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

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Appendix 2

Principal Individuals

Listed below are the pseudonyms of individuals who appear frequently in this book. They are crucial actors of the ethnographic account presented in this book. This list is to assist readers with description, analysis and arguments. For ethical and political reasons, I am unable to list their real names. It is necessary to protect the identity of the people.

I calculated their ages from their dates of birth as recorded on their identification cards (as of 1997). I, myself, was twenty-eight years old in 1997.

Batin Janggut (62 years old)

Batin Janggut was not just the leader of Kampung Durian Tawar; he was also considered as the leader of the regional Orang Asli community. He had previously served as a JHEOA staff member. From his seven wives (now down to three, due to death and divorce), he had thirty-three children. Many in both the Malay and Orang Asli communities knew him as a person who wielded a potent magical power. He was eloquent and had strong leadership qualities. There was an ongoing feud between him and his son Tikak, as well as with the children of his third wife. His divorced third wife, along with her daughter and her partner, lived next to the Batin's house. Because he could speak a Chinese language, the Batin was able to maintain contact with the Chinese.

Jenang Misai (63 years old)

Jenang Misai was Batin Janggut's elder brother and had gone to a Chinese primary school. While Batin Janggut excelled in his dealings with the outside world, Jenang Misai was a strong leader within the village. He knew all the relationships and the state of the households in the village.

Because he had been a foster father to Tikak, the Batin's son, he was worried about the family feud between the Batin and Tikak.

Manyo (52 years old)

Manyo was the younger sister of Batin Janggut. She was the female leader of the matrilineal descent group to which Batin Janggut belonged. She was familiar with the women and the household matters in the village. Batin Janggut had given her and her husband some plots of land and other property. Her sons, Genreh and Asat, were among the most highly educated people in the village. Manyo, herself, did not work at the rubber tapping.

Ukal (53 years old)

Ukal was Manyo's husband. He was a guardian *ibubapa* of Mangku's matrilineal descent group. He had been given the title of Panglima because he was the brother-in-law of Batin Janggut, but could not cope with the responsibility and gave it up.

Menteri Gemuk (47 years old)

Menteri Gemuk was a (second or third) cousin to Batin Janggut. The matrilineal descent group to which Batin Janggut belonged was made up of two broad groups, and he was the leader of one of them. Batin Janggut's group was much wealthier than Menteri Gemuk's. Many more converts to Islam and Christianity could be found among the Menteri's kinship group.

Jekerah Asang (38 years old)

Jekerah Asang was a younger brother of Menteri Gemuk. After his marriage, he moved to live in his wife's village, Kampung Banning, but he later returned to Kampung Durian Tawar. He had so few economic resources that, according to Manyo, he had to beg his relatives even for condensed milk for his tea. He was not trusted among the villagers. His appointment as Jekerah was due to a process of elimination of others such as Bangkok. Both before and after his appointment to this title, he had often acted together with Tikak, a tendency that deeply concerned the Batin and others.

Tikak (47 years old)

Tikak, a son of the Batin, had been employed by the JHEOA but left the job before reaching retirement age. Since becoming the branch president of

UMNO, he had become a leader in the process of economic development, which had brought him into conflict with his father, Batin Janggut. Initially the men of the village had sided with him because he wined and dined them, but because of the unfair distribution of funds to a limited number of villagers, he encountered a backlash from the villagers, especially from the women. In the end, the villagers returned to supporting Batin Janggut. Tikak's daughter had converted to Islam, and was married to a Malay.

Adunan (43 years old)

Adunan was the younger brother of Menteri Gemuk. He had been living in the residential area of the lower people since marrying one of the daughters of Jenang Kichoi (who had since died) of the lower people. When his wife had converted to Islam, he converted as well. He was in conflict with the Batin before his conversion to Islam, but it worsened after this. He was the leader of the Islamic converts and was close to Tikak.

Bangkong (49 years old)

Bangkong was the older brother of Menteri Gemuk. He had been a contender for the role of *adat* leader, but his ability was considered insufficient and he was only given the title of Panglima. Using cultivated plots such as the rubber smallholdings as security for a loan, he had repeatedly borrowed money from the Chinese. He had divorced his wife because of her conversion to Islam, but they were living together again without remarrying. He had a close relationship with his younger brother, Adunan. He was considered the likely successor for the Jekerah title, but he could not win the support of his female relatives.

Mangku Hasim (53 years old)

Mangku Hasim held the title of Mangku. He was the son-in-law of Menteri Lewat. The Mangku's side of the family originated from Chergon near Kampung Dalam. They took part in the housing construction project, following Menteri Lewat's instructions. During the rule of Batin Janggut, it was decided that the title of Mangku would be handed down within his matrilineal descent group. Mangku Hasim's wife, a Chinese, had been adopted into the Orang Asli community during the Japanese military occupation. Mangku Hasim was considered to be the wealthiest man in the village, and this certainly appeared to be the case. One of his sons had married one of Batin Janggut's daughters.

Genreh (35 years old)

Genreh held the title of Panglima Tuha. He used to be employed as a JHEOA staff member, but was now a primary school teacher. He was a senior leader of POASM, and was viewed as a leader of the next generation. Having lived for a long time in Pahang with his Semai wife while on the staff of the JHEOA, his knowledge of affairs in Kampung Durian Tawar was limited. He made an effort to mingle with the villagers, such as when he went out hunting with the Mangku's sons.

Aki Main (79 years old)

Aki Main was the oldest man in the village. During the Emergency he had been a member of the Senoi Pra'aq. He remained in the Senoi Pra'aq even after the Emergency. He had lived in Kampung Bukit Lanjan for a long period before moving back to his native Kampung Akai. He did not get on well with the villagers there and moved to Kampung Durian Tawar. His elder brother had been a well-known *dukun*, as was he. He and Batin Janggut had a long rivalry, both over their *dukun* practices and in the village leadership. It was said that Batin Janggut had suggested to Aki Main that he should set up a new village (*buka kampung*) and become a Batin, but Aki Main had declined to do so because this would have been considered an achievement for Batin Janggut rather than for him. He was a drinker, and along with his sons was a member of the so-called drunk group. He harbored feelings of hostility towards Batin Janggut. Yu, his son, had married a daughter of the Batin and lived next to the Batin's house, but he was a known troublemaker, and was often involved in fights.

Jekerah Ali (deceased)

As the son of Batin Siuntung (a Malay), Jekerah Ali had been a legitimate successor to the Batin title, but he failed because of his badness (*jahat*). Instead, he called himself Jekerah. After the death of Batin Bongsu, he had exerted supreme authority in Kampung Durian Tawar, keeping the titles of Batin and Jenang in the family by giving them to his two sons. It was said that he had been in conflict with Menteri Lewat. He lost his authority due to old age after Batin Janggut came to power. He had vehemently rejected rubber tapping, saying "we cannot eat rubber". In much the same way, he rejected the economic development projects. Ali's offspring were reluctant to embrace the development projects. His son, Jenang Kichoi, married a Malay.

Aru (31 years old)

Aru was the son of Jenang Misai. He was one of the most highly educated people in the village and was considered to be a potential future leader. He could not, however, inherit the title, because he was the titleholder's son (in other words, *enekbuah bakar*) following matrilineal principles. He had had a long "affair" with a wife of Leting and when they married they had two children. The wedding ceremony was attended by his former wife. Since remarrying, Aru spent more time in his new wife's native village. In his mother's native village of Kampung Dusun Kubur, he was in a position to be considered as a successor for the Batin title.

Asat (27 years old)

Asat was my research assistant. He was divorced, was the younger brother of Genreh, and was a contender to succeed as an *adat* leader. He also worked for the POASM and UMNO branches in the village.

Milong (33 years old)

Milong was my adopted brother. He was also a contender to succeed as an *adat* leader. He played a leading role in the POASM and UMNO branches in the village. Because he was single at that time, he was not able to satisfy the conditions required to be an *adat* leader.

Aman (34 years old)

Aman was one of the sons of Mangku Hasim. He owned the rubber trader's shop. Because his mother had a Chinese background, he had extensive connections with the Chinese in Pertang. He was an important member of the anti-Tikak group, and kept a close eye on the movements of the lower people. He was the most important informant for me on village politics and the village economy of Kampung Durian Tawar.

Batin Awang 41 years old)

Batin Awang was the Batin of Kampung Baning. In negotiations with the government, he acted as Batin Janggut's right-hand man. He had strong leadership abilities, so much so that the leading supporters of Batin Janggut in Kampung Durian Tawar were cautious of him.

