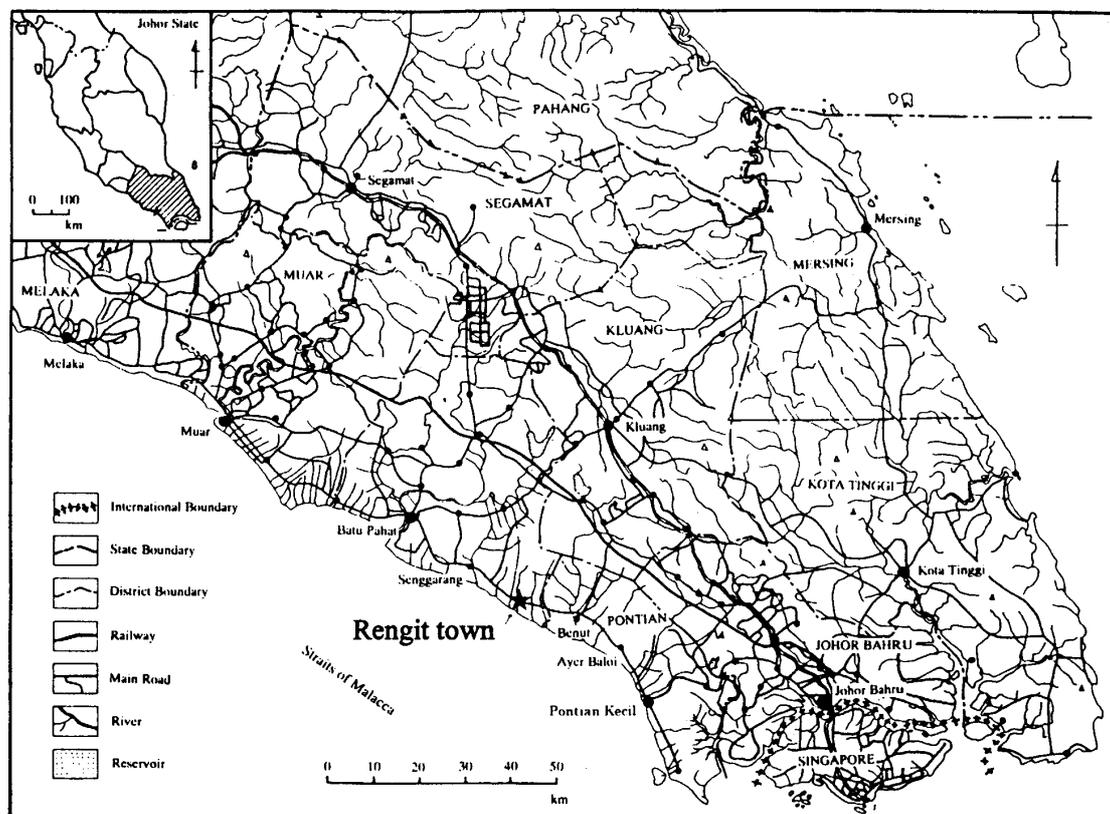


Figure 1. State of Johor and the study area.

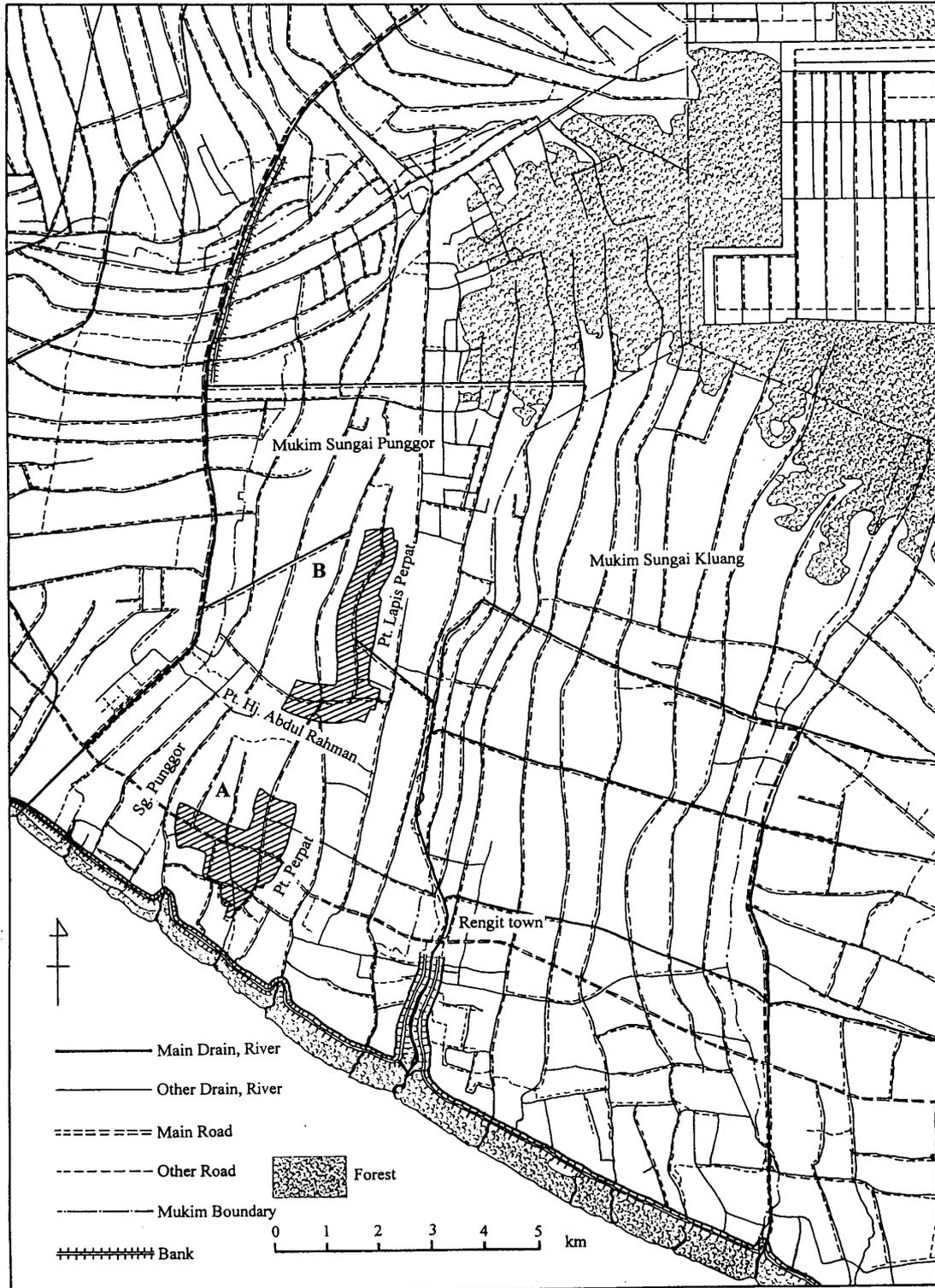


Figure 2. Location of the villages being studied in Rengit area.

A: Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak

B: Kampung Hj. Abdul Rahman - Lapis Perpat

Source: Prepared by the author based on "Peta Topografi, Siri L 7010", Senggarang (1971) and Yong Peng (1976).

ing access to the land and its management in the Rengit area based on the data derived from land titles, other documentary sources, and field survey (Nagata 1995, 1996). This paper, which attempts to reveal the roots of the communities based on a genealogical survey, will provide a starting point of close analysis focusing on the community members.² In this paper stress is placed upon explaining the procedure of defining community members, reconstructing genealogy, and presenting the results. The complete study utilizing the genealogy of the community members lies outside the scope of this paper.

II Defining Community Members

(1) Village Community

I took community members of two selected villages as the object of an intensive survey. These two villages are Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak and Kampung Hj. Abdul Rahman - Lapis Perpat, both located in Mukim Sungai Punggor, Batu Pahat district, the state of Johor (Figure 2). The state government set two levels of regional units of administration, that is, district (*daerah*) and *mukim*. First, the state is divided into 8 districts headed by a district officer, and then each district is divided into 8 - 18 *mukims* headed by an administrative officer called *penghulu*. There is no regional unit of administration with definite boundaries inferior to *mukim*, but in the rural area several villages are grouped into one administrative unit called JKKK (*Jawatankuasa Kemajuan dan Keselamatan Kampung* = Village Development and Security Committee).³ In the case of Mukim Sungai Punggor nine JKKK are organized under the direction of the government. Although JKKK is headed by *ketua kampung* (village head), to consider it a substantial village community is somewhat problematic. Above all things JKKK functions as the smallest unit of administration closely connected to politics, not as a social unit which plays an important role in the daily life of villagers. The villages, which constitute one JKKK, are often decided arbitrarily, taking its size, which is determined by counting the number of households, into consideration. Most of the villagers know who their *ketua kampung* is, but are not clear who belongs to the same JKKK as they do.

In the lowlands of Western Johor along the Straits of Melaka, where agricultural land development started in earnest in the late nineteenth century, nucleated rural settlement is exceptional. There are houses along the roads or ditches called *parit*, or streams called *sungai*, at fairly regular intervals. It is, therefore, difficult to identify village communities from the landscape, but through the observation of daily activities of the people in this area we can discover some social units, which function locally. It should be noted here one of the main factors which affects the social and cultural life of the people in this area is ethnicity. Malay and Chinese are dominant ethnic groups in this area, but their contacts are confined to economic aspect and to a lesser extent administrative and political aspects. Both ethnic groups lead a detached social and cultural life from the other. It can be said that they form separate village communities even though they live in the same village.

One of the localized social units which deserves our attention among Malay villagers is *Kumpulan Bacaan Yasin* (Reading Group of Yasin, the chapter 37 of the Koran). This group ideally consists of all the Malay adult male villagers living in a specific territory.⁴ The members of the group gather once a week on Thursday night (Friday night according to the Islamic calendar) in one of the members' house in turn, chant the Koran, and then have a small feast (*kenduri*). The host provides the members with some cakes, rice, and a few other dishes. If we attach great importance to face-to-face association based on a shared territorial bond in defining community, the concept of community is well applicable to this *Kumpulan Bacaan Yasin*. In addition, the members of this group usually overlap with the members of the social unit such as *Pasukan Pinggan Mangkuk* (Plate and Bowl Squad) for reciprocal help (*gotong-royong*). The members of *Pasukan Pinggan Mangkuk* cooperate in preparing not only a small feast every Thursday night, but also occasional wedding feasts and some other events in the village.

(2) Procedure of Defining Community Members for Survey

In this study the community members for intensive survey of two selected villages were determined in the following way. First, the houses of members of *Kumpulan Bacaan*

Yasin were located on the map, and its reach was marked off. Then all of the houses within these limits, including the houses of nonmembers of *Kumpulan Bacaan Yasin*,⁵ were identified, and all the people living there, with the exception of the members of Chinese families, were fixed and adopted as community members for intensive survey. The houses of Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak dot Batu Pahat-Pontian trunk road (*tambak* road = causeway), Pt. (Parit) Perpat, Pt. Mengkudu, and Pt. Hj. Alwi. The houses of Kampung Hj. Abdul Rahman - Lapis Perpat dot Pt. Hj. Abdul Rahman and Pt. Lapis Perpat (Figure 2).

III Reconstructing Genealogy

Here I will explain the procedure for reconstructing genealogy of the community members. First, all of the community members are listed by unit, which consists of a husband, wife, and children, namely the nuclear family. In principle every marriage forms one unit of a nuclear family for observation. Even if the marriage has already been dissolved it continues to be one observation unit. According to Islamic law a man could have up to four wives at the same time. If a man has more than one wife he forms separate observation units with each wife. The following case is the only exception and excluded from the observation in my study; a couple had divorced and didn't have any children who ever lived in the village undergoing study.

Secondly, the missing members of each nuclear family who have died or live outside the village being studied are added to the list. However, there are also some exceptions. First, children who died in their infancy are excluded from the list. Second, in the case where an unmarried man or woman are community members but their parents do not and never have lived in the village, their parents and siblings are not added to the list. As regards the adopted children who are community members of the village, they are basically classified as members of the adoptive families, but if their biological parents are also community members they are classified as members of the biological parents' family. With respect to adopted children who have died or live outside the village being

studied, they are put on the list if their adoptive parents think of them as their own children.

Thirdly, if the parents of either husband or wife have ever lived in the village undergoing study, then the nuclear family, which consists of the parents and siblings, is also taken for study and its members are identified. But with regards to the situation where the children began to live in the village first and then brought their parents over to the village, this principle is not applicable. This procedure is discontinued if the parents of both husband and wife had never lived in the village being studied.⁶ Through the procedure stated above, the roots of the community members of the village being studied are revealed back to the time when their ancestry or they themselves came to the village.⁷

IV Roots of the Community Members

(1) Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak

The community members of Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak as of July 1995 are grouped into 120 nuclear families (present nuclear families). Through the work of reconstructing the genealogy of the community members back to the time when their ancestry or they themselves came to the village, 56 more nuclear families from prior generations were identified. A total of 176 nuclear families have been taken as objects for intensive survey in this study. The genealogical chart of the village community members in Figure 3 consists of these 176 nuclear families. Out of these 176 nuclear families 40 make up the first generation, which means the parents of both husband and wife had never lived in the village being studied excluding the exception stated before.⁸ In other words all of the village community members are descendants or family members of these 40 nuclear families (original nuclear families). The other 136 nuclear families comprise the second to fourth generations. In Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak out of 120 present nuclear families, 15 are first generation (13%), 23 are second generation (19%), 56 are third generation (47%), and 26 are fourth generation (22%).⁹ The nuclear families of the third generation make up the core of the community.

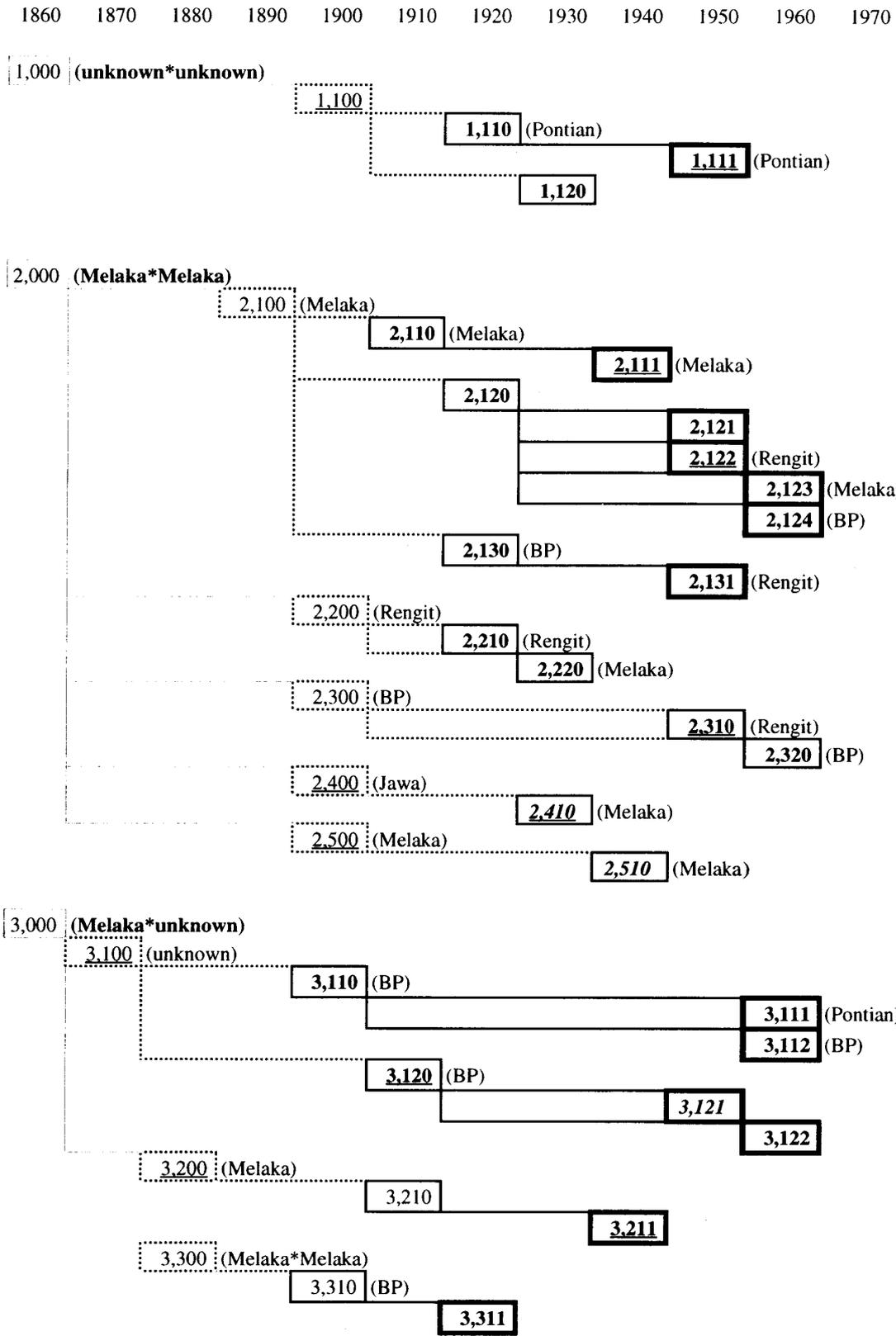


Figure 3. Genealogical chart of the Malay community members of Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak

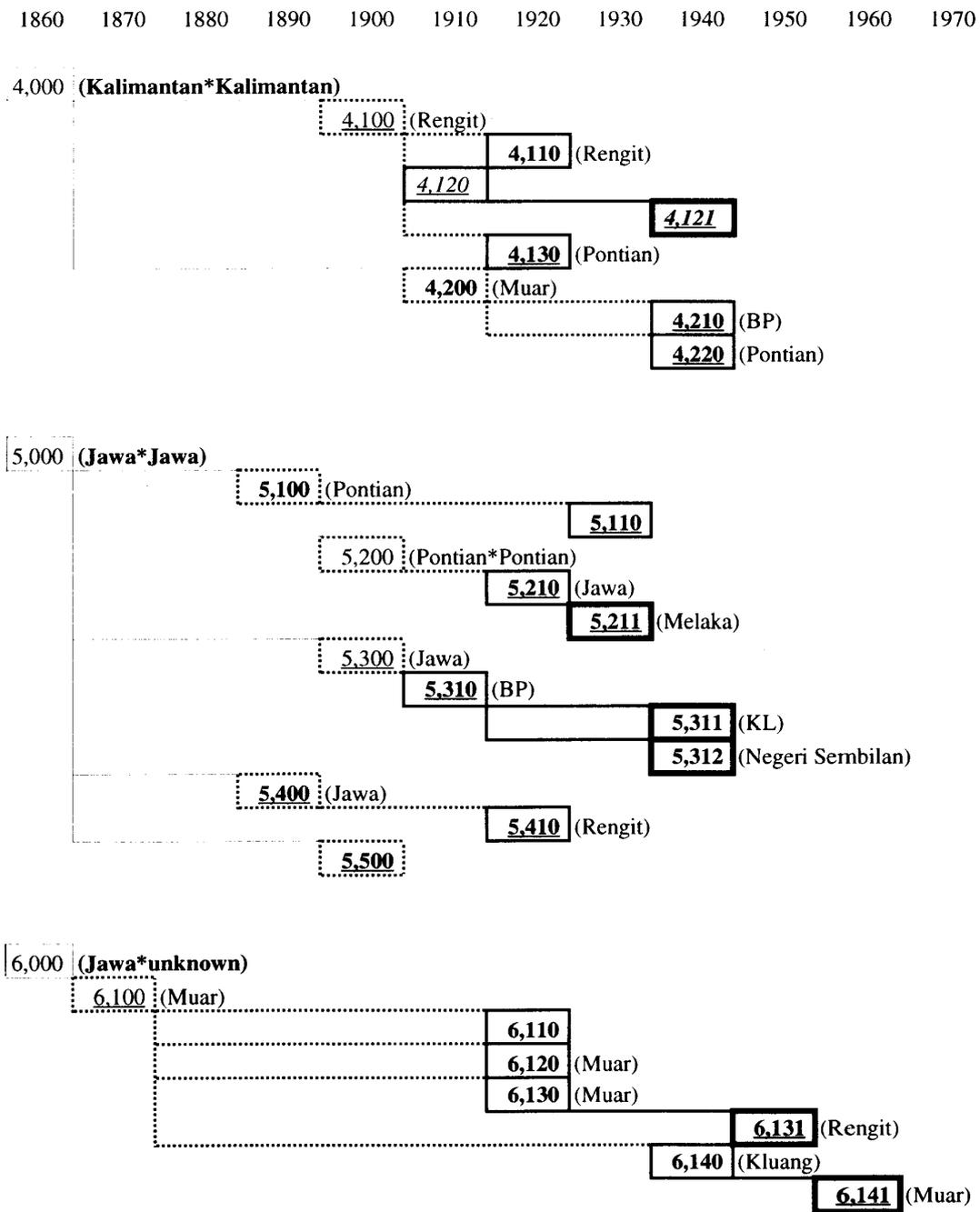


Figure 3. Genealogical chart of the Malay community members of Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak (cont'd)

1860 1870 1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970

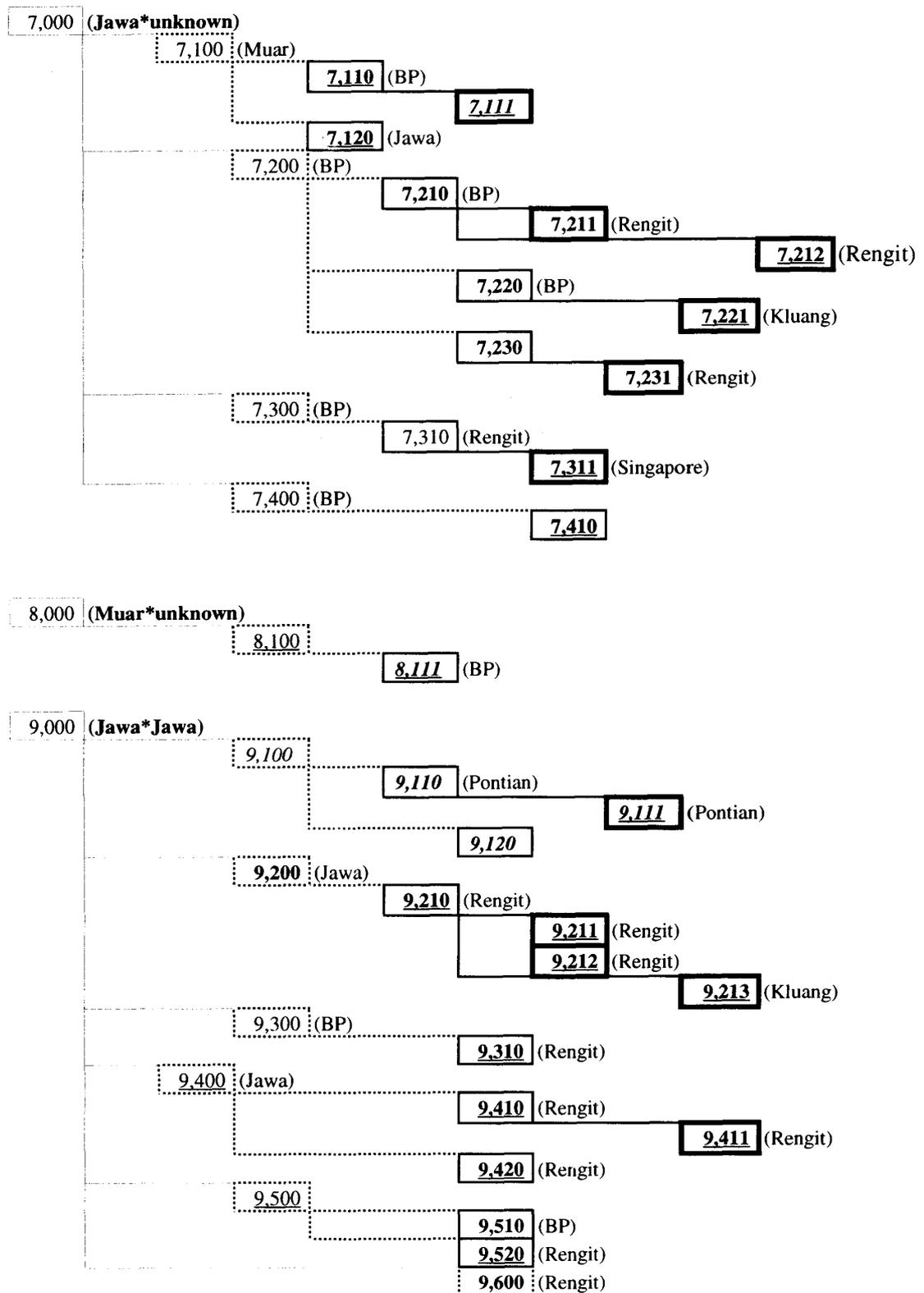


Figure 3. Genealogical chart of the Malay community members of Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak (cont'd)

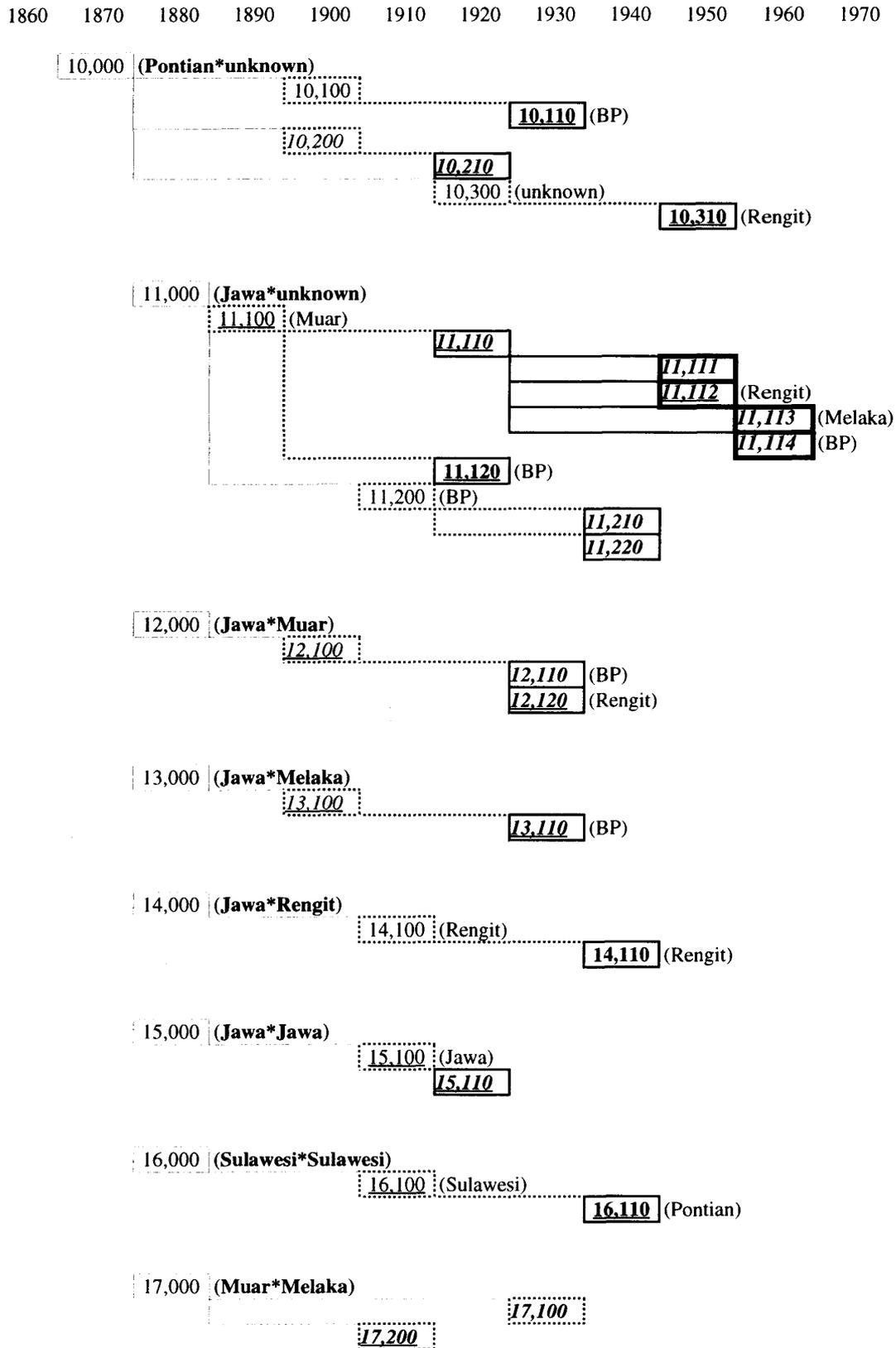


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1860 1870 1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970

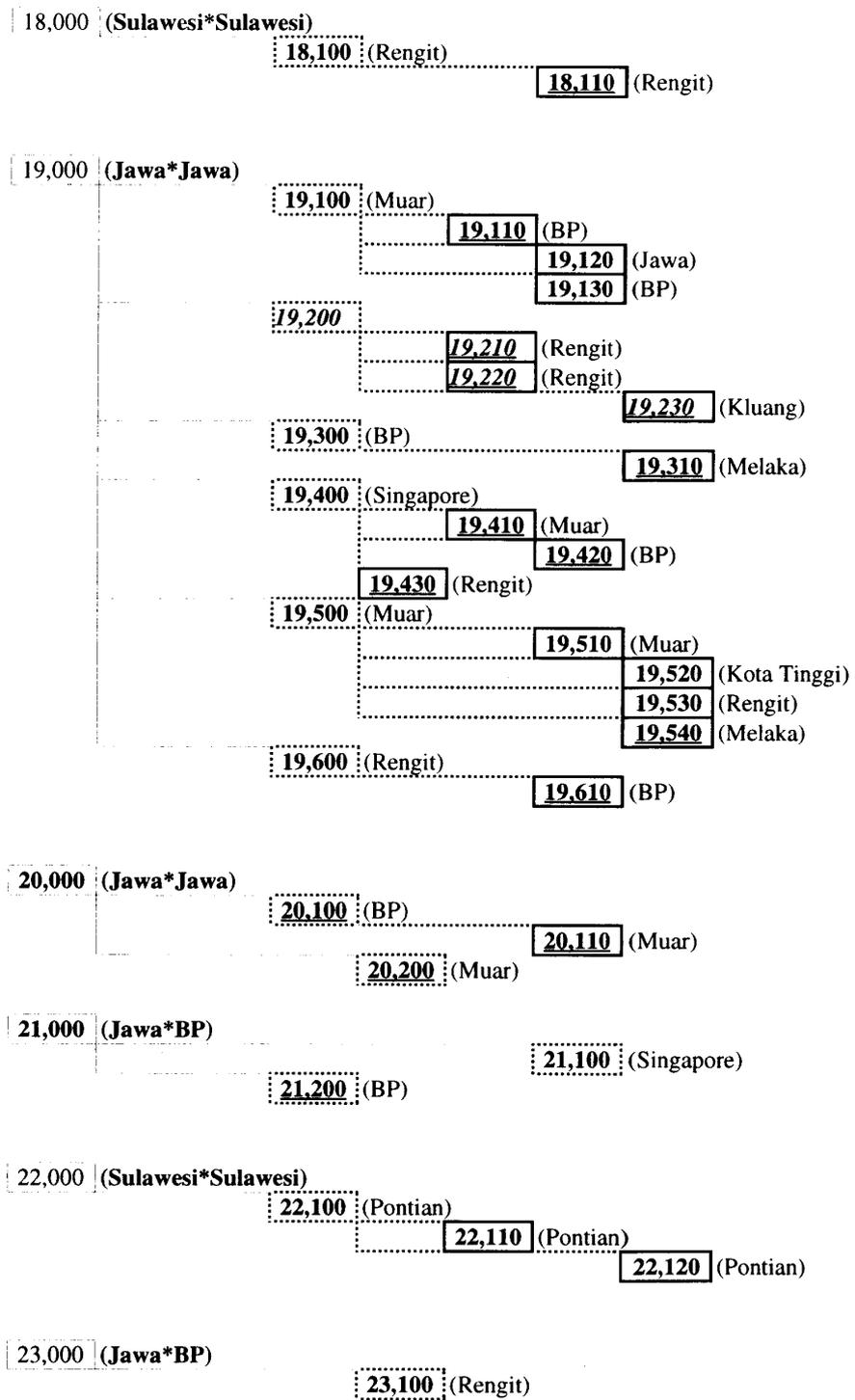


Figure 3. Genealogical chart of the Malay community members of Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak (cont'd)

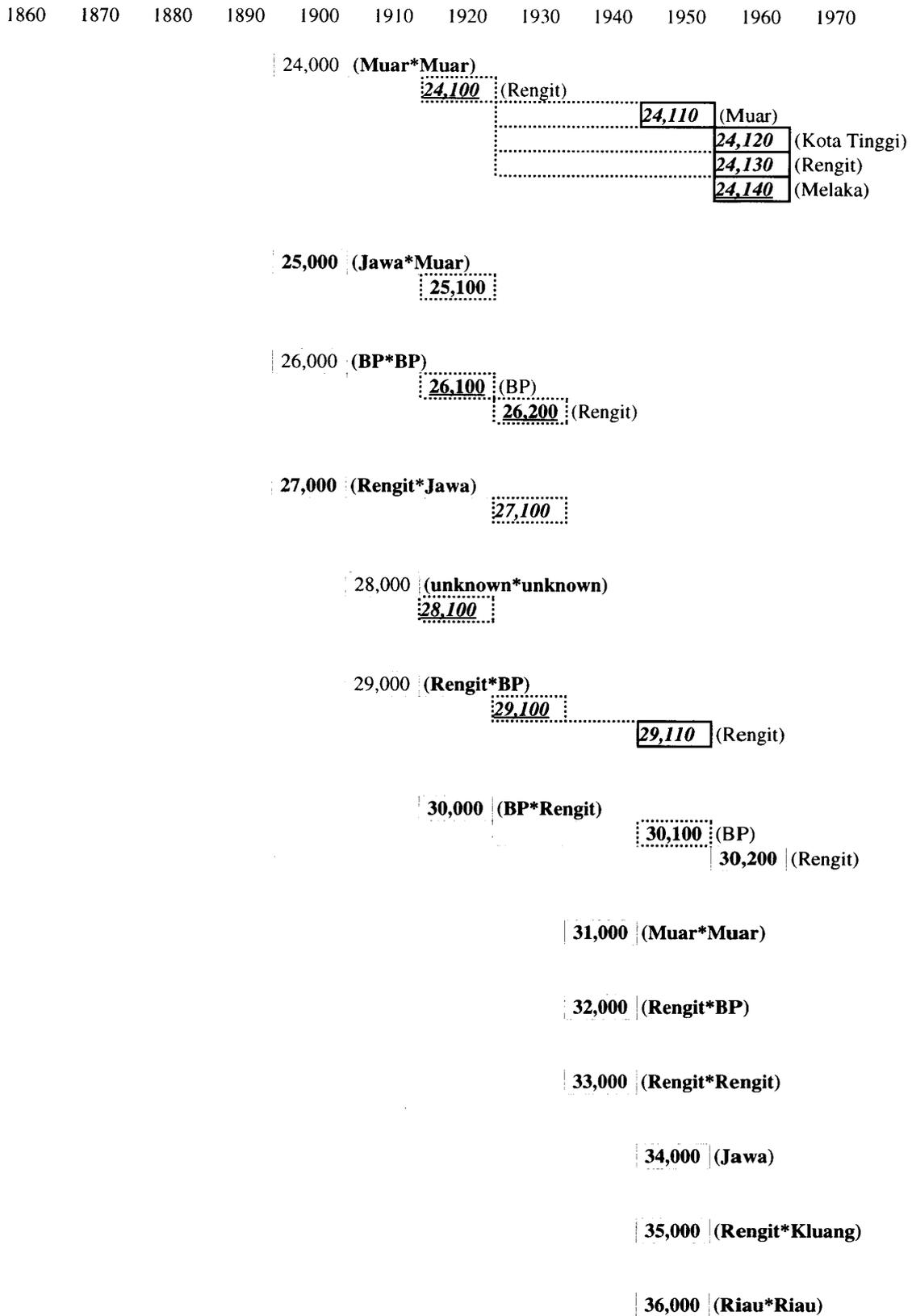


Figure 3. Genealogical chart of the Malay community members of Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak (cont'd)

1860 1870 1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970

37,000 (Rengit*Selangor)

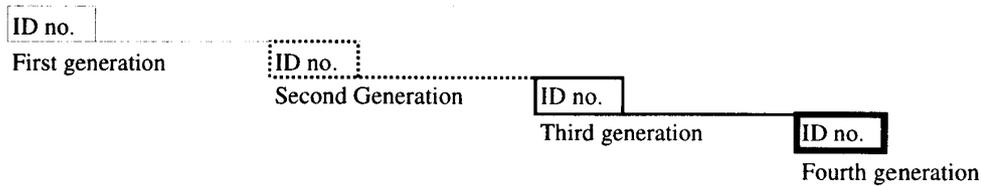
38,000 (Pakistan*KL)

39,000 (Jawa)

40,000 (Riau)

Legend

1860 = 1860 - 1869: Indicates the year of birth of the husband of each nuclear family.



- 2,000 A number in the box is the ID number of each nuclear family.
- 2,110** A number in bold text indicates the present nuclear family.
- 2,111 A number which is underlined indicates that the wife is the successor.
- 2,510* A number in italics indicates that this nuclear family has already appeared in this chart before.

(Jawa*Muar) The birthplace of the husband (right) and the birthplace of the wife (left) for first generation.

(Melaka) The birthplace of the spouse of the successor for second to fourth generations.

*As regards the birthplace, the place-name is shown in the following way.

- a) The village being studied: blank
- b) The villages in Rengit area excluding the village being studied: (Rengit)
- c) In the state of Johor excluding the Rengit area: (district name)
- d) In Malaysia excluding the state of Johor: (state name)
- e) In Indonesia: (regional name)
- f) In other countries except Malaysia and Indonesia: (country name)

BP = Batu Pahat KL = Kuala Lumpur

Figure 3. Genealogical chart of the Malay community members of Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak (cont'd)

Table 1 shows the birthplace of the husbands and wives of the 40 original nuclear families. Paying attention to the birthplace of the husbands, present Indonesia accounts for 22 with Jawa 16, Kalimantan 1, Sulawesi 3, and Riau 2. The neighboring districts and state in Peninsular Malaysia account for 7 in total with Pontian 1, Muar 4, and Melaka 2. Batu Pahat district including the Rengit area accounts for 8. Pakistan is 1, and there are 2 persons whose birthplace is unknown. As regards the year of birth, the men who came from Jawa, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi were born between 1860 and 1909 except two men who were born in Jawa in the 1950s and 1960s and recently came to Malaysia without

Table 1. The birthplace of the husbands and wives of 40 original nuclear families in Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak

Birthplace	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	T 1	T2
Rengit 2									1				1	6
Rengit*BP						1			1				2	
Rengit*Kluang										1			1	
Rengit*Selangor										1			1	
Rengit*Jawa					1								1	
BP 2					1								1	2
BP*Rengit							1						1	
Pontian*uk			1										1	1
Muar 2					1				1				2	4
Muar*Melaka				1									1	
Muar*uk			1										1	
Melaka 2	1												1	2
Melaka*uk	1												1	
Jawa 2	1	1	1	2									5	16
Jawa*Rengit			1										1	
Jawa*BP				2									2	
Jawa*Muar			1		1								2	
Jawa*Melaka			1										1	
Jawa*uk	1	1	1										3	
Jawa										1	1		2	
Kalimantan 2		1											1	1
Sulawesi 2			1	2									3	3
Riau 2										1			1	2
Riau												1	1	
Pakistan*KL											1		1	1
unknown 2	1					1							2	2
Total	6	4	7	6	4	2	1	0	3	4	2	1	40	40

1860 = 1860 - 1869: Indicates the year of birth of the husband of each nuclear family.

"Rengit 2" means both husband and wife were born in Rengit.

"Rengit * BP" means husband was born in Rengit and wife was born in BP.

BP = Batu Pahat KL = Kuala Lumpur

T1 = Total 1: The total of each row.

T2 = Total 2: The total of the nuclear families whose husbands were born in the same place.

their families. Two men from Riau who were born in the 1950s and 1970s also came to Malaysia recently, one with his family and the other alone. The husbands whose native place are Pontian, Muar, and Melaka were born between 1860 and 1909 except one who was born in the 1940s in Muar. The persons who came from the nearby Batu Pahat district including the Rengit area were born between 1900 and 1959.

The 120 present nuclear families can trace their roots to these 40 original nuclear families, and can be classified into groups based on the birthplace of the husbands of their original nuclear families. The number of the present nuclear families of each group and its percentage to the total are as follows. Jawa is 81 (67.5 %), Sulawesi is 6 (5.0 %), Kalimantan is 6 (5.0 %), Riau is 2 (1.7 %), Pontian is 3 (2.5 %), Muar is 9 (7.5%), Melaka is 20 (16.7%), Batu Pahat is 5 (4.2 %), Rengit area is 8 (6.7 %), Pakistan is 1 (0.8 %), and unknown is 2 (3.3 %).¹⁰ It should be noted here that the birthplace of the wives does not necessarily correspond to the birthplace of their husbands. For example, out of 14 families whose husbands were born in Jawa, in 6 families the wives were born in Peninsular Malaysia. And out of 8 families whose husbands were born in the Batu Pahat district including the Rengit area, in 3 families the wives came from outside of the Batu Pahat district.

Table 2. The birthplace of the spouse of the successor of 136 nuclear families in Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak

Birthplace	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	Total
Village					5	1	4	3	2	1	1		17
Rengit					2	1	7	8	4	7	3	1	33
Batu Pahat					7	4	7	3	2	4	3		30
Pontian				1	1		3		3	1	2		11
Muar		1		2		1	4	1	1	2	1		13
Kluang									1		2		3
Kota Tinggi											1		1
Melaka			2	1	1	1		2	1		3		11
Negeri Sembilan									1				1
Kuala Lumpur									1				1
Singapore							1		1	1			3
Jawa				2	3	2	1			1			9
Sulawesi						1							1
unknown		1					1						2
Total	0	2	2	6	19	11	28	17	17	17	16	1	136

1860 = 1860 - 1869: Indicates the year of birth of the husband of each nuclear family.

The succession of the family in the Malay community of Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak is bilateral. Out of 177 cases which appear in the genealogical chart in Figure 3, in 90 cases (50.8 %) the husband is the successor and in 87 cases (49.2 %) the wife is the successor. Table 2 shows the birthplace of the spouse of the successor as to the 136 nuclear families of the second to fourth generations. As regards the birthplace, present Indonesia accounts for 10, with Jawa 9 and Sulawesi 1. The neighboring districts and states in Peninsular Malaysia account for 41 in total, with Pontian 11, Muar 13, Melaka 11, and others 6. The Batu Pahat district, including the Rengit area and the village being studied, accounts for 80. Singapore is 3 and the persons whose birthplace is unknown are 2. As for the year of birth of the husband of each nuclear family whose spouses came from Jawa and Sulawesi, they were born between 1890 and 1929, except for one who was born in the 1950s. In the families whose spouses came from Pontian, Muar, and Melaka they were born between 1870 and 1969, but in the families whose spouses came from other parts of Peninsular Malaysia and Singapore they were born after 1940, except for one who was born in the 1920s. In the families whose spouses came from the nearby Batu Pahat district, including the Rengit area and the village being studied, they were born between 1900 and 1979.

With respect to the ethnicity of persons who were born in Jawa, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi they can safely be considered to be Javanese, Banjar, and Bugis, respectively. But as to the persons who were born in Batu Pahat, Pontian, Muar, Melaka, and other parts of Peninsular Malaysia, Riau, and Singapore, we met some problems in judging their ethnicity. Basically they are a combination of Javanese, Malay, a smaller number of Bugis, Banjar and their mix, but it is not rare that the ethnic origins of the people who were considered to be Malay turned out to be Javanese or Bugis when tracing their roots back to their forefathers.

(2) Kampung Hj. Abdul Rahman - Lapis Perpat

The community members of Kampung Hj. Abdul Rahman - Lapis Perpat as of March 1996 are grouped into 74 nuclear families (present nuclear families). Through the

work of reconstructing genealogy of the community members back to the time when their ancestry or they themselves came to the village, 20 more nuclear families from prior generations were identified. A total of 94 nuclear families have been taken as objects for intensive survey in this study. The genealogical chart of the village community members in Figure 4 consists of these 94 nuclear families. Out of these 94 nuclear families 35 make up the first generation. In other words all of the village community members are descendants or family members of these 35 nuclear families (original nuclear families). The other 59 nuclear families comprise the second to third generations. In Kampung Hj. Abdul Rahman - Lapis Perpat out of 74 present nuclear families, 18 are first generation (24%), 34 are second generation (46%), and 22 are third generation (30%).¹¹ The nuclear families of the second generation make up the core of the community. Compared with Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak the genealogical history of the community is one generation younger.

Table 3 shows the birthplace of the husbands and wives of the 35 original nuclear families. 24 of the husbands were born in Jawa, 9 claim the Batu Pahat district including the Rengit area as their birthplace, while the remaining 2 were born 1 each in Selangor and Riau. Unlike Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak the location of the birthplace is fairly limited. There are no original nuclear families whose husbands came from Pontian, Muar, and Melaka in Peninsular Malaysia. As regards the year of birth, the men who came from Jawa were born between 1880 to 1929, except for one who was born in the 1940s and came to Malaysia recently. The man who was born in Riau in the 1950s also came to Malaysia recently with his family. The husbands who came from the nearby Batu Pahat district including the Rengit area were born between 1900 and 1969.

The 74 present nuclear families have their roots in these 35 original nuclear families and can be classified into groups based on the birthplace of the husbands of the original nuclear families. The number of the present nuclear families of each group and its percentage to the total are as follows. Jawa is 60 (81.1 %), Batu Pahat is 7 (9.5 %), Rengit area is 6 (8.1 %), Selangor is 2 (2.7 %), and Riau is 1 (1.4 %).¹² In comparison with Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak Jawa is more dominant. It should be noted here

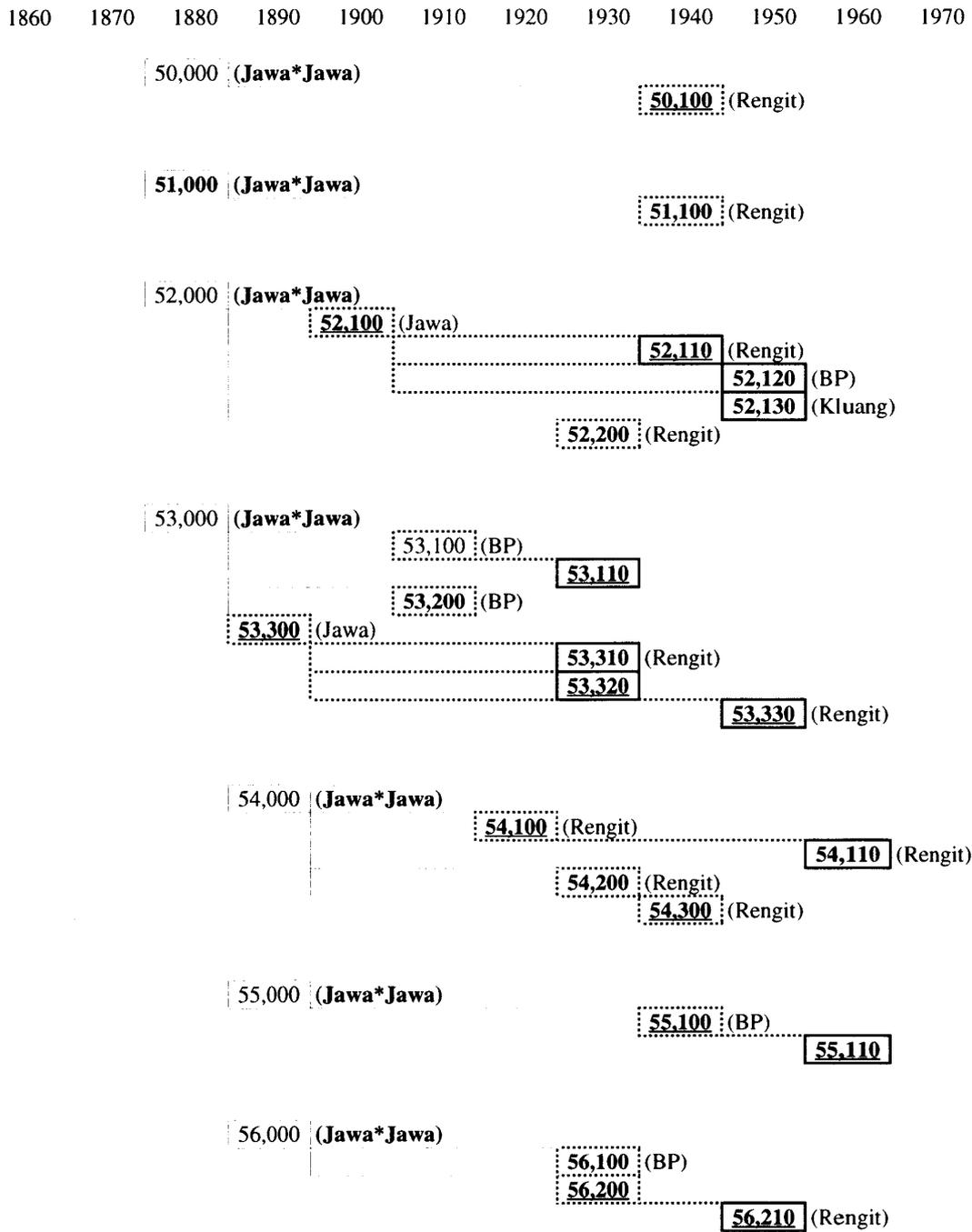


Figure 4. Genealogical chart of the Malay community members of Kampung Hj. Abdul Rahman-Lapis Perpat

1860 1870 1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970

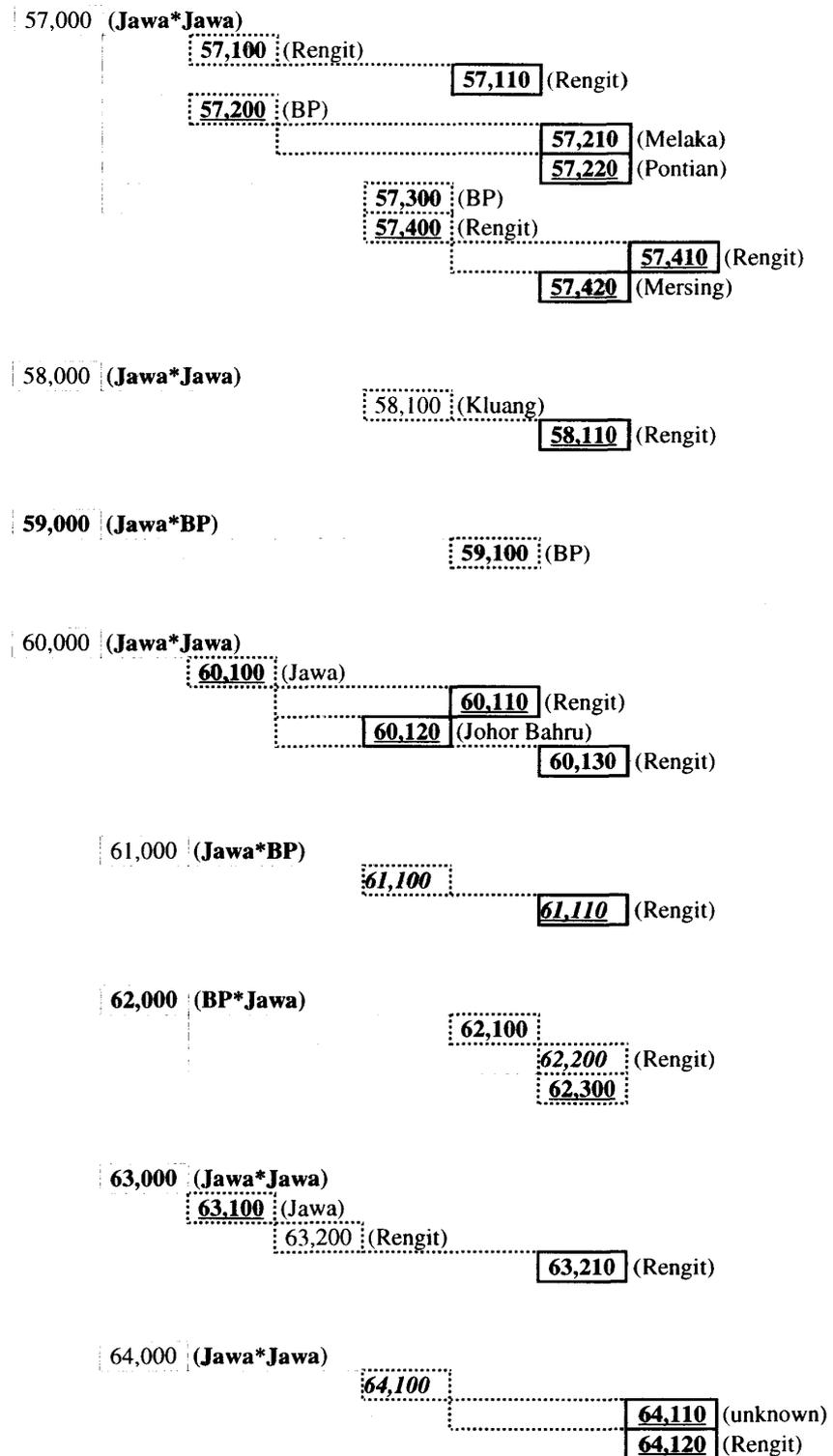


Figure 4. Genealogical chart of the Malay community members of Kampung Hj. Abdul Rahman-Lapis Perpat (cont'd)

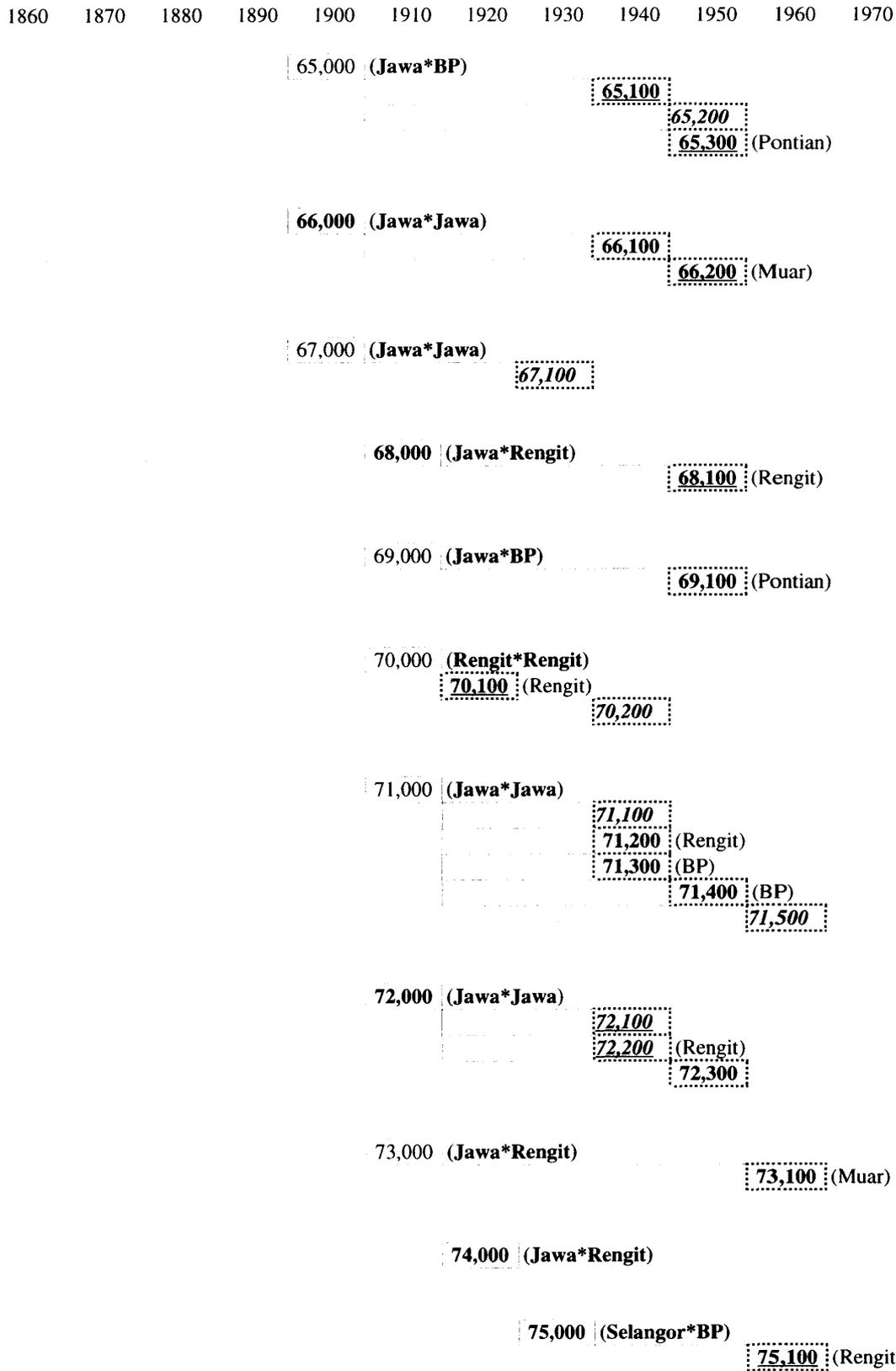


Figure 4. Genealogical chart of the Malay community members of Kampung Hj. Abdul Rahman-Lapis Perpat (cont'd)

1860 1870 1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940 1950 1960 1970

76,000 (Rengit*BP)

77,000 (Rengit*Pontian)

78,000 (BP*Rengit)

79,000 (Jawa*Jawa)

80,000 (BP*BP)

81,000 (BP*Rengit)

82,000 (Riau*Riau)

83,000 (Rengit*BP)

84,000 (Rengit*Pahang)

Legend

The same as Figure 3.

Figure 4. Genealogical chart of the Malay community members of Kampung Hj. Abdul Rahman-Lapis Perpat (cont'd)

again that the birthplace of the wives does not necessarily correspond to the birthplace of their husbands. Out of 24 families whose husbands were born in Jawa, in 7 families the wives were born in the Batu Pahat district including the Rengit area. And out of 9 families whose husbands were born in the Batu Pahat district including the Rengit area, in 3 families the wives came from outside of the Batu Pahat district.

Like Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak the succession of the family in the Malay community of Kampung Hj. Abdul Rahman - Lapis Perpat is also bilateral. Out of 70 cases which appear in the genealogical chart in Figure 4, cases where the husband is the successor and the wife is the successor are evenly split (35 cases each). Table 4 shows the birthplace of the spouse of the successor of the 59 nuclear families of the second and third generations. As regards the birthplace, Jawa accounts for 4. The neighboring districts and state in Peninsular Malaysia account for 10 in total. The Batu Pahat district, including the Rengit area and the village undergoing study, accounts for 44, while only one member's birthplace is unknown. As for the year of birth of the husband of each nuclear family, they were born between 1890 and 1919 in the families whose spouses came from Jawa. In

Table 3. The birthplace of the husbands and wives of 35 original nuclear families in Kampung Hj. Abdul Rahman - Lapis Perpat

Birthplace	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	T1	T2
Rengit 2						1							1	5
Rengit*BP								1		1			2	
Rengit*Pontian								1					1	
Rengit*Pahang											1		1	
BP 2									1				1	4
BP*Rengit									2				2	
BP*Jawa					1								1	
Selangor*BP								1					1	1
Jawa 2			4	6	4	2			1				17	24
Jawa*Rengit						2	1						3	
Jawa*BP				1	2	1							4	
Riau 2										1			1	1
Total	0	0	4	7	7	6	1	3	4	2	1	0	35	35

1860 = 1860 - 1869: Indicates the year of birth of the husband of each nuclear family.

"Rengit 2" means both husband and wife were born in Rengit.

"Rengit * BP" means husband was born in Rengit and wife was born in BP.

BP = Batu Pahat

T1 = Total 1: The total of each row.

T2 = Total 2: The total of the nuclear families whose husbands were born in the same place.

contrast, in the families whose spouses came from the neighboring districts and state in Peninsular Malaysia they were born after 1930. In the families whose spouses came from the nearby Batu Pahat district, including the Rengit area and the village being studied, they were born between 1910 and 1969.

With respect to the ethnicity the persons who were born in Jawa it can safely be considered to be Javanese. As to the persons who were born in Peninsular Malaysia and Riau, basically they are a combination of Javanese, Malay, a smaller number of Bugis, Banjar and their mix. But there are some problems in judging their ethnicity, as I have mentioned before.

V Concluding Remarks

This paper confined itself to reconstructing genealogy of the Malay communities of two selected villages in Western Johor, Malaysia. The results, which are summarized in Figure 3 and 4, can be used for further investigation by combining them with other sources of data. Firstly, they will help to reveal the history of the villages being studied confronting them with documentary and oral sources of information. Secondly, we can have sample data on survival strategies of the people who used to live in the villages

Table 4. The birthplace of the spouse of the successor of 59 nuclear families in Kampung Hj. Abdul Rahman - Lapis Perpat

Birthplace	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	Total
Village								3	3	2	1		9
Rengit						1	3	4	7	6	4		25
Batu Pahat						3		2	3	2			10
Pontian										3			3
Muar										1	1		2
Kluang								1		1			2
Johor Bahru								1					1
Mersing										1			1
Melaka										1			1
Jawa				1	1	2							4
unknown											1		1
Total	0	0	0	1	1	6	3	11	13	17	7	0	59

1860 = 1860 - 1869: Indicates the year of birth of the husband of each nuclear family.

being studied back to the beginning of the development of the land. I have already collected the basic data such as birthplace, migration, education, occupation, and marriage as to all the members of the nuclear families, which appear in the genealogical charts presented in this paper. Now it has become possible to interpret the survival strategies of each person with relation to not only the wider political economy but also to their personal backgrounds. Lastly, we should examine the people's changing survival strategies and the resultant social ups and downs throughout the generations paying due attention to their relationships to the land by combining them with the intimate data on changing land use and land holdings effectively. This point goes to the very heart of my study. The results of these ongoing investigations should be disclosed in the near future.

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Notes

1. "Rengit area" here indicates Rengit town (*Pekan Rengit*) and its hinterland. It corresponds approximately to the catchment area of Rengit river (*Sungai Rengit*) and some other streams ecologically, and the territory of Mukim Sungai Punggor and Mukim Sungai Kluang administratively. The total area of these two *mukims* is 186.48 square kilometers and the population is 24,641 according to the 1991 census.
2. I have already published an article focusing on an influential local Malay landlord and his estate management. He is one of the community members of the village being studied in this paper (Nagata 1994).
3. Narifumi Maeda Tachimoto, who conducted research in a frontier settlement in the neighboring district of Pontian, mentioned the existence of the regional unit of administration with definite boundaries inferior to *mukim* (Maeda 1988, Tachimoto 1994). This unit is called *kawasan* and is headed by *ketua kampung*. I myself acquired the map indicating the boundaries of *kawasan* of each *mukim* in the Pontian district. This *kawasan* is considered to be territory of JKKK, which is shown on the map explicitly.
4. Of course, the extent to which each person is involved in the activities of *Kumpulan Bacaan Yasin* differs respectively.
5. Nonmember houses of *Kumpulan Bacaan Yasin* refer to the houses in which a Malay adult male does not live.
6. In the case of Kampung Punggor - Perpat Tambak the area of "village undergoing study" is enlarged to include neighboring villages, which are Kampung Punggor Masjid, Punggor Laut Timur, and Perpat Laut in this procedure because these villages were not separated definitively in former days.
7. The genealogical survey in my study is intended as an attempt to understand the people's changing survival strategies and the resultant social ups and downs throughout the generations. I would like to emphasize it is not for the purpose of anthropological or sociological studies.
8. In the genealogical chart in Figure 3, the parents of the couples of no. 3,300 and no. 5,200 had never lived in the village being studied. But the former wife of the husband of no. 3,300 and the former husband of the wife of no. 5,200 are second generation, so the couples of no. 3,300 and no. 5,200 are regarded as being second generation in this study.
9. Out of 120 present nuclear families, 31 can be traced back to the two or three original nuclear families. These 31 nuclear families can be classified into different generations depending on the relationships with their different ancestries. In this paper the generation, which appears in the genealogical chart first, is allotted to these 31 nuclear families for the sake of convenience.

10. The 31 nuclear families, which can be traced back to the two or three original nuclear families, can be classified into different groups depending on the relationships with their different ancestries. That is the reason the sum total of the percentage of each group exceeds 100 percent.
11. Out of 74 present nuclear families, 11 can be traced back to the two original nuclear families. These 11 nuclear families can be classified into different generations depending on the relationships with their different ancestries. In this paper the generation, which appears in the genealogical chart first, is allotted to these 31 nuclear families for the sake of convenience.
12. The 11 nuclear families, which can be traced back to the two original nuclear families, can be classified into different groups depending on the relationships with their different ancestries. That is the reason again the sum total of the percentage of each group exceeds 100 percent.

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