THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

Kinship and Modernisation: An Analysis of a Cham Community of East Coast Peninsular Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

This study addresses the issue of the nature of contemporary kinship relationships among the Cham Muslim community of migrants from Cambodia, now settled in Malaysia. The study was conducted in 2006 in Pulau Keladi Village, a Cham settlement on the East Coast of peninsula Malaysia, and employed an ethnographic research approach combining traditional participant observation with simple survey techniques.

The study is primarily concerned with how modernization has affected kinship relations among the Cham. Modernization is used here to designate the processes of involvement in the commercial relations of a market-based society. In the case of the Cham, the transition to such relations was intertwined with the process of movement from their country of origin, i.e. Cambodia, to another country. With the process of movement and resettlement, this community confronted real challenges and had to develop new ways of life in a new milieu. From traditional forms of farming and fishing, which had been their main sources of economic support in Cambodia, these people utilized a similar physical environment to develop commercially-oriented economic activities in their new settlement. The degree of cooperation in the village helps producers to produce and market larger quantities than if everyone operated as an isolated unit. The spirit of mutual help which pervades this community, and which is interrelated with kinship, is an important aspect of this study. Through the way in which they responded to their new milieu and the cultural challenges which it provided, the Cham managed to re-establish strong kinship networks and to assemble a large group of kin in a single place.

Through examining the kinship structure and ideology of the Cham, their marriage patterns, relations between parents, adult children and adult siblings, the role of kinship in life course transitions and ceremonies, the utilisation of kinship in economic activities and the interplay of migration, ethnic identity and kinship, the study identifies the significance of kinship to Cham social organisation and explores the elements of continuity and change.

Over the last three decades, these people have undergone significant transformation due to the modernization process and resettlement. The data of this sudy suggests that changes have taken place in some aspects of their lives. However, compared to western communities, the resilience of kinship ties is clearly transparent. While there are more elements of freedom for the younger generation in many areas of life, they still accept considerable guidance from older family members, and the range of kin who are recognised and who meet regularly to celebrate family events, the preference for working with kin, the patterns of financial and emotional assistance, the relatively high levels of arranged marriages and of cousin marriage, the exceptionally low rates of divorce and remarriage, and the close relations between parents and adult children and between adult siblings, all illustrate the importance that the Cham attach to the bonds of kinship and their efforts to protect kinship from the eroding influence of modernisation. Finally, the study suggests that important contributing factors to the continuing strength of kinship are the historical and contemporary efforts of a

minority group to maintain their identity, persecution under the Khmer Rouge and the subsequent migration and resettlement, which have all both accentuated the importance of kinship as protection and resource, and deepened the attachment of the Cham to a collective identity – now in the form of *Orang Kemboja* - which kinship plays an important role in maintaining.

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Glossary

Aoung	Grand Father
Aupok	Father/stepfather/ adopted father
Bong	Oldersibling
Bai	Rice
Bong peon	
cidon citaa	Grand parents siblings
Cau	Grand children of oneself or any collateral relative
Chee sekaij	Type of leaf use in cooking
Cidon	Grand mother
Cidon muy	First cousin
Cidon ming	Grandmother aunt
Citaa mie	Grand father uncle
Citaa	Grand father
Mee kala	Cambodian noodle
Chee kehom	Ociunum Sanctum (scientific name of herb used in cooking)
Cheran	Many
Chik	Sister
Chaohrong	The day of working and eating
Chong	Want
Dhrum	Tree
Jom	Cry
Ketaam	Crab
khang pday	Kinsmen on the husband's side
khang prapun	Kinsmen on the wife's side
khang aupok	On the father's side
khang mday	On the mother's side
Kon	Child, step-child, adopted child. Child-in-law
Krut	Tangerine
Kla	Tiger
Kmuy	Sibling's child, child of first cousin or other collateral relative on ego's generation i.e a collateral on the first descending generation
Kmuy cidon muy	Chidren of first cousin
Kmuy	Nice/nephew and in the broad sense collateral relative of the first descending generation
Ko	Cow
Kon	Child, step-child, adopted child. Child-in-law

Land	Me or I
Maei	Grand mother
Mday or may	mother/step mother/ adopted mother
Mie	Parent younger brother, parent younger sister wife cousin or collateral male kinsman on first ascending generation
Metih	Chili
Metih tut	Small chili
Metih Thom	Big chili
Ming	Parent younger sister, parent younger brother wife or collateral kinswoman on first ascending generation
Mon	Chicken
Nhom brang	Cambodian cake
Nhom Som	Cambodian cake
Nom pechuk	Type of Cambodian noodle
Ookhun	Thank you
Patin	Type of fish
Pekong	Prawn
Plai	Vegetable
Pepei	Goat
Pepey	Kacang botol
Phek	Drink
Ph'on	Younger brother/sister
Pok	Father
Pday	Husband
Prapun	Wife
Peon	Younger sibling
See	Eat
Seea	Milk
Swai	Manggo
Swa	Monkey
Tlong	The parents of one's child's s
Tai lai	Cambodian cake
Terk	Water
Thom	Big
Tut	Small
Trey	Fish
Trey Pra	Type of Patin fish
Trey Kai	Type of Patin fish
Trey pra	Type of Patin fish

Treu Meih	Type of Patin fish
Trey Chnot	Type of Patin fish
Trey Kahai	Type of Patin fish
Wak	Mother or father elder brother/sister

Abbreviation

AIM	Amanah Ikhtiar Malaysia
AMM	Automotive Manufacturers Malaysia
AWMM	Association for the Welfare of Muslim Malaysia
CD	Compact Disc
FELDA	Federal Land Development Authority
FMB	Father Mother Brother
FMS	Father Mother Sister
IREGC	Inter Disciplinary Research on Ethnic Groups in Cambodia
MRCS	Malaysia Red Crescent Society
MTB	Malaysian Truck and Bus
MAIK	Majlis Agama Islam Kelantan
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Chapter One
Introduction

1.0   Background

> When the Khmer Rouge took over Cambodia in April 1975, about
> 1.5 to 2 million Cambodians died of exhaustion, malnutrition and
> disease, or were executed. Most of the population were forced into
> [the] countryside, and many others began to flee the country into
> the first asylum countries, for. instance Thailand, Malaysia,
> Indonesia, Philippine, Hong Kong, Republic of China, Australia
> and Japan either by land or by sea. (Supang, 1988)

The above quotation has been chosen to give an overview of historical background of
the 'Orang Kemboja', [1] which literally means 'Cambodian people'. In the past three
decades, the peoples of Indochina (see Map 1) have become a socio-political
phenomenon which has attracted the world's attention. These people have experienced
rapid extensive political upheavals. Four different regimes succeeded one another in the
context of civil war, the overflow of the American-Vietnamese war into the country, and
a military invasion from Vietnam (Heuveline, 1998).

In the process of social destruction, hundreds of thousands of Cambodians died and they
experienced the death of family, kinsmen and friends from starvation, overwork or
disease. Prior to the war, the solidarity of the family, as a primary social unit of
economic cooperation and emotional bonds, was strong. However, when the Khmer
Rouge established Democratic Kampuchea, everything changed. Family organization
was shattered by communal organization into labour teams segregated on the basis of
age and gender. As Ebihara (1993: 52) pointed out, 'The labor teams were divided into;
children, adolescents and young adults, married (or widowed) adults, and the elderly,
each of which was further divided into male and female groups'. Additionally, under the
Khmer Rouge (1975-1979) Cambodian family structure was weakened as a result of

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[1] Among Malaysians this term is used when they referring to Indochinese refugees and these terms will be
discussed in chapter two.

frequent relocation and removals of children from their parents (Clayton, 1998; Ebihara, 1993). The number of single headed households increased dramatically; women became heads of household, due to loss of men through deaths and emigration (Banister and Johnson, 1993).

Map 1: Southeast Asia

http://www.richardbarclay.com/traveldiary/maps/map_se_asia.gif

The agony undergone by the people of Indochina during the communist era forced them to evacuate to safer lands. Thailand, the nearest neighbour, became the first and foremost target for those people seeking aid. Besides Thailand, other countries, such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Hong Kong, Republic of China, Australia and Japan became asylum countries for Indochinese refugees (Supang and Reynolds, 1988).

The first batch of Indochinese refugees in Malaysia landed on Peninsular Malaysia's East Coast beach on May 3rd, 1975. A year later the number of refugees increased to 50,000 and by mid 1979 the number reached over 100,000 (Dorall, 1988). The substantial influx of Indochinese refugees in Malaysia and other neighbouring countries put pressure on the government to accommodate hundreds of thousand of refugees. The plight of the refugees became an international humanitarian crisis, and the United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) urged for resettlement to further locations including the United State of America, France, Canada, and Australia. During the resettlement period, the U.S resettled 378,487 Indochinese refugees, followed by France with 73,357 refugees, and other countries received smaller numbers (Supang and Reynolds, 1988:6).

However, out of hundred of thousands of refugees who flooded into Malaysia by land or by sea, only small percentages are allowed by the Malaysian government to resettle in the country. These refugees are called the 'Cham' people, and this study focuses on this group of people.

1.1. Aims of Study

This exploratory study attempts to analyse the impact of modernization on kinship structures among one particular group of the Cham people in a new settlement, since their retreat from their home country, Cambodia. After more than 30 years resettlement in Malaysia and moving from one place to another in the early period of resettlement, nowadays the people are permanently settled in the village of Pulau Keladi, on the East Coast of Peninsular Malaysia. Locally, these people are known as 'riverside dwellers',

and also well known in Pahang, particularly in the Pekan area, as fish farmers. *'Patin'* fish has been synonymous with the Cham of Pekan since the 1980s and nowadays they are the biggest supplier of fresh water fish not only in Pahang but also in other states of Malaysia. In contrast to their self sufficient economy in the past, nowadays they are involved in the commercial economy: fish farming, farming, food stalls, coffee shops, and construction. Therefore the main purpose of this study is to examine the transformation of the rural economy to the commercialization of agricultural, and petty trading activity, and the impact upon their kinship relations. What are the consequences of the modern economy for Cham kinship relations? Do nuclear family criteria 'harmoniously fit' the need of an industrialized and modernized society? This question is posed in the light of Parson's (1949) and Goode's (1963) general theory.

Secondly, the aim of this study is to add an ethnographical characterization of the Cham culture to our reservoir of comparative data. There is a fairly voluminous literature on the Cham in Cambodia, but the greater part of it is outdated, limited to particular topics or relatively inaccessible (Ebihara 1993). Moreover, Crystal (1991:72) asserts that 'it is most unfortunate that at the present juncture there are no historians or ethnographers who are actively pursuing research on Champa'. There has been little discussion about the Cham's social organization. The previous studies on the Cham[2] mostly focused on historical perspective, cultural interpretation, language, political dimension, and literature. On top of that, most of the materials written in Khmer or French about the prewar period, that were stored in the country, were destroyed during the years of war and revolution in Cambodia (Ledgerwood, 1998:137). Therefore, another of the main purposes of this study is to add to, and bridge the gap in the literature, particularly on the economic and social organization of the Cham people.

However, this statement is not meant to denigrate the contribution of numerous French scholars. As Lafont (1978) highlights, a considerable amount of Cham literature has been published by French researchers and administrators. Aymonier, for example,

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[2] For more discussions on French scholarly research in Indochina, see Lafont (1978).

produced information on the Cham people in 1871 and 1885, followed by Bergaigne (1888) and, in the early twentieth century, Cabaton (1901) who produced a study of the Cham, as did by Maspero in 1928 (cited in Lafont, 1978). Yet none of these were ethnographers. Reynand was the first ethnographer to work on the Cham, and was published in 1880 (cited in Lafont, 1978). Later on, in the modern era, Baccot (1968) conducted a study on Cham Muslims in Cambodia. Recently, one of the most prominent scholars of the Cham people is Lafont (1964) who has traced three main different categories of kin group (see Chapter Two).

1.2   Research Approaches

The field method employed in this study was ethnographical, as it has been proven by many anthropologists that this technique is successful in providing first hand information on the subject. This method has been established and practiced within a variety of disciplines with their own internal histories, most prominently in anthropology (Willis, 2001:2). As Bernard (1995) has pointed out, ethnography seeks to explore the meaning of everyday life, instead of assimilating data into the researcher's preconceived ideas. Getting involved and close to people makes them feel comfortable enough with the researcher's presence so that observation and recording of information about the subject of the study can be done.

Ethnography can take various forms using a range of qualitative methods; however, the most common are participant observation, in-depth interview, and the use of qualitative documents. It may also involve collecting some quantitative data (Haralambos and Holborn, 2000: 1008). In this research I incorporate a number of standard techniques of data collection such as field notes, oral history, photography, kinship chart description and documentary methods.

1.2.1   Gaining Access

The main problem encountered when undertaking any research is that of access. Access has been described by Lee (1993) as an initial phase of entry to the research setting

around which a bargain is struck; a process in which the researcher's right to be present in a social setting may need to be continually renegotiated. Therefore the idea of using 'gatekeepers' who control access, suggested by Hammersley and Atkinson (1995), was one of the best approaches in gaining access.

Many ethnographers have found that the 'gatekeeper' plays a very important role in whether the researcher is accepted or rejected. In my case, the *Penghulu* Mukim Langgar was my gatekeeper. This man, in his early 50's, was a community leader appointed by the local authority. He was the one who liaised with the headmen of every village in the Mukin Langgar area. His good reputation among the inhabitants of Pulau Keladi and other villages in Mukim Langgar was an advantage to me in gaining easier access into the research setting.

My first contact with Pulau Keladi, came when I made a visit to this village in March 2003, a year before I left Malaysia to come to England. I had the opportunity to get to know Salamah, a mother of four children. She is a Vietnamese woman who converted to Islam and married a Cham man, and lives in Pulau Keladi. During my visit, she shared the story of her life during the Communist occupation in Cambodia. Salamah was an eyewitness to the terrible incidents in her life; her parents, brother and sister in-law were killed by Communist troops. Soon after, Salamah and other family members escaped their village in Cambodia and sought a safety place in Thailand. My relationship with Salamah inspired me to ask more questions about and probe further into who are these people now known as *Orang Kemboja* or Cambodian people among the Malays and other Malaysians.

I spent more than a year in England preparing myself with reading some of the available literature on the Cham, studying the French language for two semesters, and studying the phonetics and phonemics of the Cham language in order to deal with the resources and people. I had decided to explore the matriarchal element in the Cham community, of which no detailed ethnographic description had as yet been provided. I left England in November 2005 to carry out the research in Pulau Keladi.

Some formal procedures in terms of approval by the relevant authority had to be completed before the research could be conducted, and for this purpose, I waited for two months for an approval letter from the Pekan District office. My first request for approval was rejected for fear that the research would broach sensitive issues such as politics, so a second letter was written, promising that the study would focus only on the social and economic aspects of the Cham of Pulau Keladi. The approval letter was sent back to me with the condition: 'without any political issues', so the research was obviously governed by this condition.

During the two month period, during which the process of seeking approval was undertaken, I managed to attend a seminar on Champa in the National University of Malaysia and meet Cham scholars and researchers from Cambodia, France, and from Malaysia; Po Dharma, Mohamad Zain Musa, Nicholas Weber and other Cham students.

I had to wait for a further two weeks after obtaining the permission letter, which was received in the middle of January, to commence my research in Pulau Keladi, due to the flooding season. The *Penghulu* of Mukim Langgar as 'the gatekeeper'[3] flatly refused to take me into the village for safety reasons. Initially, I pressed him to allow me into the village because I considered it an important time, as it would allow me to observe how the Cham faced and came to terms with the severity of life during the flooding season. However, I finally had to accept the decision made by the *Penghulu* as I realized that listening to him at this stage would be fruitful and important for sustaining a further relationship in view of his role as the gatekeeper.

Officially, I moved into Pulau Keladi in February 2006, and the stay extended to the end of September 2006. I acquired a small house, approximately 15 x 20 feet, which belonged to Wak Rip, for a rent of RM50.00[4] per month inclusive of the electricity and water bills. This house was linked to Wak Rip's and his sister's houses, through a

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[3] Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) used this term as an option for researchers to gain access to the field or data.
[4] This amount is equal to 7 pound and 40 pence sterling (regarding to current rate of exchange, 1 pound is equal to 6 Ringgit and 80 cent).

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platform which was built across the kitchens in the three houses. By that means, I could gain access to Wak Rip's and his sister's houses from my kitchen. My house was so easily accessible that when Wak Rip's wife, his daughters, his sister or Wak Rip's nieces wanted to send fruit or ready-cooked dishes to me, they would do so through Wak Rip's house.

From the beginning I felt a genuine hospitality and warmth from the villagers, especially the older women. The first woman I met was Kak Zaiton who later became one of the key informants during my stay in Pulau Keladi. She suggested that I ask her daughter Rosnah, a high school student, in case I needed further help in my data collection. It must be admitted that Rosnah and Kak Zaiton soon after became my 'Khmer teachers' and Rosnah became my research assistant.

Concerning gender issues in this case study, being a woman affected me as a data collector in both positive and negative ways. It was easier for me to be accepted by local women and their families, because of my status as a married woman with two children. On the other hand it was difficult for me to 'enter the men's world' with the same status. Therefore I decided to apply O'Brien's (1992) approach when she conducted her fieldwork in a Catalan Village. She describes the visits of her parents, her brother and two sisters during her stay, and emphasizes the importance of these, not only in enabling the villagers to see that she too came from a real family, but also in giving her access to people with whom she had previously found it difficult to make contact. For instance she managed to access the male world via her father, and the world of young married couples via her married sister.

In my case, after I had lived in the village for a few weeks I invited my husband to accompany me during the weekends, and my son and daughter during school holidays. This had a good impact on my status as a mother and a wife in the eyes of the villagers. This status had a definite impact on my role in the community, as well as relationships within the family itself. The most important aspect was that the gap between me and the men in Pulau Keladi was narrowed with my husband's appearances and his joining them

in the '*serau*' for prayers, in the coffee shop, and playing football, '*sepak raga*[5]' or '*takraw*[6]'. In the months that followed I developed a friendship network with several men within the village that extended to others from different villages. Sometimes, while I was having coffee or breakfast with my husband, the men would simply join us and I was able to have conversations with them.

Over time I formed a close attachment with dozens of women and always joined them in chatting or helped them in cooking underneath of their houses. In several homes I was treated in a relaxed and open way. Women of different ages sat together talking, gossiping or some of them might chew betel and areca nuts, have snacks or sometimes help the owner of the house to peel onion, and chop vegetables for lunch or dinner. I simply joined these women and these occasions became routine for me while conducting my fieldwork in Pulau Keladi.

Another way of gaining access into a society is by fictive kinship or adoption (see Carsten 1997). Being 'foster daughter' to a senior couple in a Malay family in Langkawi allowed her to develop a close attachment not only to that particular household, but also to the whole community. In my situation, I was adopted as a daughter by one middle aged couple toward the end of my stay (late Abang Ramli and Kakak Sariah). It was devastating when my adoptive father asked his children not to forget me and always keep in touch with me and my family, before he passed away several months later. My relationship with my 'adopted sister' Cik Long, the elder sister of the family, become very close; she was also one of my key informants. Cik Long was a married woman with four children aged between 7 and 12 years old. She worked in her father's coffee shop as a shop assistant and in the evening she helped her husband in feeding fish. After her

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[5] This is one of the traditional games popular in the South East Asia region. Players stand in a circle with a rattan ball; they have to juggle the ball using the foot, knee or sometime head. The game begins with one player throwing the ball to another player. The second player must use his foot to catch the ball and juggle it before passing it to the other players. The team who can juggle the most is considered the winner.

[6] Instead of standing in a circle, this *takraw* game is a new version of *Sepak raga*. The *takraw* game uses a court like a badminton court. However in *takraw* there are only three players on each team. The team that scores most wins the game.

father died, she took over her father duties with her younger brother's help in running the business. She was a third generation migrant who was born in Cambodia and brought up in Malaysia, and she could speak fluent Khmer and Malay.

Her ability to deal with both old and young people, and her good relationship with all Pulau Keladi inhabitants was an advantage to me. Usually, if I was not certain or clear about any issue, especially when dealing with the older generation (because of the language barrier), I cross checked or obtained an explanation from her. My relationship with Cik Long has remained close even after I completed my field research in Pulau Keladi. I had the opportunity to continue my 'field work' after I came back to Britain, and until today I continue to keep in touch with her. At least once a month I will telephone her, and she has become a mediator between me and other people in Pulau Keladi. If I encountered any doubt or difficulty while dealing with my field notes, or needed a confirmation, I could easily ring her to resolve the problem.

Prior to the fieldwork, my original plan before embarking to England was to trace the Cham matrilineal system, which was upheld by the descendants of the Champa Kingdom. My proposal was structured by taking into consideration the literature written by the French scholars and administrators such as Aymonier (1891), Maspero (1928) and Lafont (1964). These studies were carried out in Vietnam and in these works the structure, organization, and kinship or social system of the conventional Cham were discussed in terms of matrilineal descent rules. Children born to the matrilineal line, regardless of their sex, will be included in the matrilineal descent group; however, only the females will continue the line. Thus, houses and other property tend to be inherited by women.

A recent article by Po Dharma (1994) mentioned that Cham women of Panduranga (Central Vietnam) wield more authority than men within the family and the kin group. Mothers seem to have more influence than fathers over the children and women are entrusted with more responsibility than men to safeguard and perpetuate their culture and tradition. This view has been further supported by Jones (1994), who disclosed that

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the matrilineal system of the Cham people of Indochina shows some similarities with the Minangkabau of Negeri Sembilan and Sumatra. The Cham maintain their tradition of matrilineage, children and property belong to the *gap batian* or individuals claiming common ancestry in the uterine lineage (see Lafont, 1964) and after marriage a man moves into his wife's or wife's family's home.

However, the observations and interviews that I carried out during the first two months did not show any sign of matrilineal practices by the Cham of Pulau Keladi. The situation became crucial when most of the villagers claimed to be *Kemboja Islam* or Cambodian Muslims. On the other hand, my key informant and several of the older generations that I met claimed that they were Cham people. Therefore, I was in a dilemma, confused as to the real identity and the origins of these people. On top of that, these people spoke Khmer instead of Cham. I was in a situation where I felt that I had made a huge mistake in choosing Pulau Keladi. There was no sign of matrilineal practices among this community, they did not speak the Cham language and most seriously, most of them claimed to be 'Kemboja Muslim' instead of Cham people. However, through an email my supervisor has advised me to calm down and continue the observation, He wrote;

'Since you have been thwarted in your original plans, I suggest that you send me three or four alternative lines of enquiry that you might pursue. I can then comment on these. You should not be too hasty in selecting a new proposal. You should give yourself time to reflect upon the advantages and disadvantages of the alternatives and should relate them to the picture you are beginning to build up of villagers' lives. In the meantime, carry out the household survey and immerse yourself in the life of the village. Explore the daily and weekly routine, the division of labour by sex and age, the nature of other social divisions, the organization of fishing and the sale of the catch, the way villagers see their relations with the wider Malay society and any other issues that you feel are important. You might start to ask questions about their life in Cambodia, what their social organization was like then and how it has changed since they migrated to Malaysia. Above all, talk to people about anything that they are interested in and are willing to talk about. And observe patterns of social interaction. The information you will gain will both help you to formulate a new proposal and provide important

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background material for your study. The main thing is not to panic'.

<div align="right">(Creighton, 2006)</div>

In following this advice, I began to hunt around for information within Pulau Keladi. I incorporated a number of standard techniques of data collection, such as participant observation, formal and casual interviews, field notes, oral history, photography, kinship charts description, questionnaire and documentary methods The bulk of my research was concentrated within the village itself.

The coffee shop and food stalls were identified as potential places to gather information, as they were meeting centres for men, women and children every morning, since the Cham women usually did not prepare breakfast for the family members. Therefore, the coffee shop and food stall were important places in Pulau Keladi. Every morning, men and children went to the coffee shop or stall to buy ready cooked food for their breakfast before going to work or school. Soon after the men and children left the village, the second group, usually women and men who worked within the village, had their breakfast. This was the best time for me to join the villagers and have casual or sometimes formal interviews. The villagers had a number of choices; they could buy breakfast in Ramli's coffee shop, Kak Zaiton's, Mai Ni's or Azizah's stalls because these premises operated every morning serving a breakfast to either Cambodian or Malaysian taste.

By using a motor boat to cross the river, I could follow the farmers to go to an island where the Cham grow their crops. I was able to observe the complete cycle of farming activities in Pulau Keladi. I began to join the farmers in their garden plots to observe and at the same time participate in their activities. Helping the farmers in their garden plots such as weeding the grass, digging holes to plant corn or chillies, and harvesting the crops, gave an immense opportunity to grasp the routine of this activity and comprehend the Cham of Pulau Keladi's economic activities. Sometimes I also joined the fish farmers and their wives in cleaning activities, feeding the fish or filleting the fish for

sale. My participation in their activities allowed me to develop deeper relationships with a number of people, some of whom became my key informants.

In the afternoons, when people come back from the *Zohor* prayer they usually stopped by at Ming Nah, a stall which offered a variety of Cambodian cakes and some Malay snacks for tea. Men, women, and children would gather at Ming Nah stall to have a drink or some snacks. In addition, there was also a food stall open until midnight, which offered supper for the villagers. As with the breakfast stalls, most of the time, this stall became a place for men to meet and chat with their village mates. Usually men ate in the shop and the children or women took away the food, especially from the stall which opened until midnight.

Every day, between 5.00 pm to 7.00 pm was the time for all the villagers, men, women, and children, to have a break. Usually women would get together on the hammock underneath their houses. On the other hand, old and young men would go to the village green to play or watch football and volleyball games. The same routine of daily activities gave a tremendous opportunity for me to meet and talk to the women and men.

However, when it comes to gender issues female researchers may find access to the world of men restricted. In much the same way, male researchers may find difficulty in gaining access to the world of women, especially in cultures where there is strong division between sexes. Warren (1988), Whitehead (1986), and Peshkin (1991) similarly found that there might be some difficulty for a researcher who is working with peoples of a different race, ethnicity or religious practice. to establish relationships with the people. Nevertheless, in my case, I did not find this an obstacle, perhaps because the Chams share a great similarity with the Malays in terms of religion, and some aspects of their way of life.

On entering the Cham village, perhaps the most striking impression for the visitor is the structure of the houses, which are raised on pillars, unlike the Malay. The area underneath the house provides a huge space for various activities, for example for

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cooking; instead of cooking in the house, some houses use this area as a second kitchen. Others may use this area for having a nap in the afternoon on the hammock, because almost every house has at least one hammock and some houses may have more[7]. This area is also very important to women as they go about other tasks; a place for meeting other friends and neighbours, an entertaining area for informal visits, and to an area for communal activity such as preparing food, if they are offering a feast. Women dominate the house space, including the area underneath of the house. Therefore dealing with the 'women's world' was much easier for me compared to the 'men's world', particularly since women behave and talk freely within this compound.

At night, I would join the villagers for the *Magrib* and *Isyak* prayers at *serau*. There is a break between these prayers, and if there was no religious class during this time, usually the old women would ask me to teach them to recite the *Quran*. I would happily meet their requests and often the extra time after the recitation was over would give me chance to talk to them.

However, in dealing with the 'men's world' I sought my husband's help. His presence within the village and spending time with the men in the *serau*, joining them to play football, and enjoying a cup of coffee with them in a coffee shop seemed to open the doors of the 'men's world' for me. On top of that, my relationship with Cik Long's husband, and several other men; Osman, Abang Safi, Wak Rip, Abang Ramli, and Haji Ahmad also helped me to the men's world. I met the men in several places within the village, together with my Rosnah, my research assistant, and sometimes my husband would accompany me to make them feel more comfortable. The best and most favourable places were the coffee shop, the green or nearby river bank in the morning or evening while the fish farmers, were feeding fish, or just talking on a bench with other village mates.

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[7] From observation from books, magazines, television programmes, and stories with the Cham of Pulau Keladi, I could probably claim that the hammock is very important and synonymous with the people of Indochina.

In addition, to observe weekly activities of Pulau Keladi inhabitants, I made regular visits to the morning market in Pekan town, and several night markets in a few places in Pekan area. This was the place where the Cham sold local vegetables, Cambodian spices from their garden and also fish from their cages. There was also a huge market on Saturday morning, known as 'Pasar borong' or the 'whole sale market'. This market was dominated by Cham trade. More than 70 percent of all traders were Cham people who came not only from Pekan, but also from Johore, Trengganu, Selangor, and Kelantan. On the same day the 'morning market' operated not far from the 'whole sale market'. The Cham of Pulau Keladi would perhaps go to the wholesale market to buy a variety of clothing, sarongs, scarves, school uniform, shoes and many other things. Or else they would go to the 'morning market' to buy vegetables, fish, chicken, beef, and other cooking ingredients and ready cooked food.

I had an opportunity to go to the wholesale market on one Saturday morning with Kakak Mariam (Wak Rip's wife) and Yati (a Khmer converted woman). I asked Yati to find a nice blouse at a good price. It seems that the villagers prefer to buy from other Cham traders, as they can obtain better bargains in this way. The Khmer language was used while dealing with Cham traders, as Yati claimed that communicating in the same language made her feel contented and made the traders easier to deal with. It is not denied that there were also Chinese and Malay traders; however the numbers were negligible compared to the Cham traders.

Apart from observing and participating within the community, I also conducted a household survey to collect some basic information on the Pulau Keladi inhabitants. Data collection included the background of every household and this was divided into four components; profile of the head of household, migration, economic activities and kinship.

Throughout my stay in Pulau Keladi, I was fortunate to have the opportunity to observe and participate in certain ceremonies: two engagements, three weddings, and several

Muslim celebrations and feasts in the *serau*. These gatherings gave an indication of the social relationships and solidarity of the Cham people.

The main problems in doing my research were to do with data and the languages. The previous information concerning the Cham people is very limited, especially the information in relation to their social organization. Besides that, the sources were written in French and a few in the Cham language. Reading texts in both languages was difficult and time consuming, especially during the early stages of research. It must be stated that some of the important materials were sent to French and Cham translators, due to my limited ability to read and speak those languages.

The problem was compounded by a misunderstanding as to the language spoken by the Cham. The Cham in Pekan usually speak the Cham language. However, in the case of Pulau Keladi, they speak Khmer, due to a long history of living next to Khmer neighbourhoods in Batambang. Before I embarked on the fieldwork, I prepared myself with the Cham language; however, contrary to expectations, when I arrived in the village I found that the villagers spoke Khmer rather than Cham. Several of the older generation could speak Cham, but they used Khmer as their mother tongue and Malay as a second language.

1.3   Theoretical Considerations: Kinship and Modernization

This section investigates the issues from a theoretical perspective, beginning with a brief overview of debates on kinship and modernization. Since the end of World War II, developing societies in the non-Western world have witnessed the emergence of modernization. Previously, analyses of modernization were derived from the experience of Western countries, and traced the history of Western civilization. The late eighteenth century represents a hiatus in intellectual perspective and it was then began to analyse the concept of being 'modern' (Bendix, 1967).

Rogers (1969: 48) has defined modernization as 'the process by which individuals change from a traditional way of life to a more complex, technologically advanced, and rapidly changing style of life'. However, according to Rostow (1967), modernization is a process which comprises many specific changes, denoting rapidly widening control over nature through closer co-operation among people. It includes all the more specific changes such as industrialization, rationalization, secularization, and bureaucratization. The concept of modernization has been defined predominantly in terms of the economic and technological aspect of change (Jocano, 1983). This concept becomes more complex, however, when treated by scholars from different disciplines using concepts such as political modernization, economic modernization, technological modernization, military modernization, educational modernization, administrative modernization, and so forth. It has become almost the general practice to employ the concept of modernization in a diffuse and ambiguous manner (Alatas, 1973). On the other hand Vago (1989: 129) has identified that the concept modernization always refers to a process of transformation from non-modern, to modern, and reflects a conception of modern society as a society oriented towards progress and change.

However, some scholars refuse to use the term modernization in dealing with this issue, because it is so controversial (Germani, 1973). Instead of modernization, Germani (1973) used the notion of secularization, which is associated both with the urbanization and with the changes in the history of mankind. He added that it connotes the transition from 'primitive' to 'civilized' society and the emergence of modernity through a sociocultural mutation occurring within a particular 'civilization'.

According to Alatas (1973), the ambiguity and diffuseness of the concept of modernization lies in the fact that no distinction or differentiation is made between the numerous phenomena within Western society which are considered as the basic ingredients of modernization, resulting in the following;

1). The identification of modernization with different types of social change.

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2). The identification of modernization with Westernization, implicitly or explicitly.

3). The identification of modernization with the constitutional and democratic form of government based on the Western European model.

4) The emphasis on a particular aspect or process of modern society as the essential core of modernization.

5). The confusion of the term modernization with the process of arriving at modernity.

Alatas (1973) suggested that modernization is a process by which modern scientific knowledge covering all aspects of human life is introduced in varying degrees, first in the Western civilization, and later diffused to the non-Western world, by different methods and groups with the term, as accepted by the society concerned. He listed the traits of modern scientific knowledge as follows:

a). The objectification of nature.

b). The assumption of laws and regularities in nature explainable in terms of a rational and empirical approach divorced from magic, religious dogma and philosophical system.

c). The recourse to experimentation to assess the validity of suggested explanations.

d). The use of signs and abstract concepts.

e). The maintenance of a critical and enquiring spirit.

f). The search for truth for its own sake.

g). The employment of and concern for definite methods.

h). The use and discovery of inanimate energy for further development.

Hareven (1976) makes another important distinction, between 1) personal modernity, which concerns changes in individual attitudes and behaviour and more 'rational' decision making; 2) societal modernity, which describes such large-scale social shifts as economic development, new communications, higher rates of literacy, and secularization.

In spite of the various definitions of modernization, the debate concerning modernization and kinship pertains to the supposed transition from the 'extended' to the 'nuclear family' or 'conjugal family' system which has been discussed widely since the industrial revolution. Max Weber (1947), who was among the earliest scholars to deal with industrialization and its effect on the family system, noted that as a result of industrial revolution, the nuclear family has arisen.

The studies undertaken by Ogburn and Rutherford (1928), and Ogburn (1955) also found that, under the impact of rapid technological and social changes, the family has experienced the process of defunctionalization. Previously the family was multifunctional with economic, educational, recreational, religious and protective functions. He contended that the family has changed to a dual-functional form with only affective and reproductive functions.

One of the most significant structural-functional theorists, Parsons (1949) took the same line as Weber and Ogburn; he addressed the impact of urban-industrialisation on family structure and family functioning. Parsons argued that the process of industrialization fragments the family by cutting it off from its kinship network and reducing it to the nuclear family. The family loses its productive, political and religious function and becomes simply a unit of residence and consumption. As he claimed in one of his works 'in the past generation or more, has been undergoing a profound process of change....such as the very high rate of divorce, the changes in the older sex morality, the decline in birth rates as evidence of a trend to disorganization in an absolute sense' (Parson, 1949).

These changes have often been linked with what Parsons called 'loss of function'. As the Elliots (1986 p: 35-6) commented, this idea could be related to Parsons' functionalist perspective. In his view, in the traditional family, large-scale kinship units dominated the social structure and performed religious, political, educational, and economic functions. As societies evolved, specialised economic, political, religious and cultural institutions emerged as units independent of kinship took over the family's functions. What Parsons

meant is that the family has become completely functionless except for the socialisation of children and the provision of psychological support for adults. He saw change in family tasks as part of an evolutionary process of structural differentiation in which the family, hitherto a 'multi-functional' unit, has become 'functionally-specific'.

The development of research on family and industrialization has persisted and attracted numerous researchers. Goode, for instance, took a position similar to that of Parsons. In his book, 'World Revolution and Family Patterns', published in 1963, Goode affirmed that;

> 'For the first time in world history a common set of influences - the social forces of industrialization and urbanization – is affecting every known society. Even traditional family systems in such widely separate and diverse societies as Papua, Manus, China, and Yugoslavia are reported to be changing as a result of these forces, although at different rates of speed. The alteration seems to be in the direction of some type of *conjugal* family pattern....' (Goode, 1963: 1).

Basically, Goode's major ideas concerned two modern trends, as noted by Ryder (1964) in his review of Goode's work. These trends are a move by all world cultures toward industrialization, and a tendency for all family systems to approach the conjugal western form. Changes in industrial systems are seen as the primary cause of alterations in family systems, particularly the increasing independence of the nuclear family.

In another article, 'Industrialization and Family Change', Goode (1999) emphasized that the conjugal family demonstrably 'harmonises with' or 'fits' the demands of the industrial system. He traced the ideals and realities of the characteristics of what he called 'western conjugal family', pointing out seven traits as follows;

1). Freedom of mate selection among younger generation has increased.
2). Age at marriage has increased.
3). Marriage between kin or consanguineal marriage has decreased.

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4). Birth rate has declined and tolerance toward contraception and abortion has increased.

5). There is greater tolerance of pre-marital sexual intimacies.

6). Relations between husband and wife are more equal.

7). The extended family has declined in size and frequency.

8). Divorce rate has increased and remarriage after divorce or death of spouse is common.

With these 'ideals and realities', Goode concluded that the Western conjugal family 'fits' industrial needs better than does the extended family. In order to fit the ideal-type of the above criteria to industrialization, Goode has given the following explanations;

1). Neolocal residence frees individuals from geographical ties.

2). An individual chooses a job based on his/her skill; he/she needs to invest only in him/her self, and not in his/her kin and he/she can adjust his/her lifestyle easily.

3). Family is separated from enterprise, so that the achievement, universalistic, and functionally specific criteria of the latter are free to operate without family interference from the ascriptive, particularistic, and emotionally diffuse criteria of the former.

4). The family system is equally related to both men's and women's sides.

5). Both sexes' aptitudes are equally important.

6). The small size family unit appears and each individual is better able to fit the demands of industrial society.

7). Freedom to choose their spouse and economic independence allow youth to fit their talents into the industrial system.

In his conclusion Goode summed up that in the major cultures of the world great changes in family patterns are taking place and suggested that in a matter of time this will be evinced in that '[the] data *will* appear, behavioural patterns that *will* become more pronounced, attitudes that are emerging, but *will* become dominant in the future'.

Furthermore, he claimed that in the industrial system, the family has a greater freedom from the domination of elders, from caste and racial restrictions, and from class rigidities, also freedom for unleashing of personal potentials, the right to love, to equality within the family, and to establishment of a new marriage when the old has failed.

Parson's idea of the 'isolated nuclear family', however, has been subjected to criticism by a number of researchers. For instance, the Elliots (1986) have argued with some of the basic principles of Parsons idea. She points out that 'the nature, direction and timing of change' seems to rely too heavily on 'pre-industrial' societies which were depicted as very different in economic and political organization compared to 'industrial societies'. On the other hand, in terms of time industrialization has emerged at different starting-points. Therefore different societies follow different patterns, and it is not a fixed process, and may be subject to different modes of organization, for example socialist or capitalist. More fundamentally Elliot disagrees with Parsons's account of the 'fit' between the isolated nuclear family and the industrial economy. She asserted that Parsons was ambiguous and misleading in referring to 'isolated nuclear family', since a wide variety of kin relationships are found in modern societies.

Further criticism has been supplied by Sussman (1965) who has documented the evidence of widespread informal kin relationships outside the nuclear family in contemporary American society. He has challenged Parson's idea of the isolated nuclear family by demonstrating the pattern of mutual assistance among aging parents and married children in American society. He stated that,

> 'The extended kin network is the basic social system in American urban society within which parent-adult child relationships are identified, described and analysed...The evidence also refutes the notion that nuclear family units are isolated and dependent upon the activities of other institutions and social systems'
>
> (Sussman, 1965)

This view was supported by Shanas (1973), who described a similar pattern of relationships between the nuclear family and the extended family. The extended family remains as a major social and psychological support of the American elderly, and they are not isolated from family and kin.

A more recent argument against Parson's view that 'industrialization fragmented the family' is provided by Hareven (2000). She has shown in her study how kin fulfilled a major role in workers' adaptation to the industrial system. The significance of the kin function is clear, particularly in what is generally considered an impersonal industrial system where each worker presumably represents only one link in the production system and where the factory environment is considered alienating and threatening. She summed up that the workers created their own world within the factory, a world in which kinship ties and family status were used to manipulate the system.

In the study of social interaction among kin and how modernization has influenced kin relationships, Chekki (1974) argued that separation from the extended or joint family has increased gradually over generations among the *Lingayat* and *Brahman*. However in terms of their network interaction with the extended family, bonds of kinship are being maintained, although in many cases they had gone through an adjustment process. This relationship appears in the performance of reciprocal kinship rights and obligations enjoined by religion and customary usages.

Kinship relations have been maintained, as noted by Ishwaran (1965) who conducted research in India. He revealed that the kinship system has been well integrated in the modern system. Families from rural India who move to urban areas draw upon kinship ties in adapting to changing circumstances. In order to meet the demands of complex modern urban life, the modified extended family is emerging. Abu-Lughod (1961) emphasized that in many cases the kinship system was reconstructed and kinship relationships were reshaped in order to meet the new needs that arose from the process of movement, settlement, and adjustment to the new setting

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Several studies among immigrants have shown a considerable continuity of the kinship network, for instance among the Vietnamese refugees in the U.S.A. Thi-Doan (2004) provides evidence of how Vietnamese immigrants rely heavily on the family network for basic needs such as referrals, jobs, startup capital for businesses, and during critical life events. A similar pattern is described by Menjivar (1997), who carried out a comparative study on immigrant kinship networks among the Vietnamese, Salvadoreans and Mexicans. She discovered that among these immigrants their kinship networks provide material and emotional assistance as well as information for their survival in the new locale. In the same manner Shaw (2000) provides an insightful account of the dynamics of kin group of British Pakistanis. The wider kin group has shown a strong sense of solidarity and willingness to help throughout the life course.

Similar examples can be found in other immigrant communities, as reported by one of the most significant family historians, Hareven the founder of the Journal of Family History. In 1974 she gave an account of French-Canadian immigrants in the Amoskeag manufacturing company in Manchester, New Hampshire. This study examined the role of kin in facilitating migration to the new country, and at the same time retaining ties with relatives in the community of origin. She found that workers' kinship networks cushioned the adaptation of immigrant workers to new industrial working conditions. As she noted in one of her studies;

> They recruited new workers, placed them in workrooms where they could cluster together, initiated the young and the new immigrants into industrial discipline and the work process, taught them how to manipulate machinery, and provided protection inside the factory. At the same time they socialized new workers to collective working-class behavior, teaching them how to resist speedups in production through the setting of quotas on piecework and through the slowdown of machinery'.
>
> Hareven (2000: 16)

Hareven's finding about the role of kin refuted the argument of Goode and others who share his idea that migration erodes kinship networks. In fact migration has often strengthened and led to the development of new functions for kin in response to changing economic conditions and pressures.

Hareven (2000) is probably the best known critic on this issue. In one study she claims that,

> 'Before systematic historical study of the family began, various social science disciplines had generated their own myths and grand theories about continuities and changes in family behaviour in the past. Sociologists in particular argued that in preindustrial societies, the dominant household form contained an extended family, often involving three core resident generations, and that the "modern" family, characterized by a nuclear household structure, family limitation, the spacing of children and population mobility, was the product of industrialization. Also associated with these generalizations was the popular myth that industrialization destroyed familial harmony and community life'.
>
> (Hareven 2000: 4)

Hareven (1977) has pointed out that the main weakness of the previous study of family organisation is the limitation of viewing the family as a 'static unit', and assuming that the families try to fit with the needs of industry in order to maintain the survival of family and community . On the contrary she claimed that the family is an 'active agent'. The family did not break down under the impact of urbanization and industrialization; under certain circumstances, it actually helped to foster those changes. The evidence from her study among the French-Canadians demonstrated that 'kin fulfilled a major role in labour recruitment and in the placement of workers. Routine functions started with simple assistance in finding jobs for newly arrived immigrants or young relatives coming of age and later developed into the more complex service of specifically placing relatives in preferred jobs and departments' (Hareven, 1978).

Hareven (1991, 1994) also proposed, in order to examine the continuity and change of the family, the adoption of a 'family history' approach. This idea represents the dimensions of human experience such as growing up, courting, getting married, bearing

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and rearing children, living in families, becoming old, and dying, from the perspective of those involved. Alongside this is, Hareven suggested 'life-course' approach, which has introduced a dynamic dimension into the historical study of the family, and has moved analysis and interpretation from a simplistic examination of stages of the family cycle to an analysis of individuals' and families' timing of life transitions in relation to historical time (Hareven, 1994).

In a similar vein, Creed (2000) claimed that diverse family experiences in different cultural contexts lead to divergent family forms, different family relations, and varied family commitments between societies and within them, as well as over time. Greven (1970) argued that family history studies show that, rather than being isolated, nuclear households were embedded in kinship ties outside of their confines. Members of the nuclear family were engaged in various forms of mutual assistance, collaboration, and rituals with extended kin.

Further, by using the 'family history' approach, Hareven began to explore the 'decision making' processes within the family in order to analyse the changing pattern. These processes have led to investigation of strategies and choices that individuals and family groups make over their entire lives. In Hareven's views we cannot disregard the relations between the nuclear family and the wider kinship group. Similarly, the family's interaction with the world religions, work, education, correctional and welfare institutions together with processes such as migration, industrialization and urbanization should be highlighted. In the case of migrants, she documented the central role of family members and distant kin in organizing migration, facilitating settlement, and helping migrants adapt to new living conditions.

Another weakness of Goode's ideas is that we are given no explanation of other types of family relations besides the 'western conjugal family' which might 'fit' the needs of an industrial economy. Congswell (1975), for instance, rejected Goode's idea, and pointed out that in Western society there are 'variant family forms' which include communes, group marriage, cohabiting couples, homosexual unions, and open marriage. These

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'variant family forms' are not discussed by Goode in explaining his idea of the 'western conjugal family'. Recently, many aspects of family patterns and formation have changed significantly in western societies, and new types of family are appearing, such as single parent families, and gay and lesbian families which call for attention.

However, several studies conducted in order to analyse the impact of industrialization on the family have shown patterns consistent with Parson's and Goode's argument. For instance, Wong (1975) carried out research on the relationship between industrialization and the family structure in Hong Kong. He argued that there have been corresponding changes in the structure of the family which evolves from a temporary, broken extended form, to a settled stem toward a small nuclear family.

In addition, Wong has configured a set of industrial correlates such as native township, education, occupation and religion to be tested. The result has confirmed at a high level of statistical significance that there are associations between several industrialization correlates and family structure. Wong documents changes in family structure in Hong Kong, and claims that '[T]he male head of the nuclear family is found to have come from city background rather than farming village. He has completed a higher and modern education, and consequently has obtained an occupational position which requires more training and offers higher monetary and social rewards. Finally, he is more likely to either uphold the creed of agnosticism or adhere to a modernistic rather than a traditionalistic religious belief'. He concludes that the new structure of the family unit is believed to be more suitable for modern industrial society.

In his book, 'Asian Values and Modernization: A Sociological Perspective' Chen (1976) pointed out that one of the casualties of modernization is the traditional extended family unit of the Chinese in Singapore. Chen has shown that in Singapore the Chinese extended family unit has been replaced by the modern nuclear family. He added that the role of the individual in the nuclear family is more specific and less complicated. Therefore, individuals feel more freedom, more independence, and more self-orientation. Secondly, the relationship between parents and children has also undergone

a transformation. Parents spend less time with the children and their role in educating the children has been diminished due to leaving home for work. Thirdly, the socio-psychological implication of the changing family system is the social alienation and isolation of the nuclear family. Nowadays, newly married couples set up their own homes, become independent of their parents, and leave the elders behind.

It is clear from this overview that under the impact of modern industrial society, changes have taken place in modern European, American and to some extent Southeast Asian societies. The standard argument that modernization tends to cause the breakdown of traditional kinship systems and the extended family gradually changes to the nuclear family should be challenged. This is because cross cultural studies have shown that different communities go through various processes of modernization and change differently. In the ensuing discussion, my intention was to analyse the concept of modernization as an explanation for the history of the family and the changes in family behaviour among the Cham of Pulau Keladi. As Hareven (1976) noted, historical study of the family can add to our understanding of the process of modernization as a description of social change. However, Hareven (1977) argues that the model of change and mechanical concept of timing in analyses of modernization is inadequate. She pointed out modernization was clearly not a universal phenomenon. The process of modernization is not necessarily universal or unilineal. Therefore this study attempts to analyse the significance of cultural differences as well as forced migration, and how ethnic identity influences kinship issues in the context of modernization. In the case of the Cham people, the focus of the study is on the question of to what extent the Cham kinship system has changed due to the impact of modernization. Do kin play any role in economic activities and the life course, and does ethnic identity carry out any function in amalgamating the Cham of Pulau Keladi as 'kin'?

1.4   The Concept of Network

The main aim of this section is to scrutinize some relevant literature concerning social network analysis, as I intend to use it to analyse the dynamics of Cham kinship relations.

Although friends and neighbours are important for most people in studying primary social networks, kinship is of special importance in any type of network. As Boot (1971), argues the importance of kinship is threefold; first, kin are especially likely to know one another, so that the kinship region of the network is likely to be more close-knit than other sectors. Second, relationships with and among members of close knit sectors are relatively permanent. Third, kin play an important double role, not only supporting but also dividing the marriages of the families in a network.

The idea of social network has been used both by social anthropologists and sociologists as one way of understanding human behaviour (Mitchell, 1974) and human interaction (Boissevain and Mitchell, 1973). Network analysis has been developed to study the ties linking members within the social structure. In the most direct way, network analysts try to describe the 'ties patterns' and use their descriptions to learn how network structures operate (Wellman, 1983). This concept of 'social network' was first introduced by Barnes (1971), followed by a considerable amount of literature which has further expounded this concept, such as Bott (1971), Boissevain and Mitchell (1973), O' Brien (1992), and Wasserman and Faust (1994).

A network has been described by Kapferer (1973) as a set of points (individuals) defined in relation to an initial point of focus (ego) and linked by lines (relationship) either directly or indirectly to this initial point of focus. In the same manner, it appears that Boissevain's (1973) idea of network analysis focused specifically on personal networks. In his article, 'An Exploration of Two First-Order Zones', he examines the relationship between personal networks and the environment in which they are encompassed. Boissevain's concept of network could be associated with woman as an interacting social being capable of manipulating others as well as being manipulated by them. This network analogy indicates that people are dependent on others, not on abstract society.

Wasserman and Faust (1994) defined the concept of network by emphasizing the fact that each individual is tied to few, some or many others. What they did was to give us a

clue to understanding the basic concept of network and they conclude with the phrase 'social network' referring to a set of actors and ties among individuals.

Gilchrist (2004) seems to have a similar idea of ties and nodes in network analysis, and he identified three characteristics of networks. The first is a set of nodes where connections are made either through individuals or organizational units. The second characteristic is the linkages between them, and the third is the ability of the nodes to influence one another, either directly or via the transfer of information. The node and ties structure can be represented as a polycentric and dynamic pattern of interaction, which is neither random, nor explicitly ordered.

Within the field of social network analysis, Johnson (1994) points out that there are two basic approaches to the analysis of social networks, namely, socio-centric or 'whole' networks, and ego-centric or personal networks. This concept has been applied by Willems (2003) in his study of refugees and social networks in Dar -es-Salaam, Tanzania. He described that socio-centric networks represent the ties between all members, two by two, of a particular group or persons. This set of relations between a limited number of people is often visualized in a matrix, whereby all the members of the group are laid out on both the X and Y-axis. The number on the position where a person on the X-axis and another person on the Y-axis meet usually indicates the intensity of another tie-attribute of the relationship between those two persons. An ego-centric network, on the other hand, is the set of relations one person, called ego, has with a certain number of other individuals called alters.

Generally, in analysing the social networks concept, certain major elements are emphasized: the node, and the tie, and their relationships or connection, and how these two main elements interact and associate with each other has become the main focus of the discussion.

1.4.1 Function: What Do Kin Networks Do?

Within these broader frameworks, the types of networks of most concern to this study are kinship networks. The question of what kinship networks do has been the subject of many studies. Lamphere et al. (1980), in their analysis of networks, have drawn attention to a number of studies which described the networks' function, focusing on what networks 'do'. This refers to networks performing certain actions, activities or jobs. Among those who focus on network functions are Firsth et al. (1969), Banks (1974), Kronenfeld (1976), Hareven (1978), Finch (1989), Powel, and Smith-Doerr (1994), Stewart (2003), and Marceau (1989).

In a study of 'Family Obligation and Social Change', Finch (1989) answered the question of what networks do by delving into the concepts of duty, responsibility and obligation of the family and kin. She demonstrated how the kin network performs important functions especially in assisting and supporting relatives in daily life activities, economic support, accommodation, personal care, practical support and childcare, emotional and moral support.

One example of the type of support given by kin, noted by Finch, is regular assistance with child care. Mostly, women are responsible for running households and caring for dependent members of their families. Therefore it is more common to see women seeking for help compared to men. This practical support basically involves helping each other on a reciprocal basis. For emotional and moral support, she emphasises listening, talking, giving advice and helping people to put their own lives in perspective. She highlighted that 'it seems to be a common pattern of support between parents and children, especially mothers and daughters, followed by siblings' (Finch, 1989).

A recent study by the social anthropologist, Shaw (2000), demonstrates how British Pakistanis in the United Kingdom utilise the dynamics of kinship relationships. Kinship relationships play an important role among these people, and their social network emerges in their social and economic activities. Using a systematic description of the

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particular social culture of 'gift giving' between kin, neighbours, and friends allows her to examine the social networks of these people. In most life cycle events, the cyclical exchange of gifts is governed by women through their network. This practice also has implications for the standing of a woman's husband and her household in relation to relatives and neighbours.

In a broader perspective, Powel and Smith-Doerr (1994) pointed out that networks play a role in social governance in establishing or maintaining social relationships between individuals. Networks serve as a form of 'social glue' that binds individuals together in coherent behaviours. In the context of kin networks, the 'social glue' reflects an intertwined line of social relationships among members of families, lineage or clan. The authors identified that there are two types of kin network; primary kin network and secondary kin network. The first type of network refers to relationships with parents and siblings. The second type of network refers to a relationship with a broader circle of kinsmen, those who are our extended family members.

From the economic perspective a number of scholars agree that affines and kin are often important sources of business startup capital (Benedict, 1968; Learned, 1992; Mattessich and Hill, 1976). In most cases, kinsmen provide capital in quantities that would not be worth the due diligence costs of professional providers (Learned, 1992). Relatives provide not only capital but also living expenses during start up (Stewart, 2003). Other benefits from relatives are providing resources to generate sufficient capital for running the business (Harrell, 1993). Extensive networks of affines and kin also provide a major source of mentoring (Strathern, 1971). Besides that, kinship provides access to business channels and markets (Benedict, 1968; Goody 1996.

Stewart (2003) in his work reveals how kinship networks contribute an important function to startup, success and maintaining the family business. He asserted that a family, especially an extended one, is an important asset 'beyond price'[8] in the business

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[8] Marceau (1989) uses this term to explain the importance of family and kin relations in business.

world. This pool of relatives may become first and prior resources for economic assets, capital and income, cultural resources, education and knowledge, social capital, a network of social contacts and mutual rights and obligations. In addition, families provide a pool of persons from whom an individual can seek assistance and who form a group in most cases more tightly knit than any network based simply on ties of friendship or common professional or recreational interests (Marceau 1989). The pool of kinsmen may include both lateral and affinal kin.

Marriage creates at least two sets of kinship groupings which together create a further pool of relatives. The groups may already have been linked by existing marriages between members but it is more likely that marriages will create new ties and networking. In the first case, the new marriage confirms and reinforces existing relationships, binding together more closely by multiplying ties. In the latter case, new affinal relationships generating new rights and claims come into existence. These links will usually be cemented through the birth of the children, joined by ties of blood to both groups (Marceau, 1989).

Other groups of researchers focus on the question of how the social network allocates resources. In other words, social networks provide groups or organizations with the things they need and enable them to operate effectively. This type of research overlaps with a focus on 'social capital' (see Hurlbert et al., 2000, Granovetter, 1973, Bian, 1997).

Treating social support as a social resource, Hurlbert et al. (2000), in their study of Hurricane Andrew victims, explored the relationship between contacts who provide resources and the network structures from which they were drawn. They did so by studying the effect of core network ties in unpredictable situations. They argued that the structure of core networks affects the routine experiences of focal network members and thereby conditions their perceptions of the availability of resources in those networks. Their analyses confirmed that core network structure affected both the proportions of

core network ties that were activated for informal support and the degree to which individuals activated ties inside.

As Choldin (1973) pointed out, in his article 'Kinship Networks in the Migration Process', in the process of migration kin folk provide three kinds of help; firstly material assistance. Secondly, intermediary help, which refers to activities which aid the migrant in overcoming his ignorance of customs, geography, and other facts about the new community. Lastly, making new social connections, which means aiding the migrant in meeting new friends and joining organizations. He found that migrants who travel in the company of kinfolk adjust more quickly and positively to living in a new environment and community compared to those who migrate alone or who are not met by others. In this study, I will apply this concept of kin networks in analysing the impact of modernization upon the Cham of Pulau Keladi. In so doing I will focus on the kin network within a nuclear family, the extended family, and further, to 'fictive kin'. Examination of how close kin and distant kin play their role in economic activities and life course events will be a main focus in analysing the impact of modernization.

1.5   Kinship Networks and Family Strategy

Kinship connection is a fundamental characteristic of Pulau Keladi Villagers. The circle of kinship networks comprises both close and distant relatives. In order to strengthen network relations among kin, various strategies or tactics[9] or techniques are used. Through strategies, families are able to cope with threats to their survival. Tilly (1979) defined family strategies as a set of 'implicit rules that guide the behaviour' of family members, families, and households. Tilly elaborated that these strategies have two functions: the first, as a means of 'familial rational calculation' which refers to how a family makes economic and social decisions that affect the family as a whole. The second function relates to application of 'preexistent perceptions and practices in dealing with everyday life', which essentially refers to a set of implicit decision rules for devising solutions to problems (Tilly, 1987:124).

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[9] This term was used by Graves and Graves (1980) when discussing 'adaptive strategies'.

In recent years there has been an increasing interest in the study of family strategies, Goldin (1981) described family strategies as interrelated family decisions and plans governing household membership, marriage and family limitation, migration, labour-force participation, and consumption. This view has been supported by Hareven (1991), who added further emphasis on the family as a collective entity. She noted that being a collective entity, the family may have an adverse impact in terms of obscuring the role of individual members in the decision-making process. Hareven (2000) argued that family strategies involve explicit or implicit choices which families make for the present, for the future, or for long-term needs. Edgington (2005) viewed family strategies as important in times of crisis; in particular, strategies could be seen as a way for families embedded in risky economic environments to reduce their risk by diversifying their means of economic support.

Finch (1989) scrutinized that strategies have been used to support families or relatives by providing economic resources, accommodation, personal care, practical support and child care, emotional and moral support. These strategies reveal that the issue of dependency is also connected with networking. Therefore, in practice, we can see that many people share mutual aid of various kinds with members of their kin group. The concept of reciprocity becomes a key idea in explaining the foundations of mutual aid in families (Finch and Mason, 1993: 34). As a result, the networking relationship between kin is important, especially in the case of migrants and refugees (Graves and Graves 1974; Hareven 1978; Finch 1989; Menjivar 1997; Micheli 2000).

The discussion of family adaptive strategies recognizes that there are various ways of meeting obligations towards. For instance, the concept of 'tolong menolong', or helping poorer siblings in a variety of rites of passage, is considered as fulfilling this obligation of a kin (Nagata, 1979: 404-5). A second form of interpersonal assistance is direct provision of financial aid, particularly associated with dire necessity and crisis. In this case, siblings are expected to remit money, gifts and loans to the needy kinsmen (cf. Banks, 1974). Other kinds of services rendered pertain to the essential material of making a living and access to property and resources. For example, this service includes

permitting someone to use part of one's house or land for residence or cultivation. In coping with the 'new world' especially for immigrants, these family strategies towards kinsmen are significant in finding jobs, and searching for accommodation.

1.6   The Cham Kinship Networks

In an attempt to make a detailed analysis of the Cham network in this study I will use Oliveri and Reiss's (1983) notion of 'wider kin' networks. The wider kin network of families contains at least four separable components: the consanguineous kin of (a) mother's mother, (b) mother's father, (c) father's mother, and (d) father's father. Secondly and equally important, are networks among non-kin. This type of network includes people who are not connected by consanguined or affinal relations. However, this category of people is bound by a kind of relationship based on faith and respect or known as 'Islamic brotherhood'.

Social networks in Pulau Keladi could be analysed in terms of a 'spider's web', with three main circles. The inner circle of the web represents the nuclear family network, the second circle represents the extended family network and finally the third outmost circle represents the non-kin network. In this study, these three types of networks will be examined, to ascertain to what extent their kinship relationship is important in helping people to deal with social and economic activities and to explore how far modernization has an impact on kin relationships

1.7   Summary

In exploring one distinctive community, this chapter began with an overview of previous studies of the Cham, and then outlined the objectives of the dissertation. The second part of the chapter focused on the methodology of the study and the last part discussed the theoretical framework of the thesis. In analysing the kinship system of the Cham community, the theoretical orientations of Parson's and Goode's are discussed. The idea of modernization in this study is viewed as a commercialization process; from self-sufficient to money oriented economic activities, and the migration process also could be

considered as conducive to 'modernization'. The process of migration and resettlement in a foreign country has forced these people, to move from self-sufficient to more commercial activities.

Besides modernization, the concept of family network is also applied in this study in analysing the impact of modernization upon family and kinship patterns among the Cham people. Previous studies claimed that modernization has changed family structure and kinship system. However, in this study my main argument demonstrates that modernization has had only a limited impact on the family and kinship relations of these people.

Chapter Two
From Cham to Khmer Muslim to *Orang Kemboja*

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section will give a brief overview of the history of migration of the Cham people in order to comprehend the nature of their ethnic identity and to provide a background for the study of the rebuilding of the community in Pulau Keladi. In so doing I will begin with the Cham historical movements since the 14th century in order to understand these people's background, followed by movement in the modern era, particularly during the Communist occupation in which conflict and violence occurred. It concludes with the resettlement process in the refugee camp followed by the move to Pulau Keladi. In the second section, the main focus is an examination of the effect of forced migration which bears directly on the contemporary Cham identity. My argument is that the Cham identity is influenced by religion, and the process of migration.

2.1 The Cham and Historical Movement

The Cham people is one of the societies which emerged and played an important role in the history of the Champa Kingdom[1], which flourished from 192 AD to 1835[2]. The Kingdom of Champa consisted of several principalities; Amarawati, Panadurangga, Indrapura, Vijaya and Kautahara (see Map 2). In the period of its highest expansion, Champa occupied a territory extending from Hoan Sonh Mountain present day in northern Vietnam, throughout the coastal region of Central Vietnam, to the banks of the Mekong River and encompassing the highlands of Central Vietnam (Po Dharma, 1992; Nakula, 1989; Al-Ahmadi, 1988).

However the glorious Champa Kingdom slowly lost its land and control to Vietnam; as Parkes (1998) noted, the Cham people are 'descended from the people of the Royal Kingdom of Champa, who were driven into Cambodia by the Vietnamese in

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[1] Called Lin-Yi by the Chinese and Lâm-Áp, Hoàn-Vương and Chiêm-Thanh by the Vietnamese. The population of Champa Kingdom consisted not only of the ethnic Cham but also Jarai, ra
[2] See Po Dharma, Nik Mohamed Nik Mohd Salleh and Mat Zain.

the 15th century and 17th Century'. Since then these people have been slowly moving from Northern areas, further down to the southern part of Vietnam and also to Cambodia.

Poklaun (1991) alleged that the Cham had gone through longer a history of migration, and he identified two main stages of migration. The first wave of migration started with a large number of Cham refugees in Champa Kingdom who had migrated after their military defeat in Vijaya in 1471 A.D to the Vietnamese troops of Le Thanh Ton. The second wave of migration of about five thousand Cham families led by Champa royal dignitaries to Cambodia took place in 1692. King Jayajettha III (1677-1709) of Cambodia granted their request for refuge. Collins (1996) has a similar point of view and pointed out, the history of Cham migration began as early as 1471 AD. The first wave of migration started with a large number of Cham refugees from the Champa Kingdom who migrated after their military defeat in Vijaya in 1471 A.D by the Vietnamese troops of Le Thanh Ton. This was followed by the second wave of migration of about five thousand Cham families, led by Champa royal dignitaries, to Cambodia which took place in 1692. These people were granted a place of refuge by King Jayajettha III (1677-1709) of Cambodia.
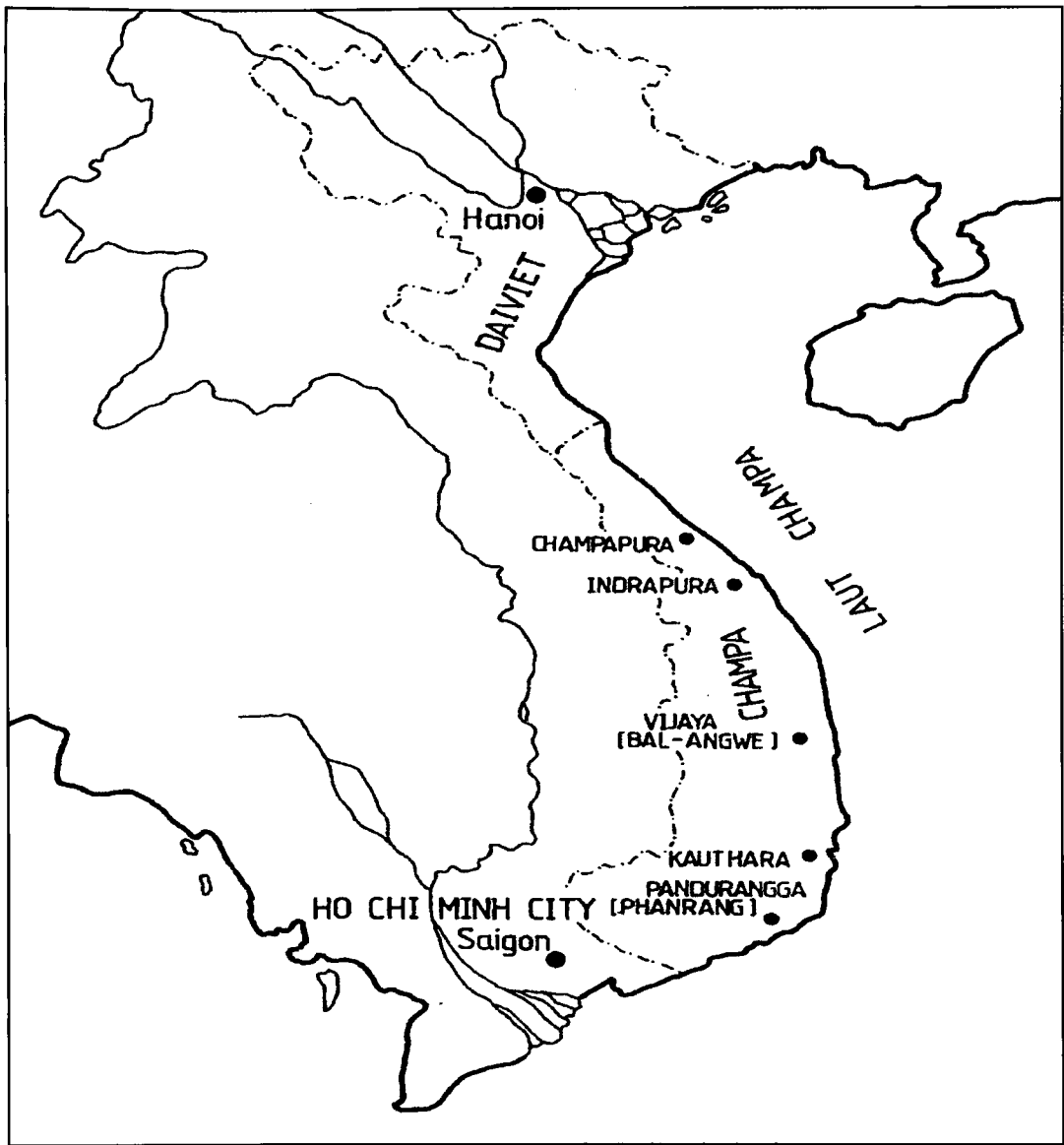
Map 2: Champa Kingdom
Source Nakula (1989)

However, Nakula (1989) alleged that the wave of migration of people from Champa Kingdom took place in five phases. The first phase began in the 15th Century, followed by second phase in the 17th and 18th centuries, due to the attacks of the Vietnamese (see Map 3).

Map 3 : Migration of Cham Peoples between 15th Centuries and 19th Centuries
Source Nakula (1989)
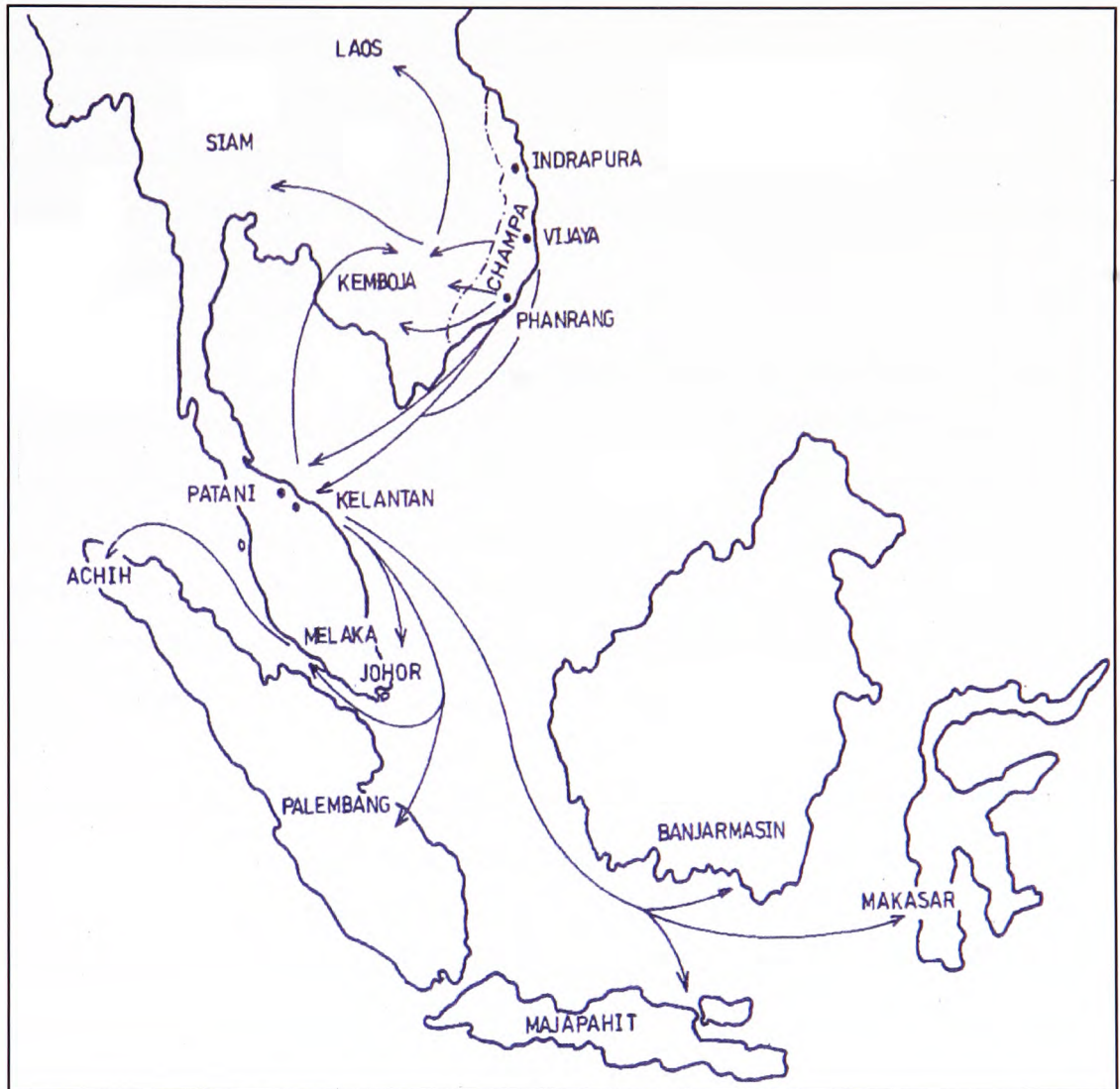
It seems that the second phases of migration involved more people and these people moved either by land or by sea using ships or even small boats en route for safer places in Pattani in Thailand, Terengganu, Johore and particularly Kelantan. In addition, a small number moved further down to Acheh, Palembang, Majapahit, Banjarmasin and Makasar Indonesia.

The third wave of migration of Cham refugees to Cambodia, and probably the largest one, happened in late 1790 when Tay So'n's troops waged war against Nguyen Anh's followers on Champa's land, causing the deaths of thousands of innocent

Cham. The fourth wave of migration of Cham people to Cambodia occurred during the reign of the Vietnamese ruler King Minh Mang (1820-1841) who mercilessly suppressed and massacred the Champa rebels. Once arrived at Cambodia, the Cham refugees built up their villages and formed their own communities similar to those of their compatriots in Champa, and lived separately from the rest of the population in order to preserve their language and their religious practices. Finally, under the rule of the Khmer Rouge (1975-1979) the fifth and most serious wave of migration of the Cham people took place as these people had to leave their homeland seeking new and safer places for survival.

The Champa Kingdom has been said by some to have lasted from the early ninth century A.D until the middle of the fifteenth century (Whitaker, 1972) whilst others claim that it existed until 1835 (Po Dharma, 1992). What is certain is that the glory of Champa Kingdom is only an historical memory nowadays and ceased to exist on the map of the world after more than a thousand years. A question which remains unanswered until today is where are the Champa people after the disappearance of their Kingdom?

As mentioned earlier, the Cham from Champa Kingdom were defeated and started to move in the 15th Century, and since then these people have been slowly moving from northern areas further down to the southern part of Vietnam and also to Cambodia. Others arrived by invitation of the Muslim-Khmer king, who ruled central Cambodia in the mid 17th century (Parkes (1998). This explains the appearance of Cham people in Cambodia, where they are scattered in several provinces. The vast majority of Cham people have settled down in Kompong Cham, Kandal. Kompong Chnang, Kompong Thom, Kompot, Takeo, Pursat, Kampot, Kratie, and Batdambang (Nakula, 1989) (see Map 4).

Map 4 : Cham Population in Cambodia Before 1975
Source Nakula (1989)

However, not all Cham people moved to Cambodia. Those who remained in Vietnam are scattered particularly around Phanrang, Phanri, Tuy Phong Hamtam, Tanhlinh, Chau Doc, Tay Ninh and Ho Chi Minh (Nakula, 1989) (see Map 5).
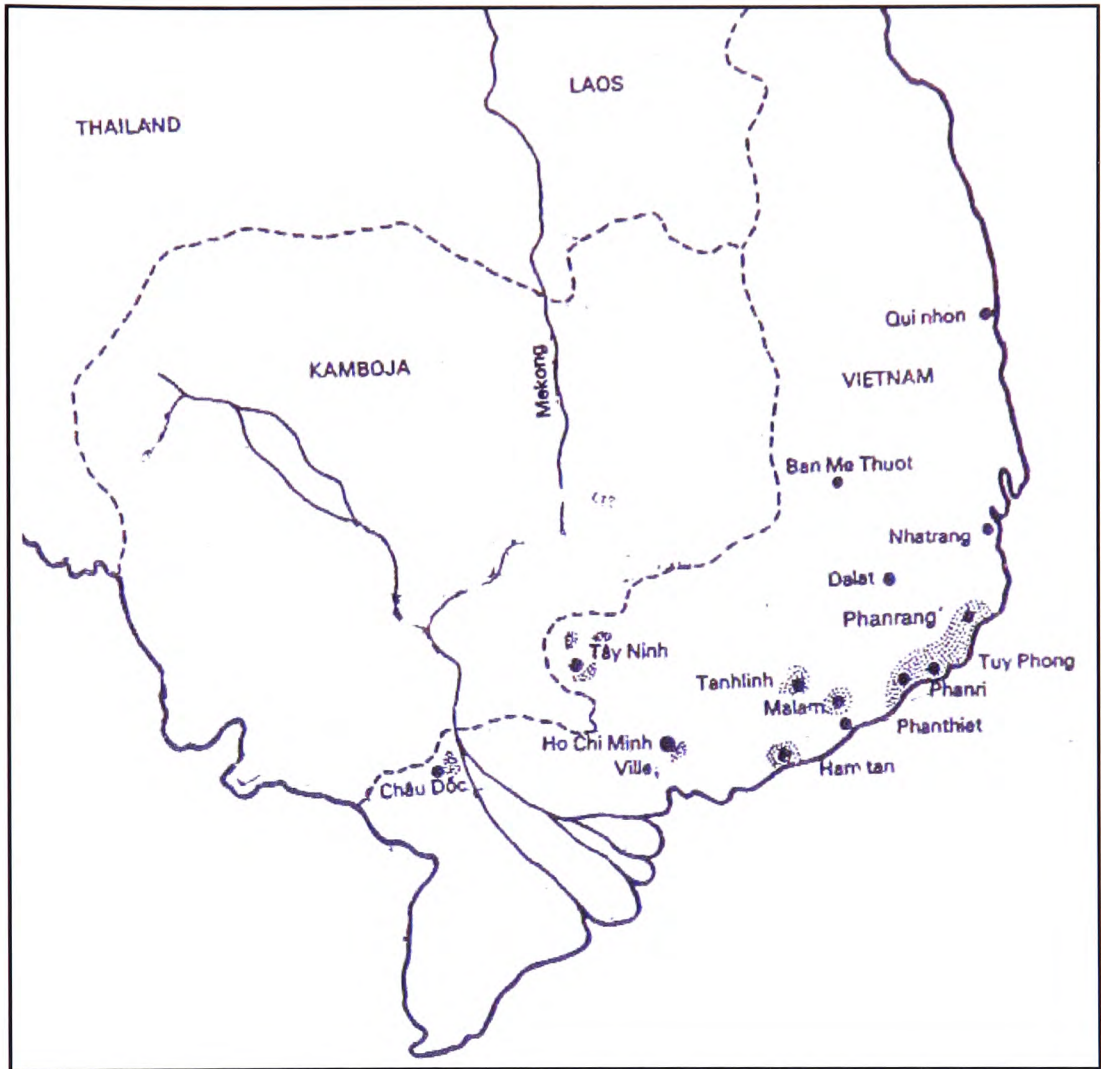
Map 5 : The Cham in Vietnam in 1975
Source Nakula (1989)

2.2 Conflict and Violence in Cambodia

Cambodia gained independence from France in 1953 under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, after almost one hundred years as a French protectorate. However, an internal political conflict led to a military coup by General Lon Nol in March 1970 (Neupert and Prum, 2003). The regime's hold of the country, however, was weakened by the bombing of Cambodia during the American-Vietnamese war, and this allowed radical insurgents, called the Khmer Rouge, to take over power in 1975 (Chandler, 2000). The plight of the peoples of Indochina has become a socio-

political phenomenon which has attracted the world's attention, since the Communist regime, led by Pol Pot, took over Cambodia in April 1975.

The Khmer Rouge was fuelled ideologically by radical communist principles, and envisioned an ideal agrarian state (Chandler, 1999). Upon taking power, the Khmer Rouge sealed Cambodia off from the outside world and initiated a number of structural changes that radically altered Cambodian society. As Ebihara et al. (1994) argue, the Khmer Rouge began to institute revolutionary changes which eventually led to the devastation of the previous way of life. The new forms of organization and ideology instigated by the Cambodian Communist revolutionaries involved three major transformations;

1). Democratic Cambodia's strategy was to rebuild Cambodia's economy by maximizing agricultural production. The Khmer Rouge tried to accomplish this by evacuating urban dwellers from the cities and driving them into countryside areas and converting the entire population into agricultural labourers. Urban Cambodians, ethnic minorities, and educated people were those who suffered most from harsh treatment by the Khmer Rouge. For instance Ross (1990) noted that the ethnic Chinese suffered because they were engaged extensively in businesses and were mainly urban dwellers. As a prominent ethnic minority group, the Cham were a target for Communist persecution.

The Khmer Rouge created communal economic programmes in which economic production and consumption were collectivized, and they abolished money, courts, market exchange, and formal education. Traditional hierarchies were inverted, as the young and the poor were elevated in status over the old and the wealthy. Individuals were reclassified into new categories, including the oppositions between 'new people" (those who had supported or lived in government-controlled zones during the civil war) and old people' (those who had lived in Khmer Rouge zones) (Fern, 2005; Ross, 1990).

2). The reorganization of Democratic Cambodia's population into work teams caused disruption of the family unit. The Khmer Rouge exercised power over people as individuals, thereby reducing any threat that the family might represent to their

absolute control. Children were often separated from parents, and adolescents were usually grouped in mobile working units located at some distance from their families.

In the same vein Ross (1990) claimed that the entire social structure of the country suffered radical and massive changes; for instance traditional family life was violently disrupted and virtually abolished. Moreover, Ross added that the 'nuclear family', the most important unit of Cambodian society, was broken up and replaced with communal groupings. Similarly, Martin (1994) highlighted that two or three families or sometimes more living in 'quarters' shared a hastily constructed abode, its walls and roof made from palm branches or grass. He added that children were separated from their parents from the ages of seven, to live in children's units. They stayed several kilometers away from their parents and were authorized to see them only once or twice a year. As my respondent recalls;

> *I remember the period beginning in 1975. At that time I was very young. I was 9 years old and my brother 11 years old. The Communists separated my brother and me from our parents and put us in a children's team. We were about 35 people, living in one large house. I was always, crying especially when it was night time, and so were other children about my age, because we missed our parents. We worked in the fields from morning until noon and we were given a bowl of porridge for lunch, and continued our jobs until evening. We could only see our parents once a year, which was during the Cambodian New Year celebration. For me that was the happiest time in my life.*

3).   Democratic Kampuchea's strategy also attacked the Cambodian religious and belief systems: Cambodian Theravada Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity. Buddhist temples were destroyed, monks were killed or forced to break their vows (by working or marrying) and ritual activities were forbidden. Muslim mosques were converted to pig farms, religious books and the Quran were burned, and some Muslims were forced to eat pork.

The situation was worse than any war because the tragedy affected everyone everywhere in the country. Millions of people, including the Cham, were driven from urban areas and forced into the countryside on foot, at gunpoint, without food and water and with no preparation. The Cambodian people were subjected to starvation

rations, heavy labour, lack of medical care, and brutal treatment by the Khmer Rouge soldiers and cadres (Ebihara 1993). About 97 percent of the population was put to work, including children; they were forced to work long hours in collectivized agriculture with insufficient sustenance and virtually no effective health care (Ebihara, 1993; Ross, 1990).

The situation became worse as reported by UNHCR (1990) 'Enormity of physical and psychological destruction, the social dislocation caused by death and migration....lack of food was exacerbated by people deserting the rice paddies and eating available food stocks including seed and draught animals'.

Due to these crises, within three years and eight months of the Communist take-over of Cambodia, the number of deaths was estimated to be one to three million, caused by starvation, overwork, and executions (Kiernan, 1990, 1996; Chandler, 1992; Ysa Osman, 2000). According to Kiernan (1990), the murder of ordinary Cambodians was the most shocking, bizarre, and horrific legacy of Pol Pot's tenure and grave memorials have been established throughout the country, the two most famous being Tuol Sleng and Choeung Ek, where the skulls and bones of the victims are housed. At the Po Pai Phnom village, the skulls and bones of 30,000 people who were killed by being struck with hoes to the back of their necks have been piled high in the shape of a pyramid in a simple unadorned wood building adjacent to the Buddhist temple.

The most immediate reflection of the crisis in Indochina was the mass movement of the population, as people began to seek safety and look for family members from whom they had been separated. The population fled their homes and country either by land or by sea, seeking asylum in neighbouring countries. According to Kiljunen (1984) during the years 1975-1978, an estimated 150,000 Kampucheans fled to Vietnam and an estimated 50,000 to Thailand. The movement of the people of Cambodia continued when, as Zachary et al. (2005) mentioned, in January 1979 Vietnam invaded Cambodia and defeated the Khmer Rouge. These groups of people fled their country in search of help, predominantly in Thailand. The Cham Muslim minority were scattered in East Thailand, especially in Aranyaprathet province, which was situated between Cambodia and Thailand. This group of people was accepted by the Thai Muslims. As for the Buddhist Khmer, they were accepted by

Thai Buddhists (Nik Zaharah, 1977; Mohamad Zain & Nik Hassan, 2003, Mohamad Zain, 2004).

This twentieth-century Cambodian mass movement searching for aid and new settlement may be divided into two main phases. The first phase refers to the escape of people from their country before the Communists took over Cambodia on 17th April 1975. The second phase of repatriation happened after the Communists surrendered in 1979. Vickery (1984), noted that Cambodians began fleeing their country even before the end of the war on April 17, 1975. Further he added that the first refugees crossed the Thai border the next day, and most of them were placed in an old temple named Wat Koh, in the Aranyaprathet and Pailin area. Most of these peoples lived in villages along the Cambodia-Thailand border.

As my key informant narrated, most of the people who escaped from the Communists lived around the Cambodia-Thailand border and others were people who had heard rumours that the Communists were about to take over their country. Approximately 20[3] heads of household in Pulau Keladi were among the groups who managed to escape Cambodia just before Pol Pot took power. As one of my key informants, Haji Ahmad mentioned,

> *We got secret information from one of our relatives that the Communist would take power on the next day (17 of April 1975). Secretly we arranged a meeting and decided to evacuate Cambodia. Within that evening all the villagers crossed the Cambodia-Thailand border. We are considered lucky because our village was located near the Cambodia-Thailand border, where only the river separated us.*

The second group arrived in Malaysia after the Communist surrender and this group came in by stages under the resettlement programme. They were sent to the camp in Kelantan and later to Cherating, Pahang.

The Indochinese refugee issue became caught up in the social, political, economic, and strategic interests of several nations. Hence, various governments in ASEAN

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[3] I could not ascertain the exact number of these people because some of them had passed away. This number is according to the names mentioned to me including live and death person, however it not included children who accompany their family.

tried to help the Indochinese refugees. Thailand was the country of first asylum for many refugees from Indochina, and set up the camps for those refugees, as shown in Map 6. The effort was followed by nearby countries: Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, the Philippines, and Hong Kong have all shared the burden (Sutter, 1990).
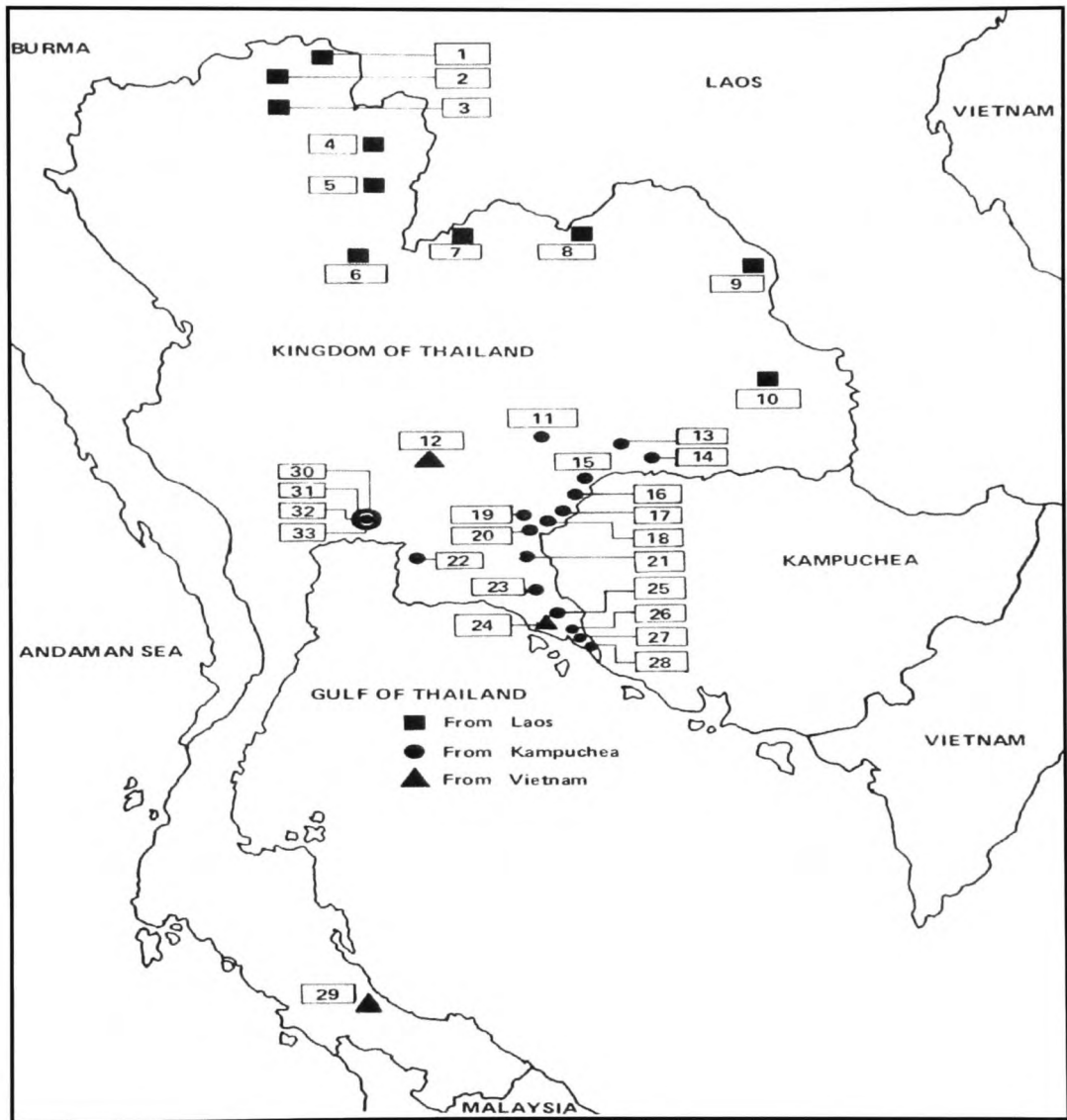
Map 6: The Main Indochinese Refugee Camps as of July 1980
Source: Supreme Command & Ministry of Interior & COERR

From those camps they were further sent to third countries for resettlement. These included the United States, Canada, France, Australia, Germany, New Zealand, Switzerland, Belgium, Japan, Argentina, China and the United Kingdom. According to a UNHCR report, between 1975 and 1986 Indochinese refugees were accepted for

resettlement in various countries. For instance, the United States resettled 378,487, Germany 5,156, New Zealand 3,895, China 2,814, Switzerland 2,680, Belgium 2,090, Japan 1,449, Argentina 1,243, and United Kingdom 1,242 (Supang, 1988).

2.3   Seeking Refuge

Over the past three decades, hundreds of thousands of Indochinese refugees have thus fled their country due to the crisis in Cambodia and Vietnam. In the era of Communist victory, as Chandler (1992) and Kiernan (1990, 1996) noted, refugees began to stream out of Indochina, and the outflow has continued ever since, decreasing and re-intensifying in a seemingly endless and repetitive pattern. Moving from their places in Cambodia and Vietnam, these peoples have sought help in neighbouring countries, mainly in Thailand, and since then have been sent to other countries for resettlement programmes.

It must be mentioned that in the Malaysian case, there has been little discussion about the Indochinese refugees following their resettlement. The scarcity of literature has been noted by Nik Zaharah (1977), who conducted some studies on Indochinese refugees, particularly Muslim refugees and their resettlement programme in Kelantan.   In contrast to the case of Malaysia, studies pertaining to refugee settlement in other places are widely available (see Supang, 1988). These include studies carried out by researchers a few years later, for instance, in Australia (Vivian, 1988), the United States (Gallagher, 1988), Canada (Neuwirth and Rogge, 1988), France (Thion, 1988), Britain (Hitchcox, 1988) Germany (Blume, 1988) Japan (Supang, 1988), Hong Kong (Davis, 1988), Philippines (Bagasao, 1988), Indonesia (Desbarats, 1988) and China (Rong, 1988)

Besides Thailand, Malaysia, which was amongst the first asylum countries, took the lead among ASEAN nations in expressing the urgency of the refugee problem. It was reported that in 1976, there were 50,000 Indochinese refugees in Malaysia, and this

number increased to approximately 100,000 by mid 1979[4] (Supang, 1988). In addition Sutter (1990) estimated that this country had taken in over 235,000 Indochinese refugees. The figure includes those arrived from Burma (2,500), Cham from Cambodia (7,000), and most recently Filipinos (70,000–200,000) in Sabah. The estimation demonstrates the difficulty of enumerating exactly the various ethnicities of refugees arriving in Malaysia.

The first batch of Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees started landing on Peninsular Malaysia's East Coast beach on May 3rd 1975 (Nik Zaharah, 1977). However, for internal security reasons, the Malaysian government made a decision to resettle only Muslim refugees in the country. The Malaysian government feared that, since the flood of refugees, particularly from Vietnam, were Chinese, their presence could possibly trigger a political reaction relating to the racial composition of Malaysian population. The fact that the majority of the refugees were Chinese has been admitted by many scholars. Stubbs (1983) observed that 70 – 80 percent of the refugees leaving Vietnam during 1979 and 1980 were ethnic Chinese. This is further supported by Sutter (1990) who estimated 60 – 70 percent of the refugees from Vietnam were ethnic Chinese, and some indicate the number may be as high as 80 percent. Large numbers of Chinese coming into Malaysia would undisputably pose more complex social, economic, and political problems for the Malaysian Government.

At that time, the ethnic composition of Malaysia was complex; 47 percent Malay, 34 percent Chinese, 9 percent Indian, 4 percent Dayak, 2 percent Kadazan, 3 percent Other Natives, and 1 percent of Others (Stubbs, 1983). With no one group commanding a majority, the Chinese ethnic presence could well intensify the racial tensions that already existed in Malaysia. Comber (1983) contended that the fear of racial violence and the need to prevent any situation that might increase racial tensions prompted the Malaysian government to refuse to accept and resettle the Vietnamese refugees. It must be noted that Malaysia had encountered a race riot in

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[4] There is no accurate figure recorded regarding the total number of Indochinese refugees in Malaysia. For example Dorall (1988) reported that the number of refugee arrivals increased to 50,000 in 1976, and by mid 1979 the number had reached over 100,000. However, Supang (1988) mentioned that by mid-June 1979 the total figure of Indochinese refugees were 75,000, were strewn along the East Coast of Peninsular Malaysia

1969 and this incident, which was caused by inter ethnic tension between Malays and Chinese, was the most serious racial riot in the history of the country. The coming of Chinese refugees could have compounded the existing tension and the government thought that the refusal was a wise move for security reasons. In Malaysia the refugee problems come under the authority of a special government agency called Task Force Seven (VII) for security reasons (Sutter,1990).

From the Malaysian government's point of view, bringing in Muslim refugees might give advantage by increasing the percentage of the 'Malay' population. This is due to the concept of 'Bumiputera' or 'sons of the soil', a politically motivated term used to refer to the Malays, and the indigenous people of the Peninsula, Sabah and Sarawak. This concept of 'Bumiputera' is rather loose in its ethnic categorization, in the sense that, under certain circumstances, non-Malay, non-Muslim and non-indigenous people could also become 'Bumiputera'. The synonym 'masuk Melayu' or 'to become Malay', which refers to people who converted to Islam, carries the interpretation that non-Malays who convert to Islam can become Malays and are potential 'Bumiputera' (Juli, 1998). In this case the Cham people who are Muslim could possibly be considered as part of the 'Bumiputera' of Malaysia[5].

Other Southeast Asian countries, too, had similar concerns about the Chinese ethnics, due to the important role played by them in the economies of the region. Stubbs (1983) argued that the Chinese have frequently been mistrusted. The Philippines, for example, placed legal restrictions aimed at the trading and financial activities of Chinese. In Singapore, even the local Chinese refused entry to refugees on the ground that it might provoke the ethnic Malays.

To deal with the upheaval, the Malaysian government took the initiative to resolve the Indochinese refugee problem. The settlement programme began with the establishment of a centre for refugees in Kemumin camp in Pengkalan Chepa, which is four miles from Kota Bharu, later known as Taman Putra Kemumin. The centre comprised 20 units of family quarters complete with a communal kitchen, a mosque, entertainment area, vegetable plots, and other amenities. This was the first camp set

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[5] However in reality the Cham has gone through several processes and it took some time before they could be accepted as part of Bumiputera.

up particularly for Muslim refugees. Later on, the number of Muslim refugees increased, and Cherating camp was built to cater for their needs (Nik Zaharah, 1977; Mohamad Zain , 2003).

The non-Muslim refugees, who were mostly Vietnamese and Chinese, were sent on a temporary basis to an island called Pulau Bidong in Trengganu, which is located off the east coast of Malaysia. Pulau Bidong became a holding centre. On top of that the Malaysian Government set up a transit centre in Sungai Besi for refugees before being resettled in third countries (Sutter, 1990; Supang 1998; Nik Mohammad Salleh, 2004; Mohamad Zain, 1999). Nguyen (1990) reported that by June, 30, 1980 there were an estimated 22,098 refugees in Malaysia. They were accommodated in six refugee camps and five transit centers: for instance Kota Bharu (768), Pulau Bidong (11,103), Cherating (1,300), Pulau Tengah (2,646), Sarawak (332), Sabah (333) and Sungai Besi (5,616) Transit Centres.

2.3.1 Early Settlement

The vast majority of Cham refugees were formally brought into Malaysia in early April 1975. Immediately after this, the former Minister of Internal Affairs paid a visit to the refugee camp in Arinapatet in Bangkok. He witnessed the severity of their conditions and felt that some help was direly needed for 10,000 Muslim refugees. He launched a nationwide campaign, urging the voluntary organizations and welfare bodies in Malaysia to 'stretch their arms in aid' (Nik Zaharah, 1977).

The campaign had tremendous impacts. Soon after, the Chairman of Association for the Welfare of Muslim Malaysia (AWMM), Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra Al-Hajj, answered the appeal and gave full support and necessary aid. As Mohamad Zain (2004) clarified, with authorization from the Malaysian government, and with the co-operation of the Thai government, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and several Muslim Thai organizations in Bangkok, the Association for the Welfare of Muslim Malaysia (AWMM) were sent to refugees camp to initiate arrangement for the 'Malay-Cam'[6] (Muslim refugees).

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[6] Some literature uses the term Malay-Cam to refer to these peoples.

The issue also received attention from Islamic organizations outside Malaysia. The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) urged the Malaysian government to resettle Muslim refugees there on the basis of the spirit of Muslim brotherhood. Given the location of Malaysia, which is among the nearest neighbouring countries, and the religious and humanitarian factor, it was accepted that Malaysia would accept these people and give them 'refugee' status[13].

The AWMM was not alone in its efforts to give support; many organizations followed. It was noted that various voluntary organizations in Malaysia strove to raise funds to help Cham refugees (Nik Zaharah, 1977; Mat Zain, 2003, 2004; Sutter, 1990). These aid agencies provided assistance in the day-to-day care and management of refugees. They were usually chosen and allocated funds by the government department of the country concerned, with co-operation of UNHCR (Hitchox, 1990). In particular the Malaysian Red Crescent Society is one of the voluntary organizations which offered help, and it was given responsibility to coordinate all aid to the refugees in the camps in Malaysia (Nik Zaharah, 1977).

Outside Malaysia, there are certain procedures aimed at assessing the acceptability of refugees as resettlement candidates. Hitchox (1990) highlighted the six priorities for processing refugees to get into USA: refugees in immediate danger of loss of life, former government employees, refugees employed by US foundations or trained in the US, family reunification (spouse, unmarried son and daughter, parent, grandparents, unmarried sibling or unmarried grandchildren), additional family reunification (related individuals who are part of the family group and dependent on the family support), and lastly, for the national interest.

In the Malaysian case, as mentioned earlier, the Malaysian government decided to accept only Muslim refugees. Under this policy, officers from the Association for the Welfare of Muslim Malaysia (AWMA) were sent to refugee camps in Thailand to identify Muslim refugees. One of the procedures for the screening process was interviewing the refugees with the aim of finding out the extent of their knowledge about Islam or their ability to recite part of the Quran. The refugees were presumed

Muslim if they were able to answer the questions or provide the readings as required[7].

Following the screening process, these refugees were registered and brought to Malaysia by land or sea. There were two different entrances; the first entrance was Rantau Panjang a Malaysia-Thailand border town in Kelantan, and the second was Tumpat, a region in the east coast of Malaysia. The groups who entered by bus or train did so through Rantau Panjang and they normally came from Bangkok. However, the groups who fled from Trat, a port in Thailand, traveled by boat or ship, and they crossed the Siam Gulf and South China Sea before landing in Jubakar Beach in Tumpat (Nik Zaharah, 1977; Mohammad Zain, 2003, 2003; Nik Mohammad, 2004). By the end of December 1975, the numbers of Muslim Refugees in Kelantan recorded by the Association for the Welfare of Muslim Malaysia (AWMM) were as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 : Number of Refugees arriving in Kelantan by Batch, Date, Number and Sex in 1975

Batch	Date of Arrival	Adult		Children		Total	Landing Point
		M	F	B	G		
First	15.5.1975	21	28	28	28	105	Rantau Panjang
Second	20.6.1975	94	89	112	99	394	Tumpat
Third	5.7.1975	109	107	94	98	408	Tumpat
Fourth	10.7.1975	64	49	51	54	218	Tumpat
Fifth	11.7.1975	5	10	3	8	26	Rantau Panjang
Sixth	August–Dec 1975	11	7	7	11	36	Rantau Panjang
Total		304	290	295	298	1187	

M- male   F- female   B- boy   G- girl

Source: Confidential Report of State Executive Committee - Association for the Welfare of Muslim
Malaysia(AWMM)

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[7] Interviews with Pulau Keladi villagers during field work, and this is one of the reasons why not all of the villagers are Cham people;some of tthem are Khmer or Vietnamese Muslims.

The reason why Kelantan was chosen by most of the Cham Muslims of Cambodia for resettlement in Malaysia is that contact between these two nations existed during the heyday of the Champa Kingdom. Evidence of a relationship between the Champa Kingdom and Malay Archipelago is provided by Lombard (1988), who asserted that the relationship was established as early as the 10th century through trading activities. In a similar manner, Mohamad Zain (2003) in his article "Cham People and their Migration", affirmed that contact between Cham and Malay could be traced to the glorious era of the Champa Kingdom, and waves of migration of Cham people had taken place since the 14th century. This argument was further supported by Van Han (2004), who contended that contact between Chams and Malays appeared in the relationship between the Old Champa King, Porome or Mustafa, a Muslim name, and the Malay people of Kelantan and Terengganu states at the end of the 17th century. Inter-marriage between Cham and Kelantanese occurred, particularly among those who went to Cambodia and also among Cham who came to Kelantan. The Cham of Cambodia knew Kelantan better than other places in Malaysia.

An interview with one of my key informants, Ramli, is telling on this point. He mentioned to me that '*We never knew about Malaysia before, what we knew was only Kelantan and we thought that Kelantan was a country, not a state in Malaysia*'. One of the questions asked by the aid representatives from Malaysia when they went to camps in Thailand for screening purposes was which country the Cham peoples would have chosen to go to. Most of them replied that they preferred to go to Kelantan[8]. Conversely, Nik Zaharah (1977: 26) described in her thesis the enthusiasm of Malay Kelantanese when the first batch of the Cham people arrived in Kelantan,

> '*The interest shown by the government and the people of Malaysia who acted like a catalyst to the already swelling refugee camps in Thailand [when] they arrived in Kelantan by the hundreds. They were given a rousing welcome by members of the public, and voluntary organizations who provided them temporary shelters*'.

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[8] Interview with Ramli bin Ahmad

My observation in Pulau Keladi revealed that another reason given by the Cham for resettling in Malaysia was that it is a Muslim country. Most of the older generation claimed that the agony they suffered during the Communist rule in Cambodia, when all religious symbols and activities were banned, made them decide to find a Muslim country. As I was told by one old lady:

> *I want to live here (Pulau Keladi) and be buried here next to my husband. If I have an opportunity to go back to Cambodia, it may probably be to visit my relatives. But I would never ever go back to Cambodia and resettle there. Here I am free to perform prayer, fasting, and celebrate any religious ceremony. I will never ever forget that the Muslims were not allowed to recite the Quran and pray, and during the Communist occupation for more than three years we never prayed. Therefore when we first arrived and resettled in Malaysia we started to 'qada' or re-perform all the prayers (five times a day) in order to cover all the prayers that we were not allowed to perform previously.*

Meanwhile the Kelantan government had already adopted an open door policy towards the refugees and provided a temporary relief centre to accommodate them. A Committee for Refugees was set up to assist them, which consisted of representatives from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Police, Immigration, Kelantan State Government Secretary, Social Welfare Department, and AWMM. Helped by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) this committee was led by the Islamic Welfare Organization to deal with refugees (Nik Zaharah, 1977; Nik Mohammad, 2004).

> *These voluntary organizations had specific tasks. For instance the State Social Welfare Department was assigned to take responsibility for the overall supervision of the refugees in Kelantan. On the other hand, the Malaysia Red Crescent Society (MRCS) and the AWMM helped to provide food, shelter and psychological aid by conducting special religious classes for adults and children. The newly-arrived refugees also attended Malay language classes and learned Malaysian culture as a preparation to adapt to the Malaysian community. Moreover, the children of the refugees were given education in various schools in Kota Bharu (Mohamad Zain (2003).*

As more refugees were granted permission to enter the country, the state government started to face financial constraints. Fortunately the UNHCR agreed to allocate $600,000.00 Dollars towards the resettlement programmes for the refugees in

Malaysia. The UNHCR decided that the actual running of the resettlement programmes should be left to the voluntary organizations, namely, the AWMM, MRCS, and Kelantan State Government (Nik Zaharah, 1977; Nik Mohammed, 2004).

Majlis Agama Islam Kelantan (MAIK) leased the land in Kampung Bunga Mas, in Kota Bahru area, as a resettlement area where houses started to be built. This was the earliest Cham refugee settlement village in Malaysia.

Table 2.2 : Figures of the Cham People in Malaysia in 1988

State	Refugees Numbers
Kelantan	3000
Trengganu	2000
Pahang	1300
Johor	1200
Perak	1000
Melaka	700
Selangor	400
Total	**9600**

The refugees were allowed to leave the camps when the authorities were satisfied with their ability to assimilate with Malaysian mainstream society. Initially, they were issued with temporary immigration passes as identity cards. Most Muslim refugees accepted by the Malaysian government generally spent 1 to 2 years living in Taman Putra camp prior to integration with the Malaysian community. The refugees received various kinds of help and every household was given RM400.00 as pocket money by AWMM before they were sent out.

A distinguished programme launched by the Kelantan state government in dealing with Muslim refugees was known as 'skim keluarga angkat' or literally 'adoption scheme' (Nik Zaharah, 1977). This programme was proposed to the local community, whereby local volunteers acted as 'parents' or 'guardians' of the

refugees. In the first place the idea of the 'adoption scheme' was suggested in order to avoid any political, social or economic problems with the refugees. The scheme received huge support; more volunteers than expected offered their services to the scheme, and the refuges were adopted on a family basis. For instance, if there were eight or ten in a refugee family, all of them would be adopted by one family.

According to my informant's information, all of the volunteers were among the Malay Kelantanese, who consisted of landlords who were involved in cultivating paddy or tobacco, and fishing activities. Others had a rice mill or were involved in business activities; therefore they had opportunities to provide shelter and jobs for the refugees. All was done in a short period of time and the majority of the refugees were adopted by local families, taken back to the villages and given reasonable comfort. The refugees were provided with accommodation or, if there was no room available, they built a house nearby. Besides that, the local people were also looking for suitable employment in their mills, farms or other jobs in the village. Refugees were offered economic and social support, depending on their own ability and interest, as the case of Abang Ramli illustrates:

> *My family and I were adopted by a generous Malay rice retailer. He provided us with accommodation just enough for my family (at that time I had one little girl, who was six years old). Several months later he built a small house nearby. The Malay man asked me to load and unload gunnies of rice from the lorry and he paid me RM5.00 per day. That amount of money was considered a good pay, and at the same time my wife was helping the Malay man's wife doing chores and sometimes helping them in the paddy field. My wife had an opportunity to learn how to cook Malay dishes from this woman. With the money I earned from my work and sometimes allowance given to my wife, we saved it and later used it together with my wife's cooking skills as a resource to start our business.*

The following example illustrates Wan Kee's experience:

> *Wan Kee is a daughter of late Wak Sin and Mai Esyah. She was 15 years old at that time. She and her family were adopted by a Malay Kelantanese family who owned a paddy field. Her adoptive parent asked her to help them in the paddy field and also to help doing chores. One year later the Malay adoptive parent proposed to Wan Kee an arranged marriage with their son, who was a school teacher. However, Wan Kee's parents refused to accept the proposal as they worried about their daughter's future married life*

with a man from a different ethnic group. Later Wan Kee's parents moved to Pahang and she married her cousin.

The evidence given by the respondents shows that most of the adoptive families gave them accommodation and jobs. Those who refused to be adopted were offered jobs on a palm oil estate in Keratong, Pahang (see Mohamad Zain, 2003 and Nik Mohammed, 2000). Apart from individual local people, government or semi government agencies and private organizations also offered jobs to those with good qualifications. Those who had been students in Cambodia were offered places in local colleges or universities, as was the experience of one interviewee[9]. It was recorded that by January 1977 approximately 80% of the refugees were sent to work in Palm Oil Plantations in Kelantan, Terengganu, Pahang, Selangor, Perak, Negeri Sembilan, Perak, Melaka and Johore (Mohamad Zain, 2003).

Those who had abilities and interests in business, used their savings to start petty trading activities. For instance the most popular businesses in Kelantan are food and clothing particularly *'batik'*, a special cloth which is usually hand painted. As Nik Mohammed (2004) explains, by the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, the Kelantan State Government had built stalls along Sultanah Zainab Street in Kota Bharu and almost all of the stalls were operated by Cham people. It was reported that these people succeeded in small scale business, and started to increase their capital. The businesses expanded and the Cham business operators became *batik* and cloth producers and suppliers.

In 31 years (1975-2006) the Cham had gone through a long journey from their homeland to Thailand seeking for help and finally came to Malaysia for resettlement. Nowadays the Cham are resettled in Malaysia, and scattered all over Peninsular Malaysia (see Map 7).

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[9] Interview with Mohamad Zain, November 2005.

Map 7: The Distribution of Cham People in Peninsular Malaysia
Sources : Momamad Zain Musa (2003)

Nowadays many Cham people in Malaysia earn their income through trading activities. One of the most well known is the Pekan wholesale market or '*Pasar Borong Pekan*'. This market operates on a weekly basis from 7.00 am until 12.00 pm every Saturday. A young couple, Salmah (28 years), and her husband Zul (38 years), told the story of how they get involved in trading activity:

> *When I was about ten years old, I used to follow my mother selling clothes in the night market and sometimes selling from house to house in Malay Village in Kelantan. By the age of*

sixteen I was familiar with my mother's suppliers and later they became my business contacts. I used to work seven days a week and used to drive all over Malaysia alone for business trips. Kuala Lumpur, Kota Bahru and Ulu Tiram were the focal points of my business trips. I went to Kuala Lumpur once a week to get stocks, particularly the latest fashion of clothes which are imported from China and Hong Kong. However the trip to Kota Bahru was mainly to get stocks for special clothes for making 'Baju Kurung' and 'scaff', and my trip to Johore basically was to redistribute the stocks to retailers or petty traders including the Malay and most of them are Cham peoples. Besides that, my husband and I were also selling all kinds of cloth in several night markets 'pasar malam' and the wholesale market 'pasar borong' in Pahang.

For more details and examples of the involvement of Cham people in business, Zaharah (1994), Raizul Azni (1997), and Zuraidah (2001) and also my later chapter about economic activities.

2.4   Moving to Pulau Keladi

Most of the Cham of Pulau Keladi came from Norea village in Battambang province, which is situated in the North West of Cambodia, and was the country's biggest rice-exporting region (Kiernan, 1996). This region, together with the provinces of Sereysaophan, Phnom Srok, and Siemreap, forms the *muanthon* or eastern region. As we can see in Map 4, Cham in Battambang before 1975 is considered as having a medium density of population.

As I was told by key informant Abang Ramli, in the early 80s, several families planned to live independently. Therefore they decided to move out from their 'adopted family' houses, and began to search for the best place to settle down and the Pekan area was chosen. A village called Ketapang became the first place for the Cham to start their new life. However, several months later these families managed to discover a piece of land in *Pulau Shell* which was rented on a yearly basis from a Malay man. Therefore several families moved from Ketapang and built houses linked to each other, similar to 'long houses'. While they lived in Pulau Shell, Abdul Majid one of the community leaders started to call his son, and close relatives who worked outside Pekan, to join them in Pulau Shell.

However, in early 1994, the Cham of Pulau Shell were told by Pekan District Office that the area they lived in was designated for development. They were asked to move from Pulau Shell, where they had lived for more than ten years. As soon they received the news, they searched around to find land and planned to move as a group. A few months later, one of them met a police pensioner who intended to migrate from Pekan to his home town. He agreed to sell his land, which was cheap according to Abang Ramli, because it was economically unproductive and covered with jungle. All 65 heads of household from Pulau Shell collectively agreed to buy that land, which could accommodate all of them in one area.

At a cost of RM21 000, a piece of land in Pulau Keladi was sold to the group, and it was divided into 65 lots, which were officially legalized[10]. According to Haji Ahmad, the village headman, they had at first to clear the area, cut the trees and build their houses collectively, before they moved in. Every household had to pay RM1, 050 for the land and the land plan, and another RM450.00 for buying food during the communal work to clear the site. Between October and December 1994, the first groups of Cham from Pulau Shell moved to Pulau Keladi stage-by-stage.

Before they built their houses they had a meeting and decided to work collectively as a big group to clear the land. All trees were cut manually by the men using simple tools such as axes and chain saws. Women and children helped to slash the bush and burn it, and another group of women prepared food for all of them. They took more than three months to clear the plot before it was ready to build their houses.

In the next phase, they divided into smaller groups of 4 – 5 households each. Each group appointed a leader who was responsible for managing and supervising the process of building their house. The work schedule was planned on a weekly basis and followed a rotation. For instance, if the group consisted of five members, the group leader would make a decision to start the construction work on the first house in the first week. During the first week all group members participated in

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[10] Later, when the children of the pioneer group married, they were invited by their family to join other family members in Pulau Keladi, and these families built houses on the river reservation area. However they told me that they had asked permission from the local 'Tok Penghulu' to build the houses. When I asked 'Tok Penghulu' about the approval, he told me there was no official letter produced by the local authority to give permission, but he had spoken to the local authority and obtained oral permission.

construction work on the first house, including women and children. When the first week came to an end they stopped the construction work, and shifted to the second house in week two, followed by the rest, until they had completed the first round. This process continued until all the houses were completed. Members were not paid in money, but worked on a 'labour exchange' system. It seems that this system was successful and every member was treated equally during the process of building the house, and each of the houses was completed at about the same time depending on the size and the house plan. The simplest and smaller houses might be completed earlier than the biggest and more complicated houses.

Applying the rotation system in the process of construction of houses in Pulau Keladi allowed all the members to move into their new settlement at about the same time. Most of them began to bring their own belongings from Pulau Shell when the main structure of the house was completed. According to several women I know, they begin to bring their belongings when the house structure consisted of just a roof and floor, and they used the underneath of the house for cooking activities.

2.5   From Cham to Khmer Muslim to *Orang Kemboja*

Cambodia presents great ethnic and cultural variation, for instance, Khmer, Chinese, Cham, Jerai-Rhadei-Rao, Kui, Par, Mnong, Stieng and several other hill ethnic minorities (Lebar, 1964). Therefore the cultural identity of the Cham people can be understood only against the background of the historical sequence of migrations and displacements from the area of the former Champa Kingdom (see previous section). The long-drawn out Cham diaspora has resulted in them being scattered in diverse communities across Cambodia and Vietnam.

The ethnic diversity makes Cambodia and other Southeast Asian regions distinctive culturally, and this community is variously known as 'Cam', Cham, 'Cham-Malay', '*Melayu-Champa*' or '*Melayu-Cam*' among Southeast Asian researchers (Nakula, 1989; Mat Zain, 2000, 2004, 2005; Abd Rahman, 2000, 2005; Kamarul Baharin, 2000; Nik Mohamed, 2000 and Van Han, 2004). In this study I prefer to use the name 'Cham' to refer to these people. However, among the Malays and other Malaysians these people are known as *Orang Kemboja*. This term derives from a

combination of two words: *Orang* means people, and *Kemboja* means a country of Cambodia. The term, which originated with the Malays and is widely known among Malaysians nowadays, has come to be easily accepted by these people[11].

The identities that these communities have created are diverse but have all involved a combination, in varying degrees, of ethnic, religious, and language components. The most fundamental division among the Cham has been between those practising Islam and those practising Hinduism. This was emphasized by the earliest researcher of the Cham, Aymonier, who landed on the coast of Phan Rang (Vietnam) in December 1884. He reported that he met non-Vietnamese natives who claimed to be Cham. These people were basically classified into two groups, based on their religion, either Muslim or Hindu. Later, Durand (1903) a French administrator who dealt with the Cham, had a similar idea about the classification of these people into two groups. The first was called the Cham *Bani* (sons of the faith), who were Muslim, and constituted about a third of the Cham population of the Annam region, and the second, were the non-Muslim Cham (cited in Marrison, 1985).

In 1919, Baudesson provided information on 'Indo-China and its Primitive People', and he mentioned the Cham people as one of the ethnic minorities in Indochina. Like earlier writers, Baudesson, too, classified these peoples into two groups; Muslim and Hindu. He pointed out that most of the Cham of Cambodia were Muslim and referred to them as Cham *Bani,* while of those of Annam, about two-thirds were Cham *Brahmins,* who were Hindus.

Similarly, in 1978, Lafont conducted research on the Cham in Cambodia, and noted that the Hindu Cham were referred to as *Brahmanists.* Lafont also provided more detail on the non-Muslim Cham. According to him, this group of people were also known as Cham *Jat* or Cham *Harat* (pure race), Cham *kafir/kapir,* and some manuscripts referred to this group as Cham *pak* or Cham *Muk* (Lafont, 1978).

A study conducted by Nakamura (2008) pointed out that the Cham in Vietnam are divided into two groups based on their religion. She has identified the first group as

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[11] The Cham of Pulau Keladi usually refer to themselves as ' Orang Kemboja' when they identify themselves.

Balamon, and the second group as Cham *Bani.* In her seminal article 'Ethnicity of the Cham People in Vietnam' she cites evidence that the *Balamon* are adherents of an indigenized form of Hinduism. The *Balamon* are supposed to observe food taboos such as eating beef, and worship the god called *Po Yang* and their deified kings, who were kept in the temples built before 16th century. The *Balamon* are usually cremated upon death. On the contrary, the Cham *Bani* are adherents of an indigenized form of Islam. They believe in *Po Alwah* (Allah). This group observes the food taboos such as eating pork, and they are buried when they die.

More recently, literature has provided a similar classification of the Cham of Indochina. For instance Kamarul Baharin (2004) seems to agree with Lafont in dividing the Cham people into Hindu Cham and Muslim Cham. The first group, influenced by Hinduism are known as Cham *Jat;* the word '*Jat*', which originates from Sanskrit, literally means 'origin people'. This group was also known as 'Cham Hindus' and 'Cham *Jati*' or 'Cham *Akhir*'. At the end of 17th century, this group was influenced by Islam. However, Kamarul Baharin maintains that the Muslim Cham have been divided into two different groups. The first group, known as Cham *Bani,* *Ar-Bani*, or Cham *Asalam*, claim that the religion practised by them is as handed down by their ancestors; the second group is known as Cham Islam.

Jaspan (1969) has produced a threefold rather than a twofold typology. In his study Jaspan noted that all the Cambodian Cham are Muslim and officially referred to as '*Khmer Islamites*', and in Cambodia they settled largely on or near the banks of the Mekong river, from Kratie throughout Kampong Cham and Phnom Phen to the present Vietnamese border and across it in the Chau.Doc area of the Mekong/Bassac riverine plain. There are also Cham settlements along the Tonle Sap, and on the coast near Kampot. On the other hand, the Cham in Vietnam settled in and around Phanrang and Nha Trang, Chau Doc and Saigon. He added that in terms of religion there are three main groups: Brahmin or Hindu, Muslim, and syncretist-animist (Jaspan, 1969).

Marrison (1985) takes this a stage further by dividing the Cham into several different groups according to the area of settlement and their belief system. He divides the Cham into four groups; Animistic tribes of the Highlands of south central Vietnam,

Hindu Chams of the Phanrang – Phanri of south Vietnam, *Cham Bani* - non orthodox Muslims of Phanrang – Phanri, and lastly Cham *Baruw* – orthodox Muslims of the Cham Colonies in Kampuchea.

Distinctions within the Muslim Cham are important for an understanding of how identities have been constructed and are directly relevant to the Cham of Pulau Keladi. Several studies have investigated this issue for the Cham in Cambodia. Ner (1941) carried out a brief investigation specifically focusing on the Chamic highlanders in 1929-1930 (cited in Collins, 1996). As Collins reported, Ner made a distinction among the Cham according to way they practiced their religion. Ner identified three main categories of Muslim Cham; the first was known as 'the *Trimeu* Cham' who emphasized the use of Malay language in religious instruction, in explication of the Quran and in religious rites. The *Trimeu,* however, were divided between 'traditionalists' and modernists'. The traditionalists prayed only three times a day, while the modernists prayed the more standard five times a day.

The second group was the '*Koboul*', sect of the Cham. According to Ner, this group did not use the Malay language in their mosques or in their religious ceremonies. They considered themselves religiously superior to the '*Trimeu*' because they used Arabic, although Ner observes that their knowledge was 'limited to repeating some formulas which they do not comprehend' (cited in Collins, 1996).

The third sect Ner identifies, but does not name, was located in a single village of Kompong Tralach, and according to Ner was attached to an even more ancient tradition than the '*Koboul*' or the traditionalist wing, of the *Trimeu*. This third group uses the Cham language in sermons and explications (cited in Collins, 1996).

Following along this line of thought, Kamarul Baharin (2004) has pointed out that even this group claim that they are Muslim. However, according to Kamaul Baharin, there are some elements of assimilation between Hinduism and Islam in their belief system. However the Muslim Cham, known as Cham Islam, follow the branch of Sunnah Wal Jamaah, as practised in Malaysia.

Another important study was conducted by a group on the programme of Interdisciplinary Research on Ethnic Groups in Cambodia (IREGC). This study was coordinated by Collins (1996) and turned out to be one of the vital studies in distinguishing the Cham, particularly the Muslim Cham of Cambodia. His investigation demonstrates the complexity and variety of the ways in which religion and ethnicity can be combined.

He explicitly classifies the Cham Muslim in Cambodia into three different categories. He uses different terminology compared to Ner (1941), and his classification reflects the ethnic and sectarian divisions recognized today by the Cham themselves The first category of Muslim Cham is called 'Chvea' or Jva, and according to Collins most of them are still located in and around Kampot. The 'Chvea' speak the Khmer language, and are related to the Malay-Indonesian heritage connected with the term Chvea-Jva, suggesting origin in Java (Collins, 1996: 49).

The second category is called 'Jahed' by other Muslims. Collins claims that the word comes from the Arabic zahid (anchorite, recluse, devotee, ascetic), and they are also known as 'Kom Jumat' (The Friday Group), on account of their preference to pray only once a week in the mosque, on Friday, the Muslim Sabbath, rather than the five prayers a day typical of the other Muslims of Cambodia and the rest of the world. Further, Collins explained that this group calls itself the 'followers of Iman San'. These groups speak the Cham language and they are located in a few villages around the old capital of Oudong, Pursat and Battambang.

The third category of Muslim is called 'Cham'. Collins suggests this group corresponds to Ner's first sect, the 'trimeu' modernists. They speak both Cham and Khmer, and usually use Malay or Arabic texts for religious instruction. He concluded that 'from the point of view of religious belief and practices, the Cham and Chvea form a single group which follows the usual Islamic practice of daily prayers at five appointed times. In this regard they contrast with the Jahed. On the other hand, the Cham and Jahed acknowledge an ethnic ancestry in Champa and in this regard they contrast with the Chvea'(Collins, 1996: 49).

A considerable amount of literature has revealed that there are two main classifications in identifying Cham identity, and their belief system becomes the differentiating yardstick; the Muslim and the Hindus. The foregoing discussion indicates that most scholars agree that almost all the Cham of Cambodia are Muslim and most of the Cham in Vietnam are *Brahmanists*. The French adopted the term *Bani* from the Arabic word *beni*, signifying son (of the Prophet) in identifying the Muslim Cham (Marrison, 1985). Some of the literature has given further classifications of the Muslim Cham (see Collins, 1996). However, the previous literature suffers from shortage of further information about the Muslim Cham, and most of them provide very brief explanations. One of the issues that emerge from the literature is the complexity of identifying who are the Cham.

Surprisingly, the above classifications did not appear as one of the criteria in identifying the identity of the Cham of Pulau Keladi[12]. Among the Cham of Pulau Keladi there are two main cultural identifications. In the survey, 36 respondents (45%) out of 80 claimed to be 'Muslim Cambodia' or *'Kemboja Muslim'* or *'Kemboja Islam'*, and 34 respondents (42.6%) claimed to be Cham (see Table 3.2 in Chapter 3). The result indicates that some respondents, who claimed to be *'Kemboja Islam'* or Muslim Cambodians, were the children of parents who claimed to be Cham people. A further question was asked to the group of *'Kemboja Islam'*, why they called themselves *'Kemboja Islam'* instead of Cham. They replied simply 'We do not speak the Cham language, only our parents and great-grand parents know how to speak Cham'. This statement shows that respondents who designated themselves as *'Kemboja Islam'* related their identity to the language. Those who speak the Cham language are considered as a Cham and the rest who do not speak the Cham language are called *'Kemboja Islam'*.

The evidence shows that the Cham of Pulau Keladi who mostly came from Battambang province, claimed to speak Khmer instead of Cham. This could be

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[12] As I have noted in Chapter One, the main problem that I faced during the first few months in Pulau Keladi was to identify who these people were, as most of them claimed to be 'Kemboja Islam' instead of Cham, and they did not speak the Cham language.

explained by the assimilation with the Khmer in Batdambang[13]. The Cham in Battambang have lived in compact villages side by side with Khmer villages for long, since their great-grand parents moved from Kompong Cham in 1850s[14]. My late key informant Abang Ramli explained:

> *I am the third generation of Cham people in Battambang, since my great grandparents migrated from Kompong Cham in 1850s. Our great grandparents continued to speak the Cham language in Battambang and used it within the village. However when we dealt with people outside the village we used the Khmer language. We are fairly fluent in Khmer language. The Khmer look down on us when we speak Cham and sometimes we feel inferior. However, our children, who are the fourth generation in Battambang, do not show much interest in speaking the Cham language. They prefer speaking Khmer instead of the Cham language. Therefore, the Khmer language has become their mother tongue instead of the Cham language, and when we came to Malaysia, our children and grandchildren continued to speak Khmer and slowly learned the Malay language. Nowadays, most children in Pulau Keladi do not understand the Cham language. I feel sad about it, …… we've lost our language.*

Not surprisingly, the ethnic minorities such as Cham in Battambang assimilated with the Khmer culture due to close contact in daily activities, and they were surrounded by Khmer villages. As Steinberg et al. (1959) highlighted, almost all Cham have adopted many aspects of Khmer cultural life, including language, except their religion.

The concepts that Lewis (2001) employs in her study of Khmer identity in the USA can be usefully applied to the Cham of Pulau Keladi. She suggested that there are three processes in shaping identity for refugees; the process of disassembled identity, followed by reconstructing life in a new place, and finally renegotiating and redefining a new identity.

The process of disassembled identity of the Cham began when the Champa Kingdom was defeated and the Cham went through different stages of migration (further

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[13] Most of the Cham of Pulau Keladi came from Batdambang province and they are considered a minority in this area. The vast majority of the Cham lived in Kompong Cham, Kompong Chnang , Puthisat, and Kompomg Thum.
[14] Interview with Ramli Ahmad.

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discussion in next section). They became displaced persons scattered far from their homeland. In the modern era Cham movement was continued by smaller groups of people, for instance, the Cham of Pulau Keladi's great great grandparents migrated from Kampong Cham to Batdambang province. The Cham in Batdambang are associated with Khmer culture but they are a minority among the Khmer and they are known as 'Khmer Islam'. The name 'Khmer Islam' was given during the era of Prince Sihanouk's rule in Cambodia (1953 – 1970). In the 1960's, Sihanouk espoused a strongly nationalist view in order to take economic control of the country from the Chinese and Vietnamese and to advance the interests of the Khmer. He coined a new terminology for some of the nation's ethnic minorities, using the term 'Khmer', and distinguished three different 'Khmer'. Firstly, the Khmer Loeu', the highland Khmer, consisting of the hill tribes of the Northeast Cambodia. Secondly, the 'Khmer Islam', also known as Muslim Khmer or the Cham-Malay community, and lastly the 'Khmer Krom', the lowland Khmer, who are the ethnic Khmer of the Mekong Delta who now find themselves in Vietnam (Collins 1996: 33).

Given this historical process, the Cham of Pulau Keladi, in particular, rejected the term 'Khmer Islam', coined by Sihanouk, because they disagreed with the term 'Khmer' by which other people addressed them. In fact they refer to themselves as a Cham. As my informant said, 'We are not Khmer, the Khmer is a different people and they are non-Islam, but we are Islam'. It appears from the statement that the Cham of Pulau Keladi rejected the term 'Khmer' in identifying their identity. In fact they claimed that 'Khmer Islam' refers to the ethnic Khmer who are converts to Muslims not to them, who were born Muslims. A similar idea is found in Collins' (1996: 57) discussion on 'Khmer Islam' identity..He commented that 'the Cham Malay community is ethnically different from the Khmer. They speak languages related to Malay, they look abroad for their ancestral homeland. They vigorously maintain their distinctive identity, separated from Khmer, by professing Islam which prohibits intermarriage with non-Muslims'.

During the Khmer Rouge era, thousands of Cham fled Cambodia seeking sanctuary in Thailand and later were sent to refugee camps in Kelantan and Pahang. The Cham learned that their former identity had to be changed. They were assimilated to the Malay Kelantanese culture which was characterized as an 'entrepreneurship society',

particularly among the women. Kelantanese woman are described as 'renowned for their trading acumen and skill' (Rudie, 1994). The Cham were exposed to different types of business when they were adopted by Kelantanese families before moving and starting a new life. At this stage, the Cham reconstructed their life in a new place, far away from their homeland. They were known as *'Pelarian'* or refugees by the Malay Kelantanese.

The third process as mentioned by Lewis (2001) is renegotiating and redefining their 'Cambodian' identity through community building. At this stage the Cham continually reconstituted and invented anew their identities in response to conflicting pressures from other refugees. All refugees in Malaysia stress adaptation and assimilation into a new culture. At the same time there was strong internal pressure among most groups to retain aspects of their long established culture that were traditionally highly valued (Lewis, 2001). To varying extents, in response to such pressures, they established social networks to provide mutual aid in finding jobs, and building houses. At this stage it is clear that a group of Cham of Pulau Keladi started to find their kin, who were scattered all over Kelantan and Pahang. Eventually they managed to re-unite their families in Pulau Shell and later moved to Pulau Keladi.

Similar to the Maloh and the Yong of Thailand, their identity depends on the situation, purpose and level of contrast they wish to make (King, 1985, and Trankell, 1995). At the local level the Pulau Keladi inhabitants today identify themselves as *'Orang Kemboja'* or Cambodian people. This categorization refers to the residential-territorial unit (King, 1985). Thus, when someone talked to outsiders, she or he would always refer to themselves as *'Orang Kemboja'*. The term 'Kemboja' is using as a territorial unit, referring to the country of Cambodia, and the terms *'Kemboja Islam'* and 'Cham' do not appear in their conversation. This might be related to the difference between the situation in Cambodia and in Malaysia. In Cambodia, the term 'Islam' was emphasized by the Cham to differentiate themselves from the Khmer of their neighbouring villages who were not Muslims. However, in their new home, that is not the case because the majority of the population, particularly the Malays are Muslims, therefore they do not need to emphasize the term 'Islam'. Also, under the terms of the resettlement programme, Malaysia accepted Muslim refugees

rather than non-Muslim community, so their Muslim identity is known and understood.

However, the first generation identify themselves as Cham. One of the reasons why this group of people assert that they are Cham might be related to their strong relationship to the Cham culture; for instance they can speak the Cham language, or at least understand it. When I asked the Malays about the Cham people, they did not know this term; what they knew was *'Orang Kemboja'*. Therefore, data from Table 3.2 (see Chapter 3) enhance our understanding to the question of why some of these people claim to be *'Kemboja Islam'* and others to be Cham.

2.6   Summary

This chapter began with a brief historical overview of the process of Cham migration. Since the 14th century the people of Champa Kingdom had gone through different stages of migration due to political instability, and this migration process was prolonged until the end of the 20th century. Throughout this movement process, the Cham people struggled to maintain their ethnic identity. Being a minority Muslim in a non-Muslim country engendered a challenge for the Cham in identifying their ethnic identity. In doing so, the Cham had to distinguish themselves from the majority group. This distinctiveness was strengthened by association with their religious identity. Though, officially, the Cham were known as Khmer Muslim, they refused to acknowledge the title given to them, in fact they preferred to identify themselves as *Kemboja* Muslim.

Migration to Malaysia in 1975 or earlier than that had a significant impact on their identity. Instead of *Kemboja* Muslim, they identified themselves as *'Orang Kemboja'* literally meaning people of Cambodia, in which 'Muslim' title had been withdrawn. In the new settlement, Cham continued to identify themselves as *Kemboja* or Cambodia in order to create a new personality and at the same time to sustain their ethnic identification in Malaysia. Within the Muslim majority in Malaysia, the 'Muslim' identity for the Cham was no longer significant. The focal point of identification put more emphasis upon the country of origin and it also covered their 'new kin' who converted to Islam.

Chapter Three
The Ethnographic Setting

3.0   Introduction

I carried out my fieldwork in the state of Pahang, which is the largest state and situated in the eastern coastal region of Peninsula Malaysia. Pekan district was chosen due to a co-incidental visit to the 'Kemboja wholesale market' in Pekan Town several years before conducting my fieldwork. This market had become a focal point for retailers, not only from Pahang, but also from other neighbouring states for instance Johore, Terengganu, Kelantan, Negeri Sembilan, and Selangor. The distinctiveness of this market managed to attract not only people from the Pekan area, but also retailers and petty traders, and it was dominated by Cham people known as '*Orang Kemboja*' by other Malaysians. This chapter attempts to present the ethnographic setting of the area and location, layout, population, daily life activity, and household composition of the Cham, who live in a village called *Pulau Keladi*, near the Pahang River.

3.1   Pekan as a District and Town

The Pahang state capital is Kuantan. Administratively, the state is divided into eleven districts (see Map 8): Kuantan, Rompin, Pekan, Maran, Temerloh, Bera, Jarantut, Raub, Kuala Lipis, Bentong, and Cammeron. Pekan is bordered by Kuantan in the north, Maran in the West, and Rompin in the South. It is located 45 km from Kuantan, and 86 km from Rompin. With an area of 380,500 hectares, Pekan district is divided into eleven Mukims: Pekan, Kuala Pahang, Pahang Tua, Pulau Rusa, Langgar, Ganchong, Temai, Pulau Manis, Lepar, Penyor and Bebar.

In Peninsular Malaysia, each state is divided into districts and Mukims or subdistricts (Gullick 1986: 110). Each Mukim is responsible for varying numbers of kampungs or villagers. Each of the districts is governed by the District Officers (DO), and each Mukim is headed by a *penghulu*, who serves as the principal liaison between the district and the village. At the village level the *ketua kampung* or headman heads the village.

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Map 8: Pahang State and Districts
http://www.travelplus.com.my/images/Pahang/Images/MAP---PAHANG-.giftand
Districts

Table 3.1 shows the size of the Mukims in Pekan District and the total population of every Mukim. Of the 11 Mukim administrations under the Pekan District, Mukim Penyor and Mukim Pekan are the most populated. The population density seems to be higher in Mukim Pekan due its urban and industrial areas. However the percentage of population of Mukim Bebar is the highest in Pekan District because of the land development scheme which was launched there, turning the area into a populated one. In contrast the area covered during my research is a low density area, with an average population density of two persons per square hectare. The size of Mukim Langgar is 9,600 hectares, and it has 4,455 inhabitants, or 4.4 percent of the total population in Pekan District. The population consists of Malays and Chams. According to the Penghulu of Mukim Langgar, the total number of Cham people in Mukim Langgar is 740. This number includes the Cham of Kampung Sekor.

Table 3.1: The Total Population of Subdistrict or Mukims in Pekan District

Mukim (subdistrict)	Land Size in Hectares	Total Population	Percentage
Mukim Pekan	17,300	24,173	24.20
Mukim Kuala Pahang	3,900	6,982	6.99
Mukim Pahang Tua	3,900	11,317	11.33
Mukim Pulau Rusa	2,600	579	0.58
Mukim Langgar	**9,600**	**4,455**	**4.46**
Mukim Ganchong	11,400	1,359	1.36
Mukim Temai	12,700	998	1.00
Mukim Pulau Manis	22,000	1,498	1.50
Mukim Lepar	47,100	4,854	4.86
Mukim Penyor	73,600	28,408	28.44
Mukim Bebar	176,400	15,263	15.28
Total	380,500	99,886	100

Source: Pekan District Action Plan

With an area of 380,500 hectares and a population of 99,886, Pekan District is considered as a thinly populated area. The average population density is 3.4 persons per square hectare. (Action Plan of Pekan District: 2003). The population of Pekan includes six categories of ethnic groups: Malay 82.81 % (82,716), Indigenous People 9.43% (9419), Chinese 1.40% (1,394), Indian 0.47% (469), Non-Citizens of Malaysia 4.65% (4,645), and Others 1.24% (1,239) (see Table 3.2). There is no exact record of the number of the Cham population in Pekan district. According to the Pekan District officer, the Cham are included under other categories, and some of them might be included under Non-Citizens of Malaysia.

Table 3.2: Population of Pekan

Ethnic	Number	Percentage
Malay	82,716	82.8
Indigenous People	9,419	9.4
Chinese	1,398	1.4
Indian	469	0.4
Others	1,239	1.2
Non-Citizen	4,645[1]	4.6
Total	99,886	100

Source: Pekan District Action Plan

3.2 Geographical Setting of Pulau Keladi

Pulau Keladi is located approximately five kilometres from Pekan town, in the lowland area of Southern Pahang, which is nationally known as The Royal Town of the State of Pahang. It spreads out for more than a kilometre along the Pekan – Paloh Hinai Highway. The neighbouring villages are Kampung Pelangkah and Kampung Tanjung Medang.

Administratively, Pulau Keladi is within Mukim Langgar and it is divided into three main villages: Kampung Sekor, Kampung Tanjong Medang, and Kampung Pulau Keladi. However, for the purpose of administration at the penghulu level, Kampung Tanjung Medang and Kampung Pulau Keladi are divided into two small village entities. For instance Pulau Keladi is separated into two small villages; Kampung Pulau Keladi, inhabited by the Malays, and Kampung Baru Pulau Keladi (Pulau keladi New Village), inhabited by the Cham people.

Similarly to Kampung Tanjung Medang is administratively separated into Kampung Tanjung Medang Hulu (Kampung Tanjung Medang Upper) and Kampung Tanjung Medang Hilir (Kampung Tanjung Medang Lower). The inhabitants of Kampung Tanjung Medang are mostly Malay.

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[1] According to Penghulu Mukim Langgar, some of the Cham in Pekan district are included in Non-Citizen Categories because they are illegal immigrants.

The Cham in Mukim Langgar live in two different villages: Kampung Pulau Keladi Baru and Kampung Sekor. The Cham of both Kampung Sekor and Kampung Pulau Keladi Baru live in Malay villages; however their settlements seem to be separated from the Malay neighbourhoods, for several reasons. Firstly, the Malays are not interested in the Cham area of settlement. Haji Ahmad, the headman of Pulau Keladi, mentioned to me that the land bought by the Cham is a swampy area with no commercial value, which nobody is interested in. Therefore, when the Cham bought the land alongside the Pahang River, the price was considered cheap. Secondly, the fellow village 'Malays' are not interested in the Cham location, because of the high water level. The Malays prefer to build their houses and reside on the opposite side of the Cham village.

There are no special legends or stories about the founding of the village, except that it was given the name of Kampung Pulau Keladi Baru which literally means "Yam Island'. The name was given because previously this village was covered with a large area of yam species, and it looked like an island. The village lies along the bank of Pahang River, which is the longest river in Peninsular Malaysia, with a length of 495 km. The river begins at the confluence of the Jelai and Tembeling rivers in the Titiwangsa range and drains into the South China Sea. Initially this area was divided into precincts, called Kampung Pulau Keladi, also known as 'Cultural Village', which was occupied by the Malays, and Kampung Pulau Keladi Baru or (new)[2], which is inhabited by the Cham people. The word *Baru* means that the Cham settlement is a new settlement.

These two settlements were separated by a sand mining site which belongs to a Chinese man from Pekan, and one traditional Malay house. From this Malay house it is less than two minutes drive or approximately 800 metres to the Malay settlement (Kampung Pulau Keladi). There are less than 10 Malay traditional houses (which are

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[2] As mention to me by the Penghulu of Mukim Langgar, these two different names have been given to these two different ethnic settlements for administration reasons.

Map 9: The Royal Town of Pekan and Pulau Keladi Village
www.sedunia.com.my/.../cherating/impiana_map.jpg

built from wood on stilts) in this village. Kampun Pulau Keladi is a well known settlement for two reasons; firstly, there is the house where Tun Abdul Razak, the second Malaysian prime minister, was born. Next to the house is a 'Tun Razak Memorial Hall', which is dedicated to him, and this memorial hall is open to the public. Secondly, this village is also known, because of 'Pahang Silk Weaving Centre' which produces handwoven silk, also known as Pahang Silk. In the olden days Pahang silk was used exclusively by the royal family.

Adjacent to the traditional Malay houses is a new housing settlement. This housing area was built by a private housing developer on private land, and the houses were

sold to the public. Most of the inhabitants come from outside Pulau Keladi and their main economic activities focus on non agricultural activity. In this study I refer to the Cham village as the Kampung Pulau Keladi instead of Kampung Baru Pulau Keladi, since the local people in the Pekan area know the village by this name. If someone would like to specify the exact area of people from Pulau Keladi they will ask further question whether that is *Kemboja* village or Malay village.

Previously, the Cham from Pulau Keladi lived in Kampung Pulau Shell (Shell Island village) approximately 5 km from Pulau Keladi. Pulau Shell is also known as *Kampung Depan Pulau Shell* or Infront Shell Island village by the Cham of Pekan area. This name was given because the village is located just opposite a Shell petrol station. The Pulau Shell is actually located on the Pahang River estuary, and it is separated from the main land by the river. Boat was the main means of transportation across the river to Pekan town.

However, when the density of the population in Pulau Depan Shell increased rapidly, the number of houses increased and this made the surroundings of the town of Pekan unpleasant. Therefore, the King of Pahang, Sultan Haji Ahmad Syah, urged the villagers to move from Pulau Depan Shell. At the same time, Pekan District office had a plan to develop the Pulau Depan Shell. Later on, in 1992, the Cham bought a piece of land in Pulau Keladi and moved into a new and permanent settlement.

The Kampung Pulau Keladi is situated just 50 metres from the nearest highway, known as the 'Pekan – Paloh Hinai' highway. This road links Pekan, the Royal Town and the town of Paloh Hinai. The village lies on flat land divided into two areas by a river called the Guntong River. A small bridge was built to link those living in the west part of the village with those living in the east part. The bus stop in front of the village has become a land mark, and provides access to the village via the main entrance (see Map 10). Fifteen metres from the bus stop, on the left hand side is a coffee shop. Opposite the coffee shop is a small pond covered with water lilies and lotus plants. A minor tarmac road leads from the highway through the village, and along this road are rows of Cham houses on each side. The houses are built very
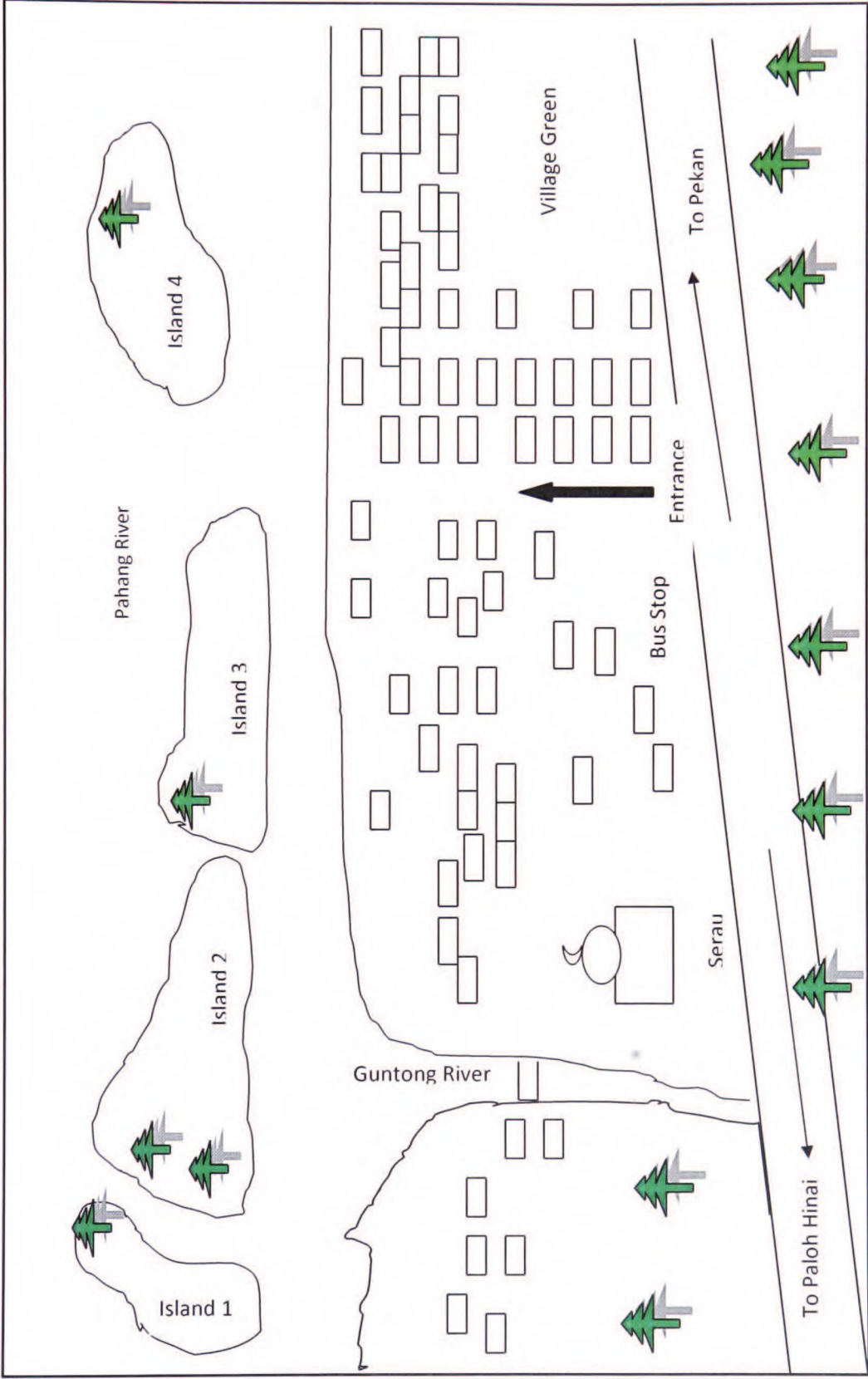
Map 10: The Cham Settlement in Pulau Keladi

Labels visible on map: Island 1, Island 2, Island 3, Island 4, Pahang River, Guntong River, Village Green, Entrance, Bus Stop, Serau, To Pekan, To Paloh Hinai

close to each other, separated by a few feet from the neighbouring houses. In a few cases, houses are joined to the next house, due to the shortage of land. Scattered among the dwellings are fruit trees, small garden plots of herbs, vegetables, and flowers.

Several houses in the last row are built on the river's edge, with half of the pillars in the river and the other half on the land. These particular houses are built on higher and stronger pillars than other houses, to prevent them being swept away by the current during flood season.

Plate 1 : Pulau Keladi Houses

On the west side of the village, a small bridge 2 x 10 metres has been constructed to cross over the Guntong River, linking the houses in the two parts of the village. Along the Pahang River, more than a thousand fish cages float side by side in a line. There are two jetties along the river bank, which the inhabitants use to reach their garden plots. Opposite the jetties, there are four islands (see Map10) situated in a line in the middle of Pahang River. No names have been given to those islands, therefore I call them Island 1, Island 2, Island 3, and Island 4, to identify them. These islands

are intensively cultivated by the farmers, particularly women. According to the villagers, only Island 1 is owned by a Malay man and is cultivated by Wak Rip, and the rest of the islands belong to the Pahang State Government.

Beside the housing area, there is a volley ball court, which was built by the District Office under the community development plan at a cost of RM30 000. In addition, there is another important area for the villagers, the green field, which is used by the villagers everyday to play football and volley ball. Volley ball is the favourite game of the Cham; another four volley ball courts can be found in the village.

The village is linked to the town by public transport, such as bus and taxi. There are four bus services linking Tasik Chini and Muadzam to Pekan town every day. Buses to Pekan run at 8.00 am, 9.00 am, 10.30 am and 3.30 pm, and return buses from Pekan to Pulau Keladi run at 12.00 am, 2.30 pm, 4.45 pm and 5.30 pm. A taxi service is available from Pekan to Pulau Keladi at any time from 8.00 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock in the evening. Nevertheless, almost 80 percent of the Pulau Keladi villagers have their own vehicle such as lorry, van, car, or motorcycle.

The village was connected to an electricity and water supply several months after the first group moved in. Previously, the villagers used gasoline and kerosene lamps for lighting and took water from the river nearby for cooking and drinking purposes. Almost all of the households in the household survey had television, refrigerator, and radio, with many having CD players and several houses equipped with Astro satellite TV[3].

3.3 Daily Life in Pulau Keladi

Routine in Pulau Keladi is very similar from one day to another except for weekends. The day begins as early as 5.30 am to 6.00 am, before dawn, when the azan or Islamic call to prayer coming from the *serau* signals the start of the day. Most of the villagers especially adult men and women rise, have a bath, perform ablution and go to the *serau* for the Subuh prayer. They finish the prayer and return at 6.45 am to

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[3] A special television channel is available on monthly subscription.

7.00 am. Children aged between 7 to 17 years begin to wake up and prepare themselves to go to school. Usually the older children will get money from their mother and go to a coffee shop or food stall to buy some food for their breakfast. Soon after, the children go to the bus stop accompanied by their mother or father, and wait until the school bus arrives at around 7.00 o'clock. Fifteen minutes later, the school bus leaves the village. The children from Pulau Keladi attend three different schools.

Children aged between 7 – 12 years old go to a primary school 'Sekolah Kebangsaan Tanjung Medang' which is two km from the village. However, children aged between 13 – 17 years old attend a secondary school at 'Sekolah Menengah Ahmad' or Sekolah Menangah Tengku Abdullah', approximately 5 km from the village.

Those who work outside the village, for instance contract labourers, factory workers, shop assistants, and mining workers might have an early breakfast at any coffee shop or stall, often not returning until late afternoon or evening. Some of them use their own motorbike, car or van, and others might use public transport to go to work. By 7.30 am, these groups of workers have left the village and they only return home at 5.30 pm.

Likewise, the Pulau Keladi farmers or fishermen begin their work in the fields or river early, before the heat of the day. By using a motor boat to cross the Pahang River, they go to their garden plot known as 'an island'. The fishermen begin to catch fish or shrimps along the Pahang River. The only way for farmers to get to their farms is by motor boat. Those who do not have a motor boat may go with another farmer who has a garden plot on the same island. For instance, Mai So used to cross the river with any villager who had a plot on Island 2. Usually she was among the first people to arrive and wait at the jetty to cross the river to go to her garden plot.

Those people who are not involved in farming or working outside the village might go to the coffee shop or food stall later than the others. These groups of people include women, young children, and old men. They seem to be around after 8.30

o'clock until 9.00 to 9.30 am, usually with other villagers. Instead of preparing breakfast at home, most of the women in the Pulau Keladi prefer having their breakfast at the shop, and some of them might bring along their young children. Beside that there is a quite distinct scenario, whereby men of the second generation bring their wives and young children to the coffee shop or to the food stall for breakfast. This scenario is quite common among husbands who work irregular hours, for instance as a lorry driver or factory worker. Having breakfast in a coffee shop or food stall is the best time for exchange of news among the villagers.

After finishing their breakfast, women return home and carry out routine domestic chores, such as washing clothes, sweeping the floor and cleaning the dishes. If the woman has a daughter who does not work outside the village, usually she might help her or she might undertake all the chores under her mother's supervision. However other domestic duties such as buying fish, catching fish from the cage or buying vegetables, are undertaken by women just after finishing breakfast at a coffee shop or stall.

The women of the household or their daughters cook for lunch between 11.30 am and 12.30 pm, before the schoolchildren and their fathers return. Some of the husbands work outside the village. They might return for lunch during the lunch hour between 1.00 to 2.00 o'clock. If a woman works in the field and nobody is at home, she might return towards midday to prepare lunch for her family. However, for those women who live with extended family, their daughters or daughters-in-law might do the cooking. Sometimes a daughter who lives nearby will send a bowl of cooked food for her mother. In other cases it is quite common for a young married woman who has settled down in her own household to go to her mother's house and help her prepare lunch or dinner. Activities within the village slacken towards the afternoon. The heat of the sun makes work impossible for farmers and fishermen. Most of the villagers return home and prepare themselves for the *Zohor* prayer, followed by lunch. The village seems very quiet and nobody hangs around. After having lunch and a nap, the activities continue. The farmers go back to the 'island' and the

children go to the *serau* to recite the Quran and attend the *fardhu ain*[4] class from 2.00 o'clock until 4.00 o'clock.

The call for *Asar* prayer can be heard by all the villagers at approximately 4.30 pm and the villagers will attend until 5.00 pm. Usually from 5.00 pm to 7.00 pm is leisure time for all inhabitants of Pulau Keladi. During this period of time, there is segregation by gender. Young men go to the village green to play football or volley ball every evening. This is the only time when all of their cliques get together and share their stories. The older men also go to the green, and usually sit on a bench chatting to each other while watching the match.

Older women congregate underneath their houses or their kinwomen's houses, sitting on their hammocks, chatting to each other. The young married women bring their small children to their neighbour's houses, where they can watch their children while socializing with other young women. On the other hand, the young unmarried girls find their clique or their cousins to talk to, or they may exchange or borrow a magazine. Only young male and female children seem to mix while they play. However three times a week, men, women and their sons sit on the floating fish cage, feeding the fish in the evening, or sometimes they might harvest the fish to be sold.

By 7.00 in the evening, all of the villagers go home, take a bath, perform ablutions and go to the *serau* for the *Magrib* and *Isyak* prayers. For this prayer time, the hall is filled with old and young men and women, and children too. Twice a month the villagers invite a Malay *Ustaz*[5] to give a talk, and this occasion ends with a *kenduri*. Back home, dinner is served for all family members, followed by talking or watching television and the day ends.

Everybody seems very busy with their daily routine throughout the day, although the routine of activities is rather different on Saturday and Sunday. There are morning markets in Pekan Town on Saturday and night markets on Sunday. The fish sellers

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[4] Religious class attended by children aged 6 – 17 years old; it is divided into several groups.

[5] This is a Malay term for a religious teacher.

and the farmers go to this market to sell their products. The young women go shopping and teenage girls and boys and their cliques might go window shopping. In the village the adults, not only from Pulau Keladi but also some from Tanjung Agas, Ketapang, Sekukuh and Sekor meet together in the *serau* for religious classes.

Pulau Keladi becomes like a small market on Saturdays and Sundays. Some of the villagers hang around the coffee shop or stall, and others gather underneath the Ming Nah and Yan houses to buy or just have a look. Several traders came to Pulau Keladi weekly: Abdul Rani, and his wife, Mai Su's grand children. This couple had been married for seven years and had two daughters. They lived in Kuantan and were involved in 'bundle cloth'[6] imported from overseas. This couple came back to Pulau Keladi every Friday evening and stayed overnight at the woman's mother's house, and they brought their daughters along. By 8.30 am on Saturday morning, Abdul Rani and his wife have finished unpacking their clothing hanging it on a railing underneath the Yan house.

Mat Zaki and his wife, a cousin of Ming Nah, comes from Kelantan, approximately 400 km from Pulau Keladi. In their green van, they bring all kinds of fruits from Thailand (mangoes, lychees, tangerines, grapes, oranges), homemade Cambodian noodles[7], dried noodles, light and dark soy sauces and various kinds of cake. They come to Pulau Keladi on Friday night, and sleep at the house of their cousin, Ming Nah. If the order for the noodles is large, Mat Zaki's wife has to take a bus from Kelantan and bring other goods which are easier to carry in a large bag, while Mat Zaki will load all the noodles into the van and drive to Pulau Keladi. Before dawn, Mat Zaki and his wife arrive at Pulau Keladi, just after the *subuh* prayer, and have a break for a couple of hours. This couple go to the Saturday market in Pekan Town to join the other traders until midday. They return to Pulau Keladi and offload their goods for the second time, unpacking underneath Ming Nah's house. The Pulau

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[6] This is a kind of business where people deal in used clothing, mainly imported from the United States of America or other western countries. Every bundle contains hundred of garments and they usually select the good clothes and tag the price according to the quality of the cloth, and sell it either in the night market, Indonesian workers settlements known as 'kongsi' or other places.

[7] Cham women in Kelantan make these noodles, and the demand is very high, not only from Pulau Keladi but also from Cham in Johor and Melaka.

Keladi village is gradually transformed from a quiet and tranquil place to an active and busy one, especially after *zohor* and *asar* prayer until 6.00 pm. Mat Zaki and his wife's business continues from afternoon until 6.00pm in Pulau Keladi. Usually this couple will sleep at their cousin's house for one more night before they continue their journey to the Cham settlement in Johor, a state in the Southern part of Peninsular Malaysia.

The villagers can also buy consumer goods from Cambodia, which are brought by Wanna, a Cham woman, who comes twice a month. Normally she sells Cambodian compact discs, medicine from Cambodia, Thailand and France, clothes, tobacco, cigarettes, cosmetics, etc. This woman operates her business from morning until evening, and her stall is the most popular among the villagers due to the variety of products from Cambodia, which are in high demand. The women of Pulau Keladi prefer to use cosmetic products from Cambodia, such as day and night cream, facial cleanser, and all kinds of make-up, as they believe it makes their skin whiter and smoother. The older generation prefer to use many kinds of medicine from Cambodia.

Kakak Zaiton the wife of Safi, the treasurer of the village committee, hangs children's clothes, women's head scarves, blouses and sarongs every Saturday and Sunday underneath her daughter's house. Besides that, Kakak Zaiton makes home-made Cambodian noodle soup to sell at the same place, and her married daughter Cik Long helps her. The coffee shop and other stalls in the village operate as usual during the weekend.

3.4 Economic Activities

The Pulau Keladi inhabitants are involved in three main types of economic activity, which represent an adaptation to the ecological conditions of the area. The geographical setting of the village, located near to the Pahang River bank, offers a huge opportunity for fishing and fish farming. Even though the land is limited, these people utilize every inch of land to cultivate a variety of vegetables, not only for household consumption but also to sell the surplus. The third category of economic activity is small scale business known as 'traditional trading' (Rudie, 1994). Finally,

the other inhabitants are involved in miscellaneous economic activities: building, home cooking, etc. The economic activities of Pulau Keladi inhabitants may be slightly similar to those of their previous life in Cambodia. As Ebihara et al. (1994) indicated, Cambodia has always been an agrarian nation, with limited industrialization. The majority of the population live in rural villages as peasant cultivators of rice, vegetables, and fruit; as artisans producing wares such as cloth or pottery; and as fisherfolk. Most peasants are small landholders (the national average is about four acres of land per household), growing crops for family subsistence and, in some cases, for sale.

3.4.1   Fish farming and Fishing

Fish farming is one of the main and most popular economic activities among the Cham of Pulau Keladi. All Cham in Malaysia recognize that this activity is carried out by the Cham of Pulau Keladi. As I mentioned earlier, the Cham previously inhabited Pulau Shell, which is located on the estuary of the Pahang River. Therefore, their settlement was surrounded by water. In the early time of their settlement in Pulau Shell, fishing became the main economic activity for the Cham due to the limited availability of land for cultivation. Because of the nature of the environment, the Cham had to acclimatize for their survival. The Pahang River offered huge numbers and varieties of freshwater fish; 183 species of fish were recorded between 1983 and 1996 and two species, *Patin Muncung* the local name, *Helicophagus*, and *Patin Buah* or *Pangasius nasutus* under the family *Pangasidae* were listed as the fish with the highest market value in Malaysia (Lee, & Zakaria-Ismail, 1996). Besides that, the mudflats area nearby also provides a rich supply of shellfish for the Cham.

Fish farming activity started as a small-scale operation in 1984. The idea came from Wak[8] Zakaria, out of an initiative to make the most of the small-sized *Patin* fish. Larger *Patin* fish normally fetch a good price, but smaller fish are generally not marketable. The large number of small fish, about the size of a 'child's arm', that

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[8] Wak is term of address for Ego's father's sister or father's brother followed by the person's name, and it also used to refer to an older man or woman, to show respect.

were caught inspired Wak Zakaria to try fish farming. The number of the small fish exceeded family consumption, and the idea of throwing the fish back into the river did not appeal to Wak Zakaria. He thought the unwanted fish could possibly offer a business opportunity by trying to raise them in a cage.

This man started the project by constructing a cuboid wooden cage, with the enclosures of the cage made from bamboo, which was chosen to ensure the wooden cage remained floating. The cage was constructed on the bank and later on, upon completion, was pushed to the river. To ensure the cage remained stationary, it was tied securely with a cable to two floating logs, which in turn were tied to a tree on the bank. Bamboo, wood and nails were the sole materials used to construct his first cage. Some gaps were left in between the wood to allow water to pass freely. The fish in the cage were fed with trash fish and raised for a period of 8 to 12 months. By this time, the fish had grown to a mature size and were ready for sale. Wak Zakaria was able to sell the first batch of fish for RM 7000.00.

The huge profit triggered further interest not only for Wak Zakaria, but also for the other Cham to venture into the business. He started to give serious thought to the idea, and realized that he could not continue the activity with the existing cage, as over time, the wooden cage would rot. Indeed, the cage had already shown signs of decay and it certainly needed replacement if he planned to continue the project. Finally, he came up with the idea of constructing fish cages of different materials; this time with nylon net and a metal frame. The nets, which are made by knotting a thin nylon thread, were tied to the holes on the metal frame. Nevertheless, as with the wooden cage, the net cage did not resist deterioration, given that metal rusts fairly quickly in the water. Meanwhile, the Chinese middleman who was the buyer of the fish, came up with another idea to resolve the problem. In this third attempt, the construction materials used for the cage frame were green net and plastic pipes , which were thought to be more durable. It is notable that the Chinese intermediary supplied the materials as well as the fingerlings for farming.

Nowadays fish farming is the dominant activity of the Cham of Pulau Keladi and cage culture is the main system practised by them. The fish farming activities

provide fish or *trey* not only to the local people, but also to the other Malaysians. The Cham raise several species of fish, which are considered suitable for cage culture and in high demand: *trey pra*, *trey kai*, *trey meih*, *chnot*, *kahai*, and *cepen* (local names).

The cages are constructed from a variety of materials; the frame is made from a PVC pipe, wood or steel and solid plastic polyethylene is use for the netting or mesh. However, very fine mesh netting is needed for constructing the cage if the fingerlings are very small. The lid of the cage is made from the same material, to prevent the fish escaping and predators entering the cage. The sketch below shows the design of the cages, which are usually rectangular, with the door at the top. The size varies from one to another; however the standard sizes usually constructed by the local Cham are 6 x 6 x 9 feet and 9 x 9 x 12 feet.
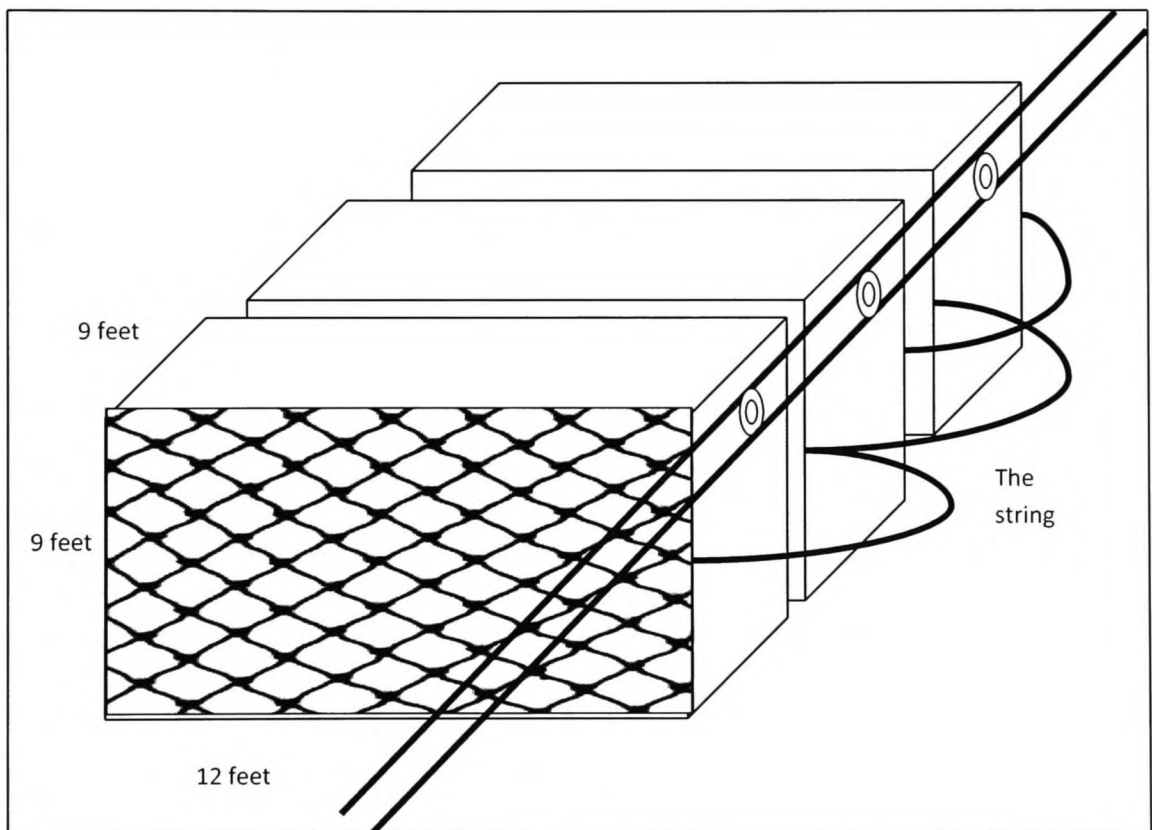
Figure 3.1: Fish Cages

Frequently the farmers build the cages underneath the house and leave them in the water for about two or three weeks before stocking them with fingerlings. Later, the fingerlings will be stocked in every cage, with from 3 000 to 4 000 in a 9 x 9 x 12

feet rectangular cage.

Plate 2 : Cages

Plate 3 : Fish Harvesting

Cage culture fish are mainly fed with formulated food, waste from the poultry industry, and trash fish (Masser 1988; Morris 1991). The fish should be constantly fed to ensure growth, and feeding rates could be adjusted on a daily or weekly basis. In Pulau Keladi, the farmers usually feed the fish in the evening, between 5.00 pm to 6.00 pm and the schedule is three times per week. Very often, chopped or minced chicken viscera or trash fish are given to the fish. I was told that eight households collected the food from the local poultry factory and local markets in either Kuantan or Pekan. These viscera or trash fish are given to their fish and any surplus is sold to the other farmers. The price of viscera and trash fish is RM6.00 per 6 kg bag. Besides that, the fish could be fed with formulated food 'pellets' or barn corn, which is available from the local shop for the price of RM1.50 to RM2.00 per kg.

The fish can be harvested when the average weight is between 800gm to 1000gm[9]. *Patin Buah* and *Patin Mas* are the most demanded species and the wholesale price is RM9.00 per kg. However, the retail price might increase to RM14.00 per kg. On the other hand, the *pekong* or shrimp wholesale price is much higher, RM20.00 per kg for the medium size, and RM40.00 per kg for the big size. These prices will be increased to RM35.00 per kg for the medium size and RM70.00 per kg for the bigger size when they are sold to the customers.

Several different techniques of fishing are practised by the Cham throughout the year in the river, flood plains, larger and smaller pools, channels and tributaries. The most common method is 'throw net[10]' or *senaj* and *muong* to catch the fish. This method is usually operated by a single person from a boat along the river. The *senaj* is a circular net. It is thrown into the water and sinks to the bottom of the river. The *Muong* or trawling technique of fishing involves pulling a fishing net through the water behind a boat. Another method of fishing is *loat*, using a long cylindrical fish trap made from bamboo with a funnel shaped entrance for the fish. This method of fishing is used in pools, channels and tributaries nearby, and is practised by the

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[9] This size of fish is considered sufficient, since Chinese banquets are arranged on a per table basis with each table usually serving ten people.

[10] This term is used by Ebihara (1971) and Hamilton (1976).

Cham especially during the flood season, from November until end of January. The simplest method of fishing is line and hook, which can be practised by children as well as adults. The line could be made from bamboo or any suitable piece of wood, a string and a metal hook, which can be purchased from a local shop. Fishing activity generally takes place throughout the year, but increases during the flood and rainy season.

3.4.2   Farming

Farming is the second most important activity of the Cham. Previously, they grew for subsistence rather than for the market. Since the main source of income is fish farming, which does not require long hours each day to manage, farming became a secondary economic activity for most households. The Cham spend more time cultivating during the dry season, from early February until the end of October.

As pointed out earlier, land use is crucial in Pulau Keladi. Only 60 houses were built on legal land bought before the Cham moved in, and the balance, 20 households, were built on the river reservation land. Therefore, the Cham looked for land to cultivate. Fortunately, they found an island, approximately five minutes across the river by boat, from their settlement. There are three small islands in the middle of the river alongside their village, where farming activities take place. According to Haji Ahmad, the Cham headman, since 1994 they had tried to find the owner of the island, but unfortunately they failed. Finally, he went to see the Penghulu Mukim Langgar to solve the problem, and he was told that out of three islands[11], only Island 1 has an owner and the other two belong to the state.

Island 1 is owned by a Malay man, who is 65 years old and a butcher in Pekan town. He has five children, but unfortunately none of them are interested to cultivate the land. They refuse to live on the island because part of it is submerged during the flood season. For this reason, when this Malay man met Wak Rip several times, fishing along the river near his village, he invited Wak Rip and his family to cultivate

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[11] The islands have no names, so I named them as Island 1, 2, 3, and 4.

that island[12]. Wak Rip started to cultivate the island in 1998, and farming is still his main resource.

Every morning, immediately after the *Subuh* prayer and having a heavy breakfast, such as rice and salted fish or fried fish and a cup of tea, Wak Rip walked to the jetty and took a boat to his garden plot. The garden plot must be prepared, planted, and watered each growing season. Wak Rip grows several types of fruit and vegetables for instance; bananas, papaya, sugar cane, corn, chillies, pumpkin, melon, and small amounts of galangal, lemon grass, and other spices.

The Cham started to cultivate Island 2 a few years after they moved in. Previously, only a few people were involved in farming activity. They cultivated the garden plots for household consumption purposes. However, Wak Rip's plot produced huge quantities of fruit and vegetables especially banana, papaya, *metih tut* or chillies and corn for sale. He earned profits from selling his crops in the local market and to the Cham from nearby villages. Later on, other villagers started to cultivate a variety of vegetables on the Island 2 and Island 3. During my observation in Pulau Keladi, there were 16 garden plots on Island 2 and 11 garden plots on Island 3. Mainly, the farmers on the Island 2 and Island 3 were women[13] and widows, with their husbands or children helping them with ploughing soil, planting, and harvesting. Children play an important role during the harvest season; their labour is needed for picking and selling the crops. Each plot is cultivated with a variety of vegetables, for instance, *metih thom* and *metih tut*[14], long beans, okra, cucumber, loofah, water convolvulus, tapioca, aubergine, sweet potato, lemon grass, wild lemon, galangal, and varieties of herb exclusively brought from Cambodia namely, basil, mint, and peppers.

The farming activities usually start at the end of January or early February, just after the flooding season ends. The plots are cleared and hoeing takes place; this is the

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[12] Wak Rip was a teacher in Cambodia. He was invited by his younger sister to come to Malaysia.

[13] During my fieldwork, when I asked the women, what they were doing, they said they did nothing and they were housewives (see discussion in chapter 5).

[14] *Metih thom* literally means big chili, which is bigger compared to *metih tut* (Small Chili).

time when men and children help in the garden. Meanwhile, for those who intend to cultivate chillies, they need to plant seedlings separately, because chillies are classified as bedding plants. The method commonly practised by the Cham to cultivate chillies is to prepare a flat platform in a square or rectangular shape. This platform is raised up on piles, approximately three feet above the ground. Next, they place the soil and compost on the platform, then they scatter the seed all over the platform, cover it with another layer of soil and water it. This platform is covered with old fishing net to protect the seeds from chicken, birds and sometimes from children. It is left for one and half months for the seeds to germinate. When the seedlings reach 4 – 5 inches high they are ready to transfer to a 3 x 4 inches poly bag with compost, then are left for another two weeks. In April, when the garden plot is ready, the process of transplanting reaches its peak, and usually it involves all the family members.

For non-bedding plants, the process of planting is easier, due to the nature of the plant. Planting usually takes place in early March, right after the plots are cleared. A simple planting method is practised by the Cham. For instance, to cultivate corn, usually one person uses a long stick, 5 – 6 feet, to make a shallow hole, and is followed by another person, who places a corn seed in the hole and covers it with soil. This job is usually undertaken by two people simultaneously.

The Cham farming cycle throughout the year is shown in Figure 3.2. Starting from the end of January or early February, the farmers are busy preparing the garden plots until around early March, depending on the size of the plot; longer is needed for bigger plots, Wak Rip, for example, spent one and a half months preparing his garden plot. Meanwhile, he germinated chilli seeds. He manages to cultivate 2 000 chillies and 8 kg of corn seed for this season. The corn has been re-planted for the second cycle in August.

Figure 3.2: Cycle of Planting Activity

Jan	Feb	Mac	Apr	May	Jun	July	Aug	Sept	Oct	November	Dec

Preparing Plot

Cultivating process

Growing period

Harvesting period

Re-cultivate for round second
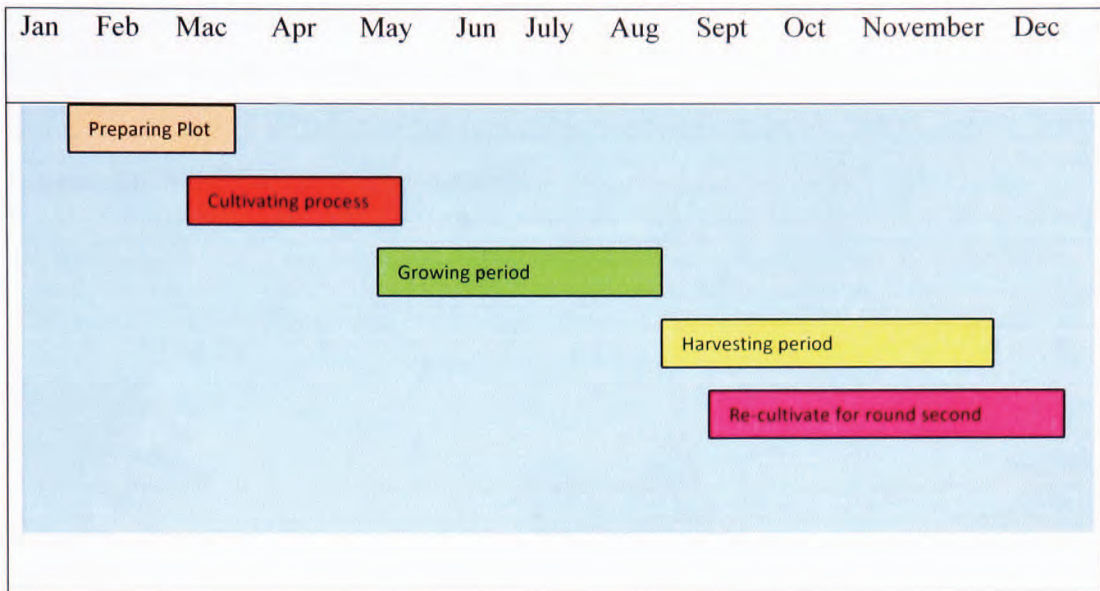
The cultivating process starts at the end of March and lasts until early April, and between May and July is the growing period, during which weeding takes place and the farmer enjoys a period of relative leisure. Starting from August, the farmers are busy with harvesting the crop, and at this time, all family members, including children, are involved. The harvesting period is shorter for 'short term vegetables' such as long bean, ladies finger, cucumber, loofah, and water convolvulus. However, the harvesting period could continue until the end of November for crops such as, chillies, tapioca, aubergine, sweet potato, lemon grass, wild lemon, and galangal. The farmers could re-plant their garden plots with 'short term vegetables' if they wish to do so. Wak Rip and other farmers usually cultivated a second crops of corn, long beans, ladies finger and loofah, starting from the end of August. These crops need only three months before they can be harvested at the end of the year, just before the rain and flood season come.

During the harvesting season the village seems very busy, as the family members help the farmers in the garden plot. The fruits and vegetables are ready for marketing, especially from Wak Rip's plot. The Cham of the nearby villages come to the village to place orders for the corn. Usually they came to order corn or chillies in the evening, for collection the next morning. Wak Rip's wife, son in-law, and

daughter help him to pick 800 – 1000 cobs of corn. However, he needs more labour for picking the chillies, therefore he offers the job to their relatives and pays them. With four to five people helping in his garden plot, he could produce 10 kg to 15 kg chillies[15] per day. The price of the corn is 40 cents per corncob, which means Wak Rip can get RM400.00 per 1000 corncobs.

Plate 4: Wak Rip's Garden Plot

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[15] The scientific name for this chili is capsicum frutescens; it is known as *metih tut* by the Cham. The size of this chili is between one to two inches long. Therefore, to pick 1 kg of this chili takes a long time. This species of chili is grown due to the higher price.

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Figure 3.3: Wak Rip's Growing Plot
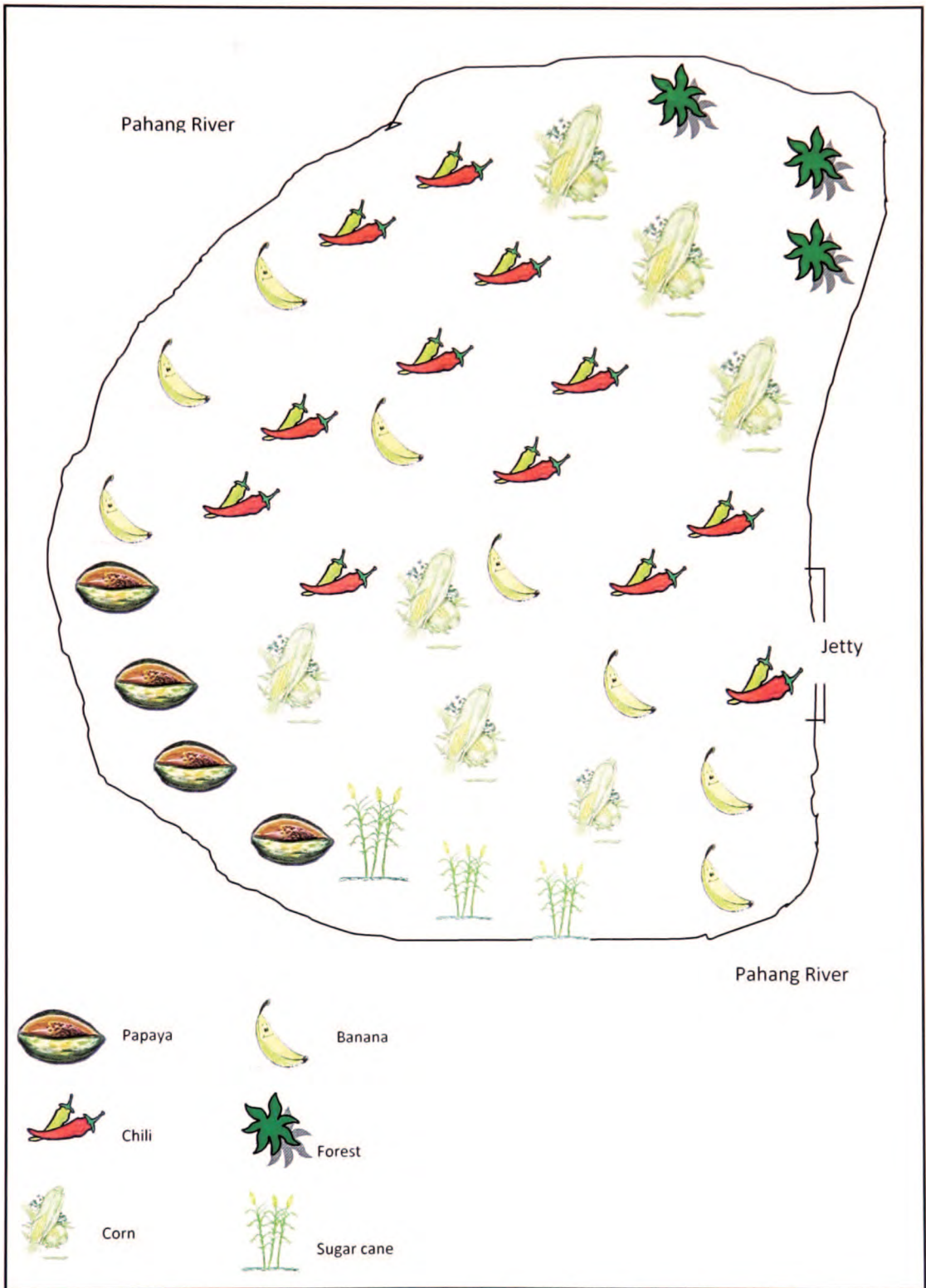
The small size of garden plot forces the farmers to cultivate intensively. They usually cultivate for daily consumption. However, if there is a surplus from their garden they will sell within the village. The vegetables will be packed in small carriers and placed in a basket and usually the children are asked (at weekends) to walk or cycle around the village. This method of selling could take place around 8.00 am – 10.00 am in the morning and between 5.00 pm to 6.00 pm in the evening. The price of the vegetables is comparatively cheap compared to the local market, and the farmers could earn RM8.00 – RM10.00 per day. However, they can earn more from chillies due to the higher price of this product, which could reach RM10.00 to RM12.00 per kg. Usually the farmers will pick the chillies and give them to 'Khatijah[16]' to distribute among the retailers in the 'night market' and 'morning market' in Pekan area.

3.4.3   Coffee Shops and Food Stalls

Local coffee shops and food stalls in Pulau Keladi are not just places to find food, but offer more than that. They are ideal places for small meetings and leisurely get togethers with friends in the village. The village shop provides villagers with the important items for daily use. There are nine shops[17] operating in Pulau Keladi, which could be categorised into; food stalls, grocers, and coffee shops (see Table 3.3).

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[16] This woman is involved in a variety of business; selling fish in the morning and night market, supplying fish to two restaurants in Triang and Muar, cultivating her own garden plot and gathering the farmers' produce to distribute to the retailers.

[17] In total the number of shops is ten. However, Ramli has two different categories of business under the same roof; grocery and coffee shop, both operated simultaneously.

Table 3.3: Categories of Shops in Pulau Keladi

Group	Owner	Type of Food	Operation Time	Assistance
A **Food** **Stalls**	Zaitun	Noodle soup, porridge, *bancheaw*, *char koi*, hot and cold drinks.	7.00 am-11.00 am Sunday to Friday	Husband and Daughter
	Rohani	Fried noodles, *Nasi lemak*, various of cakes, hot and cold drinks.	6.30 am-11.00 am Monday to Friday	Daughter
	Azizah	*Bancheaw*, wafer, *laksa*.	7.00 am-12.00 am four day per week	-
	Aminah	A variety of Malaysian and Cambodian desserts (*bubur kacang*, *bubur jagong*, *cendol*, *bubur pulut hitam*, *pengat pisang*) fried banana, fried chicken, fish crackers, and fresh fruit.	2.00 pm-6.00pm every day	Mother and shop assistant
	Ani	Variety of fried and noodle soup, variety of fried rice, hot and cold drinks.	5.00 pm-11.00 pm Monday to Friday	Husband and Daughter
B **Groceries**	Zulaika	Groceries, snacks, fishing hooks, fishing line, fishing rods, and foods such as fried rice, noodle, nuggets, *bok lohong*, fizzy drinks etc.	7.00 am-10.00pm Seven days a week	Daughter in-Law
	Solehah	Snacks, ice cream, Gas, rice, sugar, flour, and fish food (pellets).	7.00 am-8.00pm Seven days a week	Husband
	Ramli	Groceries, snacks, ice cream canned foods, fizzy drinks, bread, biscuits, and phone card top-up.	6.30 am-11.00 pm Seven days a week	Wife, son, daughter, and sister in-law
C **Coffee** **Shops**	Isa	Variety of fried and noodle soup, variety of fried rice, hot and cold drinks	5.30 pm-12.00 pm Seven days a week	Close relatives
	Ramli	*Nasi lemak*, *Nasi minyak*, fried noodle, *roti canai*, variety of Malay and Cambodian cakes	6.30 am-11.00 pm Seven days a week	Wife, son, daughter, and sister in-law

The majority of shops are owned and operated by women except Ramli and Isa's coffee shops. Out of nine shops in Pulau Keladi, only two shops are owned by men. Only Rohani and Isa's shops have their own buildings; the rest of the shops are operated underneath the owner's houses. All food stalls offer Malaysian and Cambodian breakfast to the villagers, except Aminah's and Ani's. Aminah's food stall operates from 2.00 pm until 6.00 pm in the evening. She offers a variety of desserts, cakes and snacks for tea. Ani's stall offered food for dinner and supper, from 5.00 pm until 11.00 pm. However, Ani's food stall closed two months before I departed Pulau Keladi, due to lack of customers. Her husband is a Malay man, not popular in the village. Previously, Ani and her husband rented a small stall in Pekan town, selling hot meals in the afternoons. However, due to the high competition with other Malay stalls, they could not continue, and returned to Pulau Keladi.

Zaitun and Azizah specialize in Cambodian cuisine, such as *bancheaw*, Cambodian noodle soup, chicken porridge, Cambodian wafer and Cambodian laksa. From 7.00 am in the morning until 11.00 am, the stall opens to serve Cambodian cuisine, not only for the people of Pulau Keladi itself, but also to the Cham in the Pekan area. The Cham of Pulau Keladi offer a wide range of Cambodian foods in their village, and sometimes the Cham from nearby villages come to Pulau Keladi to enjoy the Cambodian cuisine.

The business activities in the village are intensive during the early morning. Every morning, immediately on their return from *serau*, the villagers go to a coffee shop or food stall to have their breakfast. If someone would like to have a Cambodian breakfast, they can go to Zaitun or Azizah's food stall. Alternatively, someone could go to Ramli's or Rohani's shops for a Malaysian breakfast. The shopkeepers tend to avoid similarity in the food offered to villagers. Each shop provides a different type of food, or sometimes they operate at different times, to make sure they do not compete with each other.

Plate 5 : Food Stall

Zulaika's and Ramli's groceries provide villagers with a number of important items for daily use. These include assorted dried food items, canned food, condensed milk, rice, sugar, cigarettes, canned and bottled drinks, snacks, and a variety of vegetables. Fresh food such as fish and vegetable is usually bought on a day by day basis. Staple commodities are mainly bought from the weekly market on Saturday or Sunday.

3.4.4   Other Economic Activities

Several men in Pulau Keladi are involved full-time in non-agricultural occupations as builders. This particular job requires at least an elementary education and most of the time special ability or skills in carpentry. Mainly these groups offer a service for house renovation, such as, fixing tiles, extending the kitchen, adding a room or enlarging part of the house. Twenty-two men[18] in Pulau Keladi were engaged in this job. They were divided into four groups, led by Manan, Shafiee, Idris and Osman.

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[18] The people involved in this job included an unmarried young man.

These groups operated separately at different places. A van or a car was used as the main transport for every group to go to work, to save time and money. These people work six days per week from 8.00 am until 6.00 pm every day, and take Friday off[19]. Every group has its own work location depending on demand, and they operated within the Malay village and housing area[20] such as, Peramu Jaya 1, Peramu Jaya 2, Peramu Jaya 3, Taman Perdana, Taman Mentiga, Pulau Jawa, Pulau Serai, Temai, Tanjung Medang, Rumah Lima Ratus and Seri Maulana in Pekan district.

Another economic activity involving women's participation is 'cloth trading', one of the oldest and most popular jobs among the Cham in Malaysia. My general observation was that large numbers of the Cham in Malaysia were involved in this kind of business. The main economic activity of the Cham of Tanjung Agas, and Ketapang, approximately 10 km from Pulau Keladi, was of this kind. They had managed to set up a wholesale market in Pekan known as 'Pasar Borong' among the Malays, which operated every Saturday. This is the biggest 'wholesale' market in Pahang[21].

In Pulau Keladi there are five women and one man involved in this activity: however it is considered as a small scale business. They buy all the cloth from 'Pasar Borong' at a special price and later sell it at higher price to the Malays in several villages. Besides cloth they also sell other products, for instance, various medicines, snacks, tobacco, shoes, scarves, cosmetics, and perfume. Usually they choose Malay settlements, far away from the town, to sell their products. For example, Mai Na and Su Fi usually went to the FELDA (Federal Land Development Authority) area in Serting approximately 80 km from Pulau Keladi. This area is situated far away from town and the people only go to the nearest town for urgent and important business. Therefore, the Cham go into their settlement to offer some basic items for consumption. The credit system offered by the Cham attracts the Malay to buy their necessities without going out of their settlement.

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[19] They choose Friday as a day off since it is easier for them to go to the 'Jumaat Prayer' in the afternoon, and they work longer on the other days.
[20] Housing areas are usually developed by the government or private company to provide houses for local people to settle down. There is a huge opportunity for this group to work on house renovation.
[21] This is according to an interview with several wholesalers in 'Pasar Borong' Pekan and the Cham from Tanjong Agas and Ketapang who are involved in this kind of business.

For example, Minah, one of the villagers, cooked Cambodian dishes for instance; *slor mechu, pooak, mum, bong prek, slor siam* and *slor keko*, when the ingredients and time were available. The other women might smoke a surplus fish, or dry a fish for selling. Furthermore, three of the Cham women were involved in tailoring activities and another worked as a shop assistant. In addition, there were women involved in Avon direct selling business.

Besides that, school leavers took the opportunity to work as factory workers at the Automotive Manufacturers Malaysia (AMM), Malaysian Truck and Bus (MTB)[22] Company and Vac, the electronic vendor. The AMM and MTB offered jobs to both men and women, whereas Vac electronic vendor offered jobs for women only and provided transportation for the workers. These jobs gave them a chance to earn money and most unmarried boys and girls gave some of their wages to their parents.

3.5   The Cham House

As in other Southeast Asia settings, the Cham houses are usually built of wood on piles. In Pulau Keladi there are two types of houses. The first type is built on the ground and the other is a boat house. The first type of house is a construction which rests on high posts made from very hard wood. A few houses are two storey; however this is not a typical type of house in Pulau Keladi, due to the low level of the land in this area. The owner would be at risk during the Monsoon season, of the ground floor being flooded. Thirdly, the house boats are built floating on water by the villagers who have fish cages in the nearby river. Usually, this kind of house is used by the villagers for the purpose of watching the fish cages during the night.

Houses in Pulau Keladi are square or rectangular and are usually from 20 x 30 feet to 40 x 60 feet in size. The houses of wealthy people may be bigger and have three to four rooms. In term of construction materials, they might also use better quality and more expensive materials. The houses are built very close to each other, due to shortage of land and a few houses are linked together.

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[22] AMM is a Malaysian car manufacturer and the MTB specialize in truck and bus manufacturer, whereas Vac is a company that produces electronic components.

The Cham houses of Pulau Keladi were built similarly to their houses in Batambang[23]. They were constructed between six to eight feet off the ground level, so on piles, with the space underneath laid out as a multipurpose area. Because the underneath space is big enough for people to stand, it becomes a living place for men to perform manual activities and for the women serves as a cooking area. In most of the houses in Pulau Keladi, men and women have a nap in the afternoon in this area due to the good ventilation. The high posts also provide protection from flood water during the monsoon season, as this village is located near to the Pahang river bank.

Ebihara (1971), in her study of the Khmer of Svay in Cambodia, describes the space beneath the house for the Khmer as an integral part of life which is used in many ways: to cook and eat meals, to store large objects and to provide a cool place to relax during the heat of the day. This space is a common area for every family member.

The traditional Cham house has an open interior promoting good cross ventilation and lighting and allowing the space to be used for many purposes, depending on the season, occasion or time of day. The design of the house is uniquely suited to the family's socioeconomic circumstances and culture of the Cham. All the houses are divided into three main functional parts: *thethieh thom* a public space for receiving guests, *ketob dieaj* a sleeping place, and *riean bai* a place for cooking.

The house is approached by a stairway, which leads to the front verandah, *"riean hall"*, which is the main entrance to the house. Another stairway is usually located at the rear or at the side of the house; this entrance is usually used by women and their daughters, particularly when visitors are sitting in the main hall. In most cases in Pulau Keladi, the Cham build a concrete staircase with coloured tiles as the main entrance to every house. The front of the house, including the staircase area, is often decorated with plants or some herbs used in cooking. The main staircase is one of the symbols of the wealth of the owner of the houses. The second entrance, found at the side or the rear of the house, has a staircase leading way to the kitchen, usually made

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[23] Almost all of the old generation claimed that their houses in Pulau Keladi were similar to their previous houses in Batambang Cambodia.

of wood. The "*riean hall*" is the place where the family get together in their leisure time or where the informal gatherings take place and where people "pop-in" for a chat, without the need to observe the rigorous rules of etiquette inside the house. The *riean hall* is completely open and in most cases it is used as an area for drying clothes.

The central part of the house is the *thethieh thom*, literally meaning a big space. This is the basic living unit. In most cases of the house of Pulau Keladi, the average size of the *thethieh thom* is approximately 20 x 30 feet, or 15 x 25 feet, depending on the size of the family and the economic status of the owner of the house. Most formal activities, such as public gatherings and rituals, take place in this area. This area could accommodate almost a hundred people, sitting on the floor. In most cases, the *thethieh thom* is used for engagement ceremonies and for weddings, when the bride and groom on a bridal dais or *bersanding* and other relatives participate in this ritual.

The other two major zones of the Cham house interior are the *riean bai* or kitchen and *ketob dieaj* or bedroom. An average Cham house has one to three rooms, depending on the number of family members. It is rare for the houses to have four rooms or more. The *ketob dieaj* are usually used by the parents and the girls. Those who have a large family will share the *ketob dieaj* and the boys will sleep in the "*thethieh thom*".

In spite of the variation in types and sizes of houses in Pulau Keladi, the interior division of space conforms to a general pattern (see Figure 3.4). Figure 3.4 shows a typical floor plan which is representative of the general pattern of most Pulau Keladi houses. In this type of house, the area underneath the house is usually left open, this area could be considered as a multipurpose area and usually is used extensively. On entering most of the houses in this village, perhaps the most striking impression is the hammocks hanging underneath the houses. These are usually used by family members in the afternoon when they have a nap or after finishing their lunch, or might be used by women while they chat and exchange news (see picture). This space may also be used for storage of gardening and fishing equipment, and in most of the houses as a garage for their motor bike, bicycle, car, van or even small truck.

For special occasions, such as a wedding, it might be used as a place for cutting, chopping or preparing food.
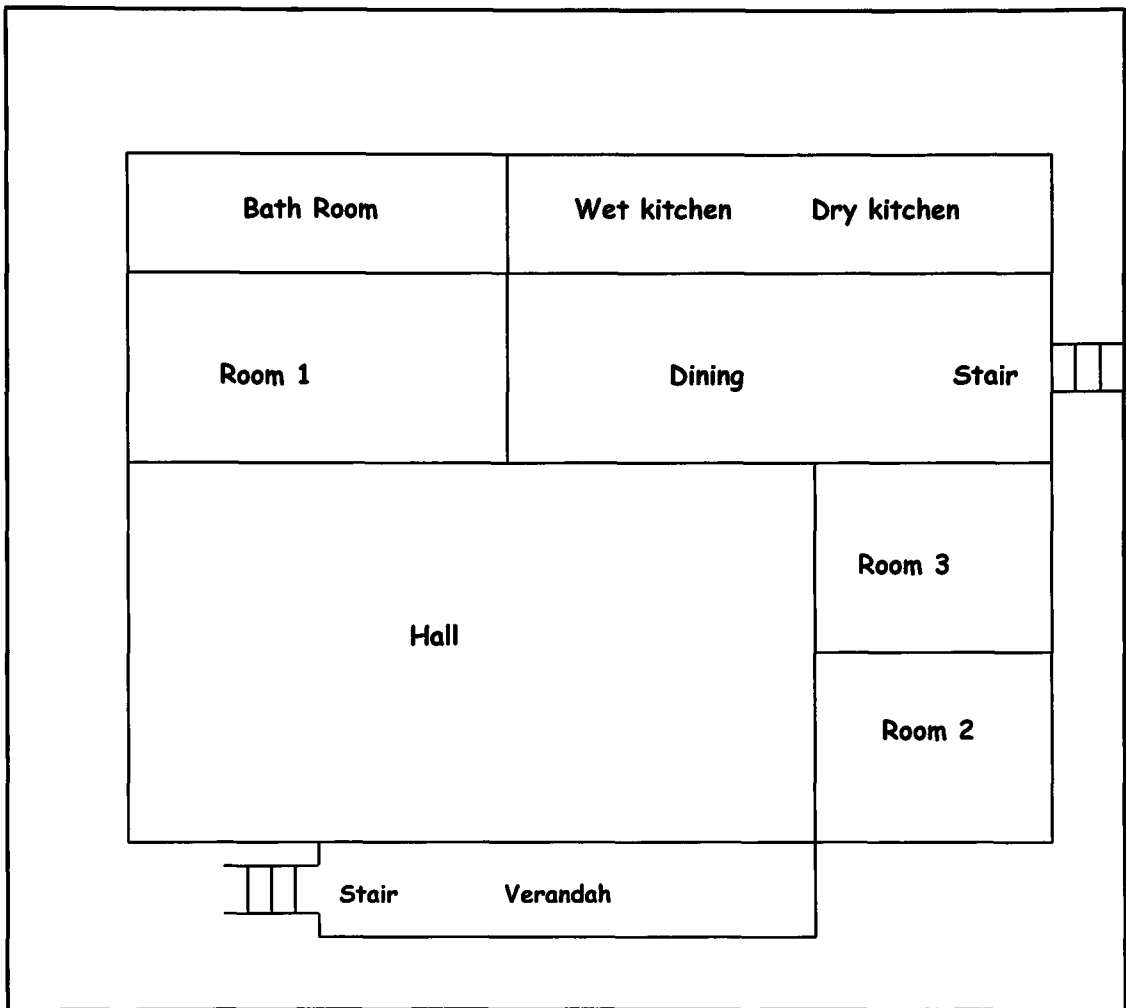
Figure 3.4:   Floor Plan of Typical Cham House of Pulau Keladi

As with the Malay of Langkawi (Carsten, 1995), the house can be separated into the inside and outside and these distinctions, as other studies have shown, can be correlated with women and men. There is a strong association between the house and women, compared to men. Mainly, relations between homes and household members could be described in terms of formal - informal and outside - inside. The Cham house structure is basically divided into two main sections; underneath the house and the first level. The area underneath the house is considered as an outside area and is informal. This area can easily and freely be accessed by friends and neighbours for social purposes. Women can talk and act freely and they dominate this area.

However women still cover their heads with a scarf or sometimes shawl (they only uncover their heads when they are inside the house), although they may dress in a casual way within this area.

Plate 6 : Hammock

However, for any formal visit by a local individual or outsider, the first floor of the house is used, as Carsten (1995) highlighted, so that 'entering the house marks either a more formal and distant relationship, that of strangers or distant kin, or an extremely close and familiar one'. For the Cham, formal visits may occur for several reasons; searching for a future son or daughter-in-law, discussing an engagement, *chaohrong*, wedding or any other formal issues. 'An extremely close' relationship might involve married children or married siblings who live far away. Usually, the formal visitor who enters the house is offered a snack or drink, and in the case of siblings they may be offered a full rice meal.

Some of the villagers fully utilized the area underneath the house by converting it into a coffee shop, grocery shop, or food stall. In other cases this area was utilized as a small market area, where petty traders come to sell their products. Figure 3.5 shows

an example of a village house which was converted to be a coffee shop and grocery shop. There are four main areas on the first floor: the verandah, hall, bedroom, and bathroom. The underneath area, which is converted into a coffee shop, is divided into five main areas; men's and women's eating areas, a serving area, an area for preparing and cooking *roti canai*, a kitchen and washing area, and a small part of the shop reserved for selling groceries. There is no partition between the men's and women's eating areas. However it is understood that both parties know where they should sit while enjoying their food and company. The situation here contrasts with that of Malay women in Langkawi as described by Carsten (1997: 136-7) who reported that 'The coffee-shop can be considered as a kind of men's house', that is a forum for informal political discussion by men. She added, 'Women very rarely go to coffee-shops'. In Pulau Keladi, however, coffee shops are for everybody, men, women, and children.

Plate 7: Coffee Shop
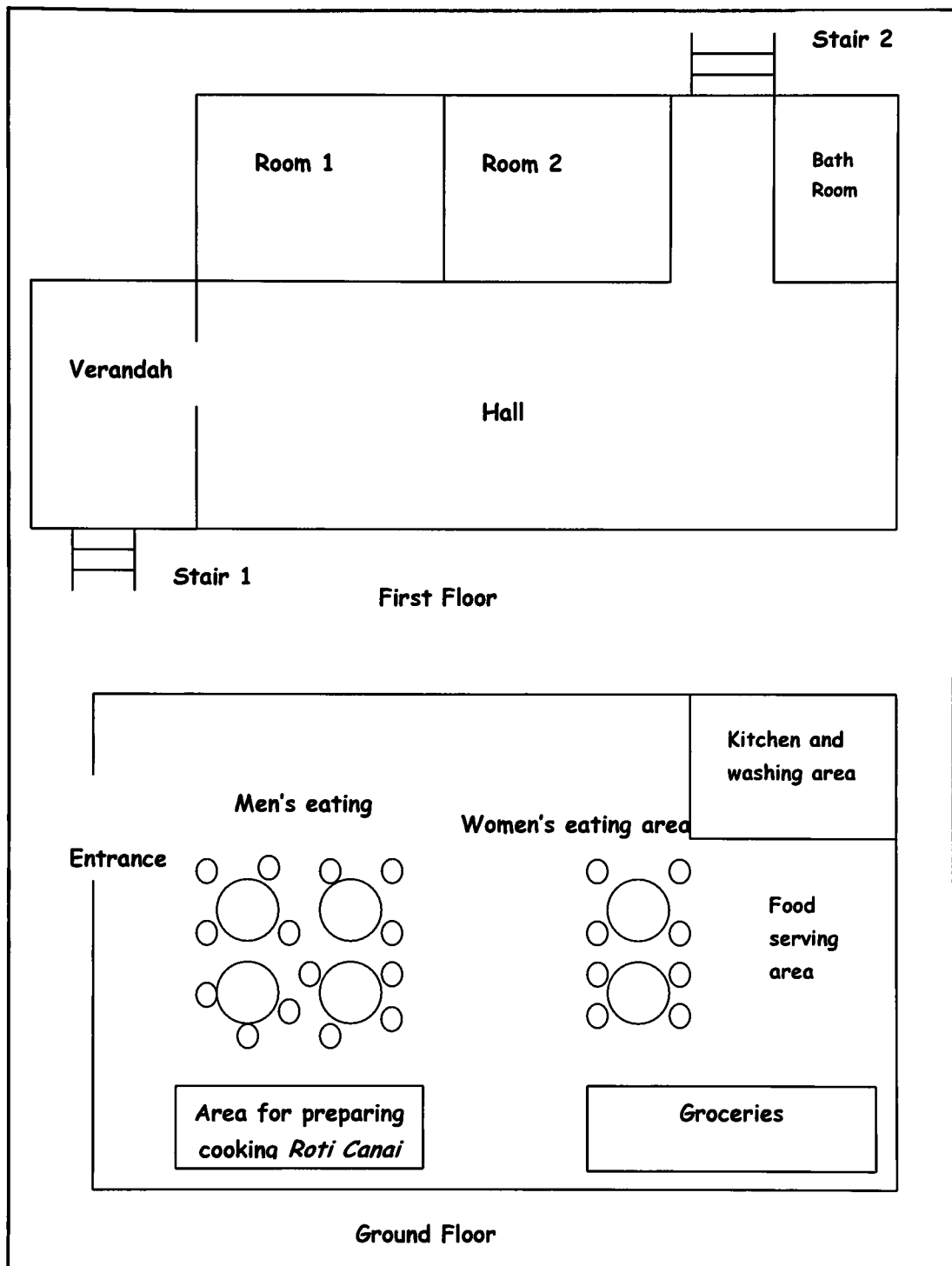
Figure 3.5: Floor Plan of Cham House with a Coffee Shop

This coffee shop operated seven days a week from 6.00 am to 10.00pm daily, and during the flood season the shop operated as usual. As the owner told me, all the goods were taken up to the upper level and the verandah and hall were used for cooking, serving and eating purposes.

3.6 The *Serau*

The *serau* is a house of prayer for the Cham of Pulau Keladi. It appears that this is a very important building. It is situated in the western part of the village, and is accessible by a path descending from the eastern side of the village. Those who walk to the *serau* can use a footpath in the centre of the village. However, those who travel by car, motorbike or bicycle use the paved road to reach the *serau*. To the North there is also a direct connection with a small bridge to the villagers' houses.

The *serau* lies on a half hectare plot of land. It is a double storey building built collectively by the villagers approximately twelve years ago, a year after they moved into the area. In fact, building it is an ongoing process. The upper level is supported by large wooden pillars, approximately eight feet high. It is constructed from wood and has a zinc roof and glazed window. A large glazed window can be seen on each storey for ventilation purposes. This upper level space serves as a prayer hall. It is divided into two sections for men and women. A quarter of the upper space is used by women as their prayer hall and it is separated from the men's section by a curtain (see *serau* floor plan).

The ground level of the *serau* was constructed from concrete for the pillars and tiles for the floor. This big area has no dividing wall and serves as a multipurpose hall for Pulau Keladi inhabitants. The main function of this space is for children to learn how to recite Quran and religious classes take place here for children aged between six and fifteen years old. This hall is also used as a common hall by the villagers for activities such as meetings for the micro credit scheme, known as Amanah Ikhtiar Malaysia (AIM). Concrete steps provide access to the upper level, leading to the men's and women's prayer halls. The left-hand entrance is used by men and the right-hand entrance is used by women. The ablution areas and the toilets for men and women can be found on the left and right hand sides of the *serau*, respectively.

First Floor

Imam place to lead Prayer

Men's prayer

Men's toilet and ablution facility

Women's toilet and ablution

Women's prayer hall

Men's entrance

Verandah

Women's entrance

Volley Ball

Second Floor

Multipurpose hall

Cooking Area

Side Door

Main Entrance
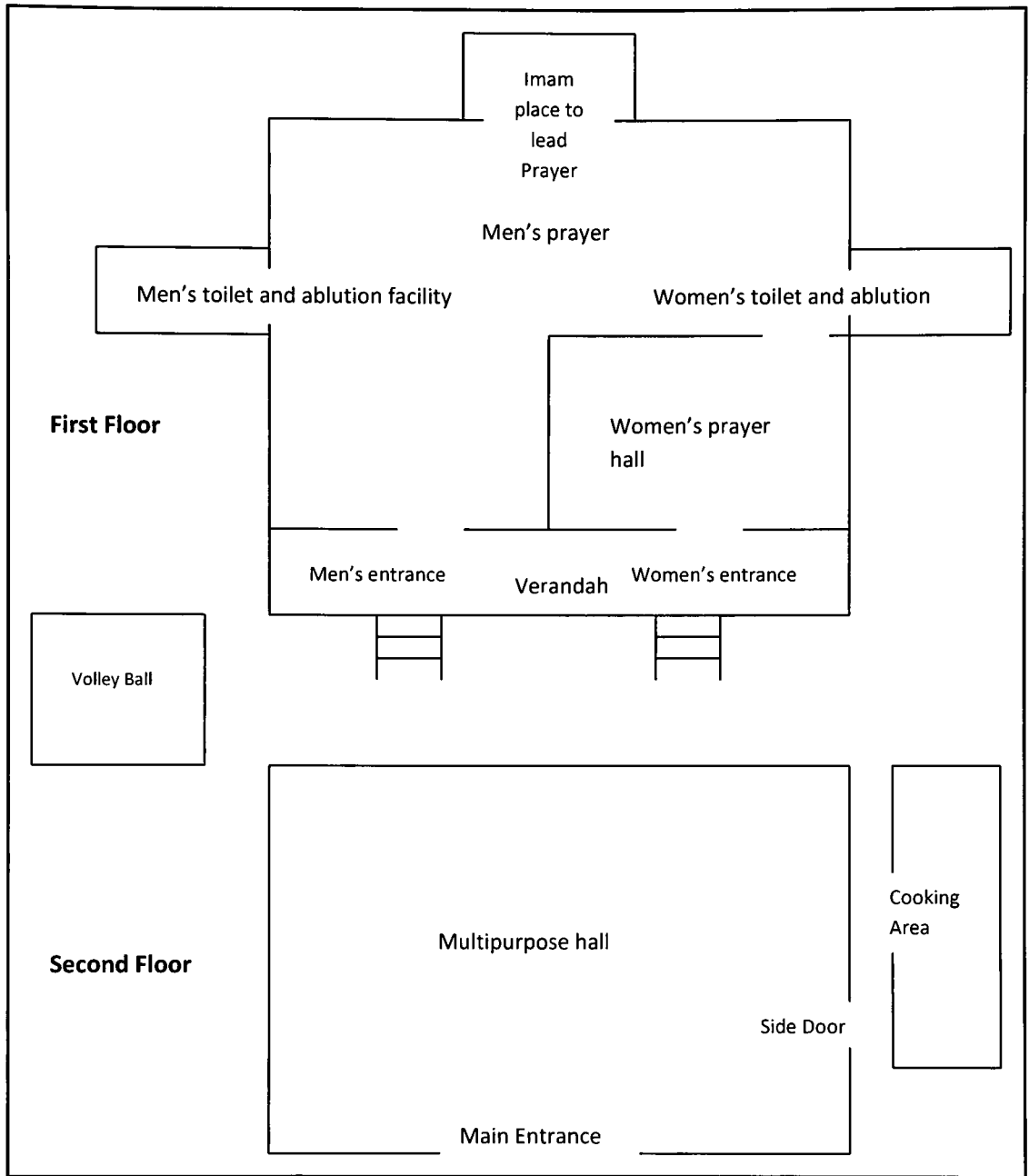
Figure 3.6:   Floor Plan of the *Serau* of Pulau Keladi

Plate 8 : *Serau*

Plate 9 : Adult Religious Class in *Serau*

There is a strong association between Cham people and the *serau*. This building is a focal point for the villagers, not only for religious activities but also for various other activities. It appears to be a symbol of unity and solidarity for the whole village. The *serau* could be classified as a 'centre for lifelong learning' (see Figure 3.7) due to its function as a learning centre for religious knowledge for the villagers, starting from as early as 4 – 5 years old up to 70 – 80 years old.

Adult **Centre for lifelong learning** **Children**

1-Religious class for Adult 2 days per-week – Saturday and Sunday from 2.00 – 4.00 pm.

2- Every Friday night 7.30 -.8.30 pm recite 'yassin' with all the villages men/women/children.

3- Read quran every night between Magrib prayer and Isyak praye (7.30 - 8.30)

1-Religious Class for children from 6 – 17 years old, 3 day per-week (Monday to Wednesday) 2.00 – 4.00pm.

2- Learn to read Quran

3- Arabic class

Serau

Symbol /represent their life

Symbol /represent their Death

1-AIM – meeting every Tuesday morning for women 20 women.

2- As a meeting place for the people of Pulau Keladi.

Community hall

- meeting
- Celebrating religious function/activities (maulud/celebrate ramadhan/nikah/
- Play area for children and teenagers.

Figure 3.7: The *Serau*'s Functions

Basically, there are two main classes; one is for adults, offered twice a week from 2.00 pm to 4.00 pm every Saturday and Sunday. There is no formal syllabus for conducting classes; however the *Aoung Tuan*, the religious teacher, has chosen several '*kitab*' or books written in '*jawi*' as a main foundation. Everyone who attends the class needed to have their own '*kitab*'. During the class, the *Aoug Tuan* will read a section of the '*kitab*' and explain it, giving an example supported by verses from the Quran and 'hadith'. When the '*kitab*' is completed, they will continue with a new '*kitab*'. This process has been carried out since the inhabitants lived in Pulau Shell. To complete one '*kitab*', according to the *Aoung Tuan*, takes almost a year. This class is conducted in both languages, Khmer and Malay, and it is open to other Cham from nearby villages within the Pekan area.

Once a week, on a Friday night, there is a special occasion from 7.30 pm to 8.30 pm, just after they finish the '*magrib*' prayer, when everyone who attends prayer in the *serau* usually participates in reciting 'Yassin' (Verses 1 – 83). This occasion is led by the *Aoung Tuan* and the rest of villagers, including children and women, will recite together. Usually, on these Friday night occasions, someone will contribute some food for a 'feast' and the participants will eat after completing the '*Isyak*' prayer.

There is a special session for adults, particularly for the men of Pulau Keladi every night except Fridays, for those who would like to improve their reading of the Quran without any mistake in terms of '*Tajwid*' and pronunciation, with the *Aoung Tuan's* supervision. Women who would like to do so might get some help from another woman who has completed reading the Quran and can read perfectly. My observation revealed that the younger generation could read the Quran more accurately than the older generation. Some of the older generation or first generation claimed that they had been prohibited from practising any kind of religious ritual, including reading or even keeping the Quran, and they might have been killed if the Khmer Rouge had found out.

However, the second generation, most of whom were children when they fled their country, had an opportunity to learn and practise their religions since they lived in refugee camps in Kelantan and Pahang. When they left the refugee camps, these

children were sent to a Malay religious teacher to continue their religious education. Nowadays, those who really want their children to have a good religious education usually send them to Kelantan, to a special school. I found that three of the children of Pulau Keladi were currently studying in one of the special religious schools in Kelantan. A key informant told me that 'these children are sent for further study in Kelantan, with the hope that they might be one of our futures '*Aoung Tuan'*.

The second function of the serau is as a major social centre. The various annual Muslim events and other occasions are held here, for instance '*Maulidul rasul*', '*Maal hijrah*', '*Israk mikraj*', and '*Tadarruz Quran*'. These major annual events are celebrated according to the Islamic calendar 'Hijrah'[24]. For instance '*Maulidul rasul*' is celebrated by the Muslims in commemoration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday on 12th Rabi-al-Awwal each year, according to the Islamic calendar. *Maal hijrah* is another important date for the Muslim community, also known as *Awwal muharram*. It falls on the first day of the month of Muharram of the Islamic calendar. Literally, *Maal hijrah* means migration. The Muslims celebrate this day to remember the Prophet Muhammad's migration from Mecca to Medina in the year 622 A.D. The symbolic meaning behind the *Maal hijrah* celebration is change from bad to good, or it can be said to be a starting point to evaluate the inner self or self-achievement of an individual. Every mosque and *serau* will have a voluntary prayer or '*solat sunat*'.

Ramadhan is the 9th month of the Hijrah calendar, and it is a special month of the year for Muslims. Like many other Muslims, the Cham celebrate this month by practising more '*ibadat*'. Bowen (1989) defines *ibadat* as 'the rites and practices through which one worships God'. Narrowly he interpreted *ibadat* as the domain of explicitly prescribed activities of worship, most notably the 'five pillars' which are the confession of faith, the '*salat*', fasting in the month of *Ramadhan*, almsgiving and the pilgrimage to Mecca. The Muslims believe that the reward of any good action and *ibadat* in *Ramadhan* is multiplied many times by Allah. Therefore, during

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[24] The Islamic calendar was first introduced by the close companion of the Prophet Muhammad, Ummar Ibn Al-Khatab, during his leadership of the Muslim community in 638 A.D. This calendar has twelve lunar months, the beginning and ending of which are determined by the appearance of the crescent moon. Years are counted since the Prophet Muhammad's migration or 'hijrah' from Mecca to Medina in 622 A.D.

Ramadhan, many Cham, particularly the older generation who work within the village spend more time in the *serau* reciting the Quran, *zikir,* and performing voluntary prayer. They fast from dawn to sunset for the whole month, breaking their fast at the serau with fellow villagers. Since feeding other people, particularly the poor, is highly recommended during *Ramadhan* month, the women of Pulau Keladi are busy preparing food and sending some of it to the *serau* to be shared at breakfast. Some family members might join their fellow villagers in breaking their fast at the *serau* and others might stay at home with other family members. The prayer hall is filled with men, women and children for the voluntary prayer called *'Terawih'.*

Another significant function of the *serau* is for the *Akad nikah* ceremony. It is a formal wedding ceremony for the specifically Islamic dimension of the marriage ritual. The *Akad nikah* literally means marriage contract between a man and a woman. Peletz (1988) mentions that this ceremony is ranked as the central element of the entire ritual complex with regard to validating the bond between husband and wife, and the link between their respective lineages. Previously, this ceremony used to take place in the bride's house. However, I was told that currently the Cham preferred to change to the *serau* in order to obtain a *'barakah'* or blessing from God.

Lastly, the serau is a focal point for the Cham for any formal or informal meetings. For instance, the serau is used by a group of women who were members of *Amanah Ikhtiar Malaysia* (AIM), a type of micro credit scheme. Every Thursday morning, this group consisting of 25 women held a meeting here from 9.00 am to 10.30 am. For the committee members (see Figure 3.8) of the *serau,* this is the place where they sit together and collectively make decisions on all the activities they plan for the entire community.

Figure 3.8:   *Serau* Organization Chart of Kampung Baru Pulau Keladi
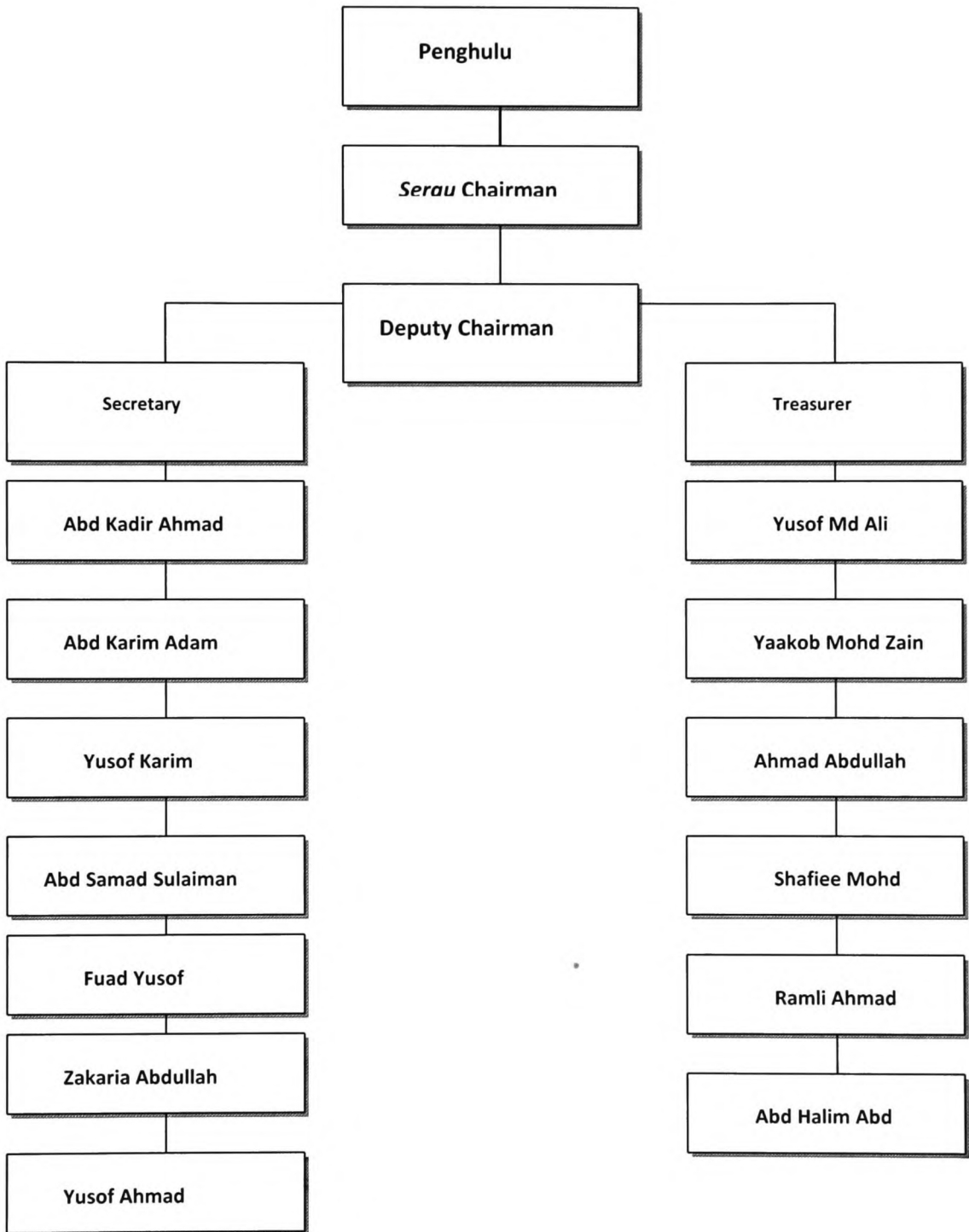
3.7 Population of Pulau Keladi

The village of Pulau Keladi is inhabited by 513 people, divided into 80 household units. The average size of the household is 6.4 persons, and almost three quarters of the households (72.6 percent) comprise 3 to 8 persons. However, some household number more than 8 persons, for instance there are several households with 12 members in total.

3.7.1 Age Structure

A breakdown by age of respondents to my household survey reveals that the bulk of household heads and their spouses were between 41 – 50 years old, followed by the age range between 31 – 40 years old, accounting for 29 percent and 25 percent respectively. As shown in Table 3.4, the smallest number of respondents was in the age group of 61 years old and above, and representing 8.8 percent. One reason is because most of the ageing people of Pulau Keladi are not heads of households. When their spouse died, most of them delegated the responsibility to the son or daughter who lived with him or her.

Table 3.4:   Age Structure of Respondents

Age	Respondent	Percent	Spouse	Percent
21 – 30 years	6	7.5	13	16.3
31 – 40 years	25	31.3	11	13.8
41 – 50 years	29	36.3	25	31.3
51 – 60 years	12	15	14	17.5
61 and above	0	0	7	8.8
Missing	8	10	10	12.5
Total	**80**	**100**	**80**	**100**

3.7.2   Place of Birth

Table 3.5 indicates the place of birth of the respondents. The majority of respondents were born in Batdambang province, comprising 78.8 percent, followed by Kampong

Cham and Phnom Phen, 8.8 and 3.8 percent respectively. However, two were born in Malaysia; one was a Malay woman who had married a Cham man, and the other was the daughter of the *Aoung Tuan*, who was born in Kelantan. One of the respondents was born in a refugee camp in Thailand while the Cham were waiting for a resettlement programme arranged by UNHCR.

Table 3.5:   Respondent's Place of Birth

Place of Birth	Number	Percentage
Battambang	63	78.8
Kompong Cham	7	8.8
Kompong Chnang	2	2.5
Phnom Phen	3	3.8
Poultisat	1	1.3
Suhanc	1	1.3
Thailand	1	1.3
Malaysia	2	2.5
Total	**80**	**100**

3.7.3   Ethnic Identity

Another important issue is the ethnic identity that the inhabitants of Pulau Keladi ascribe to themselves. As seen in Table 3.6 Pulau Keladi inhabitants consist of people from six different categories: the Cham, Kemboja Muslim, Khmer, Chver or Jva, Malay and Chinese. According to the survey, 34 respondents or 42.6 percent claimed that their ethnicity was Cham. Out of this number, 35 percent of the respondent claimed that their spouses were Cham. However, a slightly larger percentage identify themselves and their spouses as Kemboja Muslim, 45 and 41.3 percent, respectively. The third category is Khmer Muslim. This group comprises ethnic Khmer who converted to Islam; 7.5 percent of the respondents and their spouses were in this category. Chver or Jva as mentioned by Colin (1996) is a group of people related to Malay and Javanese people. This ethnic group made up 12.6

percent of the total. Lastly, there was one Malay respondent and one Chinese husband of one of the respondents.

Table 3.6:   Respondent's Ethnic Identity

Ethnicity	Respondent	Percentage	Spouse	Percentage
Cham	34	42.6	28	35
Kemboja	36	45	33	41.3
Muslim	4	5	2	2.5
Khmer	5	6.3	5	6.3
Muslim	1	1.3	3	3.8
Chvea/Jva	0	0	1	1.3
Malay	0	0	8	10
Total	**80**	**100**	**80**	**100**

3.7.4   Language

It is clear that the Pulau Keladi inhabitants are not mono-lingual; in fact, most of them are bi-lingual and some of them can speak three languages. Table 3.7 indicates the languages spoken by the household members within the village. It is clear that there are at least two languages spoken by this community within the village. The most widely-used languages are Khmer and Malay. However, Khmer language is widely spoken by this community especially among themselves. I found that older men could speak both Khmer and Malay fluently as compared to older women. This is due to the regularity of men deal with outsider or Malay people more often compared to women. Although the Khmer language has never been taught in school, and yet all children of the second generation continue to speak Khmer. These children used Malay language as a medium of communication in school, therefore they can speak Malay language fluently.

Table 3.7:   Language Spoken by Respondent's Family

Languages	Number	Percentage
Cham	1	1.3
Khmer	15	18.8
Khmer-Malay	59	73.8
Cham-Khmer	2	2.5
Malay	1	1.3
Khmer-Malay-Chinese	1	1.3
Malay-Cham-Khmer	1	1.3
Total	**80**	**100**

3.8   Summary

This chapter presents an overview of the ethnographic setting of the Cham
community. Various ethnic groups of people live in Pekan district, and this reflects
the heterogeneous composition of population. However, the central tenet of this
chapter is to scrutinise the setting, daily life activities, and economic activities which
are interrelated. The Cham community in Pekan district is scattered in several
villages, and Pulau Keladi is one of the biggest Cham villages in Pekan district. Easy
excess to the highway from Paloh Hinai to Pekan town offers a considerable
opportunity for modernization to spill out into Pulau Keladi. The community is
connected with the outside world through various transportation facilities, both
public and private.

This village is situated on the bank of the Pahang River, which gives an advantage to
the population in manipulating the environment for their economic survival. The
river and the island offer substantial opportunity for fresh water fish farming and
farming activities. Although, not all fish farmer are large scale farmers, their business
strategies and coordination between larger scale and small scale fish farming
manages to establish Pulau Keladi as an important producer of fresh water fish
especially *ikan patin* not only in Pahang state but also in Malaysia. Besides that,
various economic activities such as food stalls, coffee shops, building, and trading

transpires market oriented community. Although the size of the village is considered small, the density is considered high, and various types of shops offered their daily needs not only food and beverage but also entertainment, and companionship. During the weekend this small village turns into a small market where everyone could shop around.

Another interesting point to highlight in this chapter is the *serau* as a focal point for the village and villagers. The importance of the *serau* for this community is reflected in various ways. For instance, the routine or daily life activities of Pulau Keladi's inhabitants seem to be homogeneous and centred on the *serau*. It appears that the *serau* is important for the young and the old, for individuals and families, in happiness and sadness, even for life and death. The *serau* represents an entity which unites the whole village and is symbolic of an 'extended household', and every household or member of a household seeks for guidance from there.

Chapter Four
Cham Kinship and Household

4.0   Introduction

In this chapter, I shall describe the basic structure of Cham social organization. The basic unit of Cham social structure is the family and kinship group, which constitutes the 'structural system of relationships in which individuals are bound one to another by complex interlocking and ramifying ties' (Murdock 1949:92). Throughout this study, the term kinship is used to refer to a network of relations based on the notion of consanguinity or blood, affinity or marriage, religious position, and ritual co-parenthood. This recognized framework of community relations forms the basis of status conferral and role performance in the community. Initially, it is through the kinship structure that the local authority, rights, and obligations, and modes of interactions and inter-group behaviour are, in many communities assessed and controlled (Jocano 1983:120).

I will argue in this chapter that kinship ties within the nuclear family and extended family remain strong and salient throughout life, and that this community perpetuates kinship values not only within Pulau Keladi itself, but also across international borders.

4.1   Family and Households

The term household as used in this study refers to the group of relatives whose household represents a consumption unit through occupying a housing unit, sharing a common kitchen, and contributing to procurement. The typical household in Pulau Keladi consists of a husband, a wife and unmarried children, and in many cases also includes a married daughter and her husband. The household is an important component of a community organization that provides group life with a common reservoir of social, economic, and psychological support.

As a domestic unit, the members of a household share a common meal, and usually the females undertake everyday chores, such as cooking, washing, sweeping, and cleaning.

If the house includes a teenage daughter, most of the chores are undertaken by her, with her mother's assistance. From the age of 12 to 13 years, girls are given responsibility for doing the chores within the household. It is also common for a married daughter to cook at her mother's house and for them to eat together at lunch time, if their husbands do not return for lunch. However, if the woman cooks dinner in her mother's house, she might take it home to share with her own family members. Dinner time for the people of Pulau Keladi is the time when all family members sit together. Young girls usually help their mothers set the table, or families might sit on the floor to enjoy dinner. Dinner is served after the *Insyak* prayer, at around 8.45 – 9.00 o'clock. In most cases this is when children talk to their mother if they have any problem or need to ask for permission for something, and dinner time is the best time for both father and mother to listen to and solve any problems.

As can be seen in Table 4.1, there are three main types of household in Pulau Keladi. These households can be classified into three distinct categories; nuclear family, extended family and single person. Nuclear families represent the majority (82.5 percent) of households in the entire village. Such families consist of one adult male, his wife and their unmarried children.

Table 4.1 : Types of Households

Types of Family	Number	Percentage
Nuclear	66	82.5
Extended	12	15
Single person	2	2.5
Total	**80**	**100**

The second largest family type is the extended family household, which accounts for 15 percent of the households or 12 households. Only a small percentage (2.5%) of the households fall under the single person classification. In this village, most households are headed by men, except for a few of the extended households which are headed by women if their husband has died or if they are divorced.

Living alone in a household unit is not common among the Cham and these two households are actually surrounded by other family members. For instance in Ahmad's case, his son and daughter regularly come to visit him, bringing some food. In the case of the old lady who lives alone, she is often accompanied by her grandchildren and niece. Sometimes they sleep at her house, especially when she is not very well.

While the number of extended families is only 15 percent, most people experience living within the extended family for at least a short period of time. For instance, a newly married couple live with the woman's parents, at least until the first baby is born. Furthermore, during the period in Pulau Shell, most parents began to re-unite their family members, because they were scattered all over Malaysia. The parents began to ask their married children who worked outside Pekan to come back, and because of the limited availability of land to build a new house, they used to live within the extended family.

Table 4.2 illustrates the six categories of extended family in Pulau Keladi. Out of the total, six involve mothers living together with a married son or daughter and their children as a household unit. For instance, Abdullah, Osman, Me Tut, Ming Nah and others, they are the youngest son or daughter in a family, and after their marriage, continue to live with their mother. Abdullah, for instance, lives with his mother, Mai Zaharah, a 68 year old lady, and Osman lives, with his mother Mai So, a 66 year old woman, together with their wives and children, since their fathers passed away. Similarly Me Tut, a 24 year old woman, lives with her mother, Mai Su. Me Tut chose to live with her mother even though her husband's family live in Pulau Keladi. Another example is Ming Nah, a middle aged widow living with her mother in her own house since her husband died of cancer. Her mother moved into Ming Nah's house just a few days after her husband died; before moving into Ming Nah's house, she lived with her elder son.

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Table 4.2 : Types of Extended Family in Pulau Keladi

Categories of Extended Family	Number
Mother with married son or daughter	6
Father and mother with married children	2
Son and mother	1
Father and married daughter	1
Grand mother and grandchildren	1
Married sibling	1
Total	**12**

In this type of household, the son is formally recognized as a breadwinner, and his wife as the household controller, who is in charge of the household accounts. However, mothers in this type of household emerge as very prominent women. They occupy high-status positions in the family and community, and the couple refers to them before making any decision. The elderly are not cared for solely by the son or daughter who lives with them; other children also share this responsibility. The non-resident children might give a monthly allowance to their mother and usually other daughters will prepare and send a lunch or dinner for their mother (this will be discussed further in connection with sibling relationship after marriage).

As a further example, Atikah, a 50 year old widow, lives with four unmarried sons and a daughter, two married daughters and their husbands, and her grandchildren. This household consists of 13 members, and the mother remains the head of the household. Within this category of household, married daughters or sons share their earnings to cover the household expenditure.

Secondly, two household units consist of a father and a mother who live with a married son or daughter. In this case, Rokiah and her husband live together with her parents.

This couple had an eight week old baby before I left Pulau Keladi. There is just one case each of household units in the categories of son and mother, father and married daughter, grandmother and grandchildren, and lastly, married siblings living together as a household unit. For two married siblings to live together in one household unit is quite common, although during my stay in Pulau Keladi there was only one case. Previously, according to my informant, there were several cases where two married siblings lived together.

Another noticeable and distinctive characteristic is the relatedness of households. As in many other rural communities in the South East Asian region, people seem to reside close to their relatives. The data obtained from the household survey show that out of a total of 80 households, 74 households are related to each other. Only six households are considered non-kin to the rest of the inhabitants. It can be seen from Figure 4.1, that one of the prominent figures in Pulau Keladi, Zaharah, has the largest number of close kin within this village. Although there are 'non-kin' in Pulau Keladi, the percentage is small, 7.5% out of the total population. The point to be highlighted is that within three generations of this couple's descendants 59.6 percent of Pulau Keladi inhabitants are closely related to them: siblings, nieces, nephews, sons, daughters and their grandchildren. However, I have not calculated the number of their great grand children; if they were included, the number might be higher.

When I asked Mai Zaharah how she and her husband manage to live within the big extended family, she replied;

> *My late husband and I used to live within big families, since in Batdhambang and before the Communists took over Cambodia we lived in a village which was bought collectively by our relatives (her husband's siblings and her own siblings). It is easier to live with family members because when one of us has any problems there are relatives ready to help. When we first came to Malaysia, some of us were sent out from refugee camps in various places. However when we began to move to Pulau Shell, my husband started to contact all of his siblings and my siblings to resettle in one place like before. It took several years to re-unite all of my husband's and my sibling in one place. By that time our children had grown up and were getting married and they worked outside*

Pulau Shell. However, when we planned to move to Pulau Keladi, my husband and I had a discussion that we wanted all our children to stay together. Therefore when we planned to buy the land, all of my children's nameswere included to get one house plot for each of them except my youngest son.

Mai Zaharah is also known as 'Mai Roh' among the villagers. 'Mai' is a term of address for a grandmother. Every one in the village knows her and calls her 'Mai', and she is one of the most respected women, not only within Pulau Keladi but also in other Cham villages in Pekan area. In her late sixties, Mai Roh lives happily within her big family in the same settlement. She was married to Abdul Majid for more than forty years, and her husband died soon after they moved to Pulau Keladi. She has three siblings, one brother and two sisters. Her late husband, Abdul Majid, was among the earliest people to resettle in Pekan, and the most respected leader among the Cham in the Pekan area. Abdul Majid himself had five siblings, one sister and four brothers. This couple had ten children, five sons and five daughters.

All Zaharah's siblings (Omar, Halimah and Aisyah) live in Pulau Keladi and they have 3, 5 and 6 children respectively, as shown in Figure 4.1. On Zaharah's side there are 14 nieces and nephews. Of Zaharah's late husband's siblings, four live in Pulau Keladi; the youngest sister-in-law, Rohani, and her husband, Yunus, live in Johore, which is more than three hundred km from Pulau Keladi. One of Abdul Majid's brothers, Abdul Kasim, died several years ago. It is apparent from this figure that Zaharah and her late husband Abdul Majid, have 306 kin, including their children and grandchildren, in Pulau Keladi. However, I do not have an exact figure for Zaharah's great grandchildren, especially among those who live outside the village.

Omar
Zulaikha

Halimah
Adam

Aisyah +
Sulaiman*

zaharah

Abd
Majid*

Abd Kasim* +
Sofiah

Hj Ahmad
Azizah

Amin +
Mai

Ibrahim
Khatijah

Rohani +
Yunus

3 children

5 children

6 children

10 children

6 children

10 children

2 children

10 children

Total 18 members

Total 44 members

Total 42 members

Total 86 members

Total 56 members

Total 49 members

Total 6 members

Total 21 members

Figure 4.1 : Zaharah and Abdul Majid's Extended Family in Pulau Keladi

TOTAL members of this extended family are 322 – 16 (who are not in Pulau Keladi and already counted in other families = 306

*The person name with bold were died

4.2 Cham Kinship and Family Organization

Cham kinship is characterized as cognatic descent, with theoretically equal recognition to the relatives of both parents. As Dube (1996:26) pointed out 'There are no separate sets of terms for paternal and maternal relatives as practiced by the Malay'. Their kinship system belongs to what has been described by Lafont (1964) as the 'Oriental' Hawaiian system. The Hawaiian system is the simplest classification system of kinship introduced by Murdock (1949). In this system, people are distinguished by genealogical level or gender. In other words, this means that structurally, an individual reckons relationship equally through both the father's and mother's side. According to Murdock (1949), in this system the elder-younger dichotomy is one of the fundamental principles. For example Ego refers to all females of his parent's generation as 'mothers' and all males as 'fathers' and in the children's generation, all brothers and male cousins are referred to as 'brothers' and all sisters and female cousins as 'sisters'.

On the contrary, previous literatures noted that in some areas of Indochina the Cham practiced a matrilineal kinship system. A brief picture of the matrilineal system among the Cham was given by Aymonier (1891), Maspero (1928)[1], P.B Lafont (1964)[2], (Provencher, 1975:180), Po Dharma (1994)[3] and Jones (1994). However, in Pulau

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[1] According to Maspero (1928: 17-19), the Cham had a clan system predating Hindu influence. The main basic social organization in the village is a clan or *prok*. This basic unit could be as small as eight to ten families. These kin groupings were marked by clan names, and each clan also had a totem to distinguish it further. Two such clans mentioned in legends are the "coconut tree" clan and the "*kramu-kavansa*" or areca nut tree clan. These two are reported to have struggled for supremacy. The areca nut tree clan ruled the state of Panduranga in what is now known as central Vietnam and the coconut tree clan dominated the area further to the north.

[2] This important piece of work has been translated into the Indonesian language by Abdul Rahman Al-Ahmadi (1988) "*Contribution a l' etude des structures socialles des cham du Viet-Nam*", in *History and Culture of Champa*. The original article, which is in French, was also sent to a competent translator before I reconstructed this kinship system.

[3] Po Dharma (1994) and Jones (1994) draw on *Muk Sruh Palei* (the book portrays Cham morals and ethics in Panduranga). Both researchers note that the term *Adat Ina* literally meaning 'custom of mother's side' is used in Muk Sruh Palei in explaining their family and organization. For the Cham of Panduranga, descent is traced through the female ancestors, known as *gap batian* (a group refers to individuals claiming common ancestry in the uterine linage). Mothers rather than fathers exercise strong influence over the children.

Keladi, the kinship system seems to be different from what has been claimed by these researchers.

Structurally, groups of relatives are divided into specific subdivisions such as parental and grandparental generations, arranged lineally and collaterally. Lineally, the Cham of Pulau Keladi recognize genealogical kin in ascending order reaching up to five generations (see Figure 4.2)[4]. In terms of sex of relatives in the ascending generations, there are distinct terms for grandmother, grandfather, aunt, uncle, mother and father.

The term of address for father is *Yah* or *Pa* and the term for mother is *Mak* (similar to Malay). On the other hand, the term of reference is *Aupok* for father and *Mday* for mother. These terms are also applied to foster parents and parents- in-law. Moreover, the term for aunts and uncles are differentiated based on their chronological age relative to the connecting parent. For instance, the terms of reference for FMB or FMS are *Aupok tom* and *Mday tom*, and the Cham address them as *Wak Long* for both sexes. However, to differentiate between male Wak Long or female Wak Long, one usually adds the person's name at the end. The Cham kin terminology seems to be more specific regarding seniority. The older brothers and sisters are distinct from the parent's younger brothers and sisters. The second and the third siblings of father's older brothers and sisters are referred to as *Wak Ngah* and *Wak Wan* for both sexes. *Ming* and *Mier* is the term of reference for father's or mother's younger sister and younger brother. However, the Cham usually address them as *Su* for both sexes, followed by their names.

The second ascending generation refers to the grandparents' level of kin. Grandfather and grandmother are referred to as *Cidon* and *Chitaa*, and they are addressed as *Aoung* and *Mei* by their grandchildren. The same terms are also used to refer to and speak to the grandparent's siblings. In the wider context, for example among distant relatives,

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[4] The Cham's terms of reference are shown in bold are in the Khmer language and are similar to those of the Khmer of Cambodia (see Ebihara, 1967). The italicized words are the terms of address which are in Cham language.
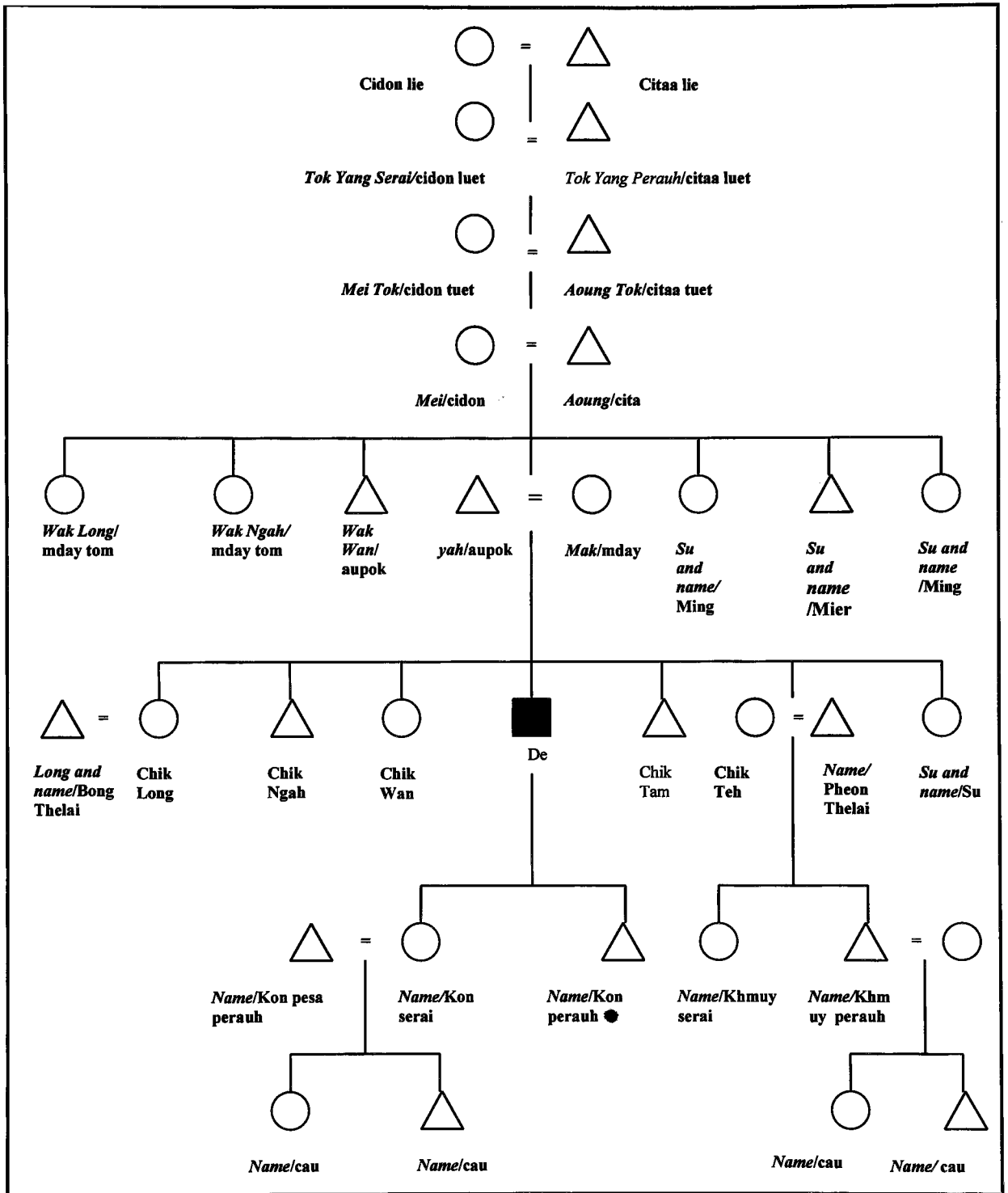
Figure 4.2 : The Cham of Pulau Keladi Terms of Reference
(Bold) and Terms of Address (Italic)

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grand children usually refer to this generation as *Aoung* and *Mei,* followed by their names.

As for the third ascending generation, the formal terms applied to lineal kin are used for this generation. In Khmer language they refer to this generation as *Cidon Tuet* for great grandmother and *Citaa Tuet* for great grandfather. The same terms of address used for the second ascending generation are also used for them, followed by *Tok,* for instance *Mei Tok* is a term of address for great grandmother and *Aoung Tok* for great grandfather. In relation to the fourth ascending generation, the kinship terms applied to this generation are the same for both sexes, except that words *serai* and *perauh,* meaning woman and man are added. The Cham address their great great grandmother as *Tok Yang Serai* and their great great grandfather, as *Tok Yang Perauh.*

In Ego's generation, there are specific terms of address, the use of which is determined by order of biological birth of siblings. In McKinley's (1981) study focusing on Malay siblingship, he classified sibling terminology in accordance with the 'birth order terms' which demonstrates a very high degree of structure in the notion of siblingship. There are special sets of words which are used by Malays to indicate a person's sequential position in a natal sibling group, for instance, *long* for 'first born', *ngah* for 'middle', *lang* for 'across', *andak* for 'short', *teh* for 'white', *tam* for 'black', *uda* for 'young', and *su* for 'last' born.

There is similarity in terms used by Malay and Cham people not only in Pulau Keladi, but also among the Cham of Vietnam in Lafont's example. The Cham of Pulau Keladi (see figure 4.3) address the first born as *Cik Long* regardless of their sex, while the second sibling is called *Cik Ngah,* followed by *Cik Wan, De, Cik Tam, Cik Teh* and *Su.* However, in Cham society, there is no term for *andak,* either in Pulau Keladi or Lafont. The terms *uda* among the Malay and *de* among the Cham actually originated from the same root word, *'muda'* or young.

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Figure 4.3: The Terms of Address of the Cham of Pulau Keladi
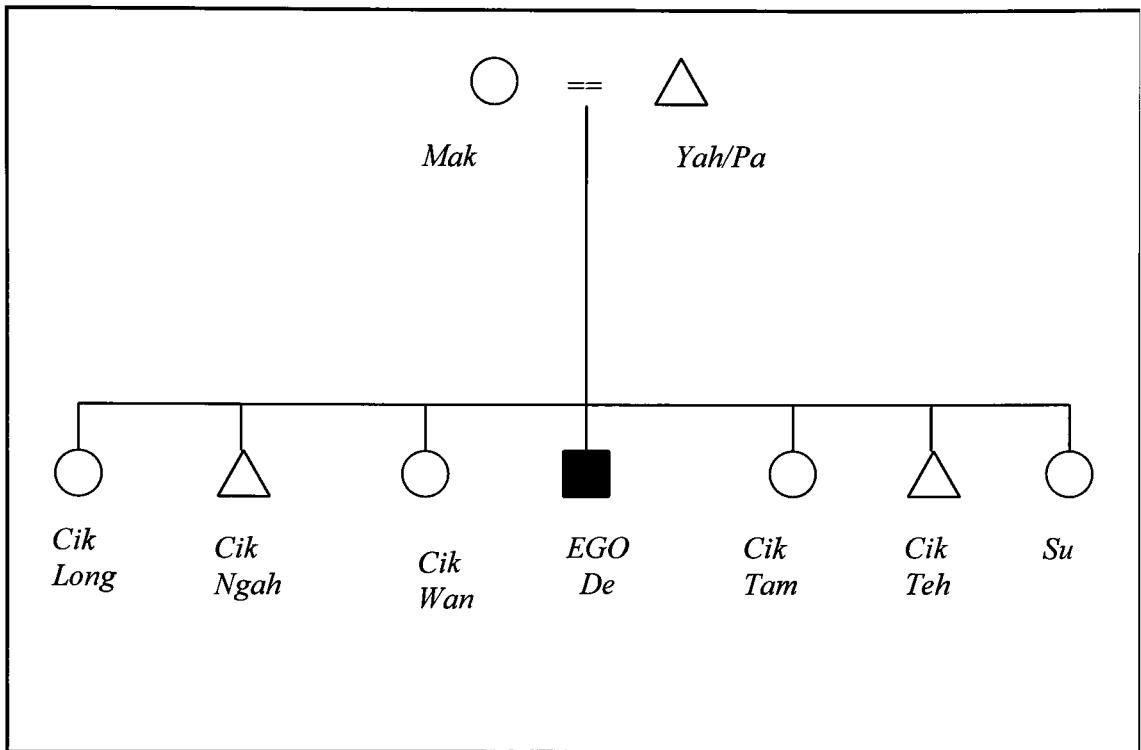
According to my informant, some families might address and refer to their siblings without using *Cik*. However, she claimed that the addressee or the person referred to would be pleased if his or her siblings put '*Cik*' in front of their referential and vocative terms. In this case that particular person might be referred to as *Long, Ngah, Wan, De, Tam, The*, and *Su*. If ego has more than seven siblings, the following siblings will be addressed as *Su*, followed by his or her name to differentiate them. This form of address demonstrates some similarity with that of the Cham of Southern Vietnam studied by Lafont.

As shown in Figure 4.4, the Cham of Pulau Keladi have terms of reference according to generations. The distinct terms for Ego's ascending generation from +1 to + 5 shows that, these people keep referring to their relationship up to the fifth generation.

Figure 4.4 : Ego and Lateral Consanguineal and Affinal Terms of Address

Generation Grade		
+ 5		Cidon Lie/Citaa Lie
+ 4		Cidon Luet/Citaa Luet
+ 3		Cidon Tuet /Citaa Tuet
+ 2		Cidon/Citaa
+ 1		Mday/Aupok
0	Boung ⟵ EGO ⟶ Pheoun	
- 1		Kon
- 2		Cau
- 3		Cicit
- 4		Piut
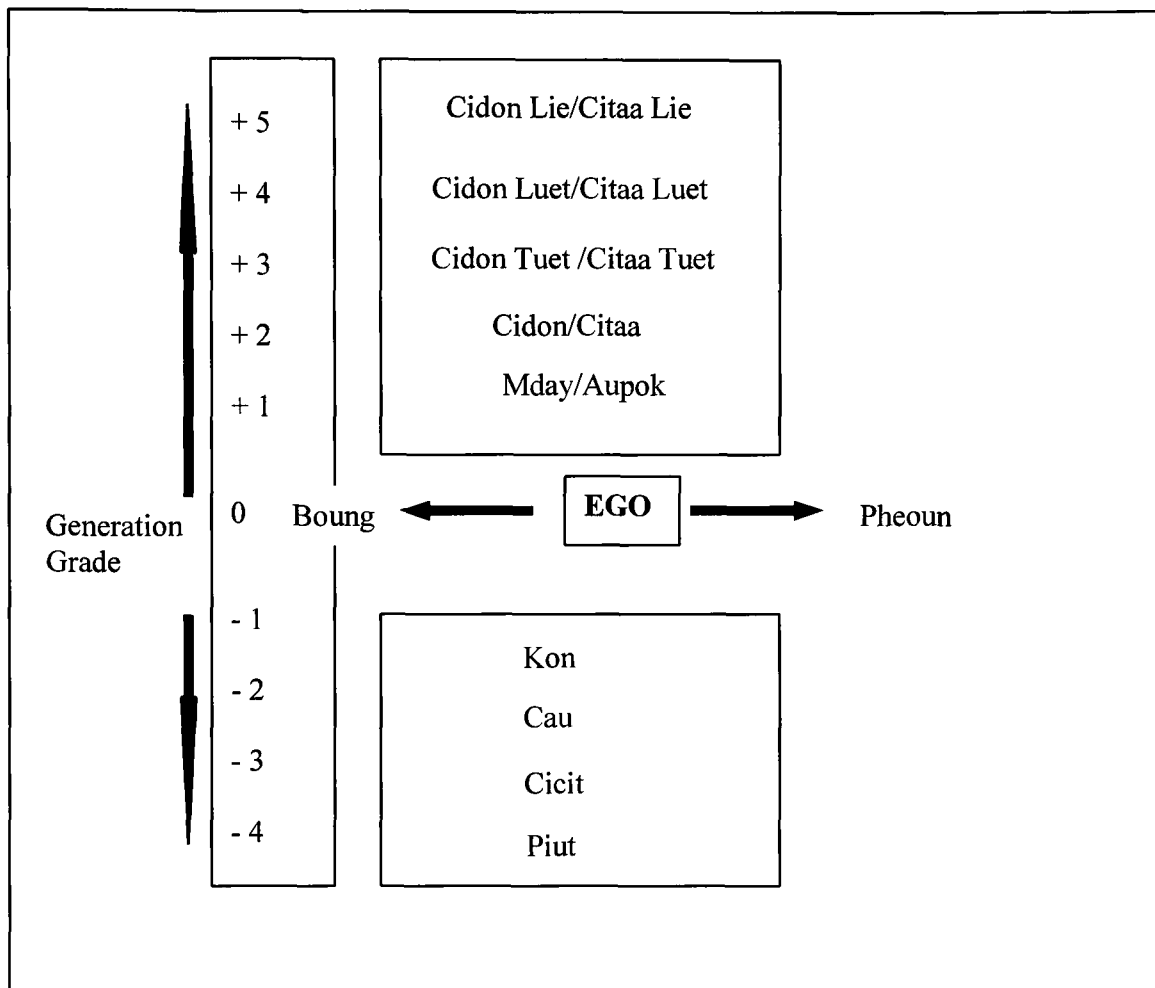
Ego's descending generations are indicated as -1 to - 4. For the generation -1, there are simply blanket terms for *kon* or child, sibling's child and grandchild that apply to both sexes. Sex differentiations can be made through the words *proh* for male and *srey* for female, which are added onto a kin term, i.e *kon proh* is a son and *kon srey* is a daughter. This term of reference reveals the extent to which the Khmer kinship system has been adopted by the Cham of Pulau Keladi. The term of reference for grandchildren is *cau* for both sexes, and yet Ego addresses them by their names. The generation -3 is referred to by Ego as *cicit* and the − 4 generation is referred to as *piut*.

There are no special terms used by the Cham of Pulau Keladi in the contact of affinals, except the terms for husband and wife. These terms of reference are similar to those used by Ebihara (1967) as mentioned in her study of Khmer society. In her study, Ebihara suggested that 'consanguineal relatives may distinguish from the basic kin terms, for instance, *bong kaut* consanguineal, full or close kin, *kmek* affinal of the first ascending generation. In practice, the distinction between the relatives by blood and those by marriage is often not specified unless specifically questioned. Nevertheless, the term *bong kaut* is of great importance to the ethnologist for distinguishing consanguineal relatives when reference terms are often used in an ambiguous manner, assigned on the basis of relative age, or extended to non-kin. Thus when a villager says: 'this is my *bong*' one can ask: Is that your bong *bong kaut* (actual sibling), or *bong cidon muy* (cousin) or *bong tlay* (spouse's sibling or sibling's spouse)' (Ebihara, 1967).

Figure 4.5 shows the structure of *bong* and *pheon* relationship of Cham in Pulau Keladi. A husband is referred to as *pday* by his wife, i.e 'this is my *pday*', and the wife addresses her husband as *bong*. However nowadays, in Pulau Keladi usually younger women tend to use the Malay (see McKinley, 1981) term of address, calling their husbands *bang* or *abang*[5]. The husband usually refers to his wife as *prapun*, i.e. 'this is my *prapun*' and usually he addresses his wife by name. Figure 4.5 shows that A, B and C's relationship is *bong kaut*. Retalionships between 1 and 2, and 2 and C are referred to as *bong thelai*. Those between C and E, C and F and C and 4 are referred to as *pheon thelai*. In both *bong and pheon* relationships, usually the older call the younger by their name, and the younger address the oldest by using terms of address according to seniority (see Figure 4.5), for instance *Cik Long* for the eldest brother or sister of the family, followed by *Cik Ngah, Cik Wan, De, Cik Tam* and *Su* for the youngest sibling, regardless of their gender. However when Cham talk to Malays they usually use Malay terms of reference to refer to their sibling such as *Abang* or brother for men, and *kakak* or sister for women.

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[5] Malays usually use this term to address men who are older, including husbands. This term of address could be used in a larger context including extended family and distant kin and non-kin. However for distant kin and non-kin, Malays usually use the term together with the names, where names come after the term.

Figure 4.5 : The Relationship of *Prapun/Pday* or Husband/Wife and In-Law
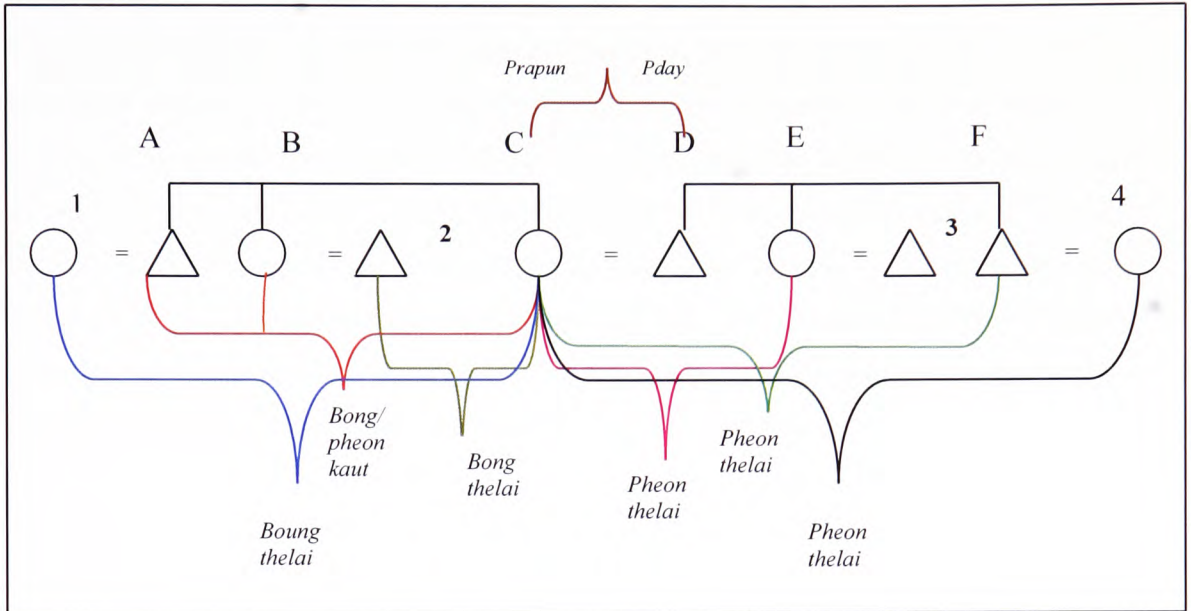
4.3   Marriage and Mate Selection

Like many other Southeast Asian communities, especially among the older generation, Cham marriage in the old days had nothing to do with 'romance' before marriage. It is thought in typical Cham marriages it was impossible for the relationship to be preceded by any kind of romance. A couple in their early teens might never have seen each other until brought together on the wedding day. This is because, from the Cham point of view, 'love' may well develop after marriage, and the primary purpose of marriage is not just to satisfy sexual need and emotional longings but rather to establish a relationship of two families and produce children.   Marriage, for the Cham, is essentially regarded as an alliance between two families rather than a relationship between husband and wife. The relationship between the families can be seen in the marriage ritual, which comprises a series of ceremonies involving a wide range of consanguines and affines related to both bride and the groom (Davis 1994). What then develops after the marriage is companionship and loyalty rather than romantic love.

Marriage is usually conceived of as a joint venture in which the couple, and eventually their children, work together to provide the basic necessities of life, social and ritual as well as

physical. In order for this venture to succeed, both the husband and wife must fulfil certain responsibilities to the household (Hollan and Wellenkamp, 1996). The tasks and responsibilities of husband and wife are spelt out from generation to generation, explained by parents who in turn received instruction from the older generation, which is reflected in *Ariya pataow adat kamei* a rhyme of advice for women, in Cham language . Naturally, each family prepares its children for the duties of married life when they reach puberty. Broadly, the boy is told to be the breadwinner of the household, to take care of his wife and make sure that she has enough food. Lazy behaviour and bad providers are disdained and people will not respect this kind of husband. The girl too is told to be diligent to help her mother-in-law by taking over all possible work, and to obey her husband.

According to my key informant, Kakak Zaiton, in former times, a boy who became engaged to a girl was required to render 'bride service' to the girl's family before marriage. Customarily the boy was expected to help the girl's parents in farming or animal husbandry during the engagement period. He was given a small hut or a small room or shared a room with the girl's brother or sometimes he might be asked to sleep on the verandah of the girl's house during the trial period. Every morning he had to wakeup early in the morning, perform the prayer and help the girl's parents to do work such as helping in the paddy field, feeding the cows, chopping wood, fetching water etc, and in return the girl's parents provided food.

This trial period depended on the engagement which was agreed by both parents. It varied from six months to two years, and normally it took at least a year before the girl's parents made a decision whether or not they were satisfied with the future son in-law. If the boy did not perform well during the trial period, the engagement might be terminated, the wedding cancelled, and the boy sent back to his family. During that time the girl and the boy were not allowed to see or talk to each other. However, Kak Zaiton added that nowadays, 'bride service' is no longer practised by the Cham in Pulau Keladi.

Traditionally arranged marriages are common among the Cham couples in Cambodia. The people responsible for arranging the marriage were normally the parents or grandparents

although in some cases it might also involve other relatives such as father's mother's brother or father's mother's. As Sather (1971) points out, parents regard the arrangement of their children's marriage as a matter of the utmost importance and seek to exert an influence over the decision of the selection of their spouses.

The continuation of this tradition in Pulau Keladi is undisputably clear. Table 4.3 indicates that in the vast majority of households in Pulau Keladi, marriages were arranged marriages (84.7 percent). This group of respondents includes couples who married in Cambodia, refugee camps or other places in Malaysia. The range of relatives who may be consulted for opinions in the arranged marriage can be discerned from an interview with Mai Zaharah;

> *I would prefer my son, daughter or even my granddaughter to marry their relative, and usually my husband [when he is alive] and I discussed with our parents or parents' generation to arrange my son's, daughter's or even my grand children's marriage. If not, we might discuss with my sibling or my husband's sibling to make a match for them. We try to choose the best candidate to make sure that the couple could stay together for their whole life with our candidate. Usually there are some criteria for the man, he must perform prayer five times a day, show the ability to be a good breadwinner, respect older people, and be kind. On the other hand we also make sure that the girl can do household work, obeys her parents and show a sign of responsibility.*

(Mai Zahara who has 86 decendant in Pulau Keladi)

Table 4.3 : Marriage Selection of the Respondents

Marriage Selection	Frequency	Percent
Parent	59	73,8
Grand parent	2	2,5
Other relative	6	7,5
Respondent	13	16,3
Total	**80**	**100**

Only 16.3 percent of the respondents had an opportunity to choose their husband or wife on their own. Most of these cases involved men who worked away from the village and met their spouse there; the others were Cham and Vietnamese couples, Cham and Khmer couples, or Khmer and Khmer couples.

Arranged marriage occurs less frequently nowadays compared to previously. Nevertheless, although the tradition is becoming less important, it is still insisted upon in the case of a daughter's marriage. The most favoured unions are between *saudara*[6], which includes those of the same generation, such as between first, second, third or even fourth cousins. The preference for cousins as prospective candidates for a future spouse is clearly portrayed in several cases such as Wan Ke, Leha, Teh Yan, Aisyah, and Suri. Arranged marriage with consanguines can be illustrated through Hasnah's case:

> *Since coming out from the Cherating Refugee Camp in Pahang, Hasnah's parents carried out petty trading activity and they moved from one place to another, and finally they settled down in Pasir Gudang, Johor. At the age of 18 Hasnah started to work in a factory and still lived with her parents. She had a good salary and every month Hasnah would give some money to her parents. Several years later Hasnah's mother decided to come back to Pulau Keladi and re-join her family and relatives, for the reason that she wanted to live among kinsmen and at the same time she thought that it was the right time to prepare for life after death. [she could go to serau five times a day for prayers and join the religious class, and recite quran] after so many years helping her husband. With some money from her savings, Hasnah's parents started building their house on a riverbank plot [there was no more land to build the house]. At the age of 26 Hasnah's grandmother [Mai So] kept asking Hasnah's parents to arrange her marriage, because at the age of 26, a girl is considered old. According to Mai So, Hasnah could not wait any longer because she was getting older and if she could not find any candidate it would be difficult to find a husband. Finally, Mai So made a plan for Hasnah to marry her second cousin, Jaafar, who is two years older than Hasnah. Hasnah's mother consented to the proposal and several months later they proposed an engagement ceremony which was followed by a wedding.*

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[6] This is a Malay term used by the Cham to refer to relatives both close and distant, as opposed to strangers (see McKinley, 1981:336).

As in other communities there are restrictions as to who can marry whom and who cannot be married. For the Cham, there are twelve categories of persons who are prevented from marrying or under taboo. These largely correspond to the categories of women mentioned in the following verses of the Quran:

> *And do not marry women whom your fathers married except what has already passed. It is indeed obscene, hateful and an evil way. (22) Forbidden to you in marriage are: your mothers, your daughters, your sisters, your father's sisters, your mother's sisters, your brother's sisters, your sister's daughters, your wet nurse, your 'sisters' by nursing, your wives' mothers, your step daughters under your guardianship born of your wives with whom you have consummated - if you did not consummate then there is no sin upon you, the wives of your blood sons, two sisters at the same time, except for that which has already passed. Verily, Allah is Forgiving, Merciful. (23) And those already married except those whom your right hand possesses (through capture). Allah's ordinance upon you. And allowed for you are all besides these if you seek them with your property seeking chastity not fornication... (24) (Surah An-Nisaa:22-24).*

According to the above verses, the Cham are allowed to marry their cousins. The Cham practise both parallel and cross cousin marriage. However, the Cham try to avoid to matching their children with first cousins, because in terms of relatedness they are considered 'too close'. Second, third or fourth cousins are preferred, as they are said to have the effect of 'pulling the distant kin to come closer'. Data from the survey indicate the pattern of marriage among the Cham of Pulau Keladi; 60 percent of respondents in Pulau Keladi were married to a relative, and only 40 percent to a non-relative.

Table 4.4: Consanguineal Marriage

Married relative	Number	Percentage
Yes	48	60
No	32	40
Total	**80**	**100**

Arranged marriage among the Cham remains common, not only among the first generation. It is necessary to highlight that this practice is continued in the second generation, particularly among those who were born in Cambodia or in a refugee camp. One reason might be related to the social life during resettlement period, which was limited to the same group of people. Besides that, the Cham people are Muslims and they are not to intermarry with non-Muslims unless they convert to Islam.

In some cases, a number of arranged marriages occurred during the Communist occupation in Cambodia, as I was told by one old lady. Life was so terrifying and the Khmer Rouge kept searching for unmarried girls to be taken somewhere else, so all parents secretly arranged marriages for their daughters and sons with relatives who faced the same problem, to save their daughters from being taken by the Khmer Rouge. She continued that if the Khmer Rouge knew that a girl was married, they would not take them away and they felt safe. Another reason is that, historically, this group of people had lived alongside their main neighbours 'the Khmer people' for several decades. The differences between Muslim and non-Muslim ways of life prevented them from living together. Hence, they were highly dependent with Muslim Cham and marriage with consanguines was a way of dealing with this issue.

In other cases, an arranged marriage might take place as described above for Hasnah. Nowadays, when a Cham girl reaches the age of 25 and has not yet found a suitable partner, members of the family, particularly her grandmother and her parents would begin searching around to find suitable candidates as her future husband. This might happen with or without her consent. What I mean by without consent is that usually the girl's parents and her grandmother will try to find the best candidate who meets their requirements such as being hard working, performing five prayers daily, and having a good reputation. Usually, at this stage, the girl might not know what is going on. When the decision is made by the parents with the grandmother's agreement, then the girl will be told that her marriage has been arranged for her. In most cases, the girl does not refuse her parent's and grandmother's candidate.

Arranged marriages occur not only within the village, but also inter-village or even inter-state. For instance in Raudah, Aisyah, Aminah, and Soleha's cases, these women married distant kin, who came from Tanjung Agas and Ketapang villages, which is approximately 15 km from Pulau Keladi. In *Aoung Tuan's* case, his daughter married a distant kin member from the state of Trengganu, which is approximately 300 km from Pulau Keladi.

Most cases of consanguine arranged marriage take place between the same generation and the preferred candidates are second cousin and further. However, in some cases consanguine marriage occurs across generations. For instance, in Khatam's case (see Diagram 4.6), Yaakob is Khatam's mother's cousin and she refers to Yaakob as *Wak*, and her mother in-law as Mai, a term of reference for a grandmother. Khatam commented, '*I felt very shy the first time I met my husband and it was hard to change the term of reference from Wak to Boung'*. Besides Khatam, there are several other cases of cross generation marriage among this community, and the age of the couples are relatively similar.

Figure 4.6: Marriage across Generations
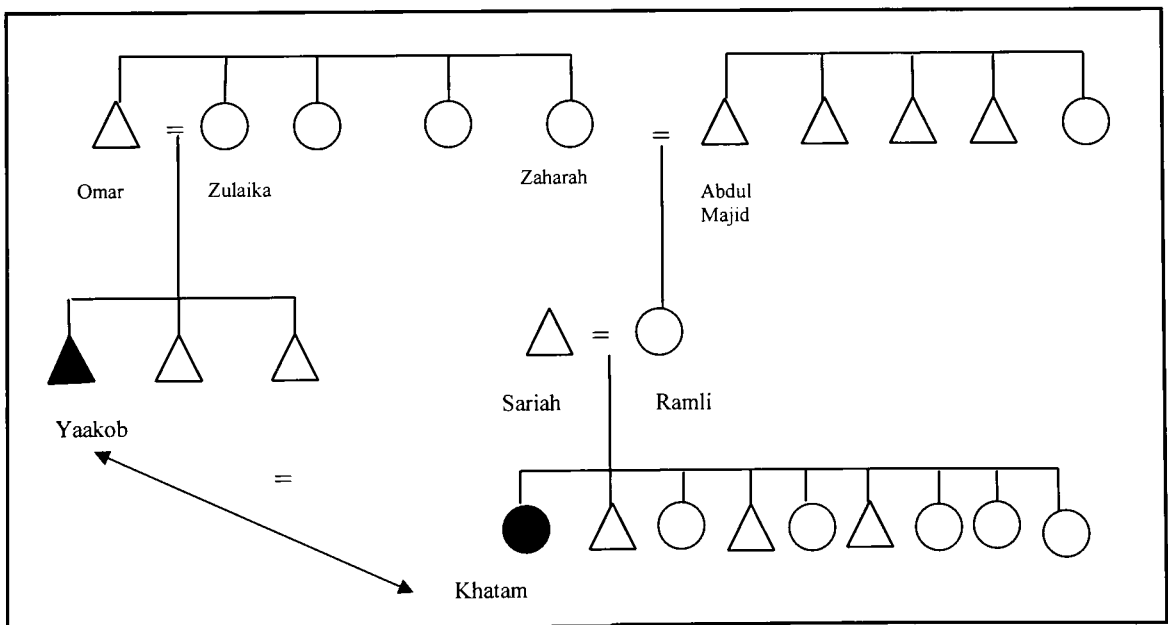
However, despite the predominance of arranged marriage, this does not mean that the younger generation, especially those who are educated, are not given an opportunity to

choose their partner. Minah's case reveals that children are not totally denied the decision to choose their future husband.

> *Minah is Abang Ramli's daughter she has a degree from University Science Malaysia and now is working as a teacher in Pekan area. She married a Malay man who is also a teacher. They met in Pekan and fell in love with each other, and Minah told her parents that she had a Malay boyfriend and they planned to marry. Minah's parents accepted it, followed with an engagement ceremony in Minah's house and wedding ceremony in both sides' houses. Nowadays Minah and her husband live in Peramu Jaya, near the school where they work.*

The above example illustrates that the young generation in Pulau Keladi are not deprived of an opportunity to choose their partner. As long as the candidate is considered as suitable for their son or daughter, parents normally have no objection to the self proposed candidate. The idea of an arranged marriage has become less attractive amongst the younger generation of men. In Pulau Keladi they would embark on choosing their own future spouse by themselves. As Mai Zaharah commented:

> *My son and daughter never rejected any future spouse that I and my husband proposed, but not in my grandson's case. I found it is more difficult to make an arrangement for my grandsons. Sometimes they refuse to accept their parent's or my candidate. They prefer to choose their own future wife.*

However, when asked 'Who made the decision to choose your son or daughter in-law?' parents gave varying answers (see Table 4.5).

Table 4 .5 : The Decision to Choose Son or Daughter In-law

Decision	Frequency	Percent
Father	1	1.3
Mother	2	2.5
Father and Mother	20	25
Children	57	71.3
Total	**80**	**100**

Table 4.5 illustrates that, nowadays parents are willing to give an opportunity to their children to choose their future husband. 71.3 percent of respondents gave this answer and a

commented '*Our children nowadays are not like us before they attend school and work outside the village so they meet different people and they have a choice*'. However, 25 percent of the parents chose their sons or daughters-in-law. In a minority of cases, father or mother alone made the decision, but this involved only 3.8 percent of respondents.

The average age of men and women marrying for the first time among the Cham has altered over time. On average, the first generation, who married in Cambodia, tied the knot at the age of 20 to 25 for men and 13 to 16 for women. However, the age increased among the second generation who married in Cambodia or in the refugee camp. For the second generation, men married on the average at 24 to 26 and women at an average age of 15 to 18. Finally, among the third generation of the Cham in Malaysia, the average age of marriage has further increased due to the longer time spent in education, followed by working. Today, men enter marriage for the first time at around 25 to 28 years old, while women marry between 18 to 25 years of age on average.

4.4 Divorce

In recent years, there has been an increasing rate of divorce among the Malaysian population and in other parts of the world. This phenomenon is considered universal as Goode (1970) pointed out that divorce could not be considered as a misfortune or tragedy if the married couple found difficulties in their marriage. In fact, divorce must be viewed as an escape valve for the tension which inevitably arises from the fact that two people must live together. However, for the Cham who are Muslim, their perspective upon divorce is slightly different from Goode's. As noted by *imam* al Ghazali in *Kitab Adab al-Nikah* or 'Book on the Etiquette of Marriage', divorce is something permissible but of all permissible things, it is the most detestable to Almighty God. It is permissible if it involves no harm ensuing from deception; and whenever a man divorces his wife, he brings harm upon her. It is not permissible to bring harm to another unless crime is committed on her part or out of necessity on his part. As Almighty God said, 'If they obey you, seek not a way against them' [Quran 4:31]; that is to say, do not find an excuse for separation (see Farah, 1984).

The data gathered from Pulau Keladi shows that the divorce rate among the Cham is low. Out of the total population, I found only two cases of divorce. One was between Atikah and Ahmad, her ex-husband. Their marriage lasted for about fifteen years and finally they divorced. Ten years after the divorce, neither had remarried, Atikah lived with all the children in their previous house and Ahmad lived alone in a different house but in the same village. I was told that some old villagers had proposed an arranged marriage for Ahmad; however he refused the proposal and said that he was happy to live alone. The same thing happened to Atikah. She said, '*I do not need a new husband. What I need is all my children and grand children living with me*'.

The second case was between Salamah, a Vietnamese woman, and Ali, her ex-husband. According to Salamah, her ex-husband had an affair with another woman and proposed to take that woman as a second wife, by means of a polygamous marriage. However, Salamah refused to accept the proposal and instead she preferred to divorce. It is noted that the Cham generally prefer to practise monogamous marriage, despite the fact that polygamous marriage is also allowed. In Salamah's case her ex-husband moved to another village, and she lived with her daughters. One of her daughters was married with a child and the other was single. Despite these two divorce cases, I never heard about a serious marriage problem or any kind of relationship involving a secret lover among the villagers.

My observations showed that women tend to seek a close friend or neighbour who is also a relative to talk about marriage problems. For instance, Aisyah, a woman with four children, kept complaining to her neighbour, who was also her close friend, about her husband Amin. who worked 350 km away from Pulau Keladi, and came back once every few months. She claimed that her husband spent more time in the coffee shop with his village mates without helping her to look after the children. In this case I heard that Aisyah's neighbour told her to be patient. She said '*He just talks to his friends, he hasn't got a girlfriend*'. She continued, '*You should talk to your husband, tell him what is happening and what you want him to do* (silence).....*Aisyah, you need to think about your children. They need their father to grow up*'. I saw Aisyah just listening and nodding her head, indicating that she agreed with what her friend said to her.

I was informed that in more serious cases, usually the parent, and if necessary grandparents might be asked for advice. Usually the couple will listen to their parents or grandparents. However if there is a particularly serious case, the parents will ask the *Aoung Tuan,* the most respected person, for advice. At this stage, usually the Aoung Tuan will ask trusted people of both parties and listen to the issues. He usually tries to solve the couple's problems based on what is stated in the Quran, tradition or *hadith,* and the practice or *sunna* of Prophet Muhammad. However at this stage, if the couples think that they can not live together, then they will be asked to live separately for a period of time, to allow both parties to calm down or overcome their anger. If nothing changes within that period and the couple maintain their decision to divorce, then the Aoung Tuan will ask them to proceed to the Islamic Religious Office to declare their divorce according to *shariah* law.

I asked the *Aoung Tuan* if there were any circumstances in which the wife could ask for a divorce. He replied that according to *shariah* law the wife could apply to a court for divorce on specific grounds, for instance, if the husband had an injury or disability, failed to pay maintenance, was absent without a proper excuse or was imprisoned. In these circumstances any woman had the right to ask for a divorce from her husband.

4.5   Post-Marital Residence

The discussion of patterns of residence among the Cham in this section refers to newly married couples who married in Malaysia. The formation of a new household may be initiated by marriage but it is often not until after children are born that a new independent household is created. As Sather (1971) points out, the pattern of post nuptial residence is divided into two phases; the first of these is a period lasting for about a year or so, or until the couple have had their first child. The second phase is marked by more variable residence and generally lasts throughout the couple's child bearing years and ends when the children establish an independent household.

There are no definite norms and no consensus in Pulau Keladi as to what constitutes the ideal post marital residence. There are three main patterns of residence. However in most cases in Pulau Keladi, a newly married couple resides with the wife's family, that is adopts

an uxorilocal pattern of residence, until their first child is born. This period is known as 'temporary uxorical residence' (Sather, 1971). It is not the outcome of matrilineal practice, but rather due, the villagers say, to the close bond between mother and daughter. Once the husband has managed to build a house and by the time the couple has a baby, then they move to their own house. This type of residence is practised by women who married men within the village, as happened to Cik Long, Yan, Leha, Mahdina, Mayah, Rokiah and several other women of Pulau Keladi. I heard this comment from the mother of one of these women mother;

> '*We (Cham mothers) prefer our newly wed daughter to live with us for a period of time before she is allowed to move or to resettle on their own. This tradition has been practised by our grandparents and until now I think it is still applicable because my daughter never had a personal relationship with her husband before they married. She needs some time to get to know her husband and to build their relationship in a new life. Therefore, if she lives with us during that time it will be easier for her to learn and adapt to her new role within her own family. During this time she might visit her parents-in-law or stay there for a few days before returning back home*'.

In the case of Mayah, the young mother of a six-month-old baby, she stayed with her parents for more than a year. This couple moved to their own house after they had a baby. By that time, Mayah's husband had finished building their own house next to Mayah's parents. Almost every day, I saw Mayah return to her parent's house, helping her mother to do the chores and cooking together. She only went back to her house at night.

The second type of residence pattern is virilocal, where newly weds reside with the husband's family. This is found especially among those who marry an outsider. In most cases, the couples move into the husband's parental home so he can continue working in the family business.

Lastly, as an alternative, the couple may establish a neolocal residence, whereby they live independently in a new location and separate from either spouse's family of origin, throughout the marriage. This pattern of residence might be practised by couples who work

far away from both parents. This pattern of residence seems to be on the increase, particularly among the second and third generations of Pulau Keladi inhabitant.

4.6 Relationship between Husband and Wife

Cross-culturally, there is considerable variation in the way husbands and wives perform their conjugal roles. At one extreme is the family in which the husband and wife carry out as many tasks as possible separately and independently of each other. There is a strict division of labour in the household, in which she has her tasks and he has his (Bott, 1971). Among the Panay of Philippines, the husband's task is to procure food and other basic needs of the family, while preparing meals and other household chores are mainly the woman's job (Jocano, 1969: 206). Likewise, among the Toraja people, both husbands and wives are solely accountable for the task performed within their own spheres of work and must be given free rein in the performance of those tasks (Holland and Wellenkamp, 1996: 105). Among the rural Cambodian family, as Steinberg et al. (1959) point out, generally the husband does the more arduous agricultural work, such as hoeing and preparing the fields for seeding. On the other hand, wives are fully occupied with household chores and the children. During the rice transplanting season, both husbands and wives work together. However, in terms of status of Cambodian women Steinberg et al. (1959) explained:

> *The Cambodian woman occupies a key position in the household, and in many ways the prosperity, well-being and development of the family as a unit revolve around her. Her ethical influence over the younger minds is very important. As a carrier of the basic social and moral values of Cambodian culture, she is highly regarded by the men in her own family and by Cambodian society at large. In the round of family activities the wife stands on an equal footing with her husband – in some matters she surpasses him in initiative. Generally it is the wife who is the family treasurer, controlling the purse string and budgeting the family assets (pp. 79)*

One perspective on the relationship between husbands and wives among the traditional Cham is provided by the *Ariya pataow adat kamei,* one out of hundreds of manuscripts kept in

South-East Asia and Europe[7] (Po Dharma, 2004; Wan Ali and Siti Mariani, 2004; Van Han, 2004; and Mohd Zain, 2004). *Ariya pataow adat kamei*[8] is one of the examples of manuscripts inherited by the Cham community. This particular manuscript discusses specifically the relationship between men and women and husband and wife. In the old days it was read out or narrated at special occasions, such as festivals or weddings (Wan Ali and Siti Mariani, (2004). In most cases, 'They are also read out to the younger members of the family for information and entertainment' (Wan Ali and Siti Mariani, 2004:2).

Even now, in parts of Cambodia such as Kompong Tralach the 'writing manuscripts' tradition is still carried on by the Cham, as Mohd Zain (2004) mention that 'in 1995 and 2000 he went to Kompong Tralach province, and had an opportunity to witness the process of copying one of the manuscripts in a village called Oudong. The original text was written in Cham language and the content is about the Islamic law, and it was copied very carefully'. This live experience witnessed by Mohd Zain demonstrates that this great tradition of keeping, reading and copying is maintained by some of the Cham in Cambodia until today. Therefore the possibility of the rules, regulations and norms reflected in those manuscripts being practiced among the Cham is considered relevant.

The *Ariya pataow adat kamei* literally means a rhyme of advice for women. This is one of thousands of examples handed down through the generations. This particular rhyme is 212 lines in length, was written in the Cham language under the rubric of customs, and emphasizes specifically the role of women, as well as men's role, as husband and wife. There are five main themes in this rhyme, underlining women's role within the household,

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[7] The Cham people are one of the societies who are devoted to keeping manuscripts. This tradition is continued until today. A recent study conducted by Thanh Phanh (2004) demonstrates that the Cham people of Central Vietnam still keep manuscripts in their households. The manuscripts are written on traditional objects such as *janag*, the *klap*, the *giraong* and *tabik* (cloth bag). In addition Thanh Phanh explains that the Cham manuscripts have various subjects, for instance, Bani ceremonies and rituals, omens, magic amulets and charms, notes on the traditional irrigation system, medicine, music, religion (prayers recited by the *acar* and hymns sung by the *kadhar* during specific ceremonies), literature, and customs.

[8] This manuscript is actually in the process of cataloging by the Malaysia National Museum. However when I asked my research assistant to find out any material in relation to the matrilineal system among the Cham people, Mr Karim, who was the only person in charge of translating the Cham scripts into the Malay language, gave me this rhyme or *syair*.

women as a household controller, relationship between husband and wife, image of women, and women's etiquette and manners.

A woman prides herself on being a good *pday* or wife and at the same time a household controller, and this manuscript gives instructions to the *pday*. In the manuscript, the nature of the relationship between the *Prapun* or husband and *pday* or wife is illustrated in segments of the rhyme. If we analyse this manuscript line by line, the advice could be classified into three categories; for women, for men and for both men and women. For instance, lines one, two, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen and fourteen specifically focus on women's tasks. The tasks of men can be comprehended in lines three, four, five, six, and seven. Lastly, lines fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, and eighteen clearly give advice to both men and women.

Kamei mey peng bitanat
Khik dom adat pieh daok hadei
Praong dam dara threm jak
Threm bitanat ngap mbeng anguei
Juai ndih jala lo juai
Saong ralo cambuei ndom gruk urang
Lakai deng di masuk
 Kamei deng di manak
Adat drei kamei khik sang
Ralo mbeng hang gep gan bilei
Tagok mang page bah sang
Tagok juai wang gruk mbaok ganem
Mayah hu pasang likei
Ngap mbeng kamaui biai gep bisiam
Hagait mey kieng caong di tian
Biai gep bisiam ngap mbeng mang jieng
Pasang biai hadiep kamei peng
Oh njep bican gep wek bisiam

Dear women listen to all advice intently
Observe a number of the advice for a better life in the future
Educate adult males correctly
Learn skill so as to be prudent
Don't go to bed too late
Talking a lot will disturb others [at night]
Men are responsible as bread winners
Women are responsible within the household
The task of a woman is to care for the household

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Do not spend money on unnecessary things
Wake up early and clean the house
Do not do the household chores with a cheerless expression
If you are married
Women do work and discuss with your husband in a proper manner
Express what is in your heart
If husband and wife always discuss, your life will be in harmony
The husband tells, the wife listens
If anything goes wrong, discuss in a proper way

(Ariya pataow adat kamei)

In order to confirm whether the Cham of Pulau Keladi live according to this rhyme, I asked a few middle-aged women in Pulau Keladi whether they knew about the '*Ariya pataow adat kamei*' rhyme. They looked at each other and spontaneously one of them said that they did not know. However when I asked, 'Were you given any advice by your parent regarding the relationship between husband and wife' one of the woman suddenly replied, 'Yes, we do have a tradition for a newly married couple'. One middle-aged woman described to me how the process was begun and accomplished.

'*For us, Orang Kemboja (Cambodian people), every new married couple need to go through a special tradition which was practised by our ancestors previously. On the pahai day (wedding day) usually the groom, his family and other relatives will go to the bride's house for 'bersanding' and having a special lunch. When this ceremony is completed the groom and his family members and all the guests go home. However after the magrib prayer, the groom will be sent to the bride's house by his parents and other close relatives. At the same time, in the bride's house her close relatives are busy preparing water in a big tub with seven types of flowers in it, and they placed at the bottom of the main entrance staircase. The Aoung Tuan will recite verses of the Quran and blow it into the water, and he will ask one old lady to pour the water onto the newly wed couple who are sitting near to the tub. This special 'bath' is taken by the couple as a symbol of entry into the adult world for both parties. When they finish this special bath for the couple, the Aoung Tuan and a group of men will be invited into the house and they will read 'doa' asking for Allah's blessing on the couple. Food and drink is offered to this group of men and they go home. While the couple dress up, both families get ready for dinner and join them. When dinner is finished, four old women who were assigned by the bride's parents earlier, will ask the bride and groom to go to their room. In a room a bowl of water with a ring*

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and necklace in it is ready waiting for this couple. They will be asked to take one each; one of them might get the ring the other gets the necklace. Whoever gets the necklace usually has certain characteristics, for example he or she might dominate in their relations. On the other hand the person who gets the ring is usually passionate, kind, and responsible. Then one of the old women begins to explain the role and relations between them as husband and wife. She tries to relate the character of each of them to the ring or the necklace. Both of them are actually different in terms of character and behaviour, however they are bonded as a husband and wife. Each of them needs to understand their roles and responsibility. The wife is told her roles within their household and the husband is responsible as the breadwinner. Both sides need to understand their similarity and differences, the good and the bad attitudes of each other. If husband or wife makes any mistake, they are asked to forgive each other. If they do not do so they will not live in harmony. Some of the advice is given in a rhyme in the Khmer language. In the old days these women completed their duty by helping the couple to hang up the mosquito net before they were formally allowed to sleep together for the first time.

This ritual symbolized the transition process of the newlywed couple, one of the important phases in the life cycle. The old women were chosen from among those who had a good reputation in their married lives. They also represented a symbol of 'ideal marriage'; therefore these women's advice was considered valuable and at the same time represented the implicit ideas of the Cham about how to maintain the marriage relationship.

This ritual might be different from that in the *Ariya pataow adat kamei.* However, in terms of content, the advice given to the newlyweds is similar. Indeed, the Cham of Pulau Keladi do not speak Cham, particularly the younger generation who speak Khmer. Since settling in Bathambang, the Cham might have translated the rhyme into the Khmer language, and this ritual is performed on the wedding day.

Religion strongly influences the relationship between husband and wife among the Cham. *Ihya Ulumuddin,* the book read in the *serau,* clearly highlights the rights and duties of spouses. First, it is a mutual right and duty of husband and wife to treat one another with kindness and respect. In addition to this basic principle, the roles of husband and wife each come with specific rights and obligations. For instance the husband needs to offer a feast to

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publicize their marriage, tolerate and respect his wife's feelings, show her kindness and consideration, behave well towards her, and provide her with maintenance such as clothing, housing, food, and medicine on a scale suitable to his financial means. However the wife's right to maintenance is based on three conditions: firstly, validity of the marriage contract, secondly the wife granting her husband access to herself at all lawful times, and finally, the wife obeying her husband's lawful commands. For instance, she should not leave his home without his permission, she should not approach friends of her husband while going about her business, and she should not boast to her husband of her beauty (Madelain, 1984).

On the other hand according to the book, the husband's rights from the wife include: she must be faithful, trustworthy, and honest. She must not deceive her mate by deliberately avoiding conception, lest it deprive him of legitimate progeny. She should not leave his home without his permission. The wife should not allow any other person to have access to that which is exclusively the husband's right. Moreover, the wife is not permitted to do anything that may render her companionship less desirable or less gratifying. If she neglects herself, the husband has the right to interfere with her freedom in order to rectify the situation and ensure maximum self-fulfilment for both partners, and he is not permitted to do anything on his part that may impede her gratification.

The husband and wife relationship among the Cham of Pulau Keladi, as observed during my stay, shows that the conjugal roles between husband and wife could be classified into three types as mentioned by Bott (1971): complementary, independent, and joint. In the complementary type, the activities of husband and wife are different and separate but at the same time fit together to form a whole. In the independent classification, the activities are carried out separately by husband and wife without reference to each other. Lastly, in the joint classification, the activities are carried out by either partner at different times.

In the first classification, of complementary tasks, husbands and wives in Pulau Keladi are exclusively accountable for the tasks performed within their own spheres of work. Men take responsibility for earning money and women are assigned household chores. Women do all the chores within the household, such as cooking, washing, cleaning, and shopping. It is uncommon for men to cook for the family, as this task is exclusively assigned to women.

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When I asked Kak Zaiton, how she performed her tasks as a wife and how her husband performed his, she made this statement:

> *Usually I do all the chores within the household and my husband looks for food (finds a job and gets the money to buy food). The first time I gave birth to my daughter there were no close kin around to help [they worked on a palm oil plantation when they first came out of the refugee camp] and my husband was trying to cook rice and you know what happened? The rice was burned [he had never cooked before]. Later, he asked me how to cook rice. Sometimes if I am not very well my husband just cooks 'magi' (instant noodles), because that is the easiest dish to prepare. Nowadays if I am going out to sell cloth and no body is at home, he would prefer to go to the coffee shop or any stall within the village or he can just go to Pekan town to have lunch at a stall or restaurant. If not I will ask my elder daughter to come to my house and cook for him and the other children.*

> (Kak Zaiton, a wife and a stall keeper)

In the case of Kak Mariam, whose husband is a farmer, she wakes up early every morning to prepare breakfast for her husband before he goes to the garden plot. Her husband always has a substantial breakfast, so she cooks rice and fried fresh fish or salted fish for her husband. Sometimes her husband asks her to pack food for lunch if he will not be coming home in the afternoon. Kak Mariam commented:

> *'I do all the household jobs and my husband never helps me in the kitchen, although he is the person who is always in charge of cooking rice for hundreds of people in any feast within the village'.*

One of the important tasks assigned to Cham women is to take full responsibility for handling money for the household. According to Kak Long: *'When it is a matter of the money, we [Cham wives] are in charge', husbands only look for food [money] and give it to their wives. Anything that deals with the domestic aspects, I would be in charge'.* When I asked Kak Zaiton, Wak Rip, and Mat Zain, how they handled money matters within their households they replied:

> *Every day after my husband comes back from selling fish and vegetables, he will give all the money to me, and from the total daily income, I will*

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give back to him some money for him to buy the next day supply. I need to manage the money wisely, and at the end of the month, I have to make sure all the utility bills and car installment are paid off.

(Kak Zaiton)

I will give all the money that I receive from crop selling to my wife; she knows how to manage the money for household usage and for saving. My plan for the next planting season is to buy a sprinkle water pump, and a new generator. When I need the money, I will ask her. Sometimes I keep some of the money for myself, just enough for me to buy a cigarette and have a drink in a coffee shop with my friends.

(Wak Rip, a farmer)

It is a tradition among the Cham, that women are the household controllers and accountants within the household. In my case, for example, I give all my money to my wife and leave some for me, just enough for car petrol, car installment, my lunch, and some for contingency usage. The rest I will give to my wife, although she has her own business [restaurant].

(Mat Zain, a lecturer[9])

The second classification, which is independent activity, can be discussed with reference to the case of Kak Zaiton and Abang Safi. Kak Zaiton runs a small stall, selling Cambodian soup and porridge for breakfast every morning. On the other hand, her husband, Abang Safi, sells fish, chicken, beef, vegetables, and other cooking ingredients in the Malay village, by using his motorbike, every day except Friday. Aminah's case further illustrates this classification of conjugal roles. She is a young mother to a son. She took the initiative to sell ready cooked Cambodian dishes 3 – 5 times per week, and Cambodian cake, *nom brang,* within the village. Osman, Aminah's husband, works as a contract worker in Pekan with his friends. These and many other examples show that the husbands and wives do different activities on their own, yet their goals fit together as a household unit.

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[9] I interviewed this Cham man, who was a lecturer in National University of Malaysia, to confirm this practice among the Cham community. He certainly confirmed that this is the pattern of financial management for households which was also practised by his late grandfather and great grandfather. He added, 'this is what is practised by all Cham men'. When asked whether this caused their households to be 'queen controlled' by women, he dismissed the notions. Saying there is no such thing as that; we believe that women are the best money controllers.

In addition to the above two classifications, there are also joint activities between husbands and wives in Pulau Keladi. Usually, couples are involved in secondary economic activities such as fish farming and farming activities[10]. Work in the garden is shared by both husband and wife, especially during the planting season, when the husband will usually plough the field, while the wife will help to plant the crop. When harvesting season comes, the husband and sometimes their children give a hand. Similar co-operation can also be seen in fish farming activity, where the couple would help each other in feeding the fingerlings and sometimes cleaning the cages. During harvesting season, usually the husband will catch fish and the wife guts them before delivery to the customers.

With regard to the issue of the emotional relationship, i.e the extent to which the couple express love and affection to each other, it seems that husband and wife would never show their feelings towards each other in public. This reserved attitude would even extend within the home, where if there are visitors, the husband and wife would never call each other by name. For example, the husband may ask, 'Where is the coffee for our guests?' to his wife, without mentioning her name. When visitors are gone, the behaviour between couples would change substantially. The husband would call his wife by name and the wife, call her husband *boung* (a Khmer term of address used to show respect to one's husband and also to refer to older brothers or sisters). However, it is common nowadays for the Cham wives to address their husbands as '*abang*' i.e a Malay term of address.

Analysis of relationships between husbands and wives is not complete without discussing how these couples make decisions, for instance, for buying a car, building a house, starting a business as their main activity, etc. A survey among households in Pulau Keladi shows that there are three categories of decision making: by the husband, wife or together (see Table 4.6). Table 4.6 illustrates that in almost all decisions within the households, the Cham of Pulau Keladi prefer to discuss with their spouse. The importance of mutual decision making is reflected in the rhyme *Biai gep bisiam ngap mbeng mang jieng* (If husband and wife always discuss, your life will be in harmony).

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[10] As I mentioned earlier, fish farming is one of the main economic activities, however many others do it as a secondary activity.

Table 4.6 : Decision Making Between Husband and Wife in Several Circumstances

Type of Decision	Husband	Wife	Together	Total	Missing
Buy land	1	4	34	39	41
Buy a car	5	1	24	30	50
Build a house	5	7	51	63	17
Start a business	6	1	15	22	58
Sell crops	2	1	15	18	62
Choose son or daughter in law	1	2	20	23	57
Arrange marriage ceremony	1	2	17	20	60
Move from Cambodia to Malaysia	3	1	8	12	68

4.7 Parent- Child Relationship

The Cham conceptualize children as an 'inheritance and trust' which is awarded by God to every parent, and this 'inheritance and trust' needs to be cared for in the very best way. Ideally, this concept reflects the importance of children to the continuance of the family as a whole. The Cham believe that every child is akin to a white cloth which is clean when he or she is born. It depends on the parent how to colour it. Children are capable of being influenced by all types of impression from their surroundings. Therefore, Cham parents believe that if good habits are inculcated in the child and if he/she is instructed in knowledge, then the child after receiving such excellent nourishment (upbringing), will achieve real success in this life and become a 'solleh child', and then their life hereafter will be safe. As al-Ghazali noted in his book, Majmu'a Rasail translated into English by Irfan Hasan, in this [success], the parents and the teachers of the child become entitled to a share in the rewards [from Allah for good upbringing of the child]. And if bad habits are inculcated (nurtured) in a child and [if the child is] left unhindered (unattended/free) like

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animals, then he/she gets destroyed after becoming ill mannered. The burden of sin [of such negligence] falls on his/her guardian and caretaker[11].

The Cham manifest their deeds toward the children by applying the concept of 'sin' or *dosa* and 'reward, merit' or *pahala*. This means that one has to obtain as many rewards as possible in this life by doing good to family, including children and others, to be accepted by God (to go to heaven). Besides that, one needs to be good in obeying God's rules, and at the same time to avoid any sin. Therefore the first and foremost action of every parent when a child is born is to chant the prayer or *adhzan*[12] in the ear of the offspring. Secondly, they give a good name to a child. Calling children by a good name signifies a *doa* for the child to live up to the meaning of the name[13]. Thirdly, they perform a sacrifice or *aqiqah*[14]; for a boy it is two sheep and for a girl it is one sheep. The best and advisable time to perform aqiqah is when the baby is seven days old: however this time is not inflexible: it could be performed at any time later if the parent can not afford it at that time. Finally, they put in the child's mouth a masticated date or some other sweet[15]. Besides giving a masticated date to the newborn baby, the Cham give some *zam-zam* water, which is considered as the best water, usually brought back by a person who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.

All babies receive the full attention of the mother during the confinement period. This confinement lasts for forty-four days. The babies are fully breast fed during this time and for up to two years. One of the women mentioned that this is suggested in one of the books that she read in the *serau*. In the old days, the confinement time was longer, up to sixty days. As the children grow up, other family members, particularly female siblings, are given responsibility for looking after the baby. This is part of their training to be mothers

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[11] Allah, the Exalted, has said [in the Holy Quran]:
"*Ya Ayyuhal Lazeena Aamano Qu Anfusakum Wa Ahleekum Naarun.*"
"O you who believe! Save yourself and your family from the fire of Hell."
[12] As was practised by Prophet Muhammad when his grandson al Hassan was born.
[13] A good name is important as Prophet Muhammad said 'You will be called on the Day of Judgement by your names and the names of your fathers; so let your name be good' (see al Ghazali – Book on Ettiquette of Marriage).
[14] The sacrifice symbolizes gratitude of the parents to God for granting them a child.
[15] The sweet fruit or some other sweet symbolizes the hope that the child will talk in a good manner.

themselves in the future. Until the age of five or six years old, the children sleep with their parents. However, if she or he has a new sibling, she or he might sleep with other siblings.

When children are about 4 – 5 years old they are sent to *serau* to begin their first formal lesson to recite Quran and *fardhu ain* (a basic principle as a Muslim). By this time children are expected to show some degree of respect to the older people, including their parents and other family members. The process of learning the rules and regulations is emphasized when they begin their Quranic class.

Plate 10 : Quranic Class

By the age of 7 – 8 years old, boys begin to accumulate their own fishing equipment and learn how to swim, and ride a bike, while the girls are given some chores by their parents. Boys and girls might be asked to go to the shop, or in other cases at weekends or during school holidays they are asked to walk or cycle within the village to sell freshly picked vegetables from their garden. Sometimes fish caught by the father, and smoked by the mother are sold by the children. As a reward, the parents usually give some pocket money to the children for their help.

Plate 11 : Children Involved in Building the *Serau*

At the age of 10 - 12 and above, the children could be seen playing with their own friends and there is separation between boys and girls. At this age, boys might be asked to help their parents in the garden or feed the fish in the cages. On the other hand, girls are expected to play within the household compound. As young girls are growing up and reach puberty, usually they are restricted in their companions to sisters, cousins and other girls living in neighbouring households. By this time, the girls are advised to cover their head

with a scarf at all times except within the household compound. Both boys and girls will be asked by their parents to perform the prayers five times a day, and boys are encouraged to go to the *serau* to perform the *Magrib* and *Isyak* prayers. A girl is usually accompanied by her mother if she goes to perform the prayer or attend any occasion in the *serau*.

When the elder son and daughter reach the age of fifteen and above, they begin to substitute for the father and mother in looking after their younger brothers and sisters. The eldest girls help their mother in cooking for the family, looking after their younger siblings, sometimes feeding them, assisting them to take a bath, changing their clothing, and watching them while they play with other children. This is how the girls learn to be good housewives. The eldest son is expected to protect his younger brothers from being bullied by other village boys. The eldest children of every family are expected to act as the leaders of their sibling set. At this stage the children are exposed to experience outside the household. They are expected to get involved in all kinds of communal work within the village compound. In most cases they will help adults to prepare food for feasts, arrange the table and chairs for weddings, clean the dishes during the feast, or serve food. The girls are likely to do so as well, however they are restricted to tasks which are not public, so they might help with jobs inside the house. For instance during the *Chouh rong,* the girls are given responsibility to wrap hard boiled eggs (800 – 1000) in special cases as gifts for all of the guests at the wedding.

In observing parent – child relationships, in most cases, I found that children prefer to talk to the mother and later the issues will be referred to the father to be discussed and get his approval. Sometimes the parents and children might have a family meeting in order to solve any problem. The whole family might be seen sitting together on the verandah in the evening while waiting for the *adhzan* or call to prayer between 4.00 – 4.30 pm. At night, all family members sit together after they have completed the final prayer of the day, having dinner together and watching television.

Another interesting and important aspect of parent–child relationships is related to the concept of '*balas budi*' among the Malay (see Jaafar, 2004) which is related to the religious

code and etiquette. Similar to the Malay, Cham believe that the parent has been given the right and responsibility to provide sufficient accommodation, food, clothes and education for children. On the other hand, the children have both rights over and responsibilities towards the parent, in accordance with accepted norms and customs. Therefore, when children reach the age of adolescence and they earn their own income, they will give some of the money to the parent monthly. In some cases, I observed a daughter who worked in a factory give her parents fifty percent of her salary monthly, the same as the son of the family. On average the amount of money given to the parents by the each of the children is between RM100.00 – RM300.00, depending on his or her salary. It is common for the family in Pulau Keladi to have a car and monthly installment paid for by parent and children. In some cases, the children might choose the model of car and they can drive it when they have a licence. The money given by the children to their parents is one example of how the concept of 'balas budi' is reflected in this community, and it is in accordance with the religious code of conduct as set out in the Quran[16] and Hadith[17].

4.8 Sibling Relationships

Another important relationship within close kin is the sibling relationship. Siblingship has been recognized as an important element in Oceanic kinship systems for a long time (Firth, 1936). Sibling relations are identified by Cicirelli (1994) based on genealogical criteria, where full siblings have two biological parents in common and half siblings share only one biological parent. Siblings may also be identified by legal criteria, as in the case of stepsiblings or adoptive siblings, or by affectional or behavioural criteria, as in the case of fictive siblings. The strongest relations between siblings are characterized, ideally, by

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[16] The Prophet says; He who wishes to enter paradise through the best door must first please his father and mother' 'A man is bound to do good to his parents, although they may have injured him' 'Thy Lord hath ordained that ye worship none but him; and kindness to your parents, whether one or both of them attain to old age with thee: and do not say to them, 'fie!', neither reproach them; but speak to them both with respectful speech; and defer humbly to them out of tenderness; and say, 'Lord have compassion on them both, even as they reared me when I was little' Sura [17/23,24]

[17] 'Among the major sins is a man's cursing his parents.' The people who were present wondered how a sane and believing individual could curse his own parents, and enquired, 'How is it possible for a man to curse his own parents?' The Prophet (peace be on him) replied, 'He insults another man's father, and then the other insults his father, and he insults the other's mother, and the other returns the insult to his mother.' (Reported by al-Bukhari and Muslim.)

strong mutual trust and solidarity. In recent years siblingship has become an important topic in kinship theory, as it can orchestrate entire kinship systems (Marshall, 1981)..

Roles and responsibilities towards siblings are an important aspect of sibling relations throughout their life cycle. Goetting (1986) highlighted the development tasks of siblingship over the life cycle and divided this into three stages; childhood and adolescence, early and middle adulthood and old age. In every stage, siblings provide companionship and emotional support, material aid and direct services, delegated caretaking, cooperation in care of elderly parents, shared reminiscences and perceptual validation, and resolution of sibling rivalry. It appears that 'the essence of sibling relationships lies in a reserved form of companionship and socio-economic support which is expressed throughout the sharing of ritual occasions, visits, commercial and home recreation' (Goetting, 1986:710).

The Cham, like many other communities in Southeast Asia, set great store by siblingship and sibling relationships. In order to illustrate the essential principles by which the whole system of siblingship operates, Banks (1983) points out that the most basic element in sibling relations is blood or consanguinity, as the biogenetic underpinning. He suggests that the closer the degree of blood kinship, the more intimacy and moral obligation attaches to it, particularly within the circle of primary kin and household. With increasing degrees of collaterality, these ties become more attenuated or 'lighter'.

In order to understand sibling relationships among the Cham of Pulau Keladi, I shall focus on ideas surrounding *bong-pheon* relations. The term *bong* refers to ego's older siblings regardless of their sex. If someone were to be asked about their sibling gender, she or he will use the term *bong perauh* for his/her older brother and *bong serai* for his/her older sister. On the other hand, the Cham refer to their younger sister or brother as *pheon* followed by *perauh* or *serai* to refer to their gender. In contrast to the Malays, there is only one term to refer to the older for the Cham, *'bong'* and for the younger, *'pheon'*. However for the Malay the older sister is known as *'kakak'* and the older brother known as *'abang'*. The youngest is known as *'adik'* regardless of their sex. The relationship between oldest and youngest seems to be similar in most societies, as Cicirelli (1994) discusses in his

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article on cross-cultural analysis on siblings. He reported that siblings in different birth order positions may have different opportunities and responsibilities. An older brother has the greatest seniority or status in the family, after which comes the oldest sister, and finally the younger siblings. Younger siblings are taught to respect older siblings and to obey them as they would a parent, with this authority continuing into adulthood.

Throughout the terminology system, people at senior level are addressed by their appropriate 'status' designation (McKinley, 1981). He added that sibling ties are seen as the epitome of mutual obligation and as being categorically imperative [and] the sibling relationship is also very much affected by the pervading notion of seniority. As Lambert (1981) claims, relative age within a sibling set is expressed by supplementary kinship terms, by a few other symbols of the precedence of the firstborn and by traditional attitudes toward eldest and youngest children. Cham siblings are very consistent in observing patterns of verbal deference toward one another. It is prohibited for younger siblings to call their older siblings by name. Parents or grandparents, usually emphasise the term of address and term of reference when children communicating toward each other. In the Cham case, a similar outlook prevails in terms of address (see Figure 6 for an explanation of forms of address used by the Cham of Pulau Keladi). When I asked a key informant why these terms of address are so important to them, she replied;

> *Our people [Cham] until now follow our ancestors in not calling our close kin by their names. If someone calls his or her bong by their name it is considered rude. We refer to and address them according to their level and status, starting from the eldest to the youngest. The main intention is to teach our people to interact in a proper way. Younger siblings must be taught to respect older ones and older ones must be taught to love and care for younger ones.*
>
> (Mai So)

It is apparent that same-sex sibling relationships are stronger than those between opposite sexes. And this closeness is cemented by the time they share together, turning to each other for advice and comfort. However, within the household, seniority relations among children are important, and regardless of their sex, younger siblings show their respect and

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obedience to their *bong*. It is the *bong's* responsibility to look after their *pheon,* besides their parent.

The roles and responsibilities of a sister toward her younger siblings among the Cham of Pulau Keladi could be seen in Dayah's case. She provided not only moral and psychological support, but also 'aid and services' as mentioned by Goetting (1986) to her siblings. Dayah is an older sister of four younger sisters and one younger brother. She works at the factory near Pekan town and got married four months before I left Pulau Keladi. Usually, her sisters seek Dayah's advice and discuss matters with her before they make any decision and later propose it to their parents. For example, when Dayah's sisters were looking for jobs, Dayah suggested that they apply to the same factory with her. Later, two of Dayah's sisters worked in the same place and Dayah's parents were glad to know that their daughters were working together and Dayah could look after her sisters. In some situations, if her sisters asked their parents' permission, they would ask them 'Have you discussed with your *Kak Long* (Dayah's term of address) about this matter?'.

Further aspects of expectations and obligations in sibling relationships can be seen in the preparations for Dayah's wedding. Dayah married in August 2006 when I was in Pulau Keladi; her husband is a Malay man and they work at the same factory in Pekan. I had an opportunity to observe Dayah and her family preparing for her wedding ceremony. In most of the decisions for her wedding, Dayah was given an opportunity to participate by her parents, for instance to buy special gifts[18] for the groom, make a decoration for the gift, chose the *pelamin, bunga telur*[19], the dress, make-up, and to hire a photographer, with her mother's approval. However, her sisters also played an important role in the process of preparing for her wedding.

Earlier, Dayah discussed other wedding arrangements with her sisters and her mother, as for example the choice of paint colour for the *bilek pengantin* or bridal room, and later she

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[18] The gifts included several items, such as a watch, shoes, belt, grooming set, shirt and trousers, and some cake. These gifts are known as '*hantaran*' or gifts exchange, where both bride and groom exchange presents on the wedding day. Usually the number of gifts is odd; for example, if the groom brings in nine presents, the bride will give eleven gifts in exchange.

[19] Decorated eggs to give to the guests as a token;, this is usually practised by the Malays.

gave the instructions and asked her sister to paint it because they did not have a big brother to help. Moreover, Dayah's sisters helped her to hang curtains and decorate the room. On the wedding day itself she assigned her sisters certain responsibilities, for instance designating one sister to be a bridesmaid, and another to be in charge of distributing the *bunga telur* to her friends[20]. She also instructed the rest of the sisters to help her mother doing various jobs during the big day; only her little brother was exempt.

Other examples of sibling duties and responsibilities can be given from other families. For example Yan, has three younger brothers and three younger sisters. When she was twelve years old, she became her mother's 'left hand' for her family. At that time they lived in Pulau Shell, where her mother had a small stall selling Cambodian soup near the riverbank, which was operated every morning from 7.00 am to 11.00 am. On the other hand, her father worked outside the village, going out in the morning and returning in the evening. Yan was asked by her mother to look after her younger brothers and sisters after she came back from school. During weekends and school holidays, Yan cooked for her family, cleaned the house, and washed the clothes.

Now, Yan is a 30-year-old woman with three daughters, aged from four to twelve years old. Her siblings seek her advice when they have problems or need to make decisions, which they would propose to their parents. Yan's house is 500 meters from her parents' house. Every morning from 8.00am to 11.00am Yan will help her mother on the stall, and at the same time she will help her father packaging fish, chicken, beef, and vegetables for sale. She does not receive any payment for her jobs, but she can choose any chicken, fish or beef and vegetables to take home and cook for her family. Sometimes, Yan's mother would ask her to cook in her mother's house and she could take some of the dishes home to her family. Last year, Yan's mother bought a gold bangle for her and the cost was about RM800.00. The jewellery was given to her as a reward.

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[20] These *bunga telur* are given to all guests. However, there are special *bunga telur* usually given to special guests including close friends. In practice one or two persons will be incharge to distribute the *bunga telur* to all guests and usually older or younger sisters will be asked to distribute the special *bunga telur* to special guests.

Besides helping her mother, Yan also has a small business of her own which generates a side income. She sells homemade *nasi lemak* every day except Sunday. Yan will wake up at 4.30 am to prepare *nasi lemak* for sale in the town. Usually Yan will make 80 packs of *nasi lemak* every day, and the number will increase up to 100 packs during the school holiday. Her sister Dina, who works as shop assistant in a small coffee shop in the town, will take Yan's *nasi lemak* and sell them at the shop, and Dina has never asked for any money for her help.

The 25th of May 2006 was a big day for Dina as Ming Mukmin's family asked for her as a wife for their son, and Yan's family arranged an engagement ceremony for Dina. All the villagers were invited and they were divided into two groups; one group representing Yan's family and the other representing Ming Mukmin's family. The male group consisted of approximately 50 people, including his parents, siblings, grand parents, cousins, uncles, aunts and other close relatives. For this occasion, Yan took the responsibility to prepare chicken rice, jelly, curry puffs and corn pudding for all the guests. She cooked from the early morning with her mother and sisters, with the help of their close relatives. The whole house also needed to be prepared for this event. Yan and the other two sisters and brothers helped their parents to set up a special room for the engagement ceremony. They moved out the sofa set with Yan's brother's and husband's help, put up new curtains, laid a new carpet, and decorated the room with new flower arrangements. Every single person in the family was involved in preparing the house for this event.

Yan's father told me that there was a problem with Yan's identity card, due to her birth certificate and until now, her status as a Malaysian citizen is not clear, even though she was born in Malaysia. The problem required Yan to go to the Registration Department in Kuala Lumpur several times, which is approximately 350 km from Pulau Keladi. Yan left Pulau Keladi with her husband and father, and she left her daughter in her mother's house, in the care of her sisters, Dina, Rosnah, and Siti, who took responsibility to look after her daughters.

Brother-brother and brother-sister relationships among the Cham might not be as clear as in the above example; however, these relationships are important too. They are obliged to trust and assist one another as the Cham said that they should not allow themselves to be divided by other people, or allow their individual interests to come between them. Brothers and sisters are expected to cooperate in most transactions within their extended family. Mutual help between brother-brother and brother-sister is evident when they raise a family, for instance, in most important feasts involving life-crises, marriage and burial, and house building.

In the previous discussion, the relationship between siblings has been described, particularly between unmarried siblings and married siblings. However, when siblings grow up, marry and have children, usually they settle in different houses and they are inevitably divided. The Cham perceive the importance of sibling ties, not only before marriage but actually for the entire life of individual, and equally important is the sibling's spouse. How this relationship is maintained, even after siblings establish their own households, is also discussed in this section.

Sibling unity of the Cham is best exemplified by their cooperation in looking after their mother or father, working together in life cycle crises, and concern over the welfare of other siblings. It is considered a big sin among the Cham for children to neglect their parents, especially when they get older. The children are always expected to take a responsibility for looking after their parents. Therefore, in Pulau Keladi, one of the children will take this as his or her duty, and in most of the cases the youngest child who will inherit the house bears this responsibility. The following instances, among others, corroborate this observation; for example Abdullah, the younger son, looks after his mother Mai Zaharah; Mei Tut the younger daughter of Mai Su, looks after her mother; Haji Ahmad, the eldest son looks after his mother (98 years old woman and the oldest person in the village[21]); and Mai Mukmin, the younger daughter, look after her father.

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[21] She died on November 2008.

The responsibility is not only borne by daughters; indeed gender is not a barrier in relation to this religious obligation to look after one's parents. The observation stated above reveals that sons and daughters alike have been seen to take the responsibility, without discrimination. In the case of daughters, marriage status is no impediment to the obligation to care for elderly parents. There is a case in which a married daughter of one family takes this responsibility, which is done after obtaining the necessary permission from her husband. It is also important to stress that the responsibility is not upheld by a single daughter or son alone; rather, it is shared with other siblings, even though they may not live together. The contribution is manifested in various ways, such as by giving money, sending the mother cooked food, inviting the parents for lunch or dinner, looking after or visiting them when they are sick, giving presents, especially for the '*Eid*' celebration, and inviting them to stay with their family for a period of time.

In order to analyse married siblings' relationships among the Cham of Pulau Keladi, *Aoung Tuan* and Teh Yan's household has been chosen. *Aoung Tuan* is the religious teacher in Pulau Keladi. He is the older son of Abd Kasim and Sofiah (see Figure 4.1), and the father of eleven children. His wife, Teh Yan, is Mai Zaharah and Abdul Majid's daughter. This couple are not only husband and wife but also cousins.

Figure 4.7 indicates the relationship between *Aoung Tuan* and his siblings. This extended family consist of *Aoung Tuan,* who is the oldest brother of five siblings, his two brothers Osman and Ali, and his three sisters Habsah, Hasnah and Rokiah. Both Rokiah and Hasnah had married and live in Johore, approximately 300 km from Pulau Keladi. As we can see in Figure 4.7, the grey circles represent these two siblinge' households. On the other hand, the white circles indicate the households of other siblings who live in Pulau Keladi, including *Aoung Tuan*, and the black circles indicate their children's households. One black circle is for *Aoung Tuan's* daughter who lives in Pulau Keladi and the other two black circles are for of Habsah and Ahmad's children. Habsah and Ahmad's son lives outside the village and their daughter, who married during my stay, lives within the village.

Figure 4.7 : *Aoung Tuan* and his Siblings' Households
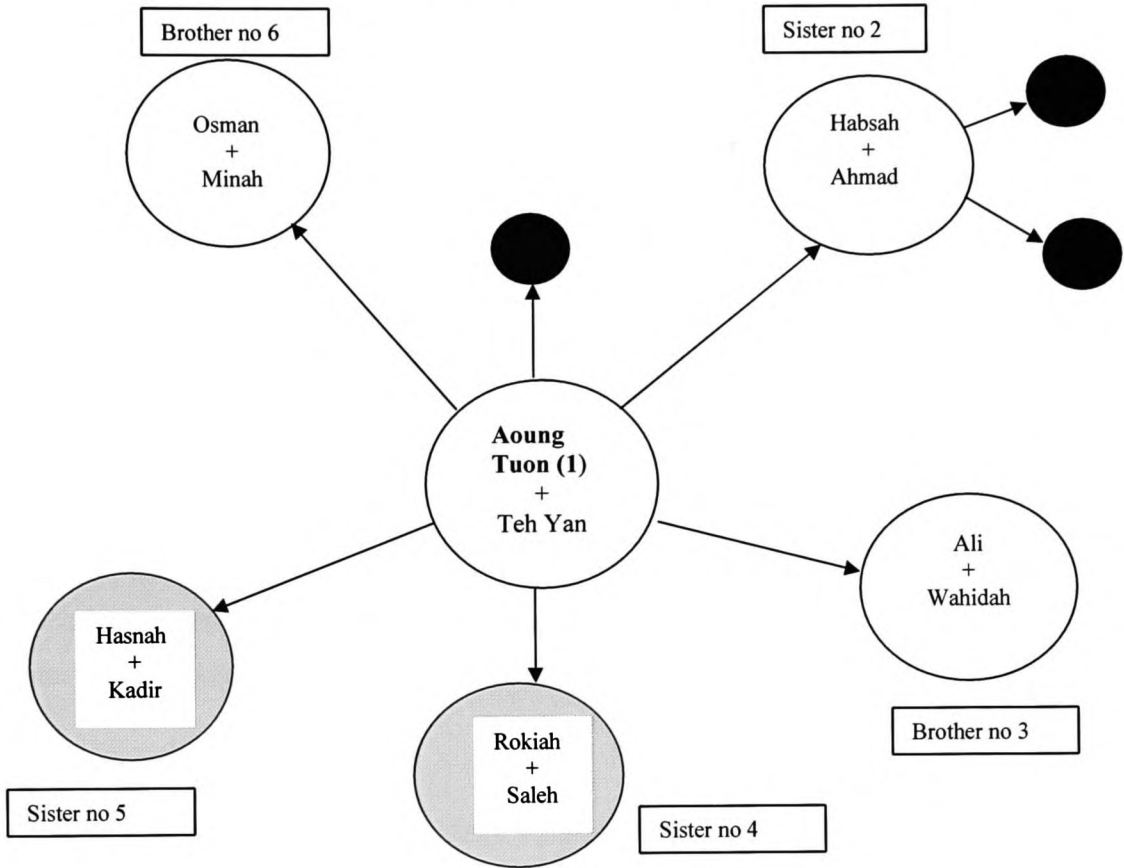
When Mai So's husband died, she took on all the responsibility of looking after her younger son, Osman, *Aoung Tuan's* younger brother. She became the financial supporter of her household by continuing her late husband's job as a fish farmer. However, her sons Ali and Osman assist her in looking after the fish cages. Apart from fish farming, Mai So also continues farming activities. Mai So carried on with the responsibility of maintaining the family until Osman began to work outside the village, when he gave some of the money he earned to his mother. When he reached the age of 25, Mai So planned an arranged marriage for Osman to the daughters of one of her distant kin, who live in Cambodia. The girl, named 'Minah', worked with her aunt as a shop assistant in Johore, Malaysia. Later, after Osman and Minah had married, Mai So asked over her son and daughter-in-law to live with her. By the time Osman had married, his mother no longer looked after the fish cages, and Osman was given the responsibility to do so. However, although she is now 65, his mother

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insists on continuing the farming activity not only for family consumption and to produce some income when the surplus is sold in the market, but even more so out of passion and love for the occupation.

In Mai So's house, all chores are done by Minah and sometimes Osman helps her. She cleans the house, wash clothes, cooks for the family and at the same time prepares homemade Cambodian dishes for sale. All the household expenses are met by Osman and Minah. Some of the children give her an allowance on a monthly basis; others might give money on a less regular basis, such as when they have extra or during a special month such as Ramadhan, the fasting month for Muslims or for Shawwal, the month following Ramadhan, when Muslims celebrate *Eid*. I witnessed several times *Aoug Tuan's* sister Hasnah sending cooked food to her mother in Osman and Minah's house. Another time I saw *Aoung Tuan's* sister-in-law, Wahidah, doing the same thing for her mother in-law. On another occasion, one of them might invite her mother for a special dinner or sometimes, if one of the siblings managed to catch a special fish, she was invited to share it.

Hasnah and Rokiah, who live outside Pulau Keladi, visit their mother during the '*Eid*' celebration. Usually, they return with all their family members for several days and stay in their mother's house. They also return to Pulau Keladi for occasions such as weddings, to visit someone sick, or on death of a close relative. Usually, when they come back, for any reason, they will visit all their siblings' houses and meet other relatives living in the village, including uncles and aunts from both sides of the family. Other siblings who live in Pulau Keladi would invite those who live outside the village for lunch or dinner when they return for any occasion. In most of the cases that I observed, the children might give some money to their mother or father when they visited them.

Another example of a sibling relationship after marriage is between Teh Yan and her siblings. Teh Yan is Mai Zaharah's daughter and the wife of *Aoung Tuon,* the religious teacher of Pulau Keladi. Similar to the diagram on the preceding page, the white circles indicate the households of siblings who live in Pulau Keladi. Figure 4.8 illustrates Teh

Yan's household and her siblings' households, and the black circles indicate the households of their children.

Teh Yan has three sisters (Sariah, Salmah, and Suri) and six brothers (Yunus, Yahya, Israfil, Izrail. Rakib, and Abdullah). Before getting married, Teh Yan live in Pulau Keladi with her mother, Mai Zaharah, and her father, Abdul Majid. She moved out from the village to follow her husband *Aoung Tuan*, because at that time he taught in one of the *Pondok*[22] in Kelantan.

Within this family, the first and foremost responsibility of the children towards their parents is taken by Abdullah, the second last son in the family. Abdullah, his wife Ismak and their three children live with his mother, Mai Zaharah, in his parent's house. The responsibility for supporting her was also shared with other siblings, including in-laws. For instance Teh Yan's second oldest, Salmah and her husband Ahmad[23] (a Khmer convert) give RM200.00 every month to Mai Zaharah. The eldest sister Sariah and her late husband owned a coffee shop which operated from 6.00 am in the morning until 11.00 o'clock in the evening. Sariah provided her mother with breakfast whenever she wanted it. Sometimes, I saw her mother Mai Zaharah having lunch together with Sariah's family. At other times, other siblings sent cooked food to their mother in Abdullah's house. Taking care of the parents is one of the elements of solidarity and binds them together, not only among this family but also for the Cham as a whole.

The sibling network between these households is extremely strong and it was clearly manifested in the wedding of *Aoung Tuon* and Teh Yan's daughter. Every single household performed their role and contributed towards the success of the wedding, which took place a couple of days before the actual ceremony (see Chapter Six).

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[22] This is a special school for teaching and learning about Islam and is usually run by individuals who were educated in Egypt and have a profound interest in religious education.

[23] Ahmad is a well established fish farmer. He owns more than hundred fish cages and supplies fish to several restaurants in Pahang and Johore.

Figure 4.8: Teh Yan Household and her sibling's household
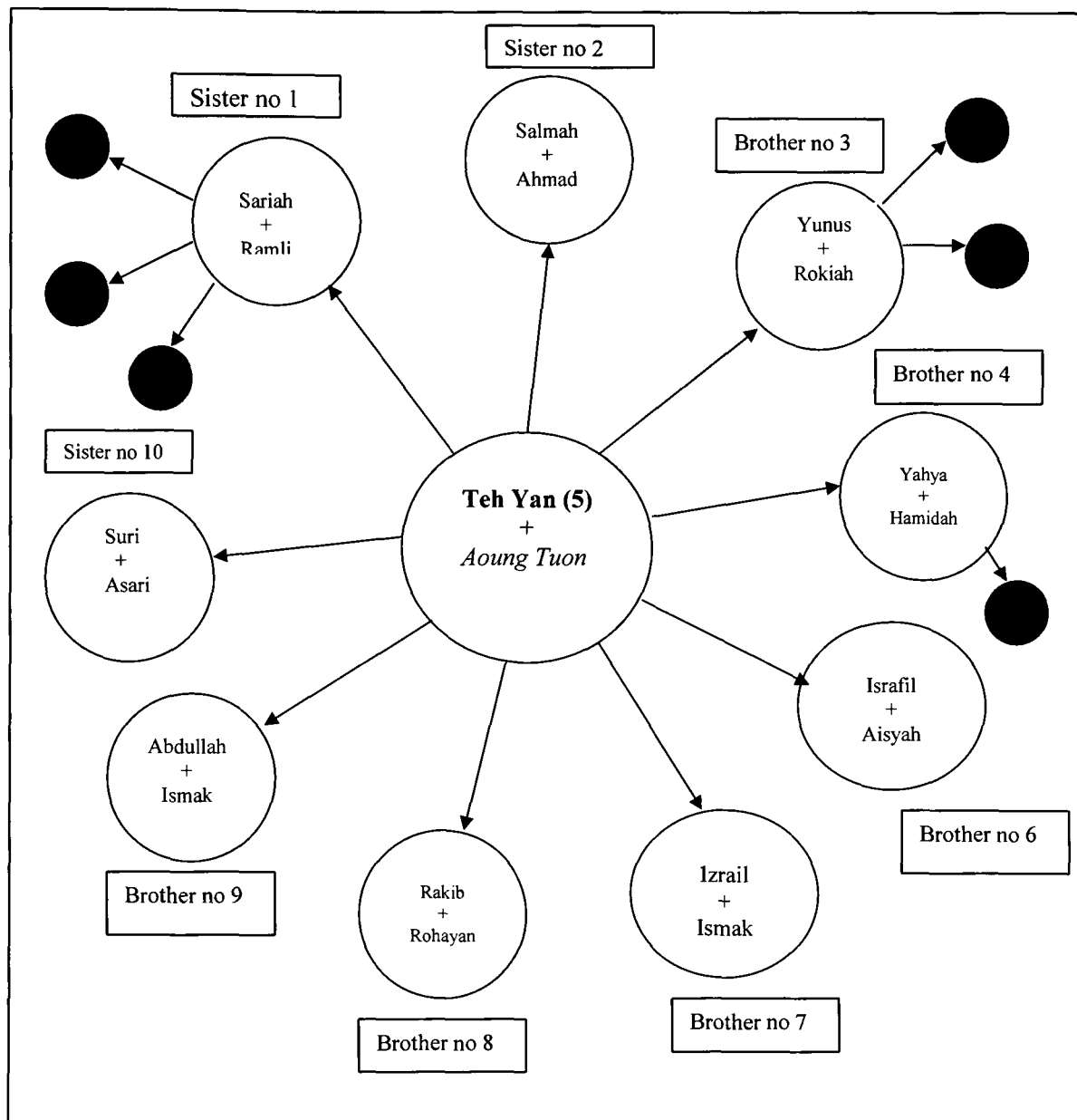
Siblings are also important in dealing with crucial times in the life cycle, for instance sickness and death. At a time when people cannot work because of sickness, they should not be left alone. It never happens that siblings are unaided or left alone with a close family member to take care of. The Cham have a clear notion related to crises in the life course,

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reflected in the notion that 'musibah[24] for one is taken into the hands of others'. This proverb applies to the sickness or death of any family member not only within Pulau Keladi but also to kin in other places.

I witnessed several cases which reflected how siblings and other relatives help each other to cope with crises in their life. These are examples;

Case 1

Wak Mat was invited by his sister to come to Pulau Keladi in 1992, on a tourist visa. However, his sister planned to help Wak Mat to stay in Pulau Keladi. She provided accommodation for Wak Mat and his wife Ming Mah (50 years old), and their 15 year old daughter Ana. Wak Mat's cousin managed to find a job for him. Later on, Wak Mat managed to build a small house on the river reserve land. He was granted a small garden plot for planting vegetables where most of the work was done by Ming Mah. At harvest time, Ming Mah went to the Saturday market in Pekan to sell the vegetable.

However, at the age of 58, he had a heart attack and he was admitted to hospital. Unfortunately, part of his right body was paralyzed. Several months previously he used to manage by himself, for example to take a bath in the river nearby, or to go to the toilet. However, his health became worse and his wife, Ming Mah looked after him; brought water from the river and bathed him, fed him at every meal, changed his clothes and anything else. Ming Mah could not go to her garden daily or sell her vegetables in Saturday market as she used to do. In this critical situation, Wak Mat's sister, Mai Zaharah, sent him 10 kg of rice every month, and sometimes she sent fish or vegetables. Quite often kin and neighbours sent cooked food to them. Besides that, in any feast offered by villager, cooked food sent to this family. Mat

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[24] Misfortune or calamity

Yuen (Wak Mat's niece's husband) the fish farmer gave his zakat perniagaan[25] every year and quite frequently he gave this family a sadaqah[26] (alms) in of money or food.

Case 2

Kak Zaiton (the assistant chef in Pulau Keladi) has a cousin who runs a cloth trade in Terengganu. One day, on the way back from Johore, she had an accident and was seriously injured and was admitted to Kuantan General Hospital. She lost her right leg and her daughter had a broken femur, and face was badly injured. Kak Zaiton's brother, who lives 400km from Pulau Keladi, came down to visit their cousin and her daughter. He stayed in Kak Zaiton's house for two nights and visited them in hospital on both days. Similarly, Kak Zaiton and her husband and several other relatives in Pulau Keladi made visits to Kuantan General Hospital, approximately 55 km from Pulau Keladi. Usually, relatives and friends who visit may give some money in order to help the person concerned and their family, for at least for short period of time. On top of that they might bring some gifts in the form of fresh food or cooked food.

Another example of sibling relationship, between Kak Zaitun and her brother, Wak Rip, shows the importance of siblings in life crises. Wak Rip, who was formerly a teacher in Cambodia, he has five children, four daughters and a son. He was invited by Kak Zaitun to come to Malaysia after she found that his situation in Cambodia was sufficient for only a moderate standard of living. Wak Rip took a risk by coming to Malaysia and Pulau Keladi as a tourist and staying as an illegal immigrant. Kak Zaitun had a discussion with her husband and decided to give temporary shelter to her brother's family in their house. Later, they found a job for Wak Rip and after a few months Wak Rip was allowed by Kak Zaitun

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[25] *Zakat* is one of the five pillars of Islam, and it comes from the word *'zakaa'* which mean to increase purity and bless. There are three types of *zakat* in Islam; *zakat* of salaries – income from farm produce, Cattle (including cow, camel, sheep, and goat), merchandize of trade and commerce, and lastly *zakat* of gold and silver.
[26] *Sadaqah* come from word sidq or sincerity, which mean money or things given to the needy voluntarily.

and her husband to build his own house on Kak Zaitun and her husbands' house plot. Their houses are linked to each other and each can enter the other's house by using the platform from the kitchen door.

4.9   Affine Relationships

Another type of relationship through which people are linked to each other is through marriage, otherwise known as an 'affine' relationship. As Suttles (1960) identified, affine relationships, based on English practice, refer to: spouse's parent, spouse's brothers and sisters, child's spouse, man's sister's husband, man's sister-in-law, woman's brother-in-law, woman's sister-in-law. These relationships are through marriage and without marriage, they do not exist.

The Cham system of terminology for affines (see Figure 4.12) exhibits similar general characteristics to that for cognates. Similar to the Iban, Javanese and Khmer system, the relationship between siblings-in-law is not clearly defined, although it usually resembles that between siblings. For instance, the spouse of an older sibling must always be addressed as *boung,* regardless of his age, and the younger mainly addressed as *pheon.* However, if someone says; 'This is my *boung*', one can ask, 'Is that your *boung tlay*' (spouse's sibling or sibling's spouse) (see Freeman, 1960), Koentjaraningrat, 1960, Ebihara, 1971). *Boung tlay-pheon tlay* relationships will be discussed further in chapter six.

The relationship between *khmeij-khon pisa* is clearly demarcated on a generational basis. The *khmeij* or spouse's parents are considered as superordinate and the *khon pisa* or son/daughter-in-law as a subordinate, and their relationship seems to be formal. Daughter in-law and mother in-law may reside together but their relationship is different from the daughter-mother relationship. The way a daughter-in-law behaves towards her mother in-law is different from her behaviour towards her own mother.

The relationship between two sets of married couples is known as *telong* for the Cham and *bisan* among the Malay. Similar to the Malay, *telong* is almost unique in Cham terminology; it makes no distinction of age, sex, and generation, and this term is used

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reciprocally by parents whose children marry one another (Carsten, 1991). One of the criteria in arranging the marriage of children is finding a good quality of *telong*. It is assumed that if the *telong* is *orang baik-baik* or a good person, most probably their children will also be good and this contributes to a happy marriage. A surprising finding in this study was that affinal and consanguineal relationships exist at the same time in most cases. For instance, in Aoung Tuan's case, his mother Mai So and his mother in-law Mai Zaharah were in-laws before their children Aoung Tuan and Teh Yan married. After the marriage, the relationship between these two women was transformed to *telong*. The same occurred with regard to relationships between *Aoung Tuan* and Mai Zaharah before he married her daughter. Teh Yan was his cousin and Mai Zaharah was his fraternal aunt. However, their relationship changed to a *khmeij-khon pisa* relationship (see Figure 4.9).

Figure 4.9: Affine Kinship Terminology

Telong

Khmeij   *Khmeijt*

Boung tlay   *Pheon tlay*

Khon pisa

Khon pisa
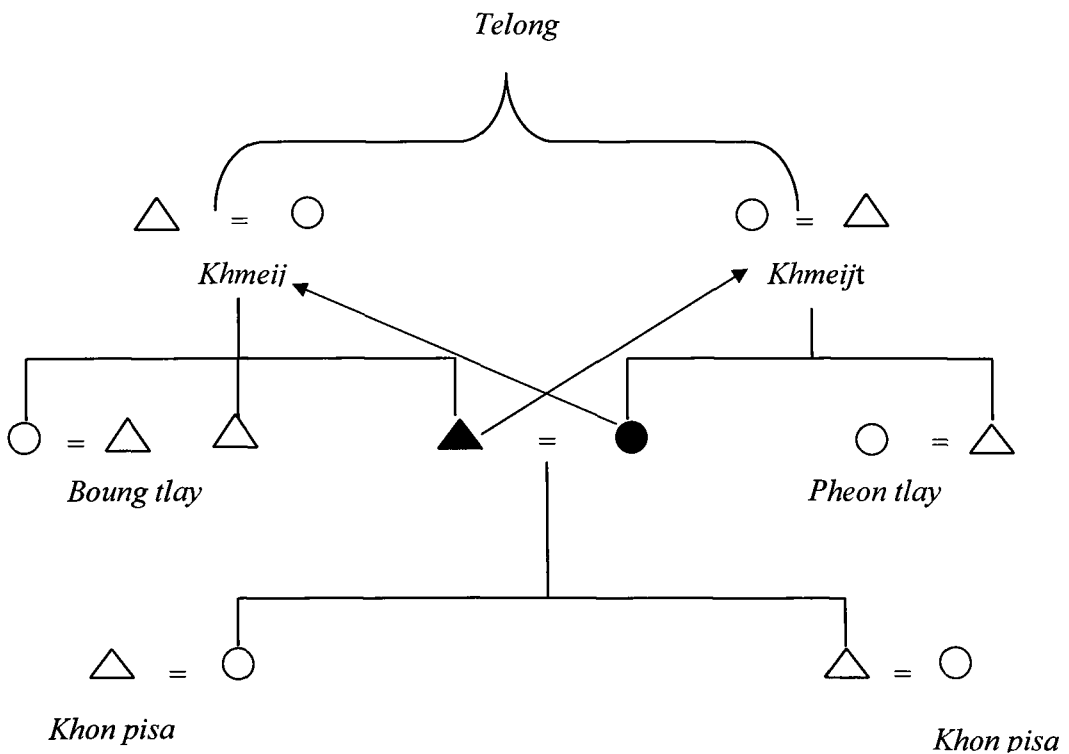
In the case of Malays (see Carsten, 1991) it is considered undesirable for *bisan or telong* to reside close to each other, because it is related to the likelihood of marriage break down or at worst, it might contribute to divorce. In Pulau Keladi, however, many cases demonstrate that living close to *telong* does not have any negative impact on their children's marriage, so Carsten's idea is rejected for this community.

For instance, Haji Ahmad and his wife Aisyah have two different *telong* within Pulau Keladi; one is Mai Zaharah and the other is Wan Kee and Wak Yaakob. Within the village, *telong* meet each other frequently, at least five times a day when they go to the *serau* to perform the five obligatory prayers. Besides that, Haji Ahmad meets his male *telong* at the *serau* and they continue to see each other in the evening when both go to the village green to play or watch the children playing. Similarly in Mai Zaharah and Mai So's case, these two *telong* not only meet each other during the five prayer sessions but, in addition, they also spend time talking together underneath Mai So's house.

4.10 'Long-Distance' Kin Relationships

This section attempts to present cross-border relationships between kin. There are understandable reasons why kin become geographically separated. Economic demands is one reason, and in the case of refugees, security is another reason for separation. The distance, however has a different impact in different communities. For some groups, the distance can engender strong kin relationships, and for other groups might cause loose kin relationships. Hollinger and Haller (1990:160) noted that 'geographical mobility often leads to large distance between family members, [and] the maintenance of contacts over such distances becomes more difficult. Consequently....the personal relevance of such contacts might decrease'. In other word, geographical mobility may reduce face-to-face contact with kin, and lead to non-kin ties gaining in importance in people's social networks.

In analysing this issue, it seems that geographical separation does not lead to large distances between kin for the Cham community. Although face-to-face contact may reduce due to geographical distance, however, the sense of 'connectedness' and 'kinship responsibility' leads to ties between 'long-distance kin' remaining strong. There are two

types of 'long-distance kin' relationships in Pulau Keladi; firstly, a 'close kin' relationship, which refers to 'parent-children' relationships. Secondly, 'distant kin' relationships, which refers to those 'distantly' related to each other. In both cases they continue to contact each other.

A prominent example of the continuing significance of kin ties across countries is the practice of sending remittances. In Pulau Keladi, children remit money to their parents, or relatives remit money to their kin in Cambodia. There are also a few cases, in which 'long-distance kin' in Cambodia, have asked relatives in Malaysia for help in finding a job for their children. Remittances from Malaysian Cham to their parents or relatives in Cambodia has been established since the first batch of refugees resettled from refugee camps. In the early period of resettlement, money was sent to Cambodia to help kin to come to Malaysia and re-unite with other relatives. However, currently money has been sent to parents or relatives in Cambodia to support poor families. In some cases, remittances might be use to improve their living standard by, for instance, refurbishing or extending parents' houses.

Like many other transnational migrants, Cham thus send remittances to their close kin in their countries of origin. People remit to their kin in Cambodia using informal system as depicted in Diagram 4.1. The Cham in Malaysia usually send their remittances either through Cham traders, who once or twice a month come to their village in Malaysia, or directly to the agent in Sungai Buluh. These traders and agent will proceed to the person in charge of remittances in Cambodia. The money will then be sent to Mariam, who is in charge of remittance to Phnom Phen, and to Hajjah Zaharah, who is in charge of remittances to the Batdambang area. The kin in Cambodia will be contacted by the agent to collect their money, and a ten percent charge is applied to this informal service offerered by Mariam and Hajjah Zaharah.

Besides the economic links, relationships between 'long-distance kin' in Malaysia and Cambodia are also sustained through arranged marriages. The older generation in both countries keep maintaining their relationship through arranged marriages between their children or grandchildren. The arranged marriage of Abdullah and Osman (Mai Zarah's

sons) with brides from Cambodia, illustrate this practice. There are also other cases of 'cross-country' arranged marriages in Pulau Keladi, with the same purpose.

Diagram 4.1 : Remittances Flow from Malaysia to Cambodia

CAMBODIA

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                    ┌──────────────────┐         ┌──────────────────┐
                    │   Phnom Phen      │         │   Batdambang     │
                    │   Mariam          │         │   Hajjah Zaharah │
                    └──────────────────┘         └──────────────────┘
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MALAYSIA

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    ┌──────────────────────┐              ┌──────────────────────┐
    │  Sungai Buluh Agents  │              │   Cham Traders       │
    └──────────────────────┘              └──────────────────────┘

    ┌──────────────────────┐              ┌──────────────────────┐
    │   Other Villages      │              │   Pulau Keladi       │
    └──────────────────────┘              └──────────────────────┘
```
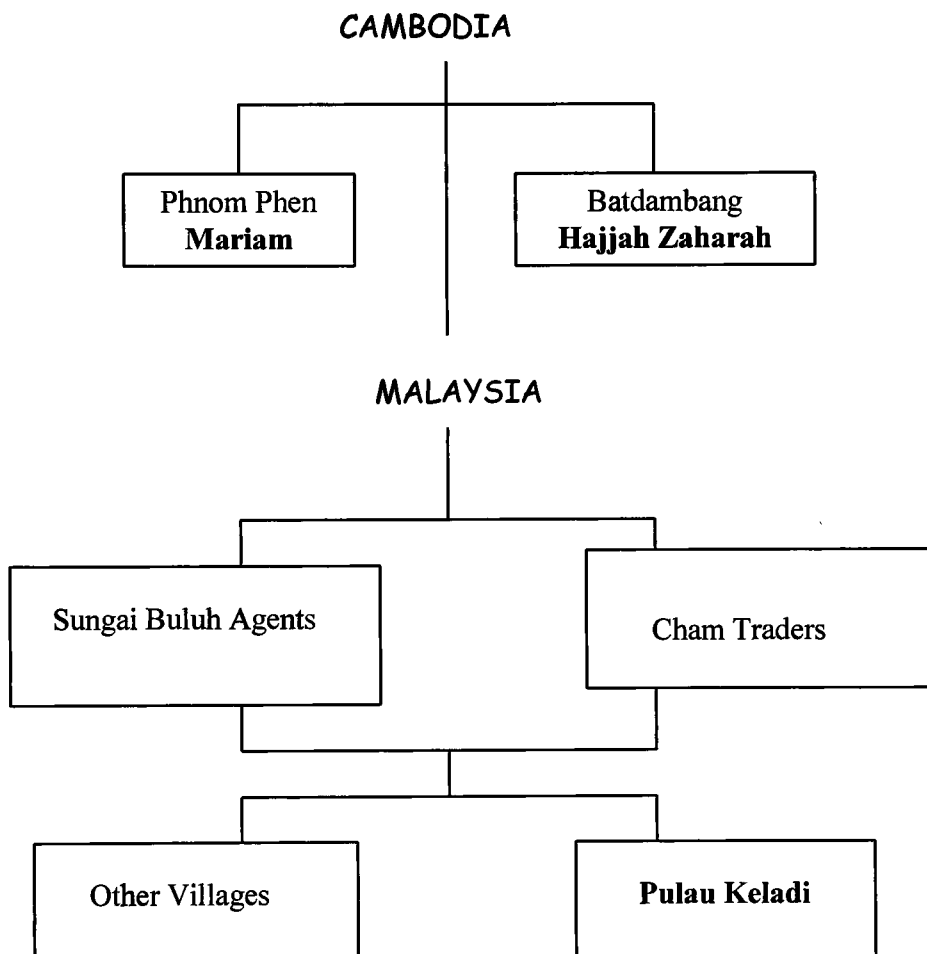
4.11 Summary

In sum, in the absence of literature discussing the Cham social system, this chapter may perhaps provide some idea of the structure of family and kinship among the Cham of Pulau Keladi. As mentioned earlier, several writers have noted that traditionally, the Cham in Vietnam have practiced matrilineality to some extent. However, the data on the Cham of Pulau Keladi suggests that it can be best understood as essentially cognatic, and not

overlaid by matrilineal practices. For the Cham of Pulau Keladi the relationship system attaches equal importance to both father's and mother's side, and in terms of gender there is no difference between male and female kin. These people also do not clearly distinguish consanguineal and affinal relations; both are referred to as *boung - pheon*. Therefore, in-laws were accepted within a family as part of family member and they are treated equally to siblings. Cousin marriage may be one of the reasons that helps to overcome potential tensions with affines and makes the relationship with affines much closer than it is in many other communities.

Although the data reflected that nuclear families are more dominant in Pulau Keladi than extended families, this figure simply shows household formation. In real life this community organizes daily life around the extended family. Cousin marriage again plays a role in strengthening kinship networks.

Throughout this chapter, the major burden of the discussion has rested on the primary kin network; husband-wife, parent-children, and sibling relationship. A number of features show that, rather than adopting the 'modern' value of kinship and marriage as proposed by Goode (1970, 1999) and Parson (1949), certain aspects of marriage and divorce remain unchanged. The data of this chapter show that arranged marriage is still common and that divorce and remarriage are uncommon.

The chapter emphasized the closeness of the parent-married child and the adult sibling relationship, which develops when children are young and extends until old age. Married daughters or sons continue their role of supporting and socializing unmarried and married younger sisters and brothers in all events of the life course, and the parental home provides a convenient locale for many activities. Sibling social networks are sustained even when all siblings have married and started their own family and this is maintained into old age.

Kinship relationships remain strong and salient for this community throughout life and across international borders. The practices of the Cham contradict Parson's and Goode's argument that extended family relations become loose, due to the impact of modernization.

Chapter Five
Economic and Kinship Relations

5.0 Introduction

This chapter attempts to focus on the main issue of this study; the impact of the modern economic system on kin relationships. As opposed to some predictions about the demise of kinship, this chapter attempts to demonstrate how kinship is central to productive and trading activities. I will argue in this chapter how kinship is utilized in economic activities, what are the indicators of exchange, and how the Cham are protecting kinship ties from the impact of commercialization. The discussion focuses on various interrelated economic activities; fish farming, farming, shops and stalls, contract labour or building, and petty trading activities.

Economic and kinship relationships emphasize different principles of association. Economics belongs to the domain of production and distribution, and is characterized by a calculating attitude and the principle of maximization. In contrast, kinship relationships emphasize equity with close relatives showing, to some extent, a feeling of in-group solidarity, adherence to the norms of generosity and mutual help (Powell and Smith-Doerr, 1994). This raises the question of to what extent economic activities are antithetical to the Cham kin morality. How does kinship economy resolve the problem created by this antipathy? Is it true that modernization has relatively isolated the nuclear family or that kin networks tend to be attenuated?

In order to answer these questions it is important first to trace the structure of the Cham economic activities, scale of activity, how they operate, labour involvement, and type of payment. Such evidence could be taken to show how the people of Pulau Keladi engage in a commercial economy.

It might be helpful to recall that the most important principle embraced by all the villagers is 'kinship ties'. Kinship unity is expressed in various ways. We have seen the

way in which kin are perceived among this community; those connected on both fathers and mother's side, by both consanguineal and affinal ties, are classified as kin. In particular, Pulau Keladi inhabitants are related to each other by four main ties: affine, consanguine, fictive kin ties, and the 'Muslim brotherhood concept'. Moreover, distant kin are calculated up to third cousin. Therefore, as we could see in Pulau Keladi, the villagers assert that 'everybody here are relatives'. The importance of kinship is reflected in the way they refer to and address kin, how they behave toward each other, the way they help each other, and the way they organize communal work. Obviously, the relationship between siblings before marriage, which remains strong after marriage, reflects the unity of kin ties, and the Cham acknowledge a sibling's spouse as their own sibling.

Another reflection of kin unity appears in consanguine marriage, especially arranged marriage within the same generation or across generation. The concept of 'pulling together distant kin to come close' reflects the importance of kin ties for the Cham. The general pattern of arranged marriage occurs between second, and third cousins, who are distant kin, and this is the preferred choice.

The third type of relationship refers to an adopted family member, particularly to those accepted as a son or daughter of a Cham family. An adopted child may have either a kin or non-kin relationship. On the other hand, the fourth type of relationship refers to religious ties, specifically related to converted Khmer or Vietnamese. This relationship is widely used among the Muslim community. For example, in Malay community, they refer to converted Muslims as *'saudara baru'* or literally, 'new kin'. The 'new kin' concept suggests that non kin or 'other people' could become kin on the basis of the principle of Muslim brotherhood. As Munson (2001) described, the Islamic concept of brotherhood is not based on race, language, colour, territory or politico-economic affinity. In fact this principle is an inalienable part of this link – whatever their race, colour, language or place of birth, they are considered 'brothers'.

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5.1　Economic Activities

In order to analyse local economic activities, I made an inventory of sources of livelihood according to household. As we can see from Table 5.1, the main sources of livelihood of households in Pulau Keladi are fish farming, farming, building, running food stalls and coffee shops, petty trading (clothes, medicine, fish and vegetable, home-made ice cream, fresh fruit) and slaughtering chickens. Out of six economic activities, fish farming and petty trader or 'traditional trade' appear as main economic resources of households in Pulau Keladi. Although farming and fishing were traditional economic activities for the Cham in Cambodia, they are carried out in Pulau Keladi on a larger scale. As mentioned in Chapter Three, most villagers are involved in fish farming and farming, however these people also carried out dual or sometime triple income activities.

It is common for households in Pulau Keladi to carry out fish farming, farming and any other seasonal activities simultaneously. However, the success of these activities depends on how every household utilizes and strategizes economic resources including labour resources. Since fish farming needs less labour, households are able to carry out dual or sometime triple income activities. These peoples also are involved in other types of economic enterprise, especially small scale business (running a food stall or engaging in petty trading), builder, and chicken slaughterer (see Table 5.1). For instance, in case of Abang Ramli, Shafie and many other Pulau Keladi inhabitants, they are fish farmers and at the same time running coffee shop and leading a builders' group. Abang Ramli's wife helps him in the coffee shop and Shafie's wife is involved in cloth trading in other villages, not only in Pahang state but also in several villages in Negeri Sembilan. When they have time they help their husband feeding fish.

The invention of new techniques in the construction of the fish cage (see Chapter Three), has led to the commercialization of fish farming activity. The market demand for fresh water fish in Pekan and other places has stimulated these peoples to carry out fish farming on a larger scale. Therefore, family members' contribution to running this activity is needed; women and children are expected to lend a hand (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 : The Main Household Economic Activities in Pulau Keladi

Economic activity	No	Activity Carried Out		Involve kin/family member	Women	Children	Training young	Type of Payment
		Within the village	Outside the village					
1. Fish Farmer	30	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Salary
2. Farmer	22	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Honorarium
3. Builder	7	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Salary
4. Running a Food Stall and Coffee Shop	6	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Salary/goods
5. Petty trader								
Cloth	10	No	Yes	Indirectly	Yes	No	Yes	Honorarium
Fish and vegetable	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Honorarium
Ice cream	1	No	Yes	Indirectly	Yes	No	No	No
Fresh fruit	1	No	Yes	Indirectly	Yes	No	No	No
6. Chicken Slaughterer	8	No	Yes	Indirectly	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

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Diagram 5.1 illustrates the number of men and women engaged in farming activity on the three islands; Island 1, Island 2, and Island 3. Island 1 is cultivated by one person named Wak Rip. As mentioned earlier, this island belongs to a Malay man who allows Wak Rip, his adopted son, to cultivate this island and others are not allowed to do so. On the other hand, Island 2 and Island 3 are islands which were created through the geographical process of accretion by the river current and belong to nobody, and villagers are free to cultivate on them.

Whoever does the most of the work in the garden plot is considered as the owner of the plot. In most cases, family members are involved throughout the cycle of cultivation. During the clearing season, the farmers need help to cut and clear their garden plot, followed by hoeing the land. Usually the husband (if the farmer is a woman) or sometimes the older son might help her. The same thing happens during the harvesting season, when family members are needed to help with picking the vegetables. Back home, some of the vegetables are taken for cooking and the rest are packed by the farmer and this time the younger son or daughter aged between 7 – 12 years old help to them peddle within the villager. Usually, male farmers they just hand over this job to their wives and children.

In Pulau Keladi, income is determined by the nature of the occupation, which is linked to economic activities carried out by the households. There are three important economic activities in Pulau Keladi: fish farming, petty trading activities, and building (see Table 5.2). The majority of households (78.8%) received RM1000.00 or less per calendar month. This is followed by 17.5 percent of households who earned RM1001.00 to RM2000.00 per calendar month. This amount of monthly income, without any house rental or mortgage to pay, is considered enough for household expenses. Only 1.3 percent of households fall into each of the top three categories of income.

Table 5.2: Household Monthly Income

Amount	Number	Percentage
Less than RM1000.00	63	78.8
RM1001.00 – RM2000.00	14	17.5
RM2001.00 – RM3000.00	1	1.3
RM3001.00 – RM4000.00	1	1.3
RM4001.00 – RM5000.00	1	1.3
Total	**80**	**100**

The data from the survey (Table 5.2) does not indicates their exact monthly incomes of the households, especially for those who are involved in dual or triple economic activities. These figures are extracted from their gestimations. However this figure from the table is significant to provide a clearer picture of household income and living standard of these people. As mentioned earlier, the vast majority of households in Pulau Keladi are involved in fish farming and farming. The products of these two main economic activities are not calculated on a monthly basis, since these activities follow a cyclical pattern. For instance in fish farming, the farmer needs at least one and half years to three years before the fish are ready to be harvested. The time depends on the type of fish, and the more expensive fish take up to three years before harvesting. Similarly in farming activity, the time needed to complete the growing cycle depends on the type of vegetable. Some vegetables might need longer time to grow; for instance chillies need more than three months before harvest and corn needs at least two months.

Two fundamental principles govern the organization of household in Pulau Keladi. The first relates to the status of head of the household, and the second to the major contribution to household income. In most cases the husband is regarded as the head of household; similarly, the husband's job is expected to be the main source of income. In most cases, the two principles coincide. However, a widow may become the household provider, and in a case in which the husband was paralyzed and could not work, the wife became the main provider.

While the husband is generally the main provider, women are involved in most of the economic activities, except building. The nature of this activity and the work environment possibly prevent women's involvement. However, most women claim that they do not work. Hence, when I asked the women 'Do you work?' they generally answered 'no' and continued by saying 'I do nothing' *(Tak kerja apa)*, or some might say *'Duduk Rumah'* or 'Stay at home', which denotes housework and childcare, or 'Sit only' as mentioned by Rudie (1994) in her study 'Visible Women in East Coast Malay Society' in Kelantan.

In contrast to these statements, my observation reveals that it is unusual for women of Pulau Keladi to just 'stay at home' or *'Duduk rumah'*. Many women are involved in secondary jobs which might be considered as contributing a lesser percentage of household income. Their involvement covers a variety of activities, such as farming, petty trading, making home-made cake and dishes, sewing and tailoring, selling cosmetics (Avon) or local products, and smoking or salting surplus fish.

Women also engage in seasonal work to gain some side income. For example during the fruit season they might gather mangos, *cermai*, etc., and sell them within the village. Other women buy fruit and make pickles to sell. At other times they might make some cakes, or during the corn harvest season (corn is cultivated twice a year) they might steam or boil corn for sale. Almost all the small scale selling activity is carried out by their children, aged between 10 – 13 years old. Usually these children use a bicycle and place a basket on the carrier; others might carry a basket and walk around, they tend to shout out what they have brought, to attract people's attention. They are given pocket money for their effort.

For non-seasonal activities the women are involved in farming. As appears in Table 5.1 there are six households where farming activities are their main economic resource; the rest farmed on a subsistence basis. My in-depth interviews revealed that there are 22 garden plots on Island 1, Island 2, and Island 3 (see Diagram 5.1). Out of the total number of farmers (22), nine are men and thirteen are women; thus, the majority of

farmers in Pulau Keladi are women. Instead of 'Staying at home' (*'Duduk rumah'*), these women are engaged in growing vegetables for consumption and at the same time, if there is a surplus, they might sell it for some cash, but they claim that they work just 'To find some food' or *'Cari makan sikit'*. In other cases I saw women helping their husbands feeding the fish, and during the harvesting season, women seem very busy filleting the fish before sending it to the customers. This group of women also consider themselves as *'Duduk rumah'*.

I eventually realized that the actual meaning behind 'Do nothing' is that they are not the major contributor to the household income. However, they consider themselves as important in the role of a 'housewife', which denotes chores and childcare, and they are proud to admit it. As an extension of the household role, these women get involved in seasonal work or part time jobs to get some side-income. However, this is not considered a real 'job', and by saying 'Do nothing' just *'Cari makan sikit'* or 'To find some food', and *'Duduk rumah'* or 'Stay at home' they mean that they are not the major contributors to the household's income.

Some women, as for example Aminah, Kak Zaitun, Yan, Mimi, Cik Long, Wahidah, Yati, Mariam, and Mai Nee are involved in a variety of activities which contribute to household income, and some of them do more than one job. Aminah, a young woman in her early thirties, was one of those who said 'I do nothing', just 'Stay at home' and try 'to find some food' or *'cari makan sikit'*. However, she makes homemade Cambodian

Island 1
Larger scale

Island 2
Small scale

Island 3
Small scale

M - man   W - woman

Total Farmers 22

Island 1
1. Wak Rip (M)

Island 2
1. Mariam (w)
2. Mah (w)
3. Halimah 1(w)
4. Md Zain (m)
5. Kak Mah (w)
6. Mai So (w)
7. Mai Som (w)
8. Asmak (w)
9. Ismail (M)
10. Halimah 2(w)
11. Atikah (w)
12. Abdullah (M)
13. Midah (w)
14. Ali (M)
15. Khatijah (w)
16. Mom (w)

Island 3
1. Salamah (w)
2. Cik Long (w)
3. Mi Kepout (w)
4. Mi Pau (w)
5. Mai Nor (w)
6. Israel (M)
7. Rosli (M)
8. Fuad (M)
9. Taib (M)
10. Amin (M)
11. Kameng (w)

Diagram 5.1 : Farmers and their Farms in Pulau Keladi

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dishes for selling, such as *Slor mechu, Nhom brang, Boung preak*, smoked, and salted fish. Her cooking activity is not regular, but is based on the availability of resources. She might cook *slor mechu* when all the vegetables and spices needed are available, similarly with salted and smoked fish. Besides this, Aminah is also involved in collecting money from those who want to remit it to their relatives in Cambodia, and receives a commission for this. In Pulau Keladi, Aminah is the only person who deals with remittances from Pulau Keladi villagers and she hands them over to Wanna, a Cham woman from Cambodia. Wanna takes the money and sends it to an agent in Cambodia, who in turn sends it directly to the right person. This method of remittance has been practiced for more than twenty years by all the Cambodians in Malaysia (refer to diagram in Chapter Four). On top of that, Aminah is also involved in selling Cambodian goods such as cosmetics, medicine, and clothes.

Another example is the case of Kak Zaitun, a woman in her late 40's who has been actively involved in petty trading activity since she and her family lived in Pulau Shell. Although she had no formal education, she has done very well. She runs a food stall from 6.00 am until 12.00 pm every day except Saturday. She offers Cambodian noodle soup, porridge, cakes and hot and cold drinks. Her customers are not only among the villagers but also from the nearby village. She used to run a food stall when she and her family lived in Pulau Shell. During that time, she opened a small stall in Pekan town, near the Pahang river bank. She used to travel by motorboat from her house in Pulau Shell to the stall. She claimed that her customers included not only Malays but also Chinese in Pekan area.

Besides that, Kak Zaitun started selling clothes immediately after they moved to Pulau Keladi. She saw the possibility of starting trade on a small scale in the Malay villages. She bought printed cloth to make a *Baju Kurung* for the Malays, sarongs, head scarves, blouses and T-shirts from Chinese in Pekan and peddled them in Malay villages. After some years, she had such a wide network and good turnover, that she decided to buy a motorbike and asked her husband to allow her to go into a larger number of Malay

villages. However her husband is not involved directly in peddling activities, because he said that his wife could do a better job in dealing with customers than him.

Nowadays, Kak Zaitun travels by car and she continues to peddle in Malay villages and of course she manages to cover a bigger area for her business. Her husband waits in the car while she deals with the customers. This peddling activity is carried out fortnightly and on a credit basis, whereby customers can pay in three to five instalments, according to the price of the goods purchased. Usually, when the customers are about to pay the last instalment, she might offer other goods, therefore she can maintain a longer-lasting and stronger network with her customers.

On top of that, every Saturday morning Kak Zaitun closes her food stall and runs a clothing business. Her married daughter, Yan, usually helps her and sometimes she just leaves it to Yan to deal with the customers while she goes back home for a rest or to have lunch. Yan seems to be actively learning the skill of dealing with customers from her mother. Kak Zaitun's clothes business operates underneath Yan's house, where people are always hanging around. Kak Zaitun and Yan usually hang the clothes on a rail, some are hung on the beams of Yan's house, and others are set out on the floor, which is covered with mats. All the clothes are bought cheaply from the wholesale market in Pekan town and sold in the village at a profit.

Several other households are engaged in a similar pattern of economic activities, which they consider as 'To find some food' or '*Cari makan sikit*'. Besides helping her mother, Yan make a homemade *nasi lemak* everyday except Sunday, Mimi is involved in tailoring, as are Wahidah and Yati. On the other hand, Cik Long is a dealer in food supplement and health products, and Mai Nee is in the clothes business. In some instances, the women of Pulau Keladi do more than one job at the same time, as happens with Aminah and Kak Zaitun who carry out three jobs simultaneously. These cases show that the women of Pulau Keladi are actively involved in income generation, often in a variety of jobs, and that they work hard to contribute to their household's income.

5.2   Kin in Fish Farming

The Cham of Pulau Keladi depend primarily on fish farming as their main source of income. The Cham or *Orang Kemboja* and fish cages are synonymous, particularly in the Pekan area, because these people were the pioneers of 'fish cage farming' in Pekan district. Most of the households in Pulau Keladi are generally self sufficient for labour but the higher demand for fresh water fish in the country has resulted in the use of a supplementary labour supply within family and kin group.

As we can see in Table 5.1, kin are also used as supplementary labour in a variety of other economic activities: farming, food stalls, coffee shops, petty trading, the building trade, and chicken slaughtering. Stewart (2003) has highlighted the importance of the extended family in economic activity. Family and kin become prior resources for economic assets, capital and income, cultural resources, education and knowledge, social capital, a network of social contacts and mutual rights and obligations.

In analysing the question of how kin are utilized in economic activities, first we need to differentiate the scale of the economic activities. The fish farmers in Pulau Keladi can be classified into three main categories: large-scale, medium-scale and small-scale fish farmers. These three categories of fish farmers are set up on different criteria in terms of scale, business orientation, labour, and type of kin involved.

The large-scale fish farmers are those who have more than 100 cages and are involved in supplying fish to the market or restaurants. As I was told by one informant, to maintain one fish cage needs about RM3000.00 working capital. These costs include buying material for fish cage construction, buying fingerling (from Thailand), and food. Hence, to maintain 100 cages, the fish farmer needs at least RM300,000.00[1] working capital.

In Pulau Keladi two persons are included under the first category; Mat Yuen, and Mat Lohai (nickname given by the villagers). 'Yuen' in the Khmer language means a Vietnamese person, and 'Mat' is short for 'Ahmad' a Muslim name. Thus 'Mat Yuen'

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[1] Currency exchange for 1st June is 1Pound equal to Ringgit Malaysia 5.60

means 'Mat Vietnam'. This man was formerly in the Cambodian army and converted to Islam before coming to Malaysia and marrying a Cham woman.

In his 50s, Mat Yuen is considered as a successful businessman in Pulau Keladi. He owns 250 cages, all of which are situated about half a kilometre from the village. With one lorry and one wagon, he runs his business successfully (see Diagram 5.2). In the early stages he carried out most of the work by himself with his wife, no wage labour being hired. He is the one responsible for most of the business operation, such as building the cages, buying the fingerlings, raising the fish, marketing, keeping the accounts and collecting credit payments. After 15 years running his business, and managing to own 250 cages he started to find additional help. He began to train his sons as early as 10 years old to help him by doing *'kerja ringan'* or 'light jobs'. Now, his oldest is 19 years old and the youngest is 16 years old, and they are given more responsibility in running the business. Both of his sons are fully responsible for watching the fish cages at night to ensure that all the cages are safe from any hazard.

Besides his two sons, Mat Yuen hires his brother-in-law's sons for the same purpose. These two teenage boys, age 17 and 18 years old, left school as their father could not continue to work, due to illness. Their mother opened a small stall selling drinks and homemade cake to support the family. Mat Yuen's wife felt a sense of obligation and responsibility to provide support to her sister and her family, so she asked her husband to give jobs to these two boys. Since then, the two boys have worked with their uncle, and they are each paid RM400.00 monthly. Sometimes, if they help him to feed the fish, they can earn some extra income, which enables them to give more money to their parents.
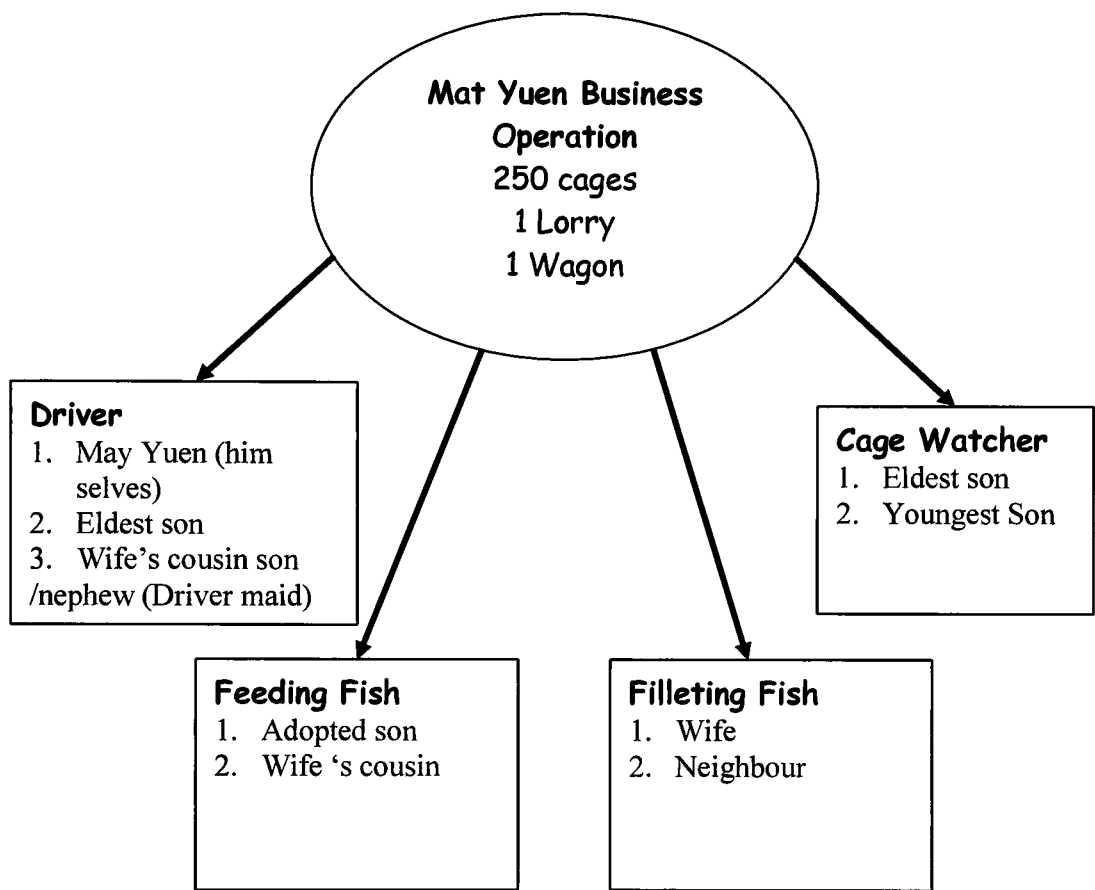
Diagram 5.2: Mat Yuen's Business Operation

In order to keep all the cages safe from any hazards, Mat Yuen has built a houseboat, equipped with a bed for sleeping, a small kitchen for cooking and a sitting area complete with television. He uses a generator to supply the electricity to the houseboat and power all the equipment. This houseboat is used by the fish watcher during the night. The fish watcher makes regular checks, walking around the fish cages, from 7.00 pm to 7.00 am daily. Usually they hire two fish watchers, who work in a rotation after midnight; one of them looks after the cages while other goes to sleep and they change after several hours.

Recently, after Mat Yuen's 19 year old son passed his driving test he was given a new job, to take the fish to the nearest restaurant and middleman. Mat Yuen pays his wife's

cousin's son, who lives 10 km from Pulau Keladi, to accompany his son in taking the fish to the customer. He pays his wife's cousin's son on a monthly basis. Mat Yuen also continues to transport fish himself. He told me that every day, after performing morning prayer 'subuh' and before dawn, he loads the *trey* to be sent to several Chinese restaurants in Bentong and Maran, about 140 km from Pulau Keladi. On the way back, he stops at the poultry factory in Kuantan to collect the viscera and gets home at around 5.00 pm. Previously, Mat Yuen hired a driver (a distant kinsman of his wife); however, he left after about a year, as he obtained another job with a good salary.

To feed fish in 250 cages is not an easy job. Therefore, Mat Yuen's sons, his wife's cousin and he himself do this job. The relationship between Mat Yuen's family and this wife's cousin is not only based on their consanguineal relationship, but he is also an 'adopted son'. This teenage boy was invited from Camdodia and has been 'sheltered and given food' by Mat Yuen and his family. He was given responsibility to feed the fish, watch them and do some other jobs within Pulau Keladi territory, but he is not allowed to do an outside job because of his status as an 'illegal immigrant'. 1 was told that Mat Yuen was trying to help this boy because his parents in Cambodia are very poor and they asked Mat Yuen's wife to find a job for their son. For that reason he has been sheltered by Mat Yuen and his family. This boy remits the money to his family in Cambodia. In addition, Mat Yuen may perhaps hire several teenage boys from Pulau Keladi to help him feed the fish and he pays them on the daily basis. Usually these boys are his son's friends, who are looking for pocket money. He pays them between RM20.00 to RM30.00 per day.

Mat Yuen raises several type of fish or *trey: Patin Muncung Patin Buah Patin Hitam, Patin Lawang,* and *Kerai.* Among the listed fresh water fish, *Kerai* is the fish with the highest market value in Malaysia and in high demand by Chinese restaurants. Although *Kerai* fish need a longer time to rear, compared to other types of fish, their market price is very high. These fish need at least 5 – 6 years before harvesting, and can reach a size of between 1 – 3 kg. According to Mat Yuen, 'It is worthwhile for a fish farmer to wait for 5 – 6 years, because the price of *Kerai* could reach RM40.00 per kg, which means

the average value of *Kerai* is approximately RM60.00–RM100.00 per fish. In every cage there are approximately 2000–3000 *Kerai* fish, so you can calculate the return on the investment'.

In contrast to Mat Lohai's business, Mat Yuen's customers request filleted fish. This means that all the fish need to be filleted before being sent to the customers. His wife undertakes the filleting process. Mat Yuen's wife usually gets help from her neighbours, in return for which they might be given a fish to take home. Usually, the filleting process takes place in the evening. The fish are packed in a box, and the next morning taken to the restaurants while still fresh.

The other fish farmer classified as a large-scale fish farmer, is Mat Lohai, a Chinese man who converted to Islam, and married a Cham woman more than twenty years ago. Previously he was involved in supplying labour to the oil palm plantation company in Keratong area. At that time, many Cham people were hired for that job, including his wife Noriah and her parents. Several months later he converted to Islam and they got married. This couple moved to Pulau Keladi several years after the first group had settled there. Mat Lohai's previous experience in business was one factor in his success in the fish farming business. As well as previous experience, he has good business networks with the Chinese businessmen, not only in Pahang but also in other parts of Malaysia. Therefore, Mat Lohai's business operation is slightly different from Mat Yuen's.

Mat Lohai has 100 cages, which is fewer than Mat Yuen. However, he has more assets; three lorries, six drivers, three fish feeders, and two fish watchers (see Diagram 5.3). On top of that, his wife Noriah assists him by doing the accounts, handling the petty cash and, similarly to other women in Pulau Keladi, controlling the business income. In Mat Lohai's business operation, he buys fish from the small scale fish farmers within the village. Several times, I saw fish farmers who needed cash go to Mat Lohai's house or meet Noriah within the village, telling him/her that they would like to sell their fish, and the arrangements would be made. Mat Lohai has become a middleman in Pulau Keladi,

and approximately 80 percent of small-scale fish farmers sell their fish to him. These small-scale fish farmers include his father in-law, brother in-law, cousin, uncle, aunt and more distant kin. According to Noriah, the small scale fish farmers in Pulau Keladi are their main source of business, and they only take their own fish if they have an insufficiency of supply.

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                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │   Mat Lohai's   │
                    │ Business Operation │
                    │    100 cages    │
                    │    3 lorries    │
                    └─────────────────┘
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Driver
1. Eldest son
2. Abdullah (brother in-law)
3. Din (brother in-law)
4. Jaafar (wife's sister's husband)
5. Razak (wife's Cousin)
6. Anuar (wife's Cousin

Cage Watcher
1. Wife's uncle
2. Wife's aunti

Feeding Fish
1. Wife's cousin
3. Wife's cousin

Petty Cash Holder
1. Wife
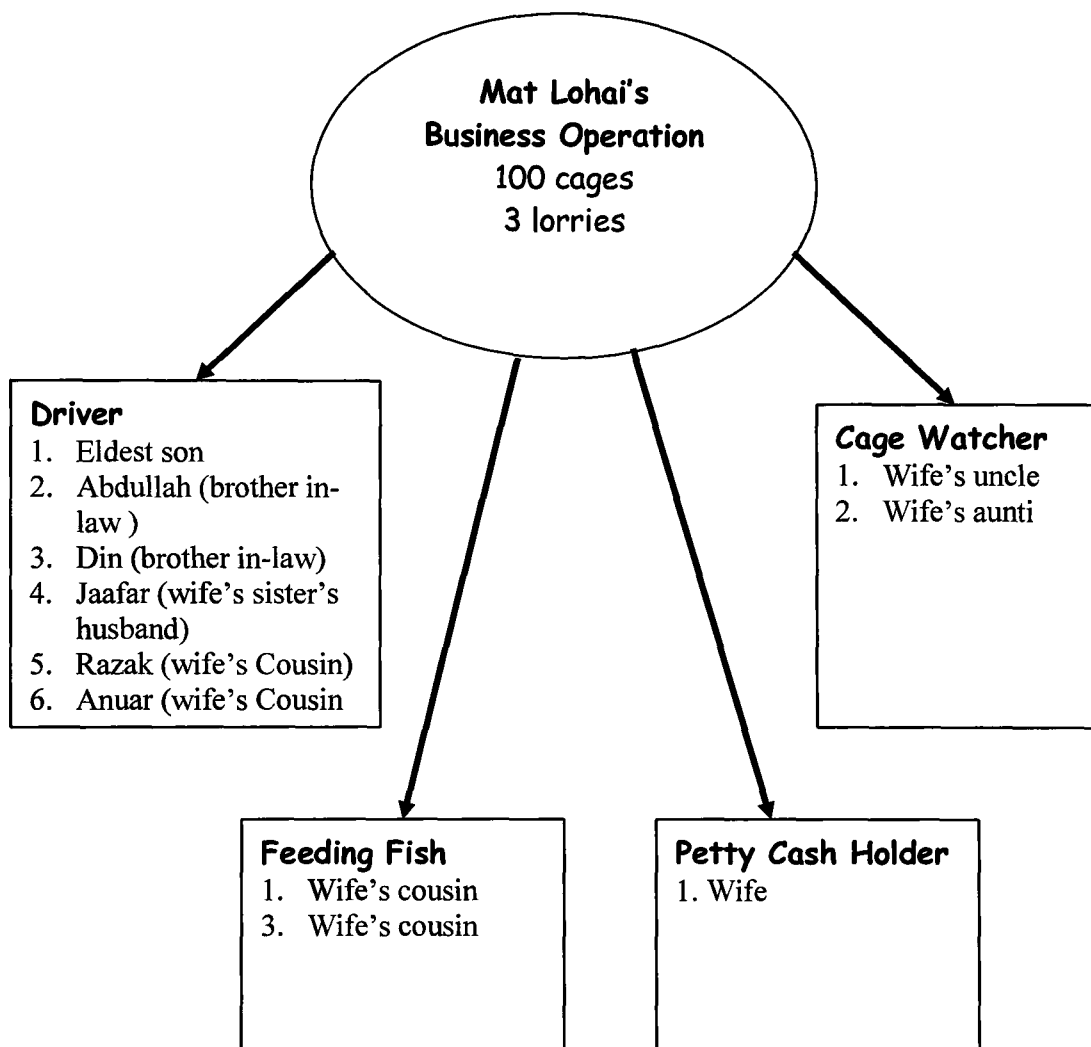
Digram 5.3: Mat Lohai's Business Operation

Mat Lohai also buys the *pekong,* a type of prawn, caught by villagers from the river nearby. Sometime the teenage boys do this job to get some pocket money. Usually the *pekong* are caught with a net and kept alive, because the price for live *pekong* is higher. *Pekong* are in high demand by the Chinese restaurants, not only in Pahang but also in Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh and Singapore. To meet the demand, Mat Lohai has constructed two big ponds underneath his house, complete with a motor system to ensure that the *pekong* stay alive. Because he has limited space and because it is too crowded to place the *pekong* in two ponds, he rents a house in Pekan Town for the same purpose. This method of keeping *pekong* alive is important to ensure he can supply the *pekong* throughout the year at a high price. The price of the *pekong* depends on the size; the bigger the size, the better the price. For instance, for *pekong* between four inches to six inches in sizes, the retail price is RM20.00 per kg. For bigger sizes, the price might increase to RM30.00 – RM40.00 per kg.

Although Mat Lohai is the owner of the business, his wife Noriah plays an important role, especially in arranging the purchase of fish from other fish farmers in Pulau Keladi. Noriah's father, who is a community leader and respected man within and outside Pulau Keladi, contributes to good networking and success for this couple's business. Noriah's role as business partner for her husband clearly emerges in decision making and in sharing liquid assets. Almost half of the liquid assets are in her name. On top of that, she is the person who deals with fish farmers within the village and handles and controls the petty cash involved in these transactions. Unlike her husband, she regularly meets Pulau Keladi inhabitants in the coffee shop and food stalls, or when hanging around with other village friends in the evenings.In contrast, Mat Lohai rarely joins other village mates in a coffee shop, or chatting in the evening or during prayer time in the *serau.*

This large-scale fish farmer has three lorries complete with a motor system that ensures the fish are alive when they reach the customers. He hires six drivers to deliver fresh fish from Pulau Keladi to the customers' restaurants. These drivers are Suhaimi, his oldest son; Abdullah, his brother in-law; Din, his brother in-law; Jaafar, his wife's sister's

husband; Razak, his wife's cousin; and Anuar, a Malay man who later became his cousin when he married his wife's cousin.

Usually these drivers work in pairs due to the length of the journey; each journey takes two to three days. Every lorry can carry from 200 kg to 1000 kg of *trey* or *pekong* depending on the season. Demand for *trey* and *pekong* increases during festive seasons such as Chinese New Year. Mat Lohai is the main supplier of *trey* and *pekong* to seven restaurants in Kuala Lumpur, Petaling Jaya, Ipoh and Singapore. One of the biggest customers is a Chinese restaurant named Weng Fatt Restaurant[2]. According to Noriah, some of the restaurant owners are Mat Yuen's relatives, and others are in his Chinese business network.

He pays RM800.00 to the drivers monthly; however the drivers can earn more if the restaurant owners ask them to deliver other goods to their branches on the way back to Pekan. Usually, for the trip from Ipoh to Kualau Lumpur, the restaurant owner pays RM150.00, which is divided between the two of them.

Mat Lohai also hires two guards to watch his cages from 7.00 pm until 7.00 am every day, and provides a boathouse for them. This couple are actually his wife's paternal uncle and his wife. They have worked with Mat Lohai for several years, and their son Ali also works as a fish feeder, together with his cousin. These two fish feeders are employed by Mat Lohai to help him feed 100 cages three times per week. He pays the fish watcher and fish feeder RM300.00 monthly.

The medium-scale fish farmers have fewer cages than the large-scale farmers, usually fewer than 50 cages. This category of farmer is often assisted by household members who help them in watching and feeding fish, and transporting the fish to customers. For instance, Ahmad and Khatijah are classified as medium-scale fish farmers. In running their business, this couple are helped by their married daughter and her husband, a Malay man. Usually, farmers in this category sell the fish themselves in the night

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[2] This restaurant has 27 branches in Kuala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya and two branches in Ipoh.

market, morning market, and farmers' market in Kuantan and Pekan district, and of course family members are the ones who are asked to help.

The third category is small-scale farmers, however members of this group usually carry out dual or triple income activities, due to the nature of fish farming which need a long time before harvest. This group of people own fewer than 5 cages, and usually they might sell their fish to the large-scale farmer. Like other categories of farmers, their family members help in feeding and watching the cages. However, no wage labour is involved in the process of raising the fish. In most cases, these farmers have other income-generating activities, such as growing vegetables, making home-made cakes (for the women), or catching fish or *pekong* from the Pahang river and selling them (for men). These economic activities become supplementary income. Even though the amount of money they get is considered nominal, it is enough for daily household consumption. However, when the harvest season for fish is coming they can earn large amounts of money, and usually the wife keeps the money for household purposes or for making new cages. For daily expenses they just use secondary income to buy the staple food, rice, as they produce vegetables and catch fish from the nearby river for household consumption. Beside selling live fish to the middleman, some of the small-scale fish farmers prepare a range of fish products: smoked fish, salted fish, and fermented fish, which they can sell at a higher price locally. Mainly, this activity is carried out by the wife.

5.3   Kin in Building Activity

In the early 1980s, a group of Cham men of Pulau Shell worked on construction sites as builders in Pekan town. That was their first job after leaving the refugee camp in Pahang. They began to develop their skills from scratch such as mixing cement, making concrete walls and pillars, making doors and window frames, laying bricks, fixing roofs, painting and other jobs related to construction activity. By doing construction work, these people obtained quite a good monthly income for their households. Later on, these men, Manan known as *Ngah Nan*, Shafie or *Ngah Ie*, and Idris or *Ngah Ris* formed a

group and worked as a team, and they began to do small-scale building jobs for local people. Shafie and Idris are siblings, and Manan is their third cousin.

After several years of working together, each building up their skills and gaining more experience, this group had managed to establish a good reputation locally and they decided to split up and work separately. Each of them has recruited new members and formed his own group. Currently, these groups of builders operate in several villages and new housing areas, where their work is required for refurbishing, or even building houses. As we can see in Diagram 5.4, there are four groups of builders in Pulau Keladi, and each group has its own leader.

The first group is led by Manan, known as *Ngah Nan* among the villagers. He is regarded as one of the most successful builders in Pulau Keladi. His group members consist of Ahmad (his son), Zainal (his son), Ghani (his nephew), Asmawi (his nephew), Adik (his nephew), Abang (his nephew), and Jaafar (his nephew). I was told by Manan that he was a skilled carpenter in Cambodia. When he left the refugee camp in the early 80s, he worked on a construction site, where he learned new skills. He started with small jobs: fixing or changing a roof, fixing tiles, painting, cementing the balcony, and building a garage, with a value between of RM 2 000.00 – RM4 000.00[3]. Gradually he expanded to bigger jobs for instance, building an extension area (kitchen and toilet), or sometimes making a new room or reception area. Later on he was given a big opportunity to build a house valued at up to RM 80 000.00.

Manan found that this job had a good potential, and was in high demand, so he decided to set up a new group when Shafie and Idris decided to work on their own. He recruited new members for the team, together with his two sons. The group members are paid according to their skill and experience. Those who have more skill and experiences might receive RM50.00 per day, and those who have less skill and experience might

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[3] In doing this activity, Manan does not need money to start his job because if anyone asks him to do it, usually the owner of the house might ask him to make an estimate and they buy the material, then he just completes the job. Therefore, he does not need any capital. In other cases, the house owner might ask him to buy the materials and give him the money, because he has good relations with the DIY shop in the Pekan area.
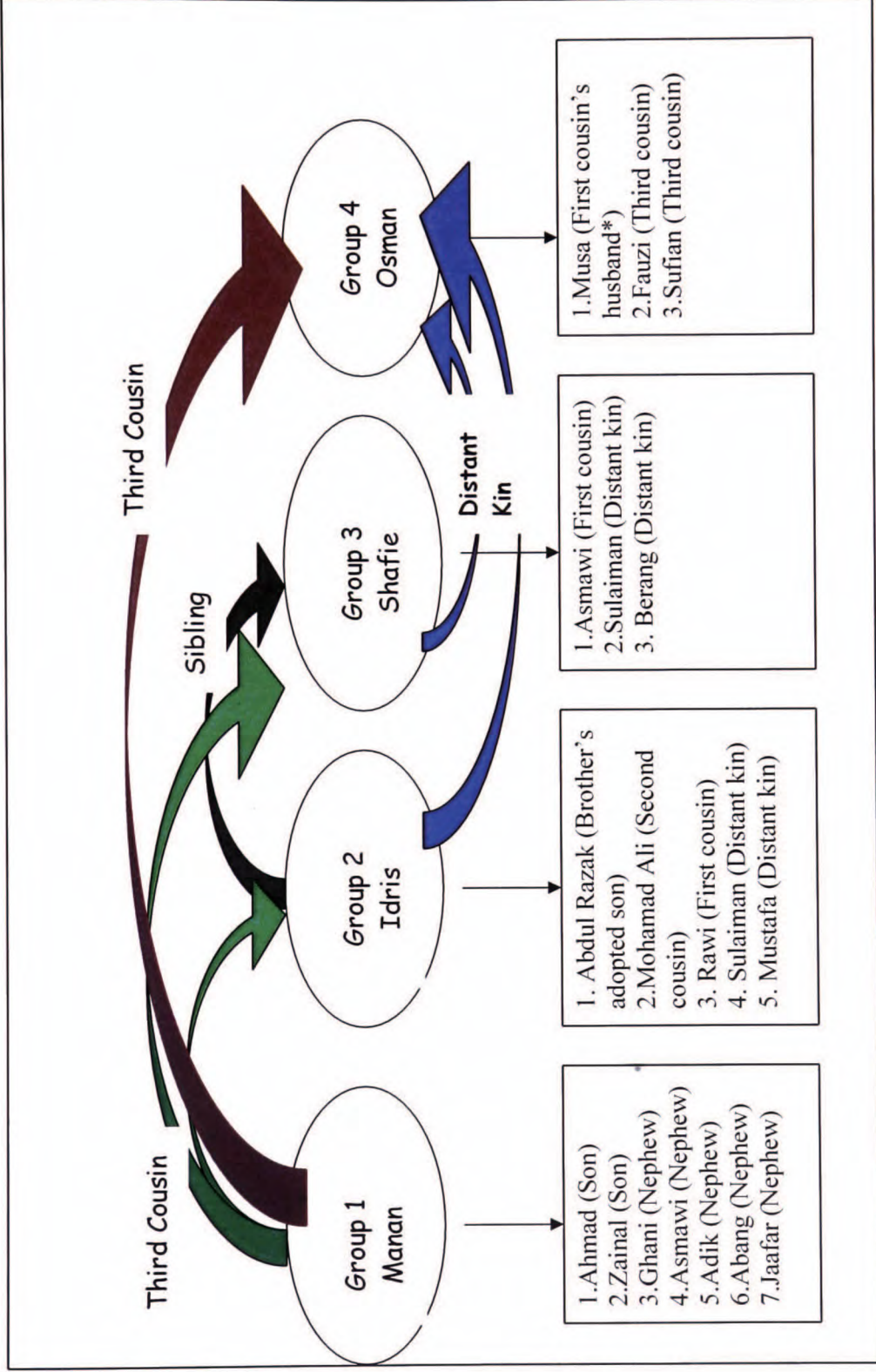
Diagram 5.4: Builder Groups in Pulau Keladi

receive between RM35.00 – RM45.00 per day. Just before I left Pulau Keladi he was working in several areas: Mentiga Jaya, Seri Maulana, and Kampung Jawa.

Group 2 is led by Idris. There are five members in the group, normally, Abdul Razak (his brother's adopted son), Mohamad Ali (second cousin), Rawi (first cousin), Sulaiman (a distant kin), and Mustafa (a distant kin). This group work in Malay villages: Tanjung Medang, Rumah Lima Ratus, Peramu Jaya 1, and Pulau Serai.

The third group consists of three members and is led by Shafie, called Ngah Ie. Shafie is the older brother of Idris and they live next door to each other. These two siblings worked in one team before they decided to form their own teams. His group members consist of three people: Asmawi (his first cousin), Sulaiman (his distant kin, and Berang (his distant kin). Alongside his construction work, Shafie raises fish in cages, and every Saturday he sells his fish in the morning market in Pekan town. He has fewer members compared to group 1 and group 2, due to his dual income activity.

Finally, group 4 is led by Osman, a young potential leader in Pulau Keladi. Previously Osman worked as a team member in group 1. However, he decided to opt out and form a new group with the aim of increasing his family's income. As a group member he could only earn RM1,200.00 per month. However, as a group leader he has to work harder and deal with the home owners, and has the opportunity to double his monthly income. Like Shafie, Osman has three members in his group: Musa is a Khmer who converted to Islam and married Osman's first cousin. They live next door to each other, and most of the time their wives help each other and cook and eat together. The other group members are young single men, Fauzi, and Sufian, both of whom are Osman's third cousins. Osman and his group operate in the Malay villages within the Temai area. Compared to the other groups, Osman's group is considered new and in the process of gaining more experience and skill.

The group leaders were asked how they proceed in doing the same job without any conflict or disagreement with each other. The leader of Group 1 said:

'I have nothing against Idris, Shafie, and Osman, I know them 'inside' and 'outside' because we are 'kin', and we have been working together for quite a long time. I understand that when our family members increase, and our parents become older, we need extra money....we could not just hope that a miracle might happen without doing anything. I believe in what has been told by Allah in the Quran, that everyone is asked to work hard to find a 'rezeki' (material blessing from God)'. I have no right to obstruct either Idris, Shafie or Osman from forming a new group of builders'.

(Manan leader of Group 1)

'Before I made the decision to opt out of Ngah Nan's (Manan's) group, I discussed it with my mother (Mai So), and she advised me to discuss it with Ngah Nan 'heart to heart' and tell him my intention to form a new builder group. Surprisingly, Ngah Nan just said 'I will support you, and if you have any problem just let me know'

(Osman, leader of Group 4)

In a similar vein, Idris and Shafie claimed that *Ngah Nan* is a generous man, just like their 'brother', and Allah has granted him a prosperous *'rezeki'* and he has never been a greedy person. Several times he has offered them projects, when he had an extra job to complete. They went on to say that they tried their best to avoid any conflict, to keep their 'kin' relationship harmonious. One of the ways they avoid conflict between them is to adopt a strategy whereby every group operates in a different area.

5.4   Kin in Farming Activity

Farming uses a particular pattern of household labour, which also occurs in food stalls and coffee shops. Table 5.3 presents the work pattern of Wak Rip, a successful farmer in Pulau Keladi who has the biggest garden plot on the Island 1 (as mentioned previously). Farming involves a continuous production process; preparing the land, sowing the seed, transplanting, planting, growing, weeding and harvesting. All of these processes need a proper arrangement to be completed within the planting cycle. Wak Rip needs to avoid any delay, particularly in planting chillies; they need to be transplanted in the middle of

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April and by August they are ready to harvest. If there is any delay, they might be affected by the rainy season and floods in December.

Table 5.3: Work Pattern in Wak Rip's Garden Plot

Owner	Ties	Kind of help/job	Type of payment
Wak Rip	Wife	-Preparing garden plot -planting -weeding -harvesting -selling	Keeps all the income[4]
	Son (17 years old)	-The same as above	Some pocket money
	Son in-law	-The same as above	Honorarium/goods
	Daughter (15 years old)	-The same as above	Some pocket money
	Seasonal labour (distant kin)	-Harvesting	Paid daily

Wak Rip depends on household labour to carry out the processes on time. His wife, Kak Mariam (my landlady), their 17 year old son, 15 year old daughter and son-in-law assist him in the process.

In this case it seems that Wak Rip is in the process of training his son to continue his job in the future. His son is doing a variety of jobs associated with the production process; however he is not paid monthly. In fact he is given pocket money by Wak Rip, though sometimes he just asks for money if he needs some for his own spending. Because Wak Rip's son's contribution to farming activities is consider important for the family, the amount of honorarium given to him is bigger compared to his daughter. According to Wak Rip's wife, his son is planning to continue this activity, and now he is undergoing

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[4] Her husband will ask or take away some money for buying daily or weekly stock.

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training by his father. He might not be paid monthly, however his mother said that if he wants to get married all expenses will paid by his parents.

Wak Rip's son in-law is also given an honorarium for his contribution on the garden plot. On top of that, his labour is reciprocated in 'goods'. All the vegetables for his son-in-law's household consumption are supplied by Wak Rip, and if Wak Rip catches a fish from the river, he sends some to him. However, during the harvesting season more labour is needed, especially for picking chillies, vegetables and corn. Wak Rip offers seasonal work to nieces and nephews who are looking for pocket money. They are paid on a daily basis, depending on how many kilo of vegetable are picked or plucked.

The small scale farmers in Pulau Keladi, 21 in number, plant on a small garden plot which is less than half hectare in size. This reflects that their farming activity contributes to household consumption, with a small surplus. Although small scale farmers need less labour, help from spouse and children is essential during the clearing and harvesting seasons. There may be a small surplus from this activity, as the amount produced is more than enough for household consumption. There are several methods of sale such as direct seling either underneath the house, on the roadside, at the Saturday morning market or else parents ask their children to sell within the village.

As an alternative, small scale farmers can sell directly to Khatijah a village 'middle woman', and this lady buys all farmers' surplus, even in small quantities, and re-sells to night market retailers. On the one hand, she helps small-scale farmers get some money, and on the other she gets the benefit of the trading by having business contacts.

5.5   Kin in Other Economic Activity

In the early years of the Cham settlement in Kelantan, they were exposed to various economic activities, including trading activity, when they were adopted by the Kelantanese families. As Rudie (1994) mentions, 'Kelantan is remarkable not only for trading activities of women, but also for the high proportion of Malays of both sexes in trade.....The vicinity to Thailand and the fact of Malay settlement on both sides of the

border is no doubt an important stimulant, and the intensity in border trade seems to have grown over the last two decades'. The demographic and geographical circumstances have offered a massive opportunity for the Cham to learn and associate with trading activities.

One of the most popular activities is called 'Cari makan sikit' and is similar to what Rudie (1994) called 'traditional trade'. This 'traditional trade' means traditional in very literal terms. 'It is shorthand for all trading activities in which trading methods and skills have been handed down in the local context without the intervention of formal administration and education, and in which the capital in circulation has been obtained through the traders' own efforts, without the aid of banks or other lending institutions. This 'traditional trade' follows three main patterns; pasar or market place trade, small shops in the village, and peddling among friends and neighbours' (Rudie, 1994: 200).

It appears that the Cham of Pulau Keladi have acclimatized to this trading, resembling the Kelantanese people. In analysing the role of kin in economic activities such as food stalls and coffee shops or 'small shops in the village', as mentioned by Rudie, several themes may be identified. The main ones are the types of ties with people who help in the process of running the 'Cari makan sikit', the type of help which is offered to the owner, and finally the type of payment involved in these transactions.

Engagement in 'traditional trade' appears to be an important characteristic of the Cham people all over Malaysia, including in Pulau Keladi. Among the Malays, the Cham or 'Orang Kemboja' are synonymous with 'Cari makan sikit', particularly in selling food, clothes, and other homemade products. Table 5.4 shows an example of this 'traditional trade' in Pulau Keladi. Kak Zaiton is the owner of a food stall. Although she has no formal education, she has a natural talent for running her own business. Previously, Kak Zaiton and her husband worked on an palm oil plantation after leaving the refugee camp. She told me that for several years they saved money from their salary to be used as a capital. As soon as the amount was considered enough to start trading, they left their

jobs, and joined other family members in Pulau Shell. She started her trading activity while she was living in Pulau Shell.

In running her food stall, Kak Zaiton needs to wake up as early as 5.00 am. She begins preparing the noodle soup, cake, and porridge. At 7.00 am she takes it down (her shop is underneath her house) with her son's help. By 7.30 am, the customers begin to arrive. At approximately 9.00 am, Kak Zaiton's married daughter, Yan, comes to help her; serving food, doing the washing, and sometimes acting as cashier. During school holidays, her daughter, Rosnah, also lends a hand in the shop. In addition, her son, who is studying at university, helps her when he returns home for the semester break. Kak Zaiton's husband, too, helps her in buying raw materials from the market.

In contrast to the large scale and medium scale fish farmers, this trading activity lies close to the nuclear family sphere. Therefore no salary is paid for their work (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4: Work Pattern in Kak Zaiton's Food Stall

Owner	Ties	Kind of help/job	Type of Payment
	Husband	- Buy raw material - Entertain customers	No
	Daughter 1 (married)	-Preparing food -Serving food -Washing -Cashier	Honorarium and sometimes raw materials to cook
Kak Zaiton	Daughter 2	-Helping her sister -Serving food -Washing dishes	Pocket money
	Son	-Making drinks -Washing dishes -Cleaning the tables	Pocket money

However some pocket money might be given to the son and unmarried daughter, and other kinds of reward are given to the married daughter, Yan. I was informed by Kak Zaiton that she had bought gold jewellery (the cost was RM800.00) for Yan as an honorarium for her assistance in the shop. At other times Yan is given raw materials such as vegetables, fish, chicken, and beef to take home.

The next example of 'traditional trade' is the shop run by late Abang Ramli[5] and his wife (see Table 5.5). This coffee shop is among the earliest establishments in Pulau Keladi, and is the most popular shop within the village. It opens seven days a week from 6.00 am in the morning and closes at 11.00 pm. Formerly, Abang Ramli peddled in Malay villages nearby, using a motorbike loaded with fish, vegetables, and other cooking ingredients. Several years later he and his wife decided to explore different type of 'traditional trade', and he opened a coffee shop, offering 'international cuisine' (*Nasi lemak, Nasi minyak*, fried noodle, *roti canai*, a variety of Malay and Cambodian cakes) to the Pulau Keladi residents. His wife had learned to cook Malay cuisine when they lived with their 'adoptive family' in Kelantan.

In contrast to Kak Zaiton's food stall, this coffee shop operates on a larger scale. In terms of the volume of capital it uses more money, because it is operated for longer hours and offers a wider choice to customers. Abang Ramli hires two permanent assistants and pays them daily. One was his married daughter and the other was his sister in-law. Similarly to Kak Zaiton, in running his shop Abang Ramli was helped by his family members; his wife prepared the ingredients for cooking, packed, served, and acted as cashier. He did not pay her on daily basis, but she was the one who kept and managed all the income of the day, like other women of Pulau Keladi. His unmarried son and daughter, too, helped him whenever they were around. Both of them were given pocket money but not on a daily basis, because it was considered that they were training and developing their interests and skills.

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[5] He died eight months after I left Pulau Keladi, and returned to England.

Table 5.5: Work Pattern in Abang Ramli's Coffee Shop/Grocery

Owner	Ties	Kind of help/job	Type of payment
Abang Ramli	Wife	-Preparing the ingredient for cooking -Cook -Packing -Serving -Cashier	Keep all the daily profit
	Daughter 1 (Married)	-Helping cooking -Serving food -Make a drink -Cashier	Paid on daily basis
	Daughter 2 (17 years old)	-Helping in grocery section	Pocket money
	Son 1 (19 years old)	-Take customer order -Make a 'Roti Canai' -Make a drink	Pocket money
	Sister in-Law	-Helping preparing ingredient for cooking -Serving food	Paid on daily basis

5.6   Summary : Kin and Economic Activity

Using the example of economic activities: fish farming, building, food stall, coffee shop, and farming in this chapter, the operation of kinship in economic activities has been examined. As I have illustrated in this chapter, basically, most of the households in Pulau Keladi are involved in double or some of them involved in triple income activities. However some households operate on a more ambitious commercial economic basis especially when it involves fish farming activity. It is apparent that in fish farming and farming activity, households operate at different levels; some are relatively small scale and others are larger scale and are more commercially-oriented. The similarity between them is that they rely on kin which include under circle number one, the nuclear family sphere, for labour. If necessary, if they need extra labour, they might go to circle number

two, which is outside the nuclear family; married son or daughter and their spouse are the people most often used. On the other hand, in the case of households that engage regularly in commercial activities and embrace a wider market, the labour requirement is spread over a bigger family circle; circles number two and three, which covers the extended family and may occasionally involve non kin (as in Mat Lohai's case). It seems that the intensity and breadth of activity relates to different circles of kin relationship. Smaller scales of business need less labour and close kin are preferred, and larger scales of business need more labour and a wider range of kin are covered.

This provides an interesting contrast with the Malay fisherman of Langkawi, where non-kin are strongly preferred in recruiting fishing crews (Carsten, 1997). However, in the cases of Mat Yuen and Mat Lohai, both fish farmers prefer kin to be recruited in their operations. They provide opportunities directly through work as drivers, cage watchers, and fish feeders. In this way he becomes a person who offers 'money' when kin are in a critical situation, and it helps Mat Lohai maintaining his good standing within the community.

It might be slightly different in Mat Yuen's case, he offered jobs to kin whom he believes to be in real need. A sense of responsibility to help kin is reflected in Mat Yuen's actions when he offered a job to his wife's cousin's son and to his wife's nephew. As I have shown in Mat Yuen's business operation, he prefers helping kin to non-kin. This attitude may perhaps relate to what he believes; his priority is his own family and next is his nearest kin.

The case of teams of builders provides an even closer comparison with the Malay fisherman and it is significant that they are composed entirely of kin. Similarly, help on stalls and in coffee shops consists overwhelmingly of kin.

Another interesting point is the type of payment made to those who work or help in economic activities. There are two main principles involved here: profit and reciprocation. In larger-scale economic activities, profit is the main interest and labour

may be paid for in the form of salary. This may differ according to the type of activity; in larger scale fish farming and building activity, monthly or daily wages are paid. However, in large scale farming activity the method of payment might on the basis of 'upah kerja' or 'wages work', that is payment is made on the basis of the amount of work (usually for seasonal work). For instance, in Wak Rip's case, the payment to his son in-law and other kin who pick his chillies is based on the weight of the chillies collected. For every kilo of chillies picked he pays them RM2.00.

There are cases where payment is made in money, but in the form of 'pocket money'. The amount of money given to children depends on profit the families obtain. They might receive more pocket money if their parents get more profit and get less if their parents get less profit. Another method of payment is on the basis of an 'honorarium', where money may not be paid on a regular basis; in fact it might be paid according to time and occasion. This method of payment is applicable to married daughters or sons-in-law who help their parents or parents-in-law. In the short term they may be paid in the form of goods to reciprocate their help, but at other times they may be given some money when they really need it.

In order to avoid trouble, the Cham of Pulau Keladi seem to agree that they should try to minimize any competition between them. This is reflected in coffee shop and food stall activities. Everyone tries to avoid offering the same kind of food, or they choose to operate at different times (see Chapter Three). Therefore, Pulau Keladi inhabitants have more choices for having their breakfast, tea or even late supper. The same applies in building activity; each group operates in a different area to avoid conflict and live in harmony. In this way, the ties of kinship are protected from the pressures of market competition.

Taking together the various examples of kin involvement in economic activities, it seems that involvement of non-kin in 'traditional trade' or even in 'commercial trade' in unusual. In Mat Lohai's case, the non-kin driver, Anuar became 'kin' when he married Mat Lohai's wife's cousin. For the Cham kinship is an important consideration in

carrying on economic activity. Close kin come first, followed by more distant kin, and non-kin may come next. This principle is widely upheld, with the sense that 'kin can be trusted', compared to non-kin, and offering kin a job is highly valued within this community. In day to day life and in critical times helping relatives is considered the norm. Furthermore, the role played by the older generations in keeping the relationships among Pulau Keladi inhabitants harmonious and stable is essential.

Another interesting point to highlight is that in almost all economic activities except building women are involved either directly or indirectly and thus make an important contribution to household income. Although women may claim that they are 'not working', just acting to 'find some food', in practice women do a lot, and their role in economic life is significant. In larger scale economic activities such as fish farming, both Noriah and Khatijah reveal how women took business decisions, controlled money, and dealt with suppliers. Other women contributed to the household income in various ways. As well as direct contributions, women play an important financial role within the household, because they are the ones who are actually the 'money controllers'.

Chapter Six
Kinship and Marriage

6.0   Introduction

The pattern of help and support among kin can be of the utmost importance and is often a basic source of welfare and assistance, as mentioned by Leichter and Mitchell (1967), Finch (1989, 1993) and Shaw (2000). Within the family, relatives provide major support over the entire life course, in coping with the insecurities, transitional stages in the life course, or in critical life situations such as sickness and death (Hareven, 2000). Marriage is an important life-course transition and this chapter analyses the role of kin in marriage arrangements among the Cham.

This chapter attempts to analyse the fieldwork data on the events leading up to the marriage ceremony within the context of kinship. The central questions in this chapter are 'what does marriage do and accomplish?', 'who does what for whom?' and finally, 'what is significance of the marriage ceremonies for kinship ties?'. To answer this question, attention has been given to the ways in which kinship relations are expressed through the assistance offered by kinsmen during the process of completing the events leading up to marriage ceremony. In completing the marriage ceremony for the Cham, there are three main events: *Chol tendeng* (engagement day), *Ngai see chaohrong* (day of working and eating), *and Ngai ka thom* (big day or marriage day). Moreover, this series of ceremonies illustrates the community and family strategies involved in maintaining the determination of *Chamness*.

6.1   *Chol Tendeng*

Chol tendeng is the first formal event for the Cham families who propose a marriage for their children. This event reflects the notion of marriage for the Cham, and this community regarded and still regard marriage as an alliance between two families, rather than two people. Any events leading up to marriage ceremonies are perceived as an important occasion for kin who live within and outside the village.

In arranging marriage, the main concern of this people is focusing on the good reputation of a family, because of the importance of the wider kinship links. This community believes that 'love' and intimacy can be developed after marriage. In organizing the marriage ceremony, wider kin groups are involved, and kin of both families, within and outside the village, are involved.

There is a series of ceremonies leading up to the actual wedding itself, beginning with *Chol tendeng* or the engagement day, followed by *Ngai see chohrong* (preparation), *akad nikah* or the marriage contract, and *Ngai ka thom* (the wedding day). Usually this process could take from three months to one year, depending on how long a *Chol tendeng* or engagement is agreed by both sets of parents. I shall examine two component elements of the marriage ceremonies: first the type of help of kin, and secondly, which relatives offer each other help and support.

The extended family on both sides of the husband and wife-to-be plays essential roles in the series of ceremonies, and their contribution in material and non-material form illustrates the question of 'who does what for whom?'. Close family is heavily involved from the early stages of marriage plans for Cham couples. In most cases both parents, grandparents or other kin seek the best candidate for their son or daughter, and particular criteria are applied in choosing the future son or daughter in law. Religious practice is the main criterion, followed by industriousness, chastity, and responsibility for men. For women, the criteria include the ability to perform household chores, and these criteria demonstrate the idea of a coalition between two families, where the couple's criteria could fit into both families. This is how the Cham formulate and engender kinship relations and networks beyond the nuclear family.

All the events leading toward the marriage ceremonies involve large kin groups encompassing especially those who live within the village. This statement does not minimize the importance of kin who live outside Pulau Keladi. All kin are obligated to attend the series of marriage ceremonies. However the contribution of non-villagers might be slightly different, especially as regards their labour contribution. Kin who live

within the village are expected to help with various tasks and at the same time to contribute money or goods, whereas kin who live outside the village are expected to attend the ceremonies and contribute money.

I had an opportunity to attended two *Chol tendeng* and *Ngai ka thom* ceremonies in Pulau Keladi, and the description which follows is recorded through a description of one particular *Chol tendeng* ceremony which took place in March 2006. As appears in Figure 6.1, this *Chol tendeng* engagement was between Hasnah, the bride and Jaafar the groom. The arrangements for Hasnah and Jaafar's engagement illustrate the strategy of 'pulling distant kin come closer'. This marriage reflected the ideal for this community since it was between cousins. Besides this, the contributions and participations of a wide range of distant kin in the series of ceremonies give us an idea of the significance of kin for this community.

Hasnah, aged 26, is employed as a production operator in Johore Bharu, and she is a daughter of Ahmad and Habsah, who have been involved in petty trading since they left the refugee camp. Hasnah's mother, Habsah, is the daughter of Mai So, and her late husband Abdul Kassim. Previously, Habsah and her husband Ahmad had decided to settle down and join other family members in Pulau Keladi. Several months before I carried out my research in Pulau Keladi, this couple began to build their house, and it was not complete when I was there. However, Hasnah's mother decided to move in with unmarried children without her husband Ahmad. Ahmad decided to carry on with his job in the night market around Pasir Gudang, approximately 300 km from Pulau Keladi, in order to complete the house. He returned to Pulau Keladi once a month to visit his wife and the children. However, Ahmad plans to come back and stay with his wife, when he has enough money to complete the house.

Jaafar, aged 28, is the older son of Kak Rokiah (known as Wan Kee) and Wak Yunus. His father is a fish farmer, and Jaafar himself works as a builder with Manan (see Chapter 5), and other group members. As mentioned earlier, this is an example of an arranged marriage between second cousins. As we can see in Figure 6.1, Jaafar is the

grandson of Mai Zaharah and her late husband Abdul Majid. The engagement was arranged by Hasnah's grandmother, Mai So, and Jaafar's grandmother, Mai Zaharah. Mai Zaharah and Mai So also have an overlapping relationship as sister-in-laws and co-parents.

Figure 6.1: Relationship between Hasnah and Jaafar
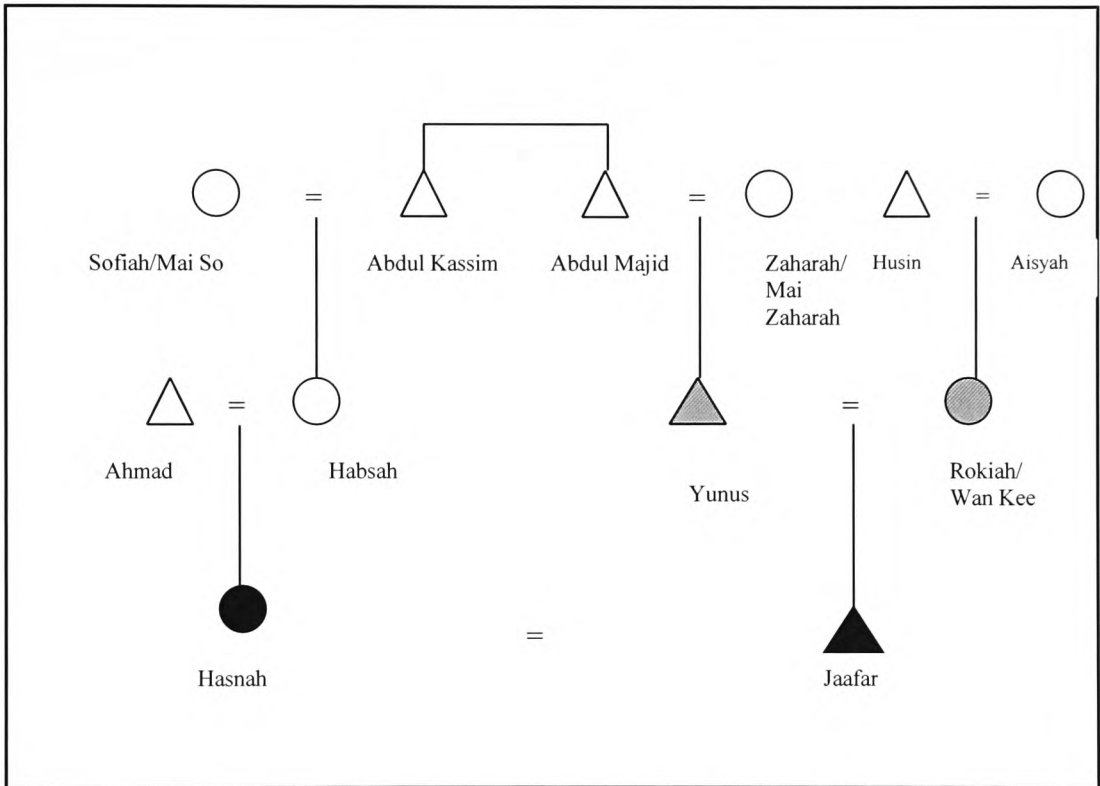
As we can see in Figure 6.2, both parties were linked by relationship 1, as *bong pheon* or in-laws[1] when they married their husbands (Abdul Majid and Abdul Kasim - siblings). They developed relationship 2, *telong*, when they arranged a marriage of Aoung Tuan (Mai So's son) and Teh Yan (Mai Zaharah's daughter). Hence, this *Chol tendeng* arrangement between Hasnah and Jaafar, turns a second cousin relationship into that of 'husband and wife' and may perhaps develop relationship 3, 'Grandparents in-law'.

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[1] The Cham refer to this relationship as *bong-pheon,* the same as siblings, and this is slightly different from the Malays who refer to this relationship as *Biras.*

Figure 6.2: Overlapping Relationship of Mai So and Mai Zaharah
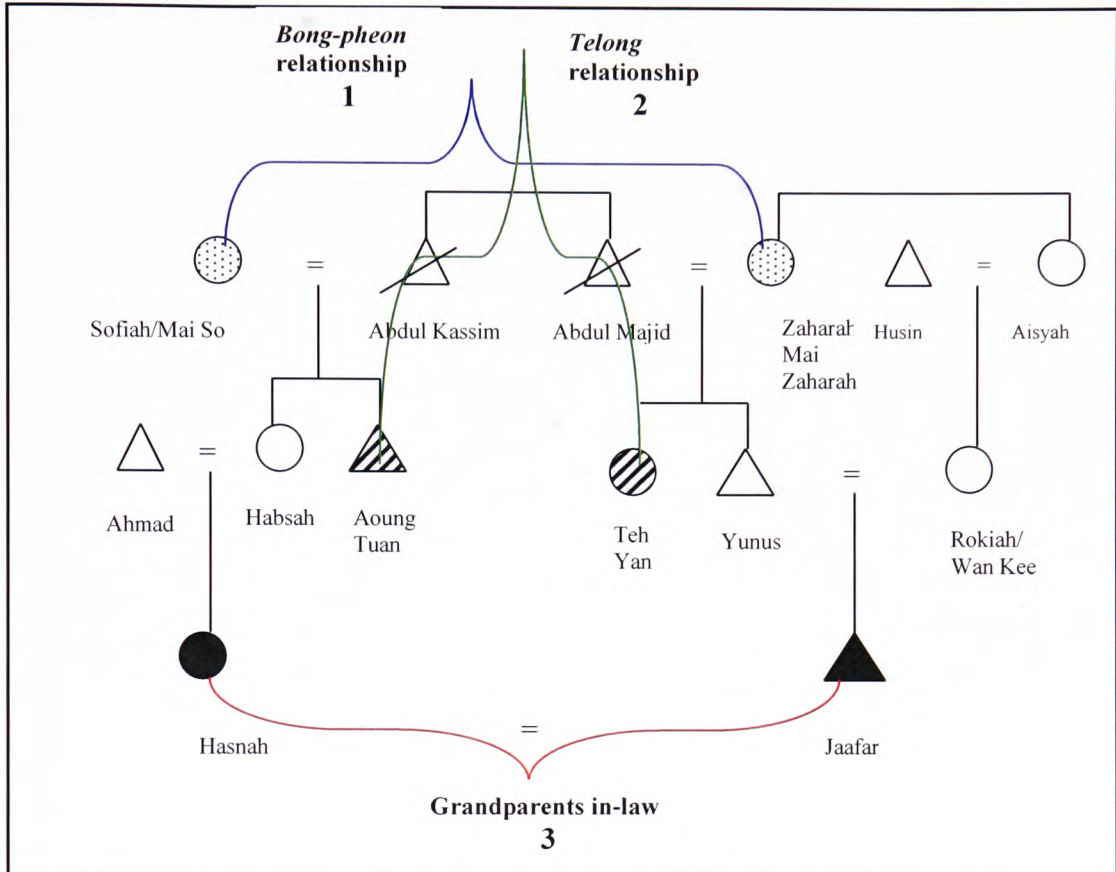
On the *chol tendeng* day, in the house of Wan Kee and Wak Yunus, everybody was busy, particularly Jaafar's younger sisters (Jaafar has two sisters out of eleven siblings in his family), in preparing and decorating the '*hantaran*', a kind of gift for this ceremony or 'marriage presentation' as mentioned by Carsten (1997). The gifts are usually given in odd numbers, and in this case Jaafar's family decided to present seven items as a gift, which were; a prayer costume, betel leaf and areca nuts, an engagement ring, a make-up set, fruits, towels and cloth (for making *Baju Kurung*, the Malay national costume). Leha is Jaafar's younger sister, who got married six years ago. She organized the preparation of all the gifts with her younger sister Liza's help (see Diagram 6.1).

It is well known that almost all the villagers are related by kinship ties; therefore all the villagers were invited to this ceremony. Everybody could freely make his or her own

decision to join either Jaafar's family group or Hasnah's family group for this ceremony. Those who decided to join Hasnah's family waited in Hasnah's house, and for those who decided to join Jaafar's side were ready in Jaafar's family house.

Diagram 6.1: Kin Involved in Jaafar's *Chol tendeng*

Jaafar Engagement Ceremony	
1. Mother 2. Father 1. Grand mother	2. Leha (Married sibling) 3. Liza (Un-Married Sister)
*Making proposal and decision on engagement matter.	* Give and advice on type of gift and buy some of them and decorate it.
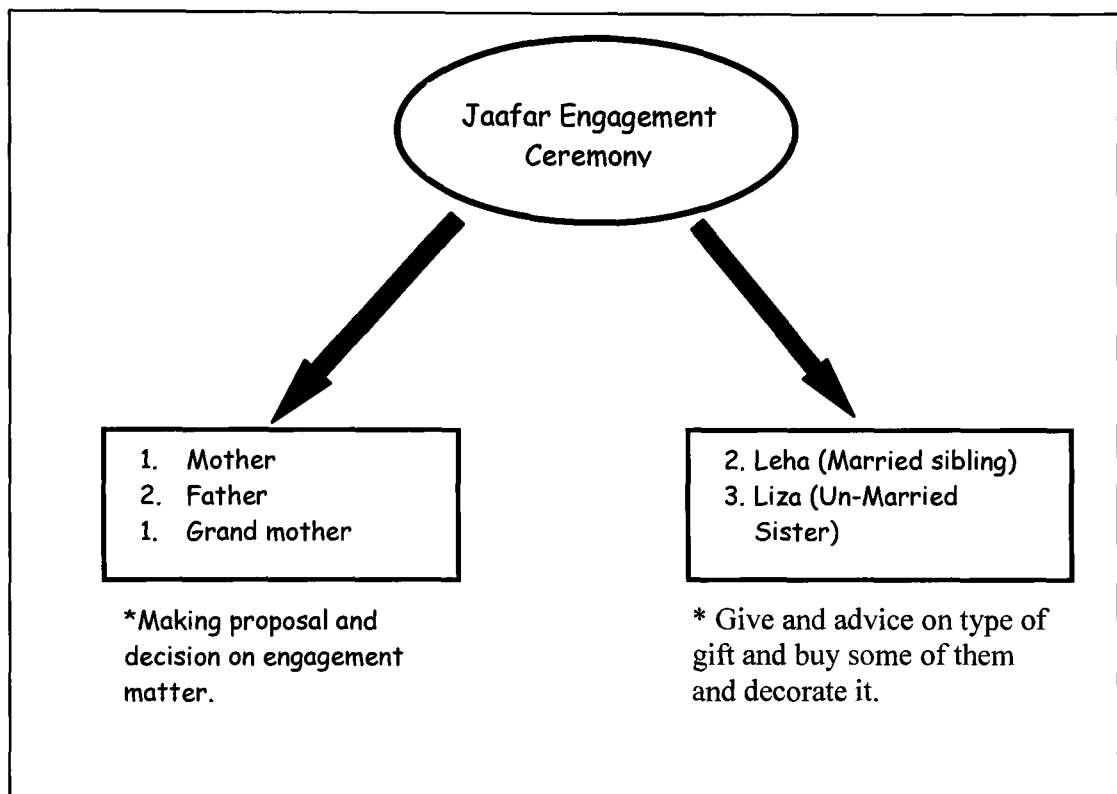
However, close kin, usually men, might be asked personally by Jaafar's parents to accompany them and become leaders of the group. By 11.00 am everybody was ready and fully dressed, this group included a group of girls who were responsible for carrying the gifts, and the rest were close relatives including mother, father, siblings, cousins, mother's sister, mother's brother, father's sister, and father's brother.

Since this occasion took place within the village, and the distance between Jaafar's and Hasnah's house was about 300 metres, they decided to walk. This group, representing the 'male side', led by Jaafar's father's sister's husband, 'Wak Rashid', known as the *Aoung Tuan*, followed by other members walking three by three, departed to Hasnah's

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house. The girls and women carrying gifts were in front, followed by other family members and relatives. However, Jaafar did not join the group, because it is considered inappropriate for the prospective groom to accompany the group for this ceremony.

On the other side, preparations in Hasnah's house had begun a month before the actual ceremony. When Hasnah and her parents moved into the house, it was not fully complete. The window was not finished, so they used plywood to cover the window at night, and the stairway was not yet tiled. Upon the proposal of the engagement by Hasnah's and Jaafar's grandmother, Hasnah's parents and her brother rushed to complete all the unfinished parts of the house for this ceremony. This job was finished just a few days before the ceremony began.

One day before this ceremony, Hasnah's brother, sister in-law, and niece came back from Johore. Her brother made a few essential repairs to the bathroom, while her sister-in-law tidied the kitchen and part of the house. On top of that, she helped Hasnah to prepare her room for '*upacara menyarung cincin*' which literally means 'put on ring ceremony'. Hasnah had chosen a pink colour for her bedding and curtains and her sister in-law helped her decorate the room.

On the day of the *Chol tendeng* ceremony, from early in the morning, close kin and distant kin seemed to be very busy helping each other to prepare for the ceremony (see Diagram 6.2). A group of women were working underneath Minah's house (Minah is Hasnah's mother brother's wife), including Kak Zaitun, Minah, Kak Midah, Cik Long, Wan Kee, Leha, Aisyah, and Kak Mariam. Among the people lending a hand in preparing food were Hasnah's future mother-in-law and sister-in-law[2]. They peeled onions and garlic, washed and chopped vegetables, and pounded chilies and anchovies. This group was led by Kak Zaitun the assistant chef in Pulau Keladi[3], preparing fried

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[2] This future mother and sister-in-law spent about two hours, and later returned to their homes. They spent some time helping other people because they had completed all the chores in Wan Kee's house.

[3] They are Chef and assistant Chef in Pulau Keladi. Both of them are responsible for handling cooking activities within the village. Usually Mai Su, the communal Chef of Pulau Keladi, handles cooking activities for big events such as a marriage feast. Kak Zaiton is in charge of cooking for small events such as engagement feasts, and other feasts.

noodles as the main dish for the day's ceremony. Besides that, Hasnah's mother made her own Cambodian cake and special jelly for the same purpose. Hasnah's mother worked closely with her mother Mai So, any decision made by Hasnah's mother was referred to Mai So for consultation. One reason for this is because Hasnah's father worked outside of the village and came back once a month. Therefore, Hasnah's grandmother is an important figure, especially in dealing with food preparation, and Hasnah's older uncle is referred to for other decisions[4].

Digram 6.2: Kin Involved in Hasnah's *Chol tendeng*

Hasnah's Engagement Ceremony

Within the house
4. Mother
5. Father
6. Grandmother
7. Siblings
8. Married siblings
9. In-laws

Outside the house
1. Minah (Mother's brother's wife)
2. Kak Zaitun (distant kin)
3. Midah (Mother's cousin)
4. Cik Long (Cousin)
5. Wan Kee (Future mother-in-law)
6. Leha (Future sister-in-law)
7. Aisyah (Distant kin-third cousin)
8. Kak Yam (Distan kin-third cousin)

* Make decision on the date, type of food to be offered. Give advice and help to decorate Hasnah's room.

* Helping in food preparation for all guests

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[4] Hasnah's older brother live outside Pulau Keladi, therefore her older uncle of mother side is referred to in dealing with other decisions.

Upon arrival in Hasnah's house, the group representing Jaafar's parents was invited to enter by her grandmother and her parents. Waiting in the hall, Hasnah's immediate family, distant relatives, and neighbours were sitting next to each other. The girls and women placed the gifts right in the centre of the hall, and everybody sat on the floor mat. Next to the hall was Hasnah's room, where she is ready, fully dressed-up, and accompanied by unmarried female cousins and close friends.

Plate 12 : Hasnah on Engagement Day

When everybody had settled down, *Aoung Tuan* as speaker' of the groom's family started to introduce himself, address Hasnah's family members, and state the purpose of their visit, even though everybody knew him and the purpose of their visit. On the opposite side, an old woman, Mai Su representing Hasnah's family, was ready to answer any question asked by *Aoug Tuan* on behalf of Jaafar's parents. Usually, the main issue discussed at this time is whether the girl and her parents agree with the proposal. If the answer is yes, they will continue with how long the engagement period will be, and how much is the brideprice asked for. At this point, the male speaker could ask for a

reduction in the brideprice if he thinks it is too high. Jaafar's parents agreed to pay RM5000.00 for Hasnah's brideprice, and he promised the money would be sent two weeks before the wedding ceremony. On this occasion, both parents came to an agreement about the brideprice and the date of the wedding ceremony. However, if anything happens and both families think that they might change the date of the wedding day, they can do so, provided that both parties agree.

Once everything was agreed, Jaafar's mother was ushered by Mai Su to go into Hasnah's room and complete the '*upacara menyarung cincin*'. Jaafar's mother put the engagement ring on Hasnah's finger and Hasnah '*mencium tangan*' as a symbol of respect to her future mother-in-law (see picture). Later, a female relative led her to be introduced to all the guests as she went from one relative to another.

Plate 13 : *Menyarung Cincin* Ceremony

Immediately after Hasnah was introduced to the guests, another female relative asked several young girls who accompanied Hasnah in the room to bring out all the gifts for

the exchange ceremony. They set out nine gifts from Hasnah, which consisted of betel leaves and areca nuts, a pair of 'Baju Melayu' or Malay costume used for special ceremonies, a man's shirt, perfume set, a belt, fruit, pudding, jelly and cake. All the gifts were placed next to the gifts from the male side to be seen by relatives on both sides. This was followed by 'doa', where Aoug Tuan, who was also a religious teacher, read part of the Quran and in Arabic asked for Allah to bless Hasnah and Jaafar, both families and everybody who attended the ceremony.

Plate 14: Engagement Gifts For Hasnah

Plate 15 : Exchange Gifts

Immediately after '*doa',* food was served to all the guests. Usually male and female guests sit and eat separately. This is the time when guests start to find and talk to their relatives, particularly those who come from other villages or other places, which are quite distant and who rarely meet each other. Usually kin who work or live outside the village take this opportunity to see their relatives, and they enjoy the time and begin to exchange stories and news.

6.2 *Ngai See Chaohrong*

Ngai see chaohrong literally means 'day of working and eating' and is also known as *Chaohrong.* This is the day when kin and non-kin lend a hand to the household who is going to host the *Ngai ka thom* or 'the big day'. To some extent, mutual aid may be the right phrase to express the *chaohrong* concept. However, this mutual aid is specifically for *Ngai ka thom,* and not for any other occasion. The *chaohrong* concept is one of the important elements in strengthening kin ties for the Cham. This occasion is perceived as important for everybody, especially for the kin and neighbors within the village.

In practice, *Chaohrong* may take one day or it could be more, depending on the extent of the feast and numbers of guests invited. The larger the feast offered and the more guests are invited, the longer the *Chaohrong* takes. Principally, Chaohrong is the day when kin and neighbours 'sharing their labour' do cooperative work in preparing cakes and ingredients for *Ngai ka thom* day and in return are given food. This is why the day is called *Ngai see chaohrong* or 'day of working and eating'. This concept of exchange has been practised in many societies and, as Finch (1989) has pointed out, 'mutual aid concepts are overlapping with reciprocity and exchange'.

Prior to *chaohrong* taking place, various preparations begin, at least two or three months earlier, and the work is divided into three phases. The first phase involves the nuclear family and in some cases may involve married siblings. Basically, the bride and her female siblings together with their mother, take charge of decorating the house, particularly the *'bilik pengantin'* or bridal chamber. New bedding is provided for the bridal chamber, as well as curtains for the bride's room and the whole house, the costume for the enthronement (see Carsten, 1997, Rudie, 1994) or *bersanding*, the *bunga telur* (decorated eggs) as gifts for all the guests, and invitation cards, and arrangements are made with the *'mak andam'*, the person who specialises in dealing with the enthronement. The father and mother deal with matters pertaining to the feast such as how many guests are to be invited, how many cows are required for slaughter, how many kilos of chicken, rice, oil, and other food, hiring tents, and when to start inviting all the guests. Preparation for the wedding ceremony involves considerable effort, and may involve the extended family on both sides as well as the nuclear family, especially in dealing with the feast.

The second phase of wedding preparations involves the extended kin who live within Pulau Keladi and fellow-villagers. For instance, two weeks prior to the *Ngai ka thom* day the headman will call a meeting in the *Serau*. This meeting is attended by the head of every household, and they are assigned to help the family who are organizing the wedding ceremony. Because some people have ability in a certain job and may have been doing it for quite a long time, they are usually given responsibility for the task in

question. For instance, Wak Rip, Abang Yaakob, and Abang Yunus (Household 3 in Diagram 6.2) were given the task of cooking rice because of their skill in cooking rice in large quantities. *Aoung Tuan*, the religious teacher, was appointed to slaughter the animal, usually a cow or buffalo. Mai Su, the chief chef in Pulau Keladi, and Kak Zaitun, the assistant chef, were assigned appropriate duties.

Abang Safi, Kak Zaiton's husband, was given responsibility for dealing with raw ingredients such as chicken, beef and vegetables which were needed for *Ngai see chohrong* day and *Ngai ka thom*. This duty was given to him because of his network with people in market where he always deals and can get a cheaper price. As mentioned above, Minah (*Aoung Tuan* sister-in-law), was given responsibility for baking or frying cakes or *nhom* for the *chohrong*. All the baking and frying activity was done underneath Minah's and Osman's (*Aoung Tuan's* brother) house.

The third phase of preparation comes with the *chaohrong* day itself. Usually, at this stage the husband and wife work closely with the people appointed to the tasks earlier. They can freely ask for any advice or help from both side's siblings and their spouses.

The description that follows is of the marriage between Ana, a 21 year old bride, and Ali, a 26 year old bridegroom who lives outside Pulau Keladi. Ali's family is well established in trading activity particularly clothing, in Terengganu. This was an arranged marriage between distant kin who live in separate villages. How family strategy is used implicitly and explicitly is disclosed in the decision making of the best candidate for Ali. As mentioned earlier, among the criteria looked for in a potential spouse when arranging a marriage is the consanguineal relationship, followed by religious and family reputation. This can be considered as a long term strategy in consolidating the kinship networks of the Cham. In Ali's and Ana's case, it appears that, beside the consanguineal relationship, the good reputation of Ana's father as a religious teacher was also an important criterion in the eyes of Ali's family. As a religious teacher *Aoung Tuan,* Ana's father, teaches all the children to recite the Quran, and also holds religious classes for

children and adults, leads prayer, and leads *doa selamat*[5] in various functions such as engagement, marriage, circumcision, *aqikah*, and any other activities related to religion.

Initially, when Ali's family were searching around for the best future wife for their son, they asked one of their cousins, Kak Ani, from Pulau Keladi for advice. Kak Ani's husband Abang Yaakob, is *Aoung Tuan's* first cousin. Kak Ani and Abang Yaakob suggested Ana. Ali's parents agreed when they were told that Ana is a religious teacher's daughter and that her mother was Teh Yan. Teh Yan is the daughter of Mai Zaharah and her husband Abdul Majid, a respected community leader. Although they are not rich, they are among the most respected members of the community.

Ali's mother is a Cham woman who married a husband of mixed Pakistani and Cham origin. According to Mai So, Aoung Tuan's mother, Ali's parents are distant kin on her family's side. Ali's parents have been involved in trading activities since they resettled in Malaysia in the late 70's. They have establishing a good business network with the Cham traders in East Coast of Peninsulas Malaysia. Indeed Ali himself was trained by his father to engage in trading activity since he was in his teens. Currently, he operates his own business, where he supplies all kinds of clothes and head scarves to Cham traders in several states in Malaysia. In the course of his business, he has travelled all over Peninsular Malaysia.

Two weeks prior to *Ngai ka thom* or big day, *Aoung Tuan* started to receive contributions not only from the villagers but also from other kin and non-kin in the Pekan area. Ali's family also contributed a cow for the *Ngai ka thom* ceremony. Besides that, a variety of raw ingredients; rice, sugar, salt, cooking oil, onions, garlic, ginger, spices, salted fish, eggs, coconut, etc., were handed into *Aoung Tuan's* house. The importance of siblings for the Cham (as discussed in Chapter Four) is manifested in life course events, and ceremonies including *Ngai ka thom*. As shown in Diagram 6.3, the married siblings of *Aoung Tuan's* wife contributed goods and money. Such contributions

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[5] Mainly *doa selamat* is a religious ritual performed by *Aoug Tuan* when people offer a feast as a symbol of thanks to Allah.

depend on both economic status and the closeness of kin relationship. Well-off siblings may contribute more in terms of money or goods compared to those who are less fortunate. However in terms of labour support, there is no differentiation between them.

The *Ngai see chaohrong* in *Aoung Tuan's* house lasted for several days, due to the size of the feast, for which two cows were to be slaughtered, and more than 1000 guests were invited. In fact the process of completing the *Ngai ka thom* began at least one month before. Ana's and Ali's wedding was planned for the 7ᵗʰ June 2006. The first day of the *Chaohrong* was on the last day of May, and it involved a group of men and women. From 7.30 o'clock in the morning, 12 – 15 women arrived at Minah's house (*Aoung Tuan's* sister-in-law). They were given 150 eggs, 5 kg of sugar and 5 kg of plain flour, and assigned to make '*nhom brang*', or literally, 'white cake'.

Minah (Ana's aunt on her father's side) started to wash and dry the eggs, Kak Zaitun cracked 30 eggs and put them in a big bowl, beat them for 35 – 45 minutes until they were white and added sugar. She continued to beat until the sugar dissolved. This process was repeated until all 150 eggs were finished. At the same, time Wan Kee (Ana's aunt on her mother's side), and her daughter Leha (Ana's cousin) prepared five charcoal clay stoves to bake the '*nhom brang*'. Kak Midah (Ana's aunt on her mother's side) helped beat the eggs. Kak Wahidah (Ana's aunt on her father's side) and several other women and girls (see Diagram 6.3) looked after the charcoal clay stove; they preheated the copper mold, put a scoop of mixture in every single hole in the mold, and baked it for 10 – 15 minutes (see picture).

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Plate 16: Making *Kuih Sepit*

Plate 17 : Making *Nhom Brang*

Figure 6.3: People Contributing Money and Goods for Aoung Tuan and Teh Yan

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HH-8
1. RM100.00
2. 5 kg garlic

HH-7
1. RM100.00
2. 20 kg rice

HH-6
1. RM50.00
2. 5 bag of oil

HH-1
1. 600 eggs
2. RM100.00

Contributions of
goods and money to
Teh Yan + Aoung
Tuan

HH-5
1. RM50.00
2. 10 bag of oil

HH-2
1. 800 kg rice
2. RM400.00
3. 10 kg onion

HH-3
1. RM100.00
2. 10 kg sugar

HH-4
1. 10 kg sugar
2. RM50.00
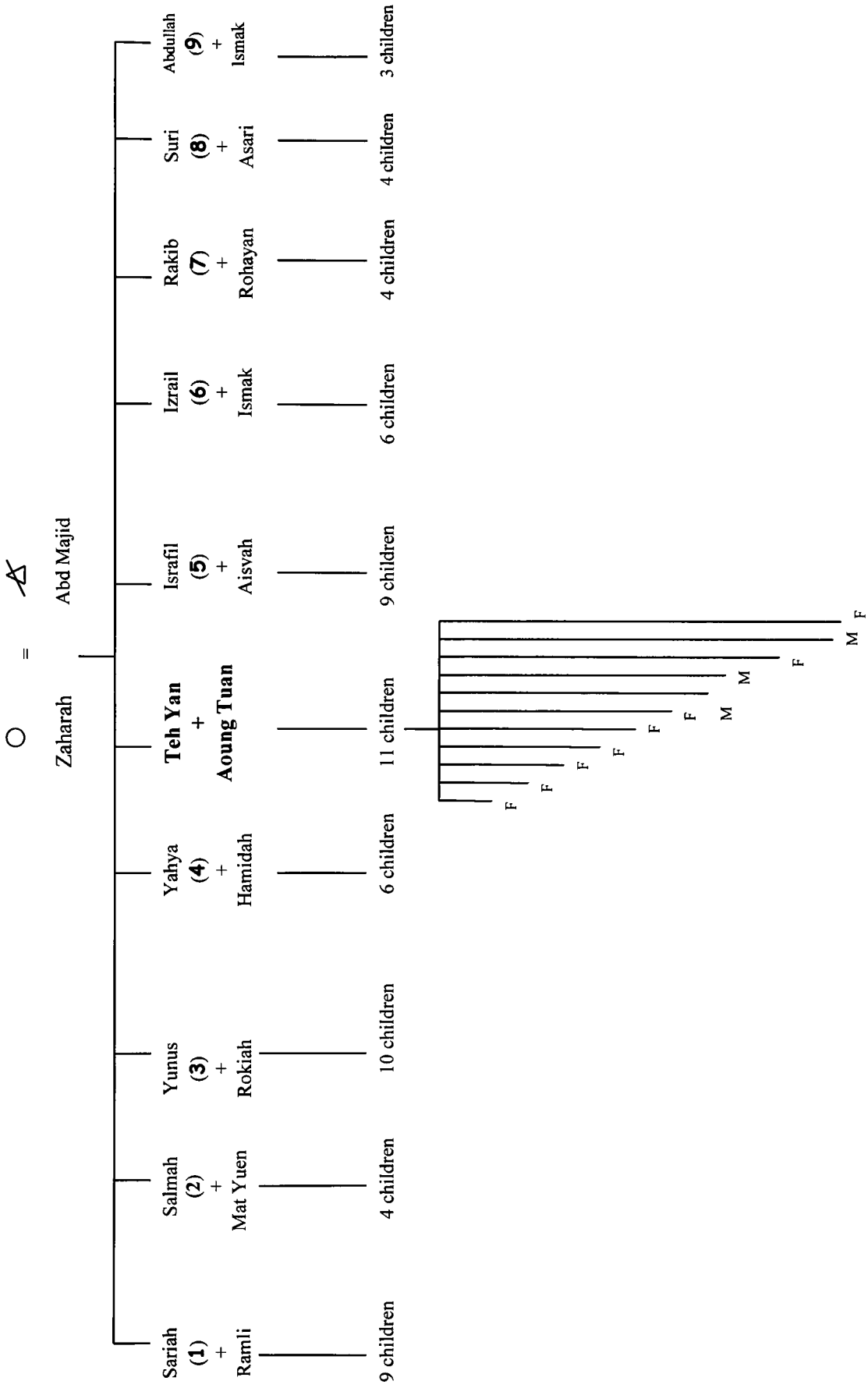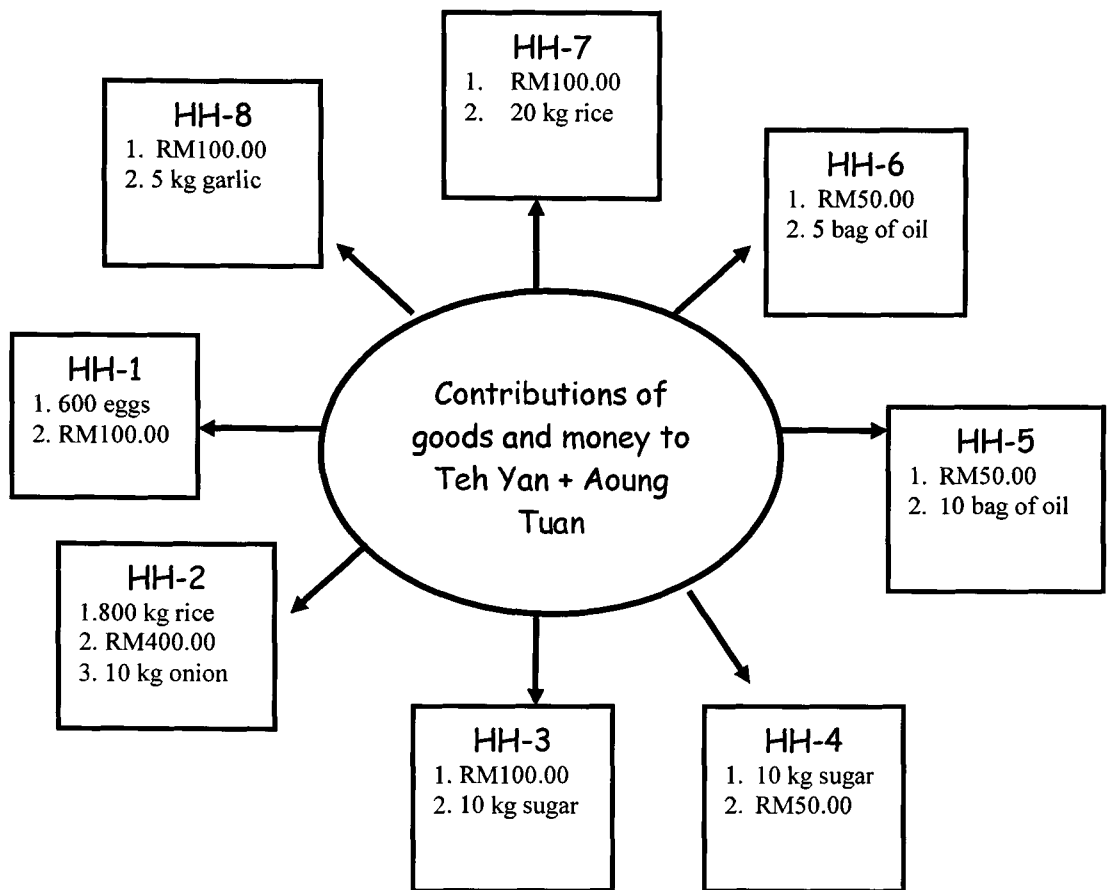
Diagram 6.3: Contributions of Goods and Money from Teh Yan's Siblings and
their Households

Figure 6.4: Kinswomen Who Helped Teh Yan Prepare *Nhom Brang*

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Meanwhile, underneath *Aoug Tuan's* house, 10 -15 men (including the men in Figure 6.4) were busy helping each other to do minor construction work. As mentioned previously, the Cham houses are built on high posts, and there is a huge space underneath every house, which provides an area for various activities. *Aoung Tuan* had planned to cement the underneath of his house for the *Chohrong* day. The day before, a lorry load of sand was sent to *Aoung Tuan's* house for this purpose. This place was needed for chopping and cutting beef and for other purposes for the *chohrong* day. There were 8-10 boys aged between 10 to 13 years old helping in this group.

Alongside the baking of the *'nhom brang'*, a group of women helped Teh Yan, *Aoug Tuan's* wife, to prepare lunch for those who were helping her famiy. Cik Long (Ana's cousin), Kak Mariam (Ana's mother's cousin), and several other women were asked by Ana's mother to cook rice, *'sloor mechu'*, fried fish with sauce, and some salad. These cooking activities also took place underneath Minah's house. When lunch was ready half of it was sent to *Aoung Tuan's* house to be served to all the men in his house. All the women who helped to bake the *nhom brang* and prepare lunch sat together and enjoyed their meal underneath Minah's house. Cooking and baking activities finished around 2.30 pm and all the cake was sent to *Aoung Tuan's* house to be served to the villagers and guests.

Four days later, the second day of *chaohrong* continued with preparation of *kerisik,* a type of ingredient used in cooking and made from coconut. Teh Yan planned to make *'kerisek'* with 100 coconuts. On the day, at 8.00 o'clock in the morning 30 - 40 men, women and boys came to *Aoung Tuan's* and Teh Yan's house. A group of men led by Osman (*Aoung Tuan's* younger brother) was assigned to bring all the serving dishes, and pots and pans for cooking purposes, from the *serau.* Meanwhile, several men and teenage boys were busy shelling the coconut and grating the flesh with a special machine. The coconut had to be grated, and fried in a large pan. The women started to fry the grated coconut until it turned brown. Soon after, another group of women started to pound it using a mortar and pestle. For this purpose, 20 mortars and pestles were used. This *'kerisek'* was to be use as one of the ingredients in a chicken curry for the wedding

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day. While completing this job, these people were served with '*nhom brang*', tea, coffee, and cool drinks. By 12.00 o'clock, the job was completed and everybody returned to their home.

On the third day of *chaohrong*, more people were invited, including distant kin and selected non-kin. Everyone was formally invited to come to the house of *Aoung Tuan* and Teh Yan's, Ana's parents. From 7.30 o'clock young and old women started to arrive, and some of them brought their children. Mai Su's and Kak Zaitun's duty formally began. Both of them agreed to work simultaneously. The first group, led by Mai Su, the chief chef, made a '*nhom som*' a special Cambodian cake, which is usually served to people the day before the wedding, and on the wedding day.

Plate 18 : Making *Nhom Som*

The ingredients needed to make the *nhom som* were 100 kg of bananas, coconut milk from 100 coconuts, 70 kg of glutinous rice, sugar and salt, and lastly 20 kg of banana leaf. The men began to grate the coconut, using machines and women added water to the coconut and squeezed it to get coconut milk. Meanwhile, several women were busy

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washing glutinous rice, they put it in a large pot and poured the coconut milk into it, added sugar and salt and cooked it on a medium heat until it was cooked. The next process was to put the glutinous rice on banana leaves, place half a banana in the middle of each, wrap them, place them in a large steamer and steam them.

Plate 19 : *Nhom Som*

Meanwhile, a second group led by Kak Zaitun were busy preparing lunch for all the villagers who came for the *chaohrong*. The menu was *slor mechu* (Cambodian soup), *bong preak* (Cambodian dipping sauce), *trey ang* (grilled fish) with chilli soy sauce, and salad. All the ingredients were contributed by relatives and neighbours, except chicken, bought from the local market. Most of the women in this village have their own garden plot, and they cultivate a variety of vegetables. Therefore they brought all kinds of vegetable to be shared with others. These vegetables included; loofah, water convolvulus, lady's finger, baby corn, sweet potato shoots, pumpkin shoots, papaya shoots, various kinds of aubergine, long bean, chillies, papayas, cucumber, lemon grass, and galangal. Several men including Abang Yunus (*Aoung Tuan's* brother in-law),

Yaacob (his nephew), and Israfil (his brother-in-law) caught fish from their cages to contribute to the feast.

The women began cutting up chicken, washing vegetables, and pounding chillies, onions, galangal, and lemon grass. Just around the corner, several women were busy washing and cleaning fish next to the water supply. When all the ingredients were ready, they began to cook under Kak Zaitun's supervision. Sometime Kak Zaitun referred to Mai Su, if she was not sure about anything, or to solve any problem related to the cooking.

Meanwhile a group of men began cutting up the wood for several fires over which enormous cooking pots were placed and water boiled, to make tea. Wak Rip and Abang Yaacob, a male village mate, were given the task of cooking rice. For this day's meal they were asked to cook 100 kg of rice, which was divided into four portions. They began by boiling water in a large pan, and poured in 25 kg of rice when the water was boiling. When the rice was half cooked, they covered the enormous pan with bananas leaves to trap the heat and steam until the rice was cooked.

Plate 20 : Cooking Rice

Plate 21 : Grill Fish

Next to Wak Rip and Abang Yaakob's work station, another fireplace was set up. When the fish was ready, it was handed over to a group of men to make 'trey ang' or grilled fish. By 12.00 o'clock the cooking was finished, and the women began to serve lunch for everybody.

At about 1.00 o'clock everybody went home to freshen up and have a rest, then they went to the *serau* for the *zohor* prayer. At 2.30, everybody returned to *Aoug Tuan's* house to continue their work. Men and women came together to lend a hand in completing any unfinished job. They were informally divided into two groups. A group of women finished making *nhom som* and steaming it. The other group of women helped Mai Su and Kak Zaitun to prepare a meal for close relatives who were invited for the evening gathering together with the groom's family.

In the evening, great care was taken by a group of men to erect tents. Their collective work was needed to fix three tents; one for men, one for women and one for the bride and groom, to be used for eating purposes. All of the equipment including chairs was rented at a cost of RM180.00 from a Malay man in Pekan town, and sent to *Aoung Tuan's* house by lorry. Only men participated in this particular job, assisted by teenage boys. Together they set out tables for men and women, and made a special table arrangement for the bride and groom. Besides that they added trivets or *tungku* for cooking purposes, prepared a place for washing dishes, and fixed lighting in every area where it was needed, including the tents, cooking and washing points.

That evening, at around 6.00 o'clock, Ali and his family arrived in Pulau Keladi, together with approximately 30 close relatives. Their journey had taken about four and a half hours by car. The bridegroom's family members came two days before the wedding day and stayed in their relative's house, which is in Pulau Keladi too. During their stay in Pulau Keladi they were invited to Ana's house for every meal and in between meal times Ana's family sent some cake for tea to the guest house. The guests also took the opportunity to visit other relatives in other villages in the Pekan district.

The day before the wedding day was the final day of *chaohrong* and it was considered a special day for all of Ana's family and the villagers. Throughout the day, every single person in the village, young and old, men, women and children came to *Aoung Tuan's* and Teh Yan's house from early in the morning. The *subuh* prayer finished earlier than usual. Mai Su and Kak Zaitun were among the first people to appear at *Aoung Tuan's* house. Both of them sat together in the cooking area and were busy discussing how to delegate tasks, because this was the most important day for both of them. While they were talking, other women came and joined them. The first group of women started to arrange the ingredients which needed to be washed, sliced, chopped or peeled.

The second group joined them and started to pound the ingredients using mortar and pestle. A large number of women offered their help with this job, because they needed to pound 50 kg of onions, 15 kg of lemon grass, 10 kg of galangal, 5kg of chillies, and 30

kg of garlic. According to Mai Su, 'great attention needs to be given to the preparation of the ingredients for cooking. To cook a delicious meal, the ingredients must be fresh and pounded manually. We used to practise cooking for feasts manually when we were in Cambodia, and personally I would refuse to use any kind of machine except for shredding coconut'. For that reason, about 20 mortars and pestles are kept in the *serau* and belong to the community as a whole. Besides that, there are also other utensils for cooking and serving, stored in the *serau*. They are taken from the *serau* every time they are needed and sent back when finished with.

At 10 o'clock, a Malay man's lorry arrived in Pulau Keladi, bringing 200 kg of slaughtered chickens. A group of around 10 – 15 women began to cut the chicken into small pieces to make a chicken soup. Meanwhile a group of men led by *Aoung Tuan* prepared to slaughter two cows. A small hole, 3 feet in diameter and 4 feet deep was dug, and an approximately 5 foot length of medium sized tree trunk was placed across the hole. A cow was in an upside down position, ready to be slaughtered.

Plate 22 : Ready to be Slaughter

Plate 23 : Slaughter of Cow

On one side, three men tightly held the cow's legs and the other three held the legs on the other side. Meanwhile, two more held the cow's head, *Aoung Tuan* held a very sharp knife to the cow's neck. He read a short verse from the Quran and simultaneously cut the jugular vein. Opposite *Aoung Tuan* was a man holding a bunch of leaves tied together, to prevent the blood from the cow's neck splashing other people (see picture).

Next, they skinned the cow and cut up the meat, which was then handed over to the women who were ready underneath *Aoung Tuan's* house, to dice into smaller pieces. Usually only one cow is slaughtered for a wedding. However, two cows were slaughtered for Ana's wedding. One was given by Ali's family as a contribution[6] and the other was from the villagers. Ana's family had agreed to make a beef soup, curry, and *slor mechoo*. Indeed, Mai Su and Kak Zaiton were the busiest people during the day. Lunch and dinner had to be made for more than 600 people that day, and these guests

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[6] This contribution is uncommon. However, Ali's family insisted on contributing one of the cows because their family is successful in business. Besides that, among the Cham people the wedding feast is held in the woman's house.

were not only Pulau Keladi inhabitants, but also their relatives from Johor, Kelantan, and Terengganu. There were also Ana's family relatives and friends who had come one or two days before the wedding day.

Together with Mai Su and Kak Zaiton, Wak Rip, Abang Yaacob, Osman, and several men were specifically appointed to cook rice for *chohrong* day and wedding day, and today they are helping each other to cook 180 kg of rice. Not far from Wak Rip and his friend, *Aoung Brang*[7] and several other men busy grilling fish, caught from their cages to be shared for today's feast. By 12.00 o'clock everybody was invited to have lunch together and it seems that everybody enjoyed their meal. Following lunch everybody went back to their home or a relative's home, to have a bath and go to *serau* for *zohor* prayer.

Soon after the *zohor* prayer and a rest, the villagers arrived to continue their chores. The next task was to prepare for the evening occasion, first and foremost, '*Akad nikah*', a Muslim marriage ceremony, '*Maulud*' and '*doa selamat*'. On top of that they were also preparing the ingredients for the next day's ceremony: *Ngai ka thom* day. The assistance of almost all the women, both close kin and distant kin, was needed to do all the chores. This was considered the busiest day for the whole village; men and women, young and old, girls and boys seemed to participate in the *chohrong*. All the women seemed very busy helping Mai Su, the chief chef and Kak Zaiton, the assistant chef in preparing food for *Ngai ka thom*. Meanwhile, the men were divided into two groups; one helping in the cooking area (men are also involved in cooking) and the other helping each other to build a tent outside *Aung Tuan's* house for eating purposes on *Ngai ka thom*. The tent was set with chair and tables which were arranged in two rows, one for men and the other for women and children. Haji Ahmad (fraternal uncle of *Aoung Tuan*) Abang Ramli (*Aoung Tuan's* brother-in-law) and Osman (*Aoung Tuan's* brother) were responsible for making sure that everything was ready and enough for more than 1000 guests. Beef curry and beef soup were the main dishes for *Ngai ka thom* day and they

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[7] Literally it means 'white granddad'. This man was called '*Aoung Brang*' because he could speak English and French, and these languages are associated by the Cham with 'white men'. This man was ex-Cambodia Navy and used to sail to several countries, which is how he learned to speak foreign languages.

had to be cooked that night to make sure the meat was tender. A few men and women may stay until midnight to make sure that the food is well cooked.

At 3.00 pm Ali and his family members arrived in Pulau Keladi from Trengganu. This group consisted of more than 30 people including men, women, girls and boys all of whom were Ali's close and distant kin. Ali and his parents were invited by their cousin to stay in her house, and the other family members stayed with their relatives in Pulau Keladi and some of them in nearby villages (they chose to do so).

Plate 24 : Ali's Family Members

6.3 *Akad Nikah*

Akad nikah is the official legalization of the marriage. At this event the contract is signed by the groom and the bride's guardian, who is normally her father, or the closest possible senior male relative if the father is not alive (Rudie, 1994), known as the *wali*. This is the official religious ceremony, which takes place on the night before the *Nhai ka thom*.

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After the *Isyak* prayer, the bride and groom's families and close relatives were ready in the *serau* for the '*Akad nikah*' ceremony. Ana and her female family members sat in the women's section of the *serau* and Ali, his male family members, the *Kadi*, a local registrar of marriages (who would read the marriage service), and *saksi* (witnesses of the marriage, usually two people from the serau committee members) sat in the *serau's* main prayer hall. This ceremony begins with the *Kadi* giving a short sermon about the rights and responsibilities of husband and wife in marriage, according to what is stated in the Quran and Hadith. Later, he reads the Muslim marriage service, and the groom makes the marriage vows. The witnesses will be asked about the way the groom accepted the marriage service. If both of them say '*sah*', which means this marriage is considered legal and completed, the imam reads a '*doa*' for this couple, asking Allah to bless them in their married life. Shortly after this, Ali was invited by one of the bridesmaids to see Ana for the '*Batal air sembahyang*' ceremony. This was the first time they officially met. They had to '*bersalam*' or shake hands, and Ana bowed to show respect to her husband.

After the '*Akad nikah*' event, everybody was invited to *Aoung Tuan's* house, and '*maulud*' and '*doa selamat*[8] were performed before dinner was served to them. Rice with beef *slor mechu*, grilled fish and sauce, and salad was the main course for that night. Then coffee, tea and cake were served to all the guests.

Next, when the guests had returned home, the bride and her close relatives embarked on 'picture taking'. This occasion is actually a mixture of Cham and Malay customs, and is practised by the younger generation who marry in Malaysia. Usually the bride's family hires a make-up artist or *mak andam* together with different types of costume[9]. They can choose for instance, western suit, and dress, Chinese, Indian, and Malay wedding costumes as offered by the bridal center. In several cases, the Cham also hire Cambodian costume (which is not offered in bridal centre). from their friend or relative The bride

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[8] This is a religious ceremony practised by the Cham on certain occasions to ask for Allah's blessing and at the same time to thank Allah.
[9] In arranging bride and groom make-up and costumes for wedding and picture taking, offered by bridal centre.

and groom may be assisted by the bride's married sister or female relative and friend to make the best poses for pictures. At the end of the session, all female kin and friends have a picture taken together. This ceremony may end at midnight and everybody goes back home.

Plate 25 : Cambodian's Costume

Plate 26 : Indian's Costume

Plate 27 : Western's Costume

6.4 *Ngai Ka Thom* or *Ngai Penghai*

Ngai (day) *ka* (marriage) *thom* (big) literally means 'big marriage day'. It is also known as *ngai penghai* or 'wedding day'. The *ngai ka thom* is the most joyous, extravagant and elaborate of all life cycle ceremonies. The *Ngai ka thom* is a ceremony celebrated not by the host and his/her household, but by the entire village. When *Ngai ka thom* is announced by the host, other village mates look forward to celebrating the ceremony. During the *Ngai ka thom* day, the hosts do almost none of the work themselves. Every aspect of the work is delegated by the 'feast leader' to kin and village mates, and this ceremony reflects the notion that 'everybody is kin', in Pulau Keladi.

On the day of *Ngai ka thom*, at 7.00 o'clock in the morning, men and women started their tasks. It seems that everybody knew what to do; those who were appointed to cook rice were busy doing so; the same applied to those who had to boil water, grill fish and so on. On the other side, a group of women were busy making Cambodian salad. Some of them washed the vegetables and another group were busy chopping and slicing a variety of vegetables, such as, bean sprouts, long bean, cucumber, onion, chilies, and lemon grass. Mai Su and Kak Zaiton looked around supervising all the cooking activity, to make sure that all the food was ready, and perfectly cooked.

At 10.00 o'clock in the morning, villagers, men, women and their children arrived, as did guests from other villages in the Pekan area and kin who lived far away. When the guests arrived, they saw *Aoung Tuan* and Teh Yan and greeted each other. Male guests exchanged greetings with *Aoung Tuan,* and female guests did the same with Teh Yan. During this '*bersalam*' the guests handed over some money as a token, usually put in an envelope quietly pressed into the palm of either *Aoung Tuan* or Teh Yan. The amount varies from RM2.00 to RM100.00 or even more, depending on the closeness and economic status of the guests. However this did not include the Pulau Keladi inhabitants because their contributions had been made earlier.

While waiting for lunch to be served, everyone was hanging around, looking for their kin and friends who lived outside Pulau Keladi or far away; this was the best time to

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meet them, talk and exchange news. Moreover, it was common for people to invite kin and friends who lived outside Pulau Keladi to visit their homes.

In the cooking area, the scene was hectic as Mai Su, Kak Zaiton, Wak Rip, Wak Yunus, Osman and several others prepared food for more than a thousand guests. All *Aoung Tuan* and Teh Yan's siblings and their spouses helped to arrange the tableware, lay out the food and usher guests to the right place. Men and women sit in different areas. *Bunga telur* or decorated eggs were handed over to every guest as they sat down. Usually this task is given to a girl.

In the house, the bride and '*Mak andam*' were busying in the '*bilik pengantin*' or 'bridal chamber'. The *Mak andam's* duty is to make the bride look charming in her wedding clothes. During the preparation of make-up and dress there are only three people in the bridal chamber: the bride, the *Mak andam*, and her assistant. This task is performed in relative seclusion. Ana had chosen a peach coloured *Kebaya Songket*, matching the clothes of Ali the groom. Ana decided to put on a head scarf which matched her veil and wedding costume. She was heavily made up, and adorned with gold jewellery. On the other side, the groom was fully dressed up with his female relatives' assistance. For the groom, these clothes include '*Baju Melayu songket*' with outer sarong or sampan worn over the shirt, a *tengkolok* or hat, and a dagger or *keris*.

Soon after the *zohor* prayer, the groom, his family and relatives arrived at *Aoung Tuan's* house and were invited to enter the house for the enthronement or *bersanding* ceremony. In the house, the bride was taken by the *Mak Andam* to the main door, to wait for the groom, as a symbol that her duties as a wife had begun. The groom and his family and relatives were invited in and both bride and groom were ushered to the *pelamin* or bridal dais. The *Mak andam* made the bride and groom sit or stand in countless different poses for the photographer. Finally, the parents on both sides were invited onto the *pelamin* to take photographs, followed by other relatives who wanted to do so. This ceremony took

place at the same time as the feast, while the guests were enjoying their meal. Because of the limited space, it is mainly close relatives of both sides who participate in this ceremony.

Plate 28 : *Bersanding* in Malay's Costume

Plate 29 : *Bersilat* Performances

In other cases, the bride and groom are ushered to *bersanding* outside the house, to be seen by other guests. There are various forms of entertainment during the *bersanding* outside the house, including bersilat or martial art performances with live music. Shortly after the performance, the bride and groom are once again ushered by the *Mak andam* to the main table which is fully decorated and set out with special food just for the bride, groom and close relatives. This occasion is known as *makan beradat*. The groom and his relatives then return to his house or a relative's house in Ali's case. The groom's side may take him during the night for another occasion and for dinner.

Plate 30 : *Makan Beradat*

6.5 Summary

The central themes of this chapter attempt to analyze the significance of kin for the
Cham community, using some examples from life cycle transitions- *Chol tendeng,
Chaohrong* ,and   *Ngai ka Thom* -   to show how these ceremonies bolster kinship
networks. As discussed in chapter 5, the closeness between the nuclear family and
extended family is very marked in the economic and social life of the Cham community.
In *Chol tendeng* occasions, for instance, the nuclear family and married sons or
daughters and their spouses play an important role in the process. They are not only
expected but obligated to help with the process of completing the ceremonies. The
difference between these two categories of kin may perhaps be in the type of work that
is conducted. Generally, all the jobs within the house are performed by the nuclear
family or married siblings (preparing gifts, decorating the room, and tidying up the
whole house). The same is true for the *Ngai ka thom* ceremony. Rarely do distant kin
participate in decorating the room, painting the house or helping to tidy up the whole
house. Mostly distant kin help with other types of task, which are considered not to

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involve personal or private areas (refer to Figure 6.3 and Figure 6.4). However for kin who live outsides the village, they are obliged to attend the ceremonies, but not expected to lend their hand in doing any chores.

In dealing with chores outside the house, for instance preparing and cooking[10] for *chaohrong*, both close and distant kin who live within Pulau Keladi and nearby village are in charge. They are given authority to make decisions within their scope of work. For instance, in the *Chaohrong* for Ana's *Ngai ka thom*, several women (see Figure 6.7) prepared *nhom brang*, and suddenly one of them realized that some sugar was needed. She just asked one of the boys to go to the shop and get another 5kg of sugar, without asking *Aoung Tuan* or Teh Yan. In the shop, the boy just let the shopkeeper know that sugar was needed for making *nhom brang*, and the shopkeeper wrote down the amount of sugar and the price in a book. He would do the same thing if other people came to his shop and asked for something for *chaohrong* purposes. This 'debt' would be paid by after the *Ngai ka thom* day, together with anything else taken by kin to complete their job for the *Chaohrong*.

The relationship between affines is often portrayed in the literature as in 'tension'. As Carsten (1994) argues, 'Affinal relations tend to take stereotypical forms: avoidance behaviour is common between brothers-in-law and between sons-in-law and their father-in-law. Joking behaviour often occurs between cross-sex affinal siblings and between a son-in-law and his mother in-law. Female affines may interact more intensively than male ones because of household labour requirements. The relationship between a daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law is frequently a very tense one. A husband's mother is often implicated in the divorce of her son'.

What is interesting in this community is that the relationships between affines and consanguines do not show any clear differences. For instance, there is no 'joking behaviour' between cross-sex affinal relations, just as there is no avoidance behavior between brothers-in-law, sons-in-law and their father-in-law.

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[10] Preparation and cooking for any feast including *chaohrong* and *ngai penghai* are not done in the house. Usually, the area underneath the house is used for this type of activity.

In the relationship between sons-in-law and fathers-in-law, there is no sign of avoidance behaviour. What appears in this relationship is that the Cham emphasize the concept of 'respect the old', not 'avoid the old'. The most important thing for these people is to know the boundary between 'the old and the young'.

It is somewhat more surprising that relations between mother-in-law and daughters-in-law seem to be less stressed. This is in contrast to the Malay of Langkawi, where Carsten (1994) claims that 'relations between a daughter-in-law and her mother-in-law are frequently 'very tense' and in serious cases she might cause a crisis between her son and his wife. In the Cham community, obviously mother-in-law and daughter-in-law try to avoid any tension in their relations. There are several cases where a mother-in-law lives together with her married son and his family, for instance, Minah, Aisyah, and Dina (see Chapter Four). In this case, the mother-in-law usually tries to avoid getting involved in household chores, while the daughter-in-law takes over all household chores. The mother-in-law spends more time in religious activity in *serau*, therefore there is less tension because both parties know their rights and duties. Moreover, a daughter-in-law is told by her mother how to behave towards her mother-in-law. For instance, a daughter-in-law should pay respect to her mother-in-law in the same way as she shows respect to her mother, as mentioned in the Quran and Hadith.

In-laws are fully involved in the marriage ceremonies. For example, as I have illustrated in Figure 6.7, Ramli is *Aoung Tuan's* brother-in-law, and in organizing the *Ngai ka thom* for *Aoung Tuan's* daughter, Ana, Ramli was one of important people who organized the meeting with other heads of household. He was also the person who suggested buying a cow when *Aoung Tuan* refused to accept money from the villagers, and he was one of *Aoung Tuan's* advisers in most of the decisions during the process of organizing the *Ngai ka thom.*

There is also no difference between the contributions of affines and consanguines to the wedding ceremonies, as Figures 6.6 and 6.7 illustrate. The contribution of goods and money (see Figure 6.6) is considered as a household contribution, not as a personal

contribution from siblings. The same applies to labour exchange between affines and consanguines on the *Chaohrong* day; there is no difference in attitude between them in helping each other.

A very interesting point to highlight throughout this chapter is gender relations. Traditionally, women are said to manage and control the domestic sphere, and men are expected to deal with the public sphere. Among the Cham, men fill official leadership positions such as *Imam, wali*, and *saksi* (religion representative in the marriage ceremonies). On the other hand women, especially the older, play central roles in organizing and orchestrating marriage ceremonies. They play a very leading role in the symbolic ceremony, where they usher the married couple into the marriage bedroom for instruction (as mentioned in Chapter Four). Their roles as a marriage adviser and consultant in forming a strong and stable marriage relationship emerge in this ceremony. However in preparing food for marriage feast, both men and women are important and contribute labour.

Finally, marriage for the Cham is important for the couple, family, and kin. In the events leading up to marriage ceremony, not only kin within the village are important, but non-kin and kin outside the village are also integrated into kinship rituals. Although kin and non-kin outside the village may not contribute in term of labour, this does not mean that they are unimportant in this event. In fact they are considered as guests of honour, and their attending is highly appreciated. Explicitly, their contribution is made in material form, such as money or goods, but the implicit contribution is in the strengthening of kin ties. What clearly emerges is the importance of these ceremonies in bringing distant kin together and thus binding Cham kin ties. It is significant that both close and distant kin, within and outside the village, always look forward to attending marriage ceremonies not only because they are considered as a central event in life cycle but, more importantly, it reminds them of the roles and responsibility of kin toward each other The involvement of distant kin, together with the incorporation of the whole village community in the wedding ceremonies thus serve also to reinforce 'Chamship'.

CHAPTER SEVEN
CONCLUSION

Until recently, little attention has been given to studies of the Cham people. This issue has been highlighted by Crystal (1991), who noted that the study of Cham history has suffered for a long time from being treated as a sort of appendage to Vietnamese or at best 'Indo-Chinese' studies'. Similarly, the studies (2001, 2003 and 2006) of Wong, a historian at the University of Malaya, have pointed out the same issues. Currently, he notes that emphasis in research should be given to the immigration process and issues pertaining to family ties, religious affinity, and assimilation into the Malay community as well as the subsequent reactions of the local communities (Wong, 2008).

Previous literatures, as mentioned in Chapter Two, are inadequate, and this study shows that numerous studies in the past, particularly by French scholars, focused their work entirely on the historical position of the Cham people and the Champa Kingdom. In later phases of literature, scholars tried to establish the early affiliation of the Cham to the Malay world. Malaysian scholars, however, have only recently begun to take an interest in Cham studies. The local scholars have mainly focused on cultural and historical links between the Cham and the Malay community as mentioned by Wong (2008). Research on Cham within Malaysian contexts remains in its infancy. There are still many areas of the Cham community which have not yet been explored and investigated.

My initial assumption, following the interpretations of nineteenth-century French researchers and administrators century, and also of Cham researchers, was that the Cham had matrilineal kinship practices. However, the present research found no evidence of the matrilineal kinship system described by those researchers. Although my research may not be able to completely adjudicate between the different possibilities, since data on matrilineal issues in different Cham communities is limited, I presume that different groups of Cham practice different kinship systems. The Muslim Cham seem to practice cognatic kinship and the Hindu Cham follow matrilineal practices. Another possibility is there has been historical shift over time, previously the Cham practiced matrilineal

kinship, however those who converted to Islam assimilated to a cognatic kinship system as happened to the Cham in Cambodia and those who migrated to Malaysia and other countries.

This study began with two main objectives. Firstly, the main purpose of this study is to explore contemporary Cham society in Malaysia, and, most importantly, to bridge the gap in knowledge pertaining to the Cham people with a particular focus on their family and kinship system. The second objective is to investigate the effect of a commercial economy on the Cham family organisation. How this community makes an adjustment in response to social and economic changes has become the main focus of this study. The underlying issue in this context is analyzing their response in facing the challenges of modernization, from traditional and self sufficient economic orientation towards a more commercially-oriented economy, which could endanger the extended family system as suggested by Parsons (1949) and Goode (1970).

The conjugal or nuclear family was claimed to 'harmoniously fit' the demands of industrialization, urbanization and modernization better than the extended family. Both scholars believed that there is a tendency for almost all family systems to approach the western conjugal family as a result of those processes. This idea, however, led to what Parsons (1949) called 'loss of family function'. This would mean that kinship units cease to perform political, educational, and economical functions. These functions would shift to other organizations.

In coping with modernization and its impact, the present research finds that not all 'western conjugal family' characteristics as specified by Goode (1970) have emerged amongst the Cham. Like many other societies, change does take place due to social and economic changes. However, this does not mean that the patterns of family formation are following western communities, because different communities respond differently. For the Cham, some characteristics have been modified, while others remain, and some characteristics have become stronger. An example of partial change is mate selection as discussed in Chapter Four (see Table 4.5), where the younger generation have more

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opportunity to exercise choice. However, this freedom is given with pre-requisites, where consultation with parents and sometimes with grandparents for approval of the candidate is needed. The consultation is indeed a necessity as a potential spouse is expected to possess certain qualities.

Having said that mate selection amongst the younger generation has become partially permissive, which could be described as a 'modern or current trend' in the community, nevertheless, arranged marriages are still significant as the data in chapter four show. Moreover, in contrast to open mate selection, which allows the spouse to be selected from within or outside the community, the preference in arranged marriages is for the match to be consanguineal. Hence, grandparents and parents play an important role in searching for the best consanguineal candidate for children or grandchildren. A good reputation of the candidate as well as a good family background is a priority, and this is followed by the relationship between both families. Consanguineal candidates who meet all the criteria are preferred above those who have a good reputation without a consanguineal relationship, and these may be rejected. Consanguineal arranged marriages, especially with second, third, or fourth cousins, are preferred. Through consanguineal marriage the idea of 'pulling distant kin to become closer kin' is clearly demonstrated, and this is valued because of its role in cementing kinship relations. As a result, close kinship relations with the wider kin group are maintained. This contrasts with Parson's (1949) and Goode's (1970) ideas of a fragmented extended family due to the impact of modernization.

Concomitant with social and economic changes due to modernization, Goode (1970) pointed out that greater tolerance of pre-marital sexual relationships develops within family and society. However, in contrast to the western communities, the Cham persist in promoting the traditional cultural values of 'a good man is created for a good woman' and 'a good generation is produced from a marriage between a good boy and girl from a good family'. Virginity of both boys and girls is highly valued in this community, and it is considered as one of the good criteria imposed for a first time marriage. Culture seems to play a critical role in the interpretation of 'marriage as a sacred relationship'.

Everyone is obliged to uphold this cultural value, and the reality of the prohibition of sex before marriage is reflected in the data of this research. I found no cases of children born out of wedlock.

Another contrasting point to highlight is Goode's (1970) argument that the divorce rate increases due to the impact of modernization and that re-marriage after divorce or death of spouse is very common in western society. However, the data in this research seem to contradict Goode's argument. Although Islam allows divorce and remarriage, in this community divorce is uncommon, and the idea of re-marriage is rejected. As happened to Atikah, Salamah, and Halimah, re-marriage is deemed as a cutting point in separating relationships with the children and grandchildren.

Industrialization and modernization are associated with the demise of traditional family values, claims Parsons (1949) and Goode (1970). However, the findings of this research show that, although increasing numbers of members of village are being exposed to industrial values through their experience of working in industry, as well as to market forces through their involvement in commercial activities, this has not altered the essence of extended families. People may live in a nuclear family unit, and hold part of their property and possessions individually, but their kin relationships are close and influential. In other words, the larger kinship circle is an important reference group, and supplements the nuclear family. In fact, the Cham community can be seen as living within the large extended family of the village; the central institution of the *serau* symbolically represents family houses, and 'family members' meet at least five times a day at the *serau*. *Serau* committee members, including *Aoung Tuan,* represent heads of households and perform family functions such as providing religious education to villagers of all generations, socializing children, organizing feasts and rituals, etc. *Serau* also can be seen as a central entity through organizing family activities from the birth of children, through their growing years, marriage and also death.

Another point to highlight and compare to Goode's (1970) ideas is the birth rate. Goode believed that this would fall with industrialization and modernization. This research

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suggests that the impact of a commercial economy does not signify the decline of the birth rate amongst the Cham community in Pulau Keladi. Although the average number of children among the second generation has decreased, the differences with the first generation is only 1.1 offspring (the average number of children in the first generation is 6.5, and it decreases to 5.4 in the second generation) (see Figure 4.1). It shows a decline, but the difference is small.

The research findings indicate that the change in economic activities, from a traditional to a commercial economy, does not undermine or weaken kin relationships. Indeed, commercialization has in some ways integrated kinship into its own sphere. This can be detected through the utilization of labour in the modern economy. Supplementary labour is chosen from the nearest kin, followed by more distant kin. There are also elements of moral obligation and ethnic identity in dealing with labour supply in economic activities. This may be contrasted with other Asian communities such as the Malay of Langkawi, where non-kin are preferred in recruiting labour in economic activities in order to avoid conflict between kin.

Kinship thus plays an important role in economic activities (as discussed in Chapter Five). In fish farming, for instance, the larger-scale and medium-scale fish farmers recruited close kin, which is within kin of circle number one (See Chapter One), followed by kin from circle number two. In other cases, well-off kin create jobs to help poor kin. Again, this stands in stark contrast to Goode's (1970) opinion of 'ideal-type of conjugal family, where family is separated from enterprise and individual chooses job based on skill'.

A similar pattern of recruiting kin as workers can be found in building activities. Four builder groups in Pulau Keladi (see Diagam 5.4) demonstrate how economic activity is embedded in the kin ties of this community. In running building activities, each leader recruits their own group members, choosing close and more distant kin. It also appears in some cases that the father recruits his own son in order to pass on 'inherited' skills as

a carpenter. Similarly, in fish farmer activity, a man's own sons are recruited and trained in the fish business to become a businessman.

Kinship considerations also influence the relation of building teams to each other. The groups operated within a very high mutual understanding of how to organize work patterns so as to avoid any competition or conflict. This strategy contributes to a higher degree of tolerance, and this helps to foster harmonious kin relationships. They also pass extra projects onto each other. My observation leads me to suggest that this community is inspired by the concept of '*rezeki*', or good fortune in which everybody has been granted their own '*rezeki*' by God. Sharing '*rezeki*' in the building activities context means that extra projects proposed to others can bring more '*rezeki*' in the future.

Other examples to show the importance of kinship ties can be seen in farming activities, coffee shops and food stalls. Immediate family members pool resources in running these activities. In most cases, immediate families are paid in various ways; pocket money, honorarium or in kind or material or money. This reflects the kin ethos, in which most people agree that money is important, but money is not everything. The reciprocating concept is applied in this transaction.

It appears that the commercialisation of economic activities has had little impact on Cham kinship relations or family ties. In fact, commercialisation is being moulded to the idea that kinship may provide a 'pool of resources' in economic activities. Kinship networks amongst the Cham are being used extensively in economic activities; fish farming, farming, and traditional trading such as, coffee shop, food stall, and cloth trading. The data collected may not be able to show larger kin groups involved in these activities. However, observations in other villages in Pekan District and in Paya Jaras, Selangor, verify the involvement of kin in those activities. It does not emerge clearly in Pulau Keladi probably because the total number of persons involved is small, and because of the small scale of their activities, which does not require an extensive 'pool of resources'.

As opposed to western communities, the research data suggests that the circle of those who are categorized as kin covers a wider spectrum. The social networks of this people can be depicted in three main circles, in which the inner circle represents the nuclear family, the second layer represents the extended family, and the outer ring represents the non-kin. Those who are classified as a kin might be related through either consanguineal or affinal relationships. However, the non-kin may be divided into another two categories, i.e. the Muslim Cham, and the converted Muslim (which includes other ethnic groups: Khmer, Vietnam, and Chinese). Relationships between kin and non-kin are cemented through a 'fictive' link, in which religion becomes the focal link of relatedness.

This interpretation also accords with Hareven (1977, 1978, 1991, 2000), Menjivar (1997), Thi Doan (2004), Chekki (1974), Shanas (1973), Sussman (1965) and Ishwaran (1965) whose studies have identified, besides the economy, other factors, such as migration, family history, and kinship networks, which are important in analysing kin ties. My main argument in this thesis is that different societies respond differently in confronting modernization. In dealing with the issue of how mobilization strengthens kin ties, I agree with Hareven's (1978) concept of 'family history' and 'life course'. The concept of 'family history' corresponds closely to the whole idea of 'kinship idiom' of the Cham of Pulau Keladi. Indeed, some examples from the data show the continuous process of migration from one place to another which has contributed to continuing and strengthening kinship relations. In addition, the agony of 'family destruction' during Khmer Rouge has made them value family and kin ties highly. The migration and resettlement process did not break family ties and kinship. In fact, in some respects, it strengthened the kinship bonds between individuals and kinship groups.

In spite of temporarily disrupting family ties and kinship, migration has deepened the sense of family unity among the Cham. This spirit had been established from the time of their great grandparents, who migrated from Kampong Cham to Bathambang Province in 1880s. Being Muslim and a minority in a new place forced these people to set up new settlements and make adjustments to their new lives within a Khmer community,

involving an emphasis upon kinship, community and religious solidarity. Their life in Bathambang Province was followed by traumatic experiences, and losing close kin due to massacres by the Khmer Rouge. These experiences had an enormous impact on these people, particularly in valuing family and kin ties. The agony of losing kin contributed to the intuition of 'kin are priceless', therefore those kin who are still alive are important. These experiences had strengthened the sense of 'community cohesion' for this people.

They began to re-establish their kinship relations while living in refugee camps in Malaysia. Several household heads started to search around and make contacts with other kin. When the first group, which consisted of several households, decided to move to Pekan, and re-settle, other kin were invited to join them. Their efforts did not stop there. While living in Pekan, some continued searching for their brothers, sisters, sons and cousins to re-unite with other family members. The long process of resettlement gives evidence of the significance of kinship relations, and their attempts to re-establish this relationship can be seen during the process of resettlement in Pulau Keladi. As a result, more than half of Pulau Keladi inhabitants are related to each other through kinship ties (see Chapter Four), and they live harmoniously with their kin. Figure 4.1 shows that the vast majority of inhabitants (322 persons who live in Pulau Keladi) are related to Mai Zaharah and her late husband, Abdul Majid through consanguineal or affinal relations.

Another interesting point to emphasize is the sending of remittances from relatives in Malaysia to their relatives in Cambodia which also contributes to strengthening kin ties. In their early settlement in Malaysia, money was sent to sponsor close kin to join them. However, nowadays the remittances are used to help relatives with daily expenses or, in some cases, to buy an asset.

By sharing and following the same belief system, kin and non-kin create a link between them. This emerged through the concept of 'Saudara Islam' or 'brotherhood in Islam'. The same concept is also applicable to converted Muslims and they are also accepted as 'Saudara baru' or 'new kin'. This category of person has a right to be accepted as 'new

kin' in the Muslim community, and the other Muslims have a responsibility to look after and care for their *'Saudara baru'*. Therefore some of the converted Khmer in Pulau Keladi were adopted by several households as their adopted children. In this case the *'Saudara baru'* who was adopted by the Cham is considered as a family member of that particular household and may be involved in all family occasions. He or she and his or her family (if married) are also considered as part of the family, and the rest of the villagers also accept *'Saudara baru'* as kin.

This concept of *Saudara Islam* and *Saudara baru* has reinforced the idea that 'all Pulau Keladi inhabitants are kin'. The Cham of Pulau Keladi persistently say that *'Orang sini (Pulau Keladi) semuanya saudara'* or 'people here are all kin'. This declaration expresses a distinctive understanding of their relationship toward kin and non-kin. Following the concept of *'Saudara Islam and Saudara baru'*, together with their belief *'Orang sini semuanya saudara'*, has projected the spirit of *Kembojaness* among themselves. This spirit has strengthened the existing kinship and fictive kinship relations of these people. The *Kembojaness* spirit reflects the ideas of 'territorial' and 'national identity', which refers to the idea of sharing a similar homeland origin and practicing a similar culture. Even though they have gone through considerable social and economic adjustments, the Cham of Pulau Keladi have strong ties which bind them together and portray them as *'Orang Kemboja'*.

The sense of relatedness of the Cham may challenge western conjugal family patterns, and to some extent, those described in other studies within South East Asia region. Kinship may have elusive qualities, it may be difficult for the anthropologists to convey its meanings (Carsten, 1994), but it is a powerful reality amongst the Cham of Pulau Keladi. The spirit of *Kembojaness* has united and strengthened this community as one entity and they identify themselves as *'Orang Kemboja'*. Their kinship ties remain strong and at some points have been strengthened further in order to maintain their identity as *'Orang Kemboja'* within the Malaysian setting. Instead of being called Cham these people prefer to distinguish themselves with a new identity as *'Orang Kemboja'*

and not as Malay. They have established a sense of togetherness, common belonging and cultural similarity among themselves.

I have taken up a few characteristics of the Cham family and kinship in an attempt to understand the impact of modernization. Other important and interesting points to be highlighted in this conclusion are Cham kinship system and gender relations. As mentioned in Chapter four, the Cham kinship system structure is characterized as cognatic or bilateral. This kinship structure seems to enshrine the principle of flexibility (Dube, 1996). In the cognatic system, women have relatively equal power within the household, as opposed to Goode's (1970) argument that it is modernization that contributes to a balanced power between husband and wife. Cham women are the financial controllers of the household and their husband's business partners. They manage their own and their spouse's income, participate in small scale trading or traditional trading, are producers in farming and co-producers in fish farming activities. The findings of this research seem to support Karim's (2005) and Dube's (1996) idea that women in bilateral systems have been enabled to maintain a fair share of control over family and community resources.

Similar patterns occur in the social context, women play a central role in organizing and orchestrating marriages especially in preparing food for feasts and in rituals. For instance during *pahai* day (see Chapter Four) women are fully responsible for configuring the gender ideology of this community in their marriage life. Women in bilateralism appear to have had an historic and cultural advantage in the struggle towards empowerment in modern society, and bilateralism seems also to have provided a mechanism for levelling and reducing hierarchies between men and women (Karim, 2005).

Women also play important roles, as we observe, in food preparation for *Chol tendeng, Nhai ka thom*, birth and confinement. Kin networks on both father's and mother's side take part in these activities, and their contribution cements kin ties, particularly between women. However this is not to deny the men's role in cementing kin ties within this

society. Men's role emerges in both private and public sphere, such as helping women preparing food, washing dishes, arranging for contributions to pay to *Aoung Tuan*, in *Ngai ka thom*, finding a cow for the feast, arranging to borrow the cooking dish from the *serau*, building the tent for the cooking and eating area.

The analysis of *rites de passage* has suggested that a cognatic family structure is clearly emerging in almost all activities. Kin of mother's and father's sides are equally important. The supportive, collective, mutual concession and reciprocity characteristic of kinship relations features prominently among these people. Labour is extensively exchanged between kin and non-kin, especially during *Ngai chaohrong* and *Ngai ka thom*. Both sides of the family are involved including maternal and fraternal uncles and aunts, siblings and spouses, nieces, nephews, cousins, and others. Their support and cooperation before, during, and after every occasion during the life course reveal the 'kinship idiom' of this people. Not only is labour exchanged on these occasions but money and goods are also contributed to be shared with others in any feast or rituals. The cognatic concept also permeates the *Chol tendeng* ceremony, where both sides of kin are equally important and all kin are free to choose to join any side of family in *Chol tendeng* occasion (see Chapter Six).

This scenario contrasts with the Malays studied by Carsten (1994) who noted that the future *bisan* or co-parents-in-law have highly formal relations with a 'qualitative difference' when compared to close kin. To some extent, both parties are aware of their rights, responsibilities, and most importantly their behaviour towards each other. However, for the Cham, in this scenario it is considered common for future mother in-law and sister in-law to lend their hand in helping food preparation in *Chol tendeng*. There are several reasons contributed to this 'informal relationship'; the 'overlapping' relationship among both families, and the 'closeness' of their relationship have taken away the 'formal relationship' between future *bisan* or co-parents-in-law.

So far, the data of this research suggest that in describing the importance of Cham extended kinship ties, several distinct points should be highlighted. Firstly, the wide

range of kin who are actively recognized and who attend family functions, shows that close and distant kin are important for this community. In *Ngai chaohrong* for instance close and distant kin are invited and expected to come. Also for the death ceremony both are obligated to turn up.

Secondly, the closeness of ties between the generations is exemplified in the pattern of living with parents for a period after marriage and in the care of the elderly. The absence of care homes for the elderly is not the explanation for this scenario; rather, Islamic values, which are strongly held by these people, and social sanctions from the community have contributed to the family care of the elderly and strengthened the intergenerational ties. Thirdly, sibling relationships continue to be important both structurally and behaviourally among the Cham, as illustrated in *Chol tending, Ngai chaohrong* and *Ngai ka thom*. These ties are established when people are young and remain strong after marriage.

Several factors have emerged from this study in illustrating how Cham are able to maintain a harmonious relationship with a wide kinship circle. Firstly, in economic activities, kin offer labour resources. Secondly, during the life course and life crises kin offer support and assistance. Finally, the migration process and the agony of losing kin created the spirit of *'Kembojaness'*, which unites them together.

This research also finds that what has helped to bind Cham together is the hardship they experienced in refugee camps, and during their first assimilation into the Malaysian community. The juxtaposed experience of the kinship relation in migration, economic activity, the life course and ritual, ethnic identity, and religion are crucial in understanding Cham kin ties. These aspects blend together in describing the Cham kinship idiom. The underlying factor in understanding the Cham is the spirit of 'togetherness' in the community. The people strongly hold the concept of 'united we stand, apart we fall'. The efforts the Cham people put into maintaining a strong and harmonious relationship with close kin, distant kin, and certain non-kin are perhaps the most significant aspects of their life in the new settlement.

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Kinship in Cham is about the ways that *Orang Kemboja* draw together, reaffirm their ethnic identity and draw on resources of fellow ethnic or kin to make their way through what is only the latest stages in a longer running process of movement and resettlement among peoples that have been variously more or less accommodating and hostile. In other words kinship is now about drawing boundaries and mobilizing people defined as ethnic kin whereas previously kinship was more about drawing boundaries and distinctions within the group designated.

To conclude, in an attempt to analyse the effects of modernization upon the Cham kinship network, this study has identified the following trends;

1).   The involvement of these people in a commercial economy refutes the proposition that the Cham family is moving toward the Western nuclear family model as would be expected from the theories of Goode (1979) and Parsons (1949).

2).   The findings suggest that modernization has hardly affected Cham kinship system. The Cham may live in nuclear families, however they are far from being isolated and atomized as a single unit of household. In fact, it appears that this community seems to be naturally attracted to the idea of the extended family as a way of life.

3).   The type of modernization or exposure to a commercial economy for the Cham, has not followed western styles, in fact the modernization process is being moulded into their own 'shape' and integrated with their kinship values and practices.

4).   The kinship networks provide support (material and non-material) to individuals and communities in adapting to a new socio-economic and cultural environment.

It is not intended that this study should cover all aspects of Cham kinship system rather it should be regard as an initial exploration in this field. There are areas which have not been covered and numerous questions still to consider, especially matrilineal issues. Comparison with the Hindu Cham in Vietnam could throw more light on this question.

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