

LIVING ON THE PERIPHERY; Development and Islamization among the Orang Asli in Malaysia

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Appendix 1

Kinship Group Characteristics

In this appendix I look at the kinship groups in Kampung Durian Tawar in greater detail.

Upper People

Let us look first at the upper people. The Mangku Hasim (Hasim) (No. 9) matrilineal descent group consists of Ota (No. 1) through to Bedil (No. 12). It is centered on the siblings and children of Murai, a wife of Menteri Lewat (No. 2) (see Figure 22).

Previously Mangku Ujang (Ujang) (No. 12) was the *ibubapa*, but the present *ibubapa* is Mangku Hasim. Menteri Lewat's influence has been great, particularly in the realm of economics, and the results of this are still evident today. Almost all the rubber smallholdings owned by the members of this group were either directly developed by Menteri Lewat and his relatives or were developed through government aid obtained under his influence. Mangku Hasim's son Aman operates the rubber trader's shop in the village, and apparently Menteri Lewat passed it on to him. The durian orchards that this group owns in the forest and in the Orang Asli reservation have also been passed on from Menteri Lewat to his children and grandchildren.

The kinship group to which Batin Janggut and Jenang Misai belong is formed by the children of Menteri Lewat's older sister, Intan (she died in April 1997) (Nos. 13–25) (see Figure 23). This kinship group is divided into the children of Batin Janggut (Nos. 14–18), of Jenang Misai (Nos. 22–25) and of Manyo (Nos. 19–21). The deceased mother of my foster older sister, Percha (No. 13), was the younger sister of Batin Janggut and Jenang Misai and the older sister of Manyo. Due to the conflict between Batin Janggut and his now-divorced third wife and her children (Nos. 15–18), the smaller kinship group around Batin Janggut is effectively composed

Figure 22
No. 1 to No. 12

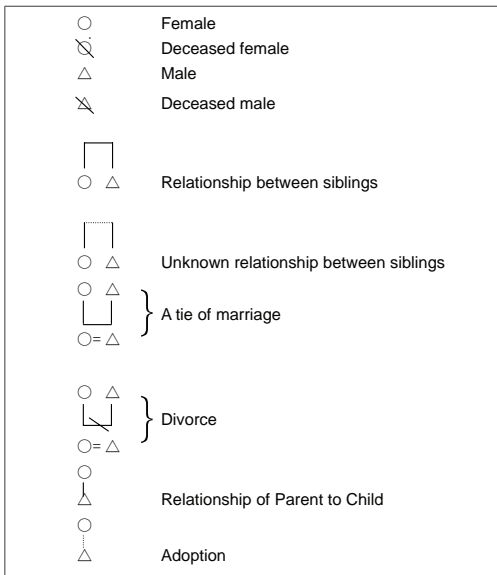
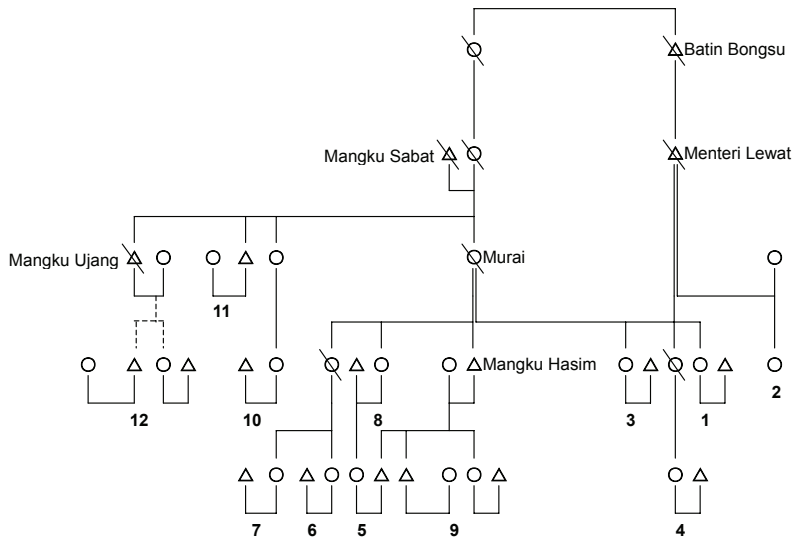
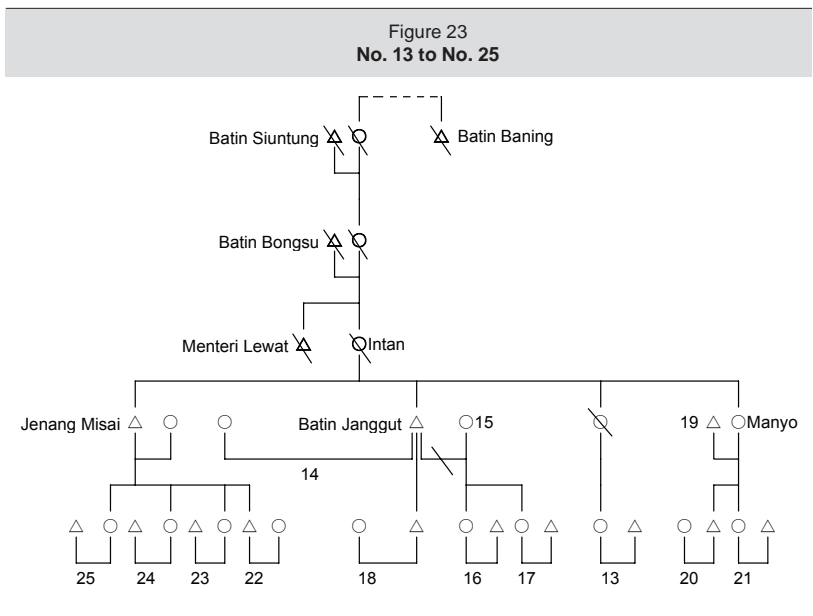




Plate 86: Kalu's family. Kalu (No.8) is a chatty old man and very skillful in the techniques of gathering and hunting. His wife (standing on his right side) is a chattier woman and is the more stronger-willed of the two. [NT-1998]



Plate 87: The author with Mangku Hasim's family [NT-2003]



of No. 13 and No. 14. If we leave out Nos. 15 through 18, however, the smaller kinship groups within this larger overarching one have mutually close relations.

The sons of Menteri Lewat’s older brother, Karim, form a kinship group (Nos. 26–30) (see Figure 24). Within this group, however, relations between the Islamic convert Sieu (No. 30) and his family and the rest of the group have soured. Under the practice of the uxorilocal principle, Karim’s sons should be living with their wives. However, with the exception of Bolok (No. 27), who returned to the village after his wife’s death, they have all remained in Kampung Durian Tawar since marrying. The reason for this, I gather, is that the durian orchards and rubber smallholdings passed down to them by their father are all in Kampung Durian Tawar and they figured, therefore, that living here would ensure relative economic stability.

There is a kinship group centered around Badak (No. 32), a sibling by the same father but a different mother to Menteri Lewat (Kasai (No. 31)–Longgok (No. 33)) (see Figure 24). Badak and his wife (No. 32), and his daughter and her family (No. 31), converted to Christianity following Badak’s son (who, on marrying, went to live with his wife in the Orang Asli village of Beranang, Selangor). While being part of the upper people,

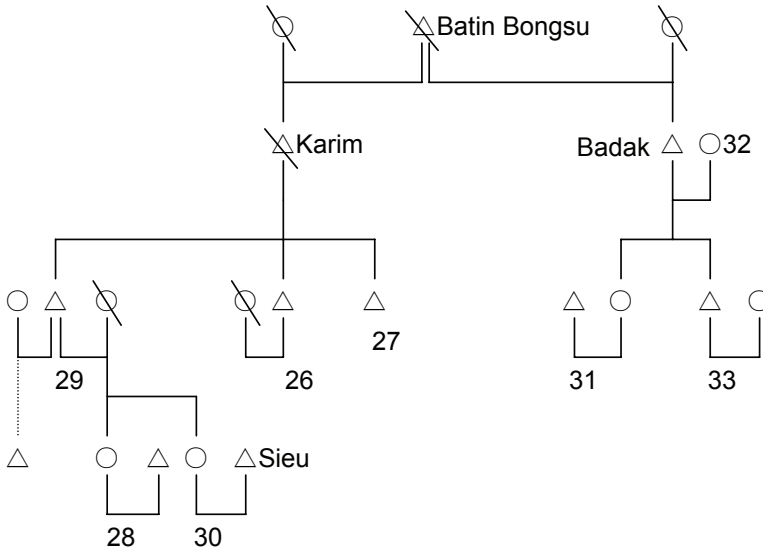


Plate 88: The author with Batin Janggut's family [NT-2003].



Plate 89: The author with Ukal and Manyo's family. The hut behind them was built for cooking and eating pork or monkey meat, because the adat dictates that pork and the flesh of monkey could not be brought into the main house. Manyo's daughter had suffered from a mental illness and sought traditional medical treatments from Orang Asli, Malay, Chinese and Indian shamans. In the end, she followed the strict food taboos imposed by an Indian shaman. [NT-2003]

Figure 24
No. 26 to No. 33



they have lived in similarly strained circumstances to those of the lower people. Their decision to convert to Christianity was arguably a response to the opposition felt within the village towards Islamization. Although there was disappointment when news of their conversion to Christianity spread through the village, it seems that there has not been the antagonism towards them that has been shown towards Islamic converts.

There is a kinship group formed around the children of Badak's older sister, Ubat (Bangkong (No. 34)–Kana (No. 38)) (see Figure 25). Two of Ubat's sons, Menteri Gemuk (No. 35) and Jekerah Asang (No. 36), are titleholders. However, Bangkong's wife (Biru) and Adunan (No. 46) have converted to Islam. In addition, Ubat's daughter Timo, who has left Kampung Durian Tawar, has converted to Christianity, as have her children. The only members of this family currently living in Kampung Durian Tawar are one of Timo's daughters (No. 37), who did not convert to Christianity, and Aru's wife (No. 22). Kana is Poteh's (No. 26) son. He entered this kinship group upon marriage, his wife being the daughter of Iyak, who was the daughter of Ubat. His wife's siblings are Konchon (No. 21), Arif (No. 42) and Mara (No. 45).



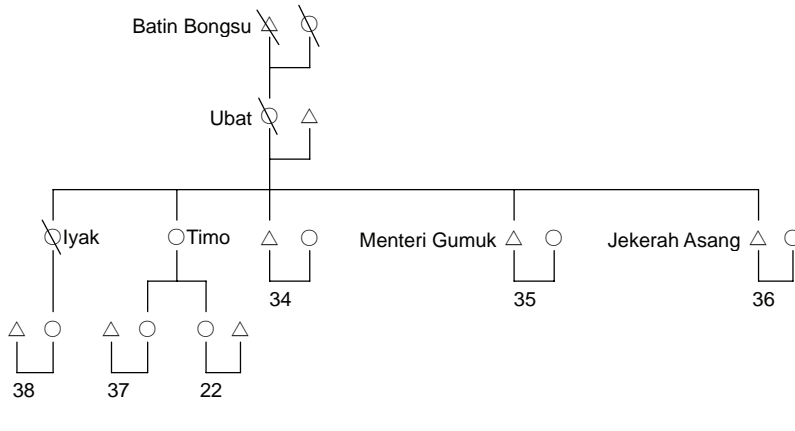
Plate 90: Badak's house. At the beginning, Badak camouflaged the fact that he and his wife had converted to Christianity. Badak's son is a Christian and lives in another village. When he revealed this, the villagers were very disappointed. Soon afterwards, Badak and his wife moved to his son's village. [NT-1997]

The above are the kinship groups classified geographically as the upper people (Bangli's household (No. 39) is located in the same part of the village, but as this is a lower people kinship group it is discussed in the next section). Almost all the people in these kinship groups belong to the *adat* group. The exceptions are Sieu's household (No. 30) and Bangkong's wife Biru (No. 34), who are Islamic converts, and Kasai's household (No. 31) and Badak's household (No. 32), the members of which are Christian converts. These people belong to the religion group.

As mentioned, there is conflict between Batin Janggut and his son Tikak. Some of the men in the *adat* group support Tikak, such as Urek (No. 10), Bedil (No. 12), Poteh (No. 26), Ajo (No. 28), Surak (No. 29), Sieu (No. 30), Jekerah Asang (No. 36), Polan (No. 37) and Kana (No. 38). There is a strong tendency, however, for the wives of such men to support Batin Janggut, and the men themselves oppose him (not publicly). Arif (No. 42) is also in the Tikak group, but since being bestowed with the title of Panglima Perang he often supports the Batin Janggut group.

Among the upper people, the households of Batin Janggut's divorced wife and her daughters (Nos. 15–17) strongly oppose Batin Janggut. Yu (No. 17), who is the son of Aki Main, is a particular source of trouble for Batin Janggut and the upper people. He often drinks and gets into troubles with people.

Figure 25
No. 34 to No. 38

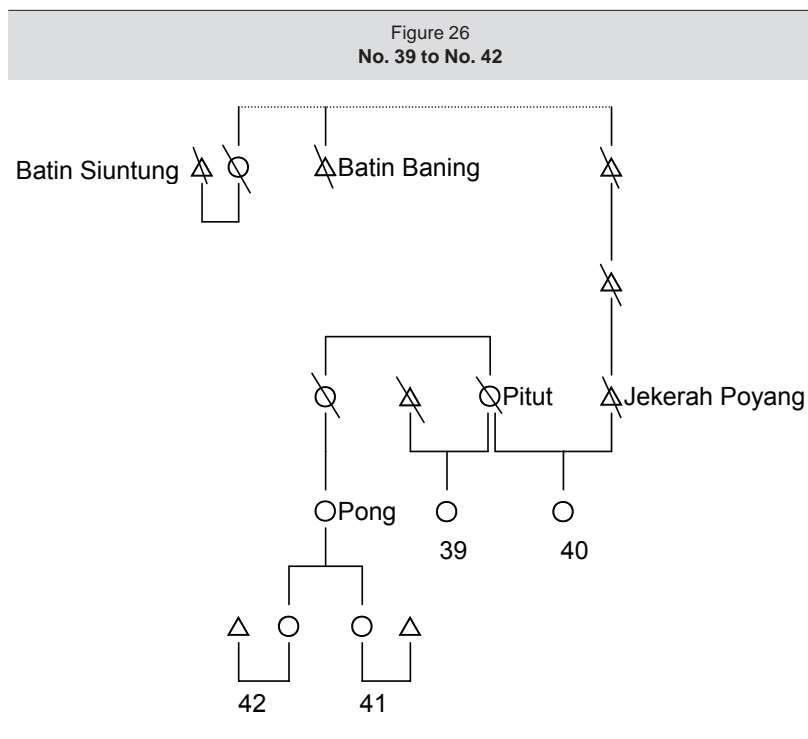


Lower People

People living in the households from Nos. 39 to 42 form one unified kinship group (see Figure 26). Bangli (No. 39) and Lunas (No. 40) are sisters from the same mother but different fathers, and Lunas and Pong (No. 41) are matrilineal parallel cousins. Lunas's father was Jekerah Poyang, who was banished from the village by Batin Deraman, and her mother was Aki Main's younger sister Pitut. Among Aki Main's other younger sisters' children living in the village are Ota (No. 1), Abai (No. 13) and Polan (No. 37), but none of them are in the Aki Main group.

After the death of the banished Jekerah Poyang, Pitut asked Batin Janggut for permission to return to Kampung Durian Tawar, and her request was granted. When she returned, she brought her younger sister's daughter, Pong, with her. No. 42 is Pong's daughter's household. In addition, Arif, who lives at No. 42, is a sibling of Mara who lives at No. 45.

The people living in the households from Nos. 43 to 55 form the core of the so-called lower people (see Figure 27). They are the descendants of the sons of Ali, Deraman and Kichoi, and they divide broadly into the children of Deraman and of Kichoi. Among Deraman's children, Ajam (No. 43), Katup (No. 44) and Kedai (No. 45) are siblings by the same father and mother, while Haji Konin (No. 52) and Entak (No. 53) are siblings by the same father but different mothers. Katup and Haji Konin are married



to a daughter and a granddaughter of Kichoi respectively. No. 54 and No. 55 are the households of Entak's daughters. Urek (No. 10), incidentally, is also one of Deraman's children, a sibling by the same father and the same mother as Kedai.

Among Kichoi's children, Camai (No. 44), Bonto (No. 46), Bujang (No. 47), Doyes (No. 48) and Hapam (No. 49) are siblings by the same mother and father, and Tekok (No. 50) is a sibling by a different mother. Nos. 51 and 52 are the households of Tekok's daughters. A son of Poteh's (No. 26) has married Kichoi's daughter, Camai (No. 44); a younger brother of the household at No. 35 has married Bonto (No. 46); and a son of the household at No. 10 has married Hapam (No. 49). These daughters are related by marriage to the upper people of Kampung Durian Tawar.

The Aki Main group is formed around the siblings of Aki Main's wife (see Figure 28). Aki Main's wife is from Kampung Bukit Lanjan, located on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur, as are her siblings. There is almost no blood relationship linking them and the villagers of Kampung Durian

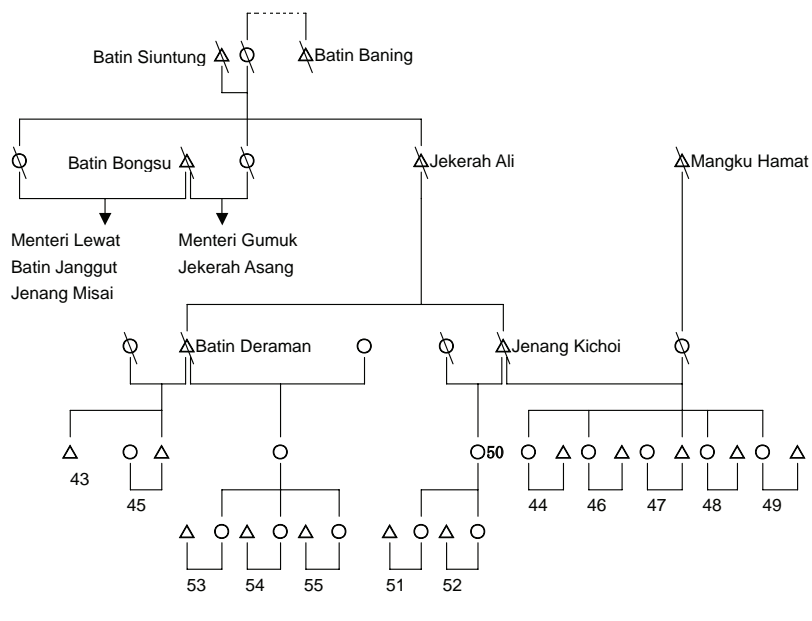


Plate 91: Ajam walking in the village. Although he has mental and physical disabilities from birth, he is able to make a living for himself. His close relatives and villagers support his lifestyle and provide him with work whenever they can. He often walks about 20 kilometers to go to the neighboring village where his relatives live. I like him very much. [NT-2007]



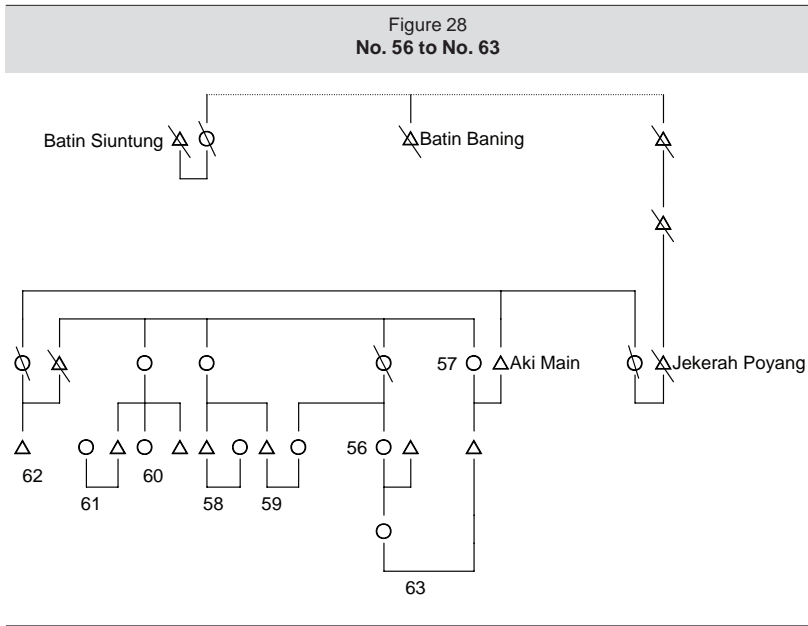
Plate 92: Kedai in front of the durian hut at the Sialang area. Kedai is very skilful at hunting and gathering. He is also a master at making traditional baskets. [NT-2007]

Figure 27
No. 43 to No. 55



Tawar, especially if we consider this in relation to the relationships among the women of Kampung Durian Tawar. As a result, no matrilineal links exist between them and the villagers of Kampung Durian Tawar.

From the perspective of the villagers of Kampung Durian Tawar, the Aki Main group form the “other” people (*orang lain*). Therefore, the kinship terms that the villagers use among themselves are not applied to them. This underpins the large differentiation made between the people of the Aki Main group and the villagers of Kampung Durian Tawar. Despite this, sons of Aki Main are married to women living at No. 12 and No. 16, and one of the sons (now deceased) of No. 60 was married to the daughter (now deceased) of Kalu (No. 8). That is to say, relationships by marriage have been formed between people from the Aki Main group and the villagers of Kampung Durian Tawar. In all such cases, males from the Aki Main group have married females from Kampung Durian Tawar. These are the kinship groups of the people in the village classified geographically as the lower people (with the exception of Bangli (No.



39)). Households among these kinship groups that also belong to the *adat* group are Nos. 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 49, 55 and 61. Gobek (No. 55) and Awas (No. 61) are from Kampung Bukit Lanjan but they have left the Aki Main group and now seek the guidance and protection of Batin Janggut and the *adat* leaders.

Those households that do not belong to the *adat* group (Nos. 46, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62 and 63) can be classified into either the religion group (Nos. 46, 50, 51, 52, 53 and 56) or the drunk group (54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62 and 63). In other words, those households not classified in the *adat* group have family members who have either converted to Islam or are addicted to alcohol. There are, however, some people who are both addicted to alcohol and converts to Islam, so the border between these two groups is not rigid.

I have gone into such detail on the specific kinship relations within Kampung Durian Tawar because I want to show that Kampung Durian Tawar is a world where relationships between people are formed through binding kinship relations. Above all, I believe it is necessary for us to understand that this small world forms the foundation of their life-world.



Plate 93: An Islamic convert. This lady had converted to Islam in 1997. She is always wearing a head-scarf, even when work is hard and sweaty. [NT-2007]



Plate 94: A drunk. The man on the left is a drunk and a troublemaker in the village. He works very hard, but he wastes his money on alcohol. [NT-2007]

