

**The Investigation of the Implications of Squatter Relocations in
High-Risk Neighbourhoods in Malaysia**

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In the 1980s and 90s, Kuala Lumpur underwent rapid urbanisation and industrialisation which resulted in the major demolition of *perkampungan setinggan* (squatter settlements) to make way for new 'mega' developments. As a result former squatter dwellers were relocated into low cost high-rise flats, with little consideration of the consequences. Unsurprisingly soon, their habits and customs established in the '*kampung*' appeared to be incompatible with their new location. The tragic death in 1997 of a technical assistant killed by a brick thrown from a low-cost flat called for an awareness campaign to educate flat-dwellers on appropriate means of garbage disposal (Malay Mail 1997, as quoted in Bunnell, 2002: 1685), however, the logic of relocating squatters to high-rise apartments remained unchallenged. In 2001, the Selangor state government launched the Zero Squatters 2005 program in which the majority of former squatter dwellers were relocated into low-cost high-rise flats. This raises the question of why after the tragic incident in 1997 the Selangor government still chose to pursue a policy of high-rise flats as a solution to the housing issue? Therefore, the focus of this research was to study the implication of squatter relocation into this type of residential and how does governmentality and control through low cost housing policies impact the lives of those being controlled? Desa Mentari has been identified as a suitable case study for this research while its community were the main unit of analysis. Its selection was based on its characteristic, which is a neighbourhood for relocated former squatter dwellers that consisted of low-cost high-rise residential. Professionals were the sub-unit of analysis, mainly for their professional perspectives and knowledge of the issues surrounding the community of this neighbourhood. The data was then analysed against the five domains of the Infrastructure of Everyday Life which are home and

neighbourhood, sources of support, having a say, enjoyment, and making ends meet. Based on the analysis, the thesis found that the main implication due to the relocation is the breakdown of the community structure, racial conflicts, the rise of social ills and the deficient living environment. The thesis also found that there were different levels of treatment between this lower income group and the affluent, and also between the different ethnic groups within the community. The work ultimately argues that planning and housing policy should be informed by the everyday live activities and needs of specific groups within society. It suggests that, because the everyday life framework consists of four domains, embedded within a fifth – the neighbourhood – it lends itself well as a tool for analysis of those needs and translation of that analysis into practical policy.

Keywords: Squatter relocation, the Infrastructure of Everyday Life, governmentality.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 No Lesson Learned

In May 1997, a technical assistant was killed by a brick thrown from Block 94 of the Putra Ria apartments in Jalan Bangsar, Kuala Lumpur. This 'murder' called for an awareness campaign to educate flat-dwellers on appropriate means of garbage disposal (Malay Mail 1997) (as quoted in Bunnell, 2002:1685). The low-cost high-rise flat is occupied by former squatter dwellers from Kampung Haji Abdullah Hukom squatter settlement, relocated in 1996 by the Kuala Lumpur City Hall. It was noted that a year after the flat dwellers were relocated, they had not discarded their bad habits, dubbed as '*kampung values*' (ibid), brought in from the squatter settlements. This tragic incident brought to attention the failure of high-rise flats in modernising and changing the attitudes of former squatter dwellers.

Fast forward a few years later to 2001, the Selangor state government launched the Zero Squatters 2005 programme through which, under the Zero Squatter policy, the state targetted that by the year 2005, all squatter settlements in Selangor would be eradicated. The failure to solve the issue of squatter settlements would have an effect on the state government's credibility in achieving Selangor as a developed state by 2006 (known as *Selangor Maju 2006*). The main aim of the programme was to improve the quality of life of the former squatter dwellers and to ensure that every single person living in Selangor is entitled to a house or a place of shelter. Squatter dwellers were to vacate the land they were illegally occupying and be relocated to various housing schemes that would specially cater to the medium low and low-income groups (Sufian and Mohamad, 2009:119). For the lower income group, the majority of the housing schemes are in the form of low-cost high-rise flats.

In 2009, five years after the relocation, it emerged that the same issues rose in 1997 resurfaced in other low-cost high-rise flats in Selangor. The question that looms in

the author's mind is why after the tragic incident of the Putra Ria flats, and the many global examples of the failure of high-rises for the low-income group; the Selangor government still chooses to relocate squatter dwellers to high-rise flats as a solution. It seems that no lesson has been learnt from the incident and the aim of improving the quality of life of former squatter dwellers is merely on paper. Profits and costs are given more priority over the people's welfare as quoted in Bunnell (2002:1690):

"The choice of high-rise flats as the appropriate solution to the 'squatter problem' in Kuala Lumpur, and elsewhere, is to a large extent determined by cost" (Morshidi et al., 1999).

The community itself and other professionals, mainly non-government organisations, through conducted interviews that will be discussed later in the thesis, also support this statement.

1.1 Setting the Scene

The tragic incident in 1997 and current issues of this community were solely blamed on the mal-adaptation of former squatter dwellers to living in flats, and their '*kampung*' mentality and values that they brought with them (ibid:1685). These values are perceived as primitive and unacceptable for urban life and are always associated with the birth of social ills in former squatter settlements. Although there is some truth to this allegation in terms of their conduct regarding garbage disposal for instance, the authorities and developers are also partly to blame. The development of the flats only conforms to the minimum requirements of facilities, and according to Bunnell (2002:1693) and Yeoh (2001:115), they were described as 'pigeon holes' and 'chicken coops' due to the size and the structure of the flats. Syed Husin (1998:4) also raised the issue of inadequate living conditions where he stated that low-cost housing consists mainly of:

"Two or two and a half room flats in high-rise buildings between 18 and 22 storeys, and built close to one another with poor workmanship. More often

than not there is no playground for children. Garbage collection is irregular and inefficient, and soon the environment becomes polluted”.

The design of the flats did not take the quality of the residents' lives into consideration and they are inadequate for the people to lead a comfortable life. Moreover, due to their lack of facilities and services, they eventually turn into vertical slums.

In addition, the ill treatments and attitudes of the local authority towards the community is also a concern. Based on interviews, the lack of communication, disinterest, insensitivity and bias frustrate the community and build more mistrust and tension between the two parties. Public participation is weak, as the authority still prefers to act as the decision maker with regards to any development and management of this community. Relocating to the flats was supposed to improve the lives of these former squatter dwellers, but the people still preferred to reside in their former homes that were deemed inhabitable because of the poor state of the houses and the tough living conditions. Their main argument was they do not feel any sense of belonging to the flats and the community, and were faced with more issues such as racial and social issues, since moving in.

In view of the above, this thesis will explore the negative implications of squatter relocation in chosen high-risk neighbourhoods, and the effectiveness of squatter relocation in improving the lives of former squatter dwellers.

1.2 Problematizing Kampung Setinggalan

This begs the question of why squatter settlement dwellers were evicted and relocated to low-cost high-rises in the first place. Squatter settlements in Malaysia or *perkampungan setinggalan* as they are locally known, have long been negatively stigmatised. These dwellings were originally built using cheap materials, such as wooden planks and zinc sheets, to shelter the dwellers and the dwellings are

eventually upgraded depending on the dwellers' financial situation. Some *perkampungan setinggian* are even provided with properly tarred roads, facilities such as halls, small mosques and temples and other amenities mainly out of necessity and on humanitarian grounds as well as to prevent the outbreak of diseases (Yeoh, 2001:110). However, there are also cases where these facilities are provided for political reason mainly to form potential vote banks (ibid:112; Bunnell, 2002:1690). Nevertheless, it is still in stark contrast to the surrounding areas of high-rise modern buildings, mega shopping complexes and state-of-the-art infrastructure. Despite lacking physical structures and facilities, the environment resembles that of villages in rural areas and the communities act and live as they would in the *kampungs*. The *kampung setinggians* are usually homogenous as they are segregated according to ethnic groups, with the majority belonging to the lowest income groups. The community also mostly consists of kin and friends from the rural areas. Therefore, the *kampung* spirit is well and alive in these areas and it is a place which is "*familiar and supportive at times of difficulties*", (Nadarajah(b), 2007:124). Most importantly, the dwellers feel that they belong.

Nevertheless, this way of living is unacceptable against an urban backdrop and is considered as backward (Bunnell, 2002:1689). *Kampungs* in general, and their dwellers, mainly the Malays, have always been perceived as primitive, static and excluded from the commercial life of the country (Mohamad(a), 2010:37). This view has resulted in the *kampung* people being 'pushed' and 'pulled' out from the rural areas and migrated to urban areas, especially in the 1970s, with the promise of better opportunities and jobs. It was hoped that this 'forced' planned urbanisation would modernise the Malays, as stated by Mohamad (2010(a):113):

"The fact of urbanisation alone involves a process of physical and psychological uprooting of the Malays from the traditional rural society. There can be no doubt that with this uprooting, old values and ways of life must give way to the new."

However, even though the government encouraged the migration, adequate and affordable accommodation was not provided for migrants. This resulted in the

migrants squatting on land and erecting new urban *kampungs*. Fast forward more than 20 years and the urban *kampungs* are now seen as problems; these settlements are described as “eye sores”, “death traps”, “places of squalor”, “fire hazards” and a “nest for criminals” (Yeoh, 2001:110). They are associated with being breeding grounds for crimes, social ills such as drug abuse and alcoholism, and even prostitution (Nadarajah(a), 2007:73; Nadarajah(b), 2007:119; Bunnell, 2002:1690). This has been the basis for the ‘problematizing’ of the major eradication of these settlements in Kuala Lumpur in the 1990s as well as its shanty-like image that does not fit the modern image of the national capital city. Selangor then followed suit with the introduction of the Squatter Zero 2005 programme that aimed to improve the lives of *perkampungan setinggan*’s dwellers and to ensure that every residents of Selangor owns a house. At the same time, Selangor also aimed at being a developed state by 2006 in and of the criteria was that no *perkampungan setinggan* was to exist within the state. However, it is believed that the eradication was driven by a racial clash in 2001 (Nadarajah(a), 2007:74), famously known as the Kampung Medan incident. The clash that occurred between the Malays and the Indians was stirred by a social disagreement that took three weeks to cool off. The result of the clash saw six people dead and more than 400 detained (Damis, 2007). This was a strong enough reason for the state government of Selangor to implement the programme. However, the new settlement has not solved any of the problems highlighted by the State Government and the situation in fact worsened, which raised the question as to what the actual reason is for relocation. Hence, the issue of ‘problematization’ is another matter that will be investigated in this research.

On a personal note, the issue of problematizing certain community groups for the benefit of other parties struck a chord with the author, as she believes that everyone, regardless of income and racial background, has the right to a better home. Every community has problems and different approaches are required to deal with issues faced by various communities. Most *perkampungan setinggan* were demolished under the impression that these settlements were the breeding grounds for crimes and social ills, as well as having uninhabitable living conditions. The provision of low-cost high-rises was therefore deemed as improving their quality of life. However, in the case of Desa Mentari, the main concern was the racial tension between the

Malays and the Indians. Hence, treating this issue in a similar manner as the previous relocation programme does not solve their problem. On top of that, their new settlements do not provide them with the same quality of life as their previous homes.

1.3 Malaysia and Ethnicity

As mentioned above, racial conflicts became the basis for 'problematizing' issues faced by certain community groups as well as groups with various economic background. Malaysia has three major ethnic groups which comprise the *Bumiputeras*¹ at 67.4%, of which more than 50% are the Malays and the remainder is made up of various indigenous groups; the Chinese at 24.6%; and the Indians at 7.3% (Department of Statistics, 2010). The Malays are the predominant ethnic group in Peninsular Malaysia which constitutes of 63.1% while the other *Bumiputeras*, such as *Ibans* and *Kadazans* dominate the East Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak. The *Bumiputeras*, mainly the Malays, were allocated privileged status in the form of *Bumiputera* rights stipulated in the Malaysian Constitution. This 'privilege' is also present when dealing with matters at the micro level such as the provision of facilities and services within a heterogeneous community, especially in lower income communities, which creates tension between the various ethnic groups. All in all, the issue of Malaysian ethnicities is a very complex matter but is central to this study and will be explained in Chapter 5.

¹ The Malays and other indigenous communities of Malaysia are classified as *Bumiputera*, which meant sons of the soil.

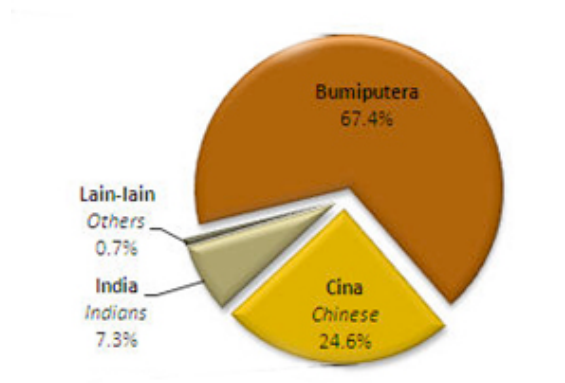


Figure 1 Percentage distribution of the population of Malaysia by ethnic group

(Source: Department of Statistics, 2010)

1.4 Research Aims, Objectives and Questions

The aims of this thesis are to **seek the real reasons behind the demolition of *perkampungan setinggan* or squatter settlements in Malaysia and to investigate the implications of these demolitions for their residents.** The thesis will explore the living conditions before and after the relocation, the reasons for relocation and the impact it has on the livelihood of the former *perkampungan setinggan* dwellers. The thesis also aims **to investigate the potential of implementing the Everyday Life concept in improving the lives of this community and to facilitate their everyday conduct and survival through policies and participation of the local authority.** It is particularly significant in the context of Malaysia as the livelihoods of poor household's (mainly those of the evictees in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor) are negatively affected by evictions and relocations. Furthermore, there are more evictions and relocations planned for other states of Malaysia that would duly see their livelihoods under threat. This research unearths the underlying issues faced by communities that were unwillingly relocated to supposedly better settlements and the transition of their lives from villages, such as *perkampungan setinggan* to densely pack, high-rise homes. This research will also look into how the Government uses their power to control and manoeuvre the

lives of this lower income group through housing policies, mainly the Squatter Zero 2005 programme, and also the development and the design of the low-cost flats for this community. It will then discuss the many concerns raised by the community and non-government organisations as well as other professionals, regarding the impact of this relocation in areas are been identified as high-risk neighbourhoods.

In order to achieve the above aims, the following research questions were developed:

- What are the reasons behind the eradication of *perkampungan setinggan* in Malaysia, mainly Kuala Lumpur and the most developed state of Selangor?
- What is the impact on the lives of those relocated, that is, what are their coping mechanisms?
- Given the evidence of failure behind the relocation of settlers to new high-rise neighbourhoods, why does the Government continue with this approach?
- To what extent are external perceptions regarded as fair or distorted views of the reality of the issues faced by new settlements?
- Might approaching the issues from an Everyday Life perspective be a better basis on which an understanding of policy can be built?

In order to answer the above questions and to meet the aims of the research, a series of objectives were formulated:

1. To conduct a holistic analysis and investigate the roots of issues faced by the community residing in high-rise flats in high-risk neighbourhoods;
2. To understand the issue of governmentality and control through policies and to what extent and why it has been implemented, in the context of the research;

3. To identify facilitating factors towards the developing of public policies that enhance the improvement, survival and coping of a community;
4. To analyse the data collected against the Infrastructure of Everyday Life concept for it to be adapted as a framework.

1.5 Preview of Chapters in this Thesis

Chapter 1 is a brief introduction of the research background, aims and objectives.

Chapter 2 traces the literature. It is divided into three parts. The first part reviews the background to the existence of slums and squatter settlements, their evolution and significance to their dwellers. The second part then further deliberates the issues of evictions and relocations as well as their implications and draws out an example on public housing policy in Singapore with a brief review of the Malaysian context. Finally, the last part of the chapter reviews the concept of governmentality and control and its implementation via policies. In addition, the chapter draws on examples of control exercised through planning design of housing developments and policies in the United Kingdom and the control in relocations and evictions of minor communities in developing countries.

Chapter 3 discusses several potential frameworks for exploring the situation of urban poverty and settlements and explains why the Everyday Life Approach has been chosen as the method of analysis. It starts with reviews of two other prominent approaches, which are the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) and the Capabilities Approach as well as examples of other approaches that have been implemented. It discusses the backgrounds, the principles, strengths and also the weaknesses of each approach. The chapter also contains a comparison of the approaches in terms of their negative and positive attributes.

Chapter 4 determines the methodologies implemented throughout the research for both the data collection and analysis process. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of the overall design of the research and it ends with an explanation of the evolution of the research, which determines the issues raised and discussed throughout this thesis. In general, the chapter is divided into two sections with the first half of the chapter addressing the documentation of the methods used to collect data, the rationale for the structuring of the data, problems faced in data collection and the appropriate resolutions of those problems. The second half discusses the development of the theoretical framework that was used to analyse the data and how it can be applied. The chapter also includes samples of the analysis process using the thematic code.

Chapter 5 provides a clearer view of the history behind the negative perception and control of certain ethnic groups in Malaysia. It looks into the backgrounds of the Malays and the Indians, which are the major population groups of the chosen case study. The chapter starts with a brief explanation of Malaysia and its ethnicities followed by a review of the Malays. It reviews the characteristics and the dilemmas faced by the Malays that brought the negative perceptions of them as people. It also briefly reviews how control and governmentality began through implementation through policies in Malaysia from the time of the British occupation of the country, and continued after the independence of Malaya. The chapter deals with this issue by discussing the New Economic Policy that is seen as being racially structured, favouring and skewed to the advantage of the Malays. The chapter then ends with a deliberation of the issues affecting the Indians.

Chapter 6 highlights the issue of squatter settlements in Malaysia and the *Setinggan Sifar* (Squatter Zero) 2005 programme as well as providing a brief discussion of the housing policies in Malaysia. This chapter further discusses the matter of governmentality and control through policies in Malaysia continuing from what is briefly reviewed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 7 presents a detailed description of the chosen case study. It includes a brief historical background of the former *perkampungan setinggan* and the chosen site, an inventory of the site and its surroundings, the physical condition of its buildings and the community that resides there. This chapter also illustrates the author's experiences while visiting and conducting data collection at the site.

Chapter 8 is the first part of a two-part inventory. This chapter presents the household data that were collected throughout the data collection process from the community of Desa Mentari, Taman Medan. The data were presented against the five elements of the Infrastructure of Everyday Life to ensure a clearer understanding regarding the suitability of the new low-cost housing provision. Under each element, additional triangulation with photographic evidence supplements the main data evidence.

Chapter 9 then continues with the inventory of the professional data. This data consists of interviews conducted with professionals related to the fields that are relevant to this research. The data are again presented in sequence based on the five elements as demonstrated in Chapter 8 with an added discussion on control and governmentality.

Chapter 10 begins with a brief review of the issues raised and the data collection process. It is this chapter that clearly demonstrates the negative impact that control and governmentality have over underprivileged communities. This analysis is important in understanding and justifying the issues discussed previously in Chapter 8 and 9. The chapter will also summarise issues raised from the findings together with other articles that refer to the same issues. The chapter also provide recommendations based on the Infrastructure of Everyday Life approach.

Reflection Chapter will reflect on the aims of this thesis. It will also reveal on the actual reasons behind the demolition of *perkampungan setinggan* in Malaysia, which

is the main aim of this thesis. This chapter will also discuss the thesis's contribution to knowledge and potential researches in the future.

Chapter 2

Squatters, Relocation and Governmentality

2.0 Introduction

This chapter begins with setting the research within the broader literature on slums, informal settlements, evictions and relocations. It will clarify definitions to be used throughout the work. The chapter will review the issues of impoverished neighbourhoods, evictions and relocations in developing countries. It is divided into three parts. The first will address the existence of slums or squatter neighbourhoods, their evolution and significance. The second part will discuss the issues of evictions and relocations as well as their implications and draw out an example of public housing policy in Singapore, with a brief review in the Malaysian context. Finally, and emerging from ideas developed from this initial literature, the last part will review the concept of governmentality and control and its implementation via policies. Although it is not specifically a practical approach to research, it is a valuable concept through which to understand the causes of, in for the experiences of poverty and poor settlements. For that reason, it is discussed here.

2.1 Slums, Informal Settlements and Urbanisation

2.1.1 The terminology

There are many terms used to describe the poor and run-down settlements around the world. The terms 'slum' and 'informal settlement' are often used interchangeably but do not necessarily refer to the same thing. An informal settlement is one built without planning permission and does not conform to building regulations. The residents or builders of the dwellings generally build it on land that is not owned by them. Around 70% of the world's housing is built in this extra-legal manner (Berner, 2001: 293). However, not all informal settlements are as poor or lacking in facilities

as the term 'slum' suggests. Conversely, not all slums are necessarily informal and many have originated from formal settlements that have become abandoned or run-down, where the housing has fallen into extremely bad repair. Nevertheless, the most commonly used term, to refer to poor settlements or neighbourhood, with inadequate housing and lacking in infrastructure and services is the term 'slum'.

The definition of a slum also varies in different countries and cities. In a study conducted by UN-Habitat (2003:196), out of 29 case studies, eight did not have any formal definition. Nevertheless, 'slum' can be defined as substandard dwellings, from the simplest shacks to more permanent structures, in squalid, run-down mostly urban areas. UN-Habitat (2006:4) refers it as a dwelling that lacks one or more of the following conditions:

1. durable quality structures,
2. secured tenure,
3. sufficient living space,
4. access to proper sanitation,
5. access to safe improved water.

Wakely (2008:2) also included unhealthy living conditions and hazardous locations, and poverty and social inclusion as characteristics of slum dwellings. More appropriately 'slum' does not normally refer to informal settlements, but to inner city residential neighbourhoods which were properly developed but have since physically deteriorated over time due to several factors such as the departure of its original dwellers and the units were rented out; overcrowded; aged; neglected or inhabited by lower-income groups; or a combination of any of the mentioned conditions (UN-Habitat, 2002:1; 2003:196). On the other hand, informal settlements are more associated with squatter dwellings that can be defined as illegal or semi-legal occupation of vacant lands that consist of self-constructed shelters, which do not comply with the local building code standards, or the occupation of abandoned buildings without the owner's permission. These informal settlements do not only encroach on vacant urban lands, they also encroach on river reserves, road

reserves, former mining areas or near landfills. The difference between these two settlements is that the households or dwellings in slums normally do not have any stake on the property and therefore have no interest in its maintenance while squatter dwellers 'own' their dwellings and would invest and upgrade their homes from time to time depending on their financial situation (Yap and Mehta, 2008:12). Whichever the case is, both conditions are substandard dwellings below the normal standards of living.

According to UN-Habitat (2007(a):1), one in six people in the world, which amounts to almost one billion people, are slum dwellers and the number is set to double by 2030 due to rising populations, especially in urban areas. The characteristics of slums vary according to different countries and cultures but very poor and disadvantaged people commonly inhabit them. However, as stated in UN-Habitat (2003:196), not all slum dwellers can be identified as poor and in fact, out of the 29 case studies, only two cities - Ibadan and Manila - included the term 'poverty' in their definition of a slum. In addition to Ibadan, another two cities, Jakarta and Lusaka, included the term 'low income' in their definitions. As the term 'slum' is used so frequently to describe a broad range of impoverished settlements, slums may be categorised into two groups. There are slums of hope that is settlements that are identified as still 'progressing' and which are normally illegal, self-built shelters, that are erected in areas or those that have been through some form of development, upgrading and reinforcement. The second category is slums of despair, which are neighbourhoods that are deteriorating due to the decline of its environment and domestic services (UN-Habitat, 2003:9). This category fits with the chosen case study in which former *perkampungan setinggan* dwellers were relocated into supposedly 'better' settlements in the form of high-rises that in less than five years have turned into slums. The reasons behind this transformation are two-fold: one, due to the physical attributes and lack of services and facilities; and two, due to the attitude of the dwellers themselves.

2.1.2 Why People live in Slums, Informal Settlement and Squatters

“Slums must be seen as the result of a failure of housing policies, laws and delivery systems, as well as of national and urban policies”.

UN-Habitat (2003:5)

One of the factors driving the development of slums is urbanisation. Urbanisation is the result of three circumstances: rural urban migration, population growth and the re-designation of rural areas as urban (Yap & Mehta, 2008:4). Perhaps the most significant circumstance for this study, as it leads to the development of many informal settlements in and around cities of the developing world, is migration. Migration can either be forced or voluntary. Migration can be forced in the sense that the people might have been displaced due to factors such as change in the crop industries in rural areas or natural disasters. Migration is voluntary when people relocate in search of better economic prospects and a better life. There is also the ‘pull’ factor which happens when rural migration is encouraged by the government, mainly that the people would work in factories or as cheap labour and in other poorly paid jobs. The people’s main purpose for migrating to urban areas is to earn an income and a better future for themselves and their children; therefore, where they live and the condition of the shelters is not a priority (ibid:7). What is important is the proximity of their work place that involves minimal or no expenditure on transportation. To some, this migration is temporary and they would, in the course of time, return to their villages hence renting is the best option. They would normally rent a place in slum areas and even squatter settlements where the rents are cheaper.

Apart from that, Swan also argued (ibid:3-4) that these people simply have no place to go. Due to the economic decline of rural industries, many rural poor communities are left landless and cannot afford basic facilities and services such as education and health. Migrating to the urban areas is the only option for them as there is more work opportunities and they have access to services. Another factor is that the housing agencies are unable to supply sufficient affordable housing for rental or

purchase for the poorer community. The influx of people into the cities and the lack of accommodations have led to the erection of squatter houses in existing squatter settlements or vacant areas, for example, along railway tracks or rivers. According to Swan (2008:5), this failure is due to bad locations and inappropriate designs, corruption, failure to meet demands and high monthly payments. As a result, the urban poor resort to renting in inner city slums or squats in vacant land at the outskirts of the cities where they have to make do with whatever services are available. If these services were lacking, they would have to develop basic services and needs for themselves.

With population growth comes the expansion of the urban areas. What were once the outskirts are now part of the central cities. This of course leads to the eradication of squatter settlements, and those that have not been demolished are constantly threatened with eviction. This insecurity, in addition to the non-secure tenure or the lack of tenure, causes the squatter dwellers to refuse to invest in their homes and its environment. This situation impacts the society enormously as viewed by politicians and the government. They are seen as breeding grounds for crimes, social issues, health and environmental issues as well as safety, which give them good reason to evict the dwellers of squatter settlements. Apart from the increasing urbanisation and population, Swan (2008:1-25) also listed city beautification, ineffective laws and large infrastructure projects as reasons behind evictions. However, despite the negativity surrounding the issue of slums and squatters, more and more scholars believe that it is significant that slums remain in cities and way and methods are continually being developed to handle slums and squatters efficiently and justly (UN-Habitat, 2002:2-15). With economic development, slums – to be more precise, its dwellers, provide cheap labour while the dwellings “play a useful role in providing cheap (though not necessarily cheerful) housing for those who cannot or, as likely, will not want to, spend any more on housing than they possibly can” (Mumtaz, 2001: 2). This thus has a significant connection to employment and wages (Swan, 2008: 3). However, although there are growing trends against evictions and whole-scale destruction of the dwellings of a poor community as it has an adverse affect on their livelihoods, evictions are still on a rise especially in developing countries.

2.2 Evictions

“A large number of forced eviction cases are a result of mega development projects or urban renewal programmes. Development imperatives, however, cannot justify human rights violations.”

(COHRE, 2009: 15)

The eradication and eviction of squatter settlements and their dwellers are on a rise in Asia and all over the world even though there are more campaigns, awareness and legislation that are established to prevent it from happening. These forced evictions are mainly targeted at poor and vulnerable communities that reside in informal tenure arrangements (Plessis, 2005: 123). According to the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) (2003: 3), 2001 and 2002 alone saw 1.8 million squatter dwellers evicted and another 3.9 million were under threat of being evicted. These figures referred only to Asia. Another report regarding evictions in Asia demonstrated that in 2005, a total number of 2,084,388 people were evicted compared to 334,593 people the year before, a number that is six times higher.

Table 1 Summary of Evictions from January 2004 – June 2005 in selected Asian countries

No.	Country	No. of people evicted	No. of incidents	Responsible group	Reasons
1	Bangladesh	27,055	17	13 by government 4 by private groups	Environmental clean-up Building shopping complexes Land Grab Infrastructure development
2	China	707,656	10	6 by government 4 by private groups	Shopping centres Infrastructure development

					Olympics
3	India	854,250	24	17 by government 4 by private groups 1 by local government 2 state government	Environmental improvement Hawker encroachment clean-up Park development Redevelopment Tourist development Caste
4	Indonesia	40,417	12	City government	Infrastructure development Hawk Redevelopment Hawker encroachment clean-up
5	Japan	600	3	2 by Private group 1 by local government	Clearing up the area
6	Malaysia	200	4	Government	Illegal immigrants Road development
7	Philippines	43,488	7	4 by local government 3 by government	Infrastructure development Removal of vendors/hawkers Beautification drive

Source: Fernandes, (2006)

The above table shows that India and China have the highest number of evictions compared to other countries. This is clearly due to the fact that these countries have the biggest populations in the world. Malaysia has the lowest number of evictions, but, this can be argued as inaccurate as it only reports the evictions of illegal immigrants whereas, during this time some states in Malaysia were conducting major evictions of squatter settlements under the Zero Squatter programme (which will be discussed below and in other chapters). In addition, the latest Global Survey

conducted by the Centre of Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE, 2009: 8) reported that in 2007 and 2008, 1,590,168 people were affected by forced evictions, illustrated as follows:

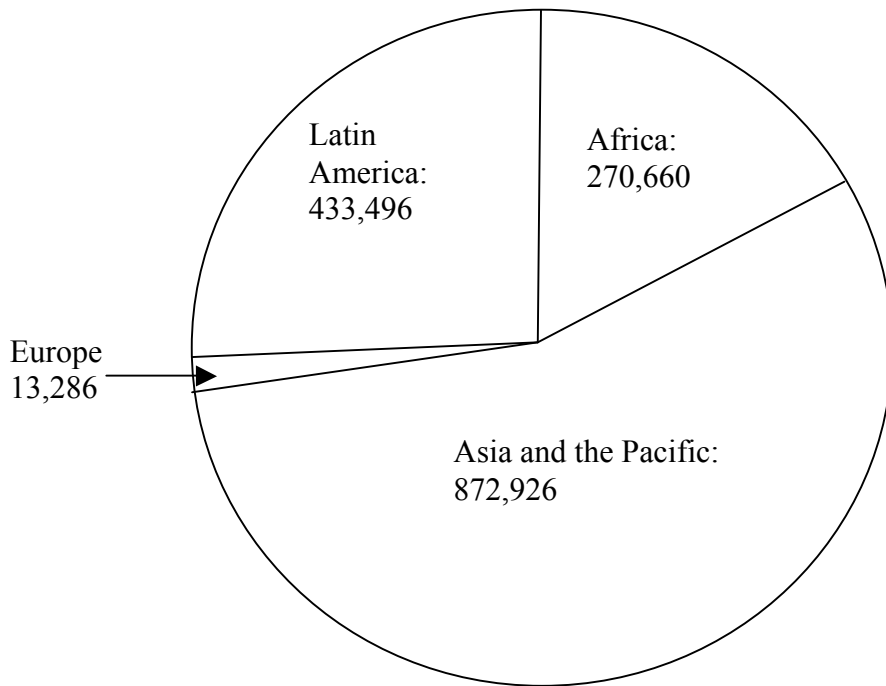


Figure 2 Latest Global Survey on forced evictions

(Source: Centre of Housing Rights and Evictions 2009).

This global chart shows that there is indeed a decrease in the number of evictions implemented in Asian countries. Nevertheless, the number is still high in contrast to other regions. This is due again to developing countries racing to develop more 'beneficial' and income generating projects on valuable land. Despite whatever efforts being done in terms of legislations and campaigns and the establishment of international laws against evictions worldwide, it seems that most developing countries still choose to evict rather than to use other methods or solutions to solve the issue of slums, informal settlements and squatter settlements. What is even worse is that some evictions do not include relocation assistances and compensation leaving these communities high and dry, and poorer than they were before.

2.2.1 Definition

The CESCR General Comment No. 7² was established under international law as a guideline on forced evictions and human rights that defines the 'dos and don'ts' for governments and other institutions regarding the prevention of forced evictions. In item 3, the comment defined forced evictions as "the permanent or temporary removal of individuals, families and/or communities against their will from the homes and/or land that they occupy, without the provision of, and access to, appropriate forms of legal or other protection" (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1997). This clearly states that any form of removal of dwellers from their settlements without their consent or against their will, with no prior or adequate notice, and inadequate compensation or to be relocated, can be considered as a forced eviction. It is also most commonly implemented on dwellers without secure tenure. Therefore, it can be said that the majority of evictions that occur globally can be categorised as forced evictions, including in Malaysia. Evictions affect not only people in the developing countries, they also affect those in developed countries and is considered a violation of human rights. Item 4 of the comment also states that it is not only the violation of human rights, it also violates civil and political rights that include the right of security, non-interference of privacy, family and home and enjoyment.

2.2.2 Causes

Forced evictions or any other form of evictions, certainly cause displacements and increases the level of poverty of the already urban poor and distressed, among others. At the same time, according to Davis (2007:98), this removing of squatter dwellers is due to interference by the state in the name of 'progress', 'beautification' and even 'social justice to the poor' when in fact these acts of interference are for the progress of landowners, investors, the elite and middle classes, while the poor

² Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights General Comment 7 on the right to adequate housing (art. 11.1 of the Covenant): forced evictions.

benefits nothing from the interference. Nevertheless, there are other factors that are the causes behind these evictions, and these are listed below:

1. Ever increasing urbanisation

Informal settlements were once acceptable, and some even encouraged, as migration generates income through industrialisation and other service industries offered in major cities. However, it is no longer acceptable as the lands occupied by these dwellers are required for developments that endeavour to achieve more lucrative financial returns to the state and the landowners. At the same time, major cities can no longer accommodate the rapid influx of urban migrants into the already congested and overcrowded cities, a situation that leads to the eradication of these settlements.

2. Land politics

Politicians, bureaucrats and developers are getting together to seize valuable lands and evicting the poor communities occupying the lands, to develop them into commercial developments that bring lucrative financial returns. In return, the poor are relocated into settlements that were purposely badly designed so that this situation would later cause the community to move out to the rural areas and the land can then be used for the benefit of the developers. As developers finance politicians for elections, they therefore have some form of power or say when it comes to the planning and regeneration of cities that could benefit them.

3. No laws protecting squatter community

In most Asian countries, there are no laws that protect the squatter community from being evicted or provide tenure security. If such laws do exist, it is most likely that they would be breached due to the unbalanced and unequal balance of power between the poor and the people in control.

4. Mega projects

Mega infrastructure developments that are financed by international organisations or joint ventures between international and local entrepreneurs are causing evictions to occur to make way for these developments that are mainly aimed at making cities attractive to investors. These projects are mostly unnecessary, a waste of money, are not thought through, non beneficial and are insensitive to the communities, and which later would have an adverse affect on them.

(ACHR, 2003:3).

In addition, Plessis (2005:123) also listed additional causes of forced evictions on top of the ones mentioned above. These are: (1), the construction of large international event venues such as the Olympic Games which are also usually financed by international financial institutions; (2), 'ethnic cleansing' of communities or certain groups due to political conflicts; and (3), no economic state supports to assist the poor. From the listed causes of evictions, most are conducted in the name of development and for the benefit of the government and certain groups of the population. This is more evident when economic growth is rapidly on an increase and developers seek investment opportunities. When the world is faced with recession, forced evictions would see a decline (Wakely, 2008: 4).

2.2.3 The Consequences of Eviction

Local governments are the main players when it comes to evictions because they justify their action as a means to serve "the public good" or "make a city more efficient" (Plessis, 2005:123). In reality, these new developments have, in fact, cost governments between ten to fifteen times more in expanses compared to upgrading the living conditions of these settlements (Wakely, 2008:6). Forced eviction results in the poor becoming even poorer and some become destitute and psychologically damaged (Swan, 2008:8; Hassan et al, 2009:1) as their homes are demolished and their properties confiscated. On top of that, Plessis (2005:124) pointed out other

harsh consequences of forced evictions suffered by the communities and families of squatter dwellers in which productive assets are lost or rendered useless; the social community structure is broken down; livelihood strategies are compromised; and access to essential facilities and services is lost. Apart from that, it has been reported that violence was used during the eviction process, which, in some cases, caused deaths. Those who dared to protest were arrested on false claims of disturbing public order or provoking violence (COHRE, 2009: 8). In some extreme cases, evictees risked their lives and even committed suicide when their attempts to prevent evictions failed (ibid:125). These violent actions and suicides traumatise evictees and will only elevate mistrust and hatred towards the government and the police force. In the situations where relocation assistance is provided, these new settlements are commonly found in isolated, remote areas, with inadequate services, are environmentally hazardous or unsuitable, so that these people can actually be rendered as homeless (Wakely, 2008:4). A wise government would have formulated other means other than the eviction and relocation of squatter dwellers to make way for development, as eviction has been shown to contribute more problems to urban poverty rather than solving them. In many cases, such as in Malaysia itself, these new settlements to which former squatter dwellers have been relocated, have turned into slums.

2.2.4 Relocation

Most Asian countries have resorted to relocating or rehousing the dwellers of squatter settlements, which is more costly, compared to upgrading the settlements. As the lands occupied by these dwellers are valuable to the governments, relocation is deemed a favourable method. The relocation of evictees in most countries has failed or totally ignored the needs of these poor communities. Their requirements differ from the middle and higher income groups. It is therefore important to understand why the provision of low-cost housing for former squatter dwellers has not been effective. Below are three essential needs for housing the urban poor, as stated by Swan (2008:6, 7);

1. Location

The location for the settlement of the poor community is much more important compared to the housing quality. The central location where they work must be easily accessible without the need for them to spend their earnings on transportation. They must be able to reach their workplace by bicycle or by walking. However, most housing developments for the poor are located in areas far away from the city commercial or industrial centres. This means that not only do they have to spend on transportation, they would also waste time in commuting, as stated by Swan (2008:6):

“A good location means access to jobs or livelihood opportunities. A bad location mean higher transportations costs and losses of employment time and hence less income.”

2. Mixed uses

The dwellings of the poor are usually multifunctional. The dwelling is not only their home, it is also a place where they can generate income. These home-based enterprises (HBEs) have a significant effect as their household incomes and their livelihoods improve. In addition, they do not require many skills which most of these poor communities lack. In UN-Habitat (1995:155), it is stated that 36% of those that are involved in HBEs are heads of households and another 30% are housewives or other family members. Women normally operate low-income HBEs such as sewing and laundry while the men provide services for repairing machinery or other activities that require more intense labour. Another means of generating extra income is by renting out a room or a portion of their home to renters. This seems more popular as it again does not require any skills, raw materials and equipment. The positive effect that these income generating households has is that there is significant improvement in the quality of the dwellings' conditions compared to dwellings without HBEs (UN-Habitat, 1995:156).

3. Community security systems

As poor communities mostly have no access to basic amenities such as electricity and clean water, they therefore rely on families and neighbours as their sources. They also work together to construct essential infrastructure such as basic roads to access their neighbourhoods, drainage and even open spaces for them to gather and relax. Those who work and have children they cannot afford to send them to nurseries. Therefore, non-working neighbours help to mind their children and safety is also worked on together. This creates a close-knit community, something that is lacking in middle and higher income group communities. Even though they are living in squalid conditions, which are perceived as inhabitable to outsiders, the strong sense of community provides them solace, happiness and even hope (Swan, 2008:7).

The relocation of former squatter dwellers to low income dwellings, which are mostly in the form of high-rises or low-cost housing developments at the outskirts of the cities, has a major impact on this poor community. There is evidence that the relocation to high-rises has made the dwellers unhappy and community structures have crumbled. As demonstrated by Hassan, et al. (2009:1), dwellers complained that “there is no neighbourhood feeling” and that it was harder for them to monitor and control their children’s activities. This is because living in high-rises limits their ability to watch over their children who might be playing on other floors or in the playground that is far away from their homes. In contrast, when they lived in their single storey *kampung setinggan* homes, the entire family interacts on the same level. Their limited ability to monitor their children could lead to their children misbehaving and being involved in negative activities. As the majority are from the lowest income group, the housing units are deemed as “expensive to maintain and instalments for lease or ownership are more often than not unaffordable for the poor residents”. Another issue that has been highlighted is the lack of privacy as flat units are stacked and placed closed together. As land in urban areas is expensive, developers limit the space of each housing unit to make these dwellings affordable to the poor. This is a concern to dwellers, as it allows no room for their housing unit to grow, unlike their informal houses that grow and improve when family members increase and financial situation improve. Therefore, they either have to live in

cramped, congested households which have a negative social impact on the dwellers' well being or some family members would have to leave which in turn creates conflicts among family members. Limited space also makes it difficult for dwellers to operate HBEs as adequate storage space and facilities are required for such activities. On top of that, the dwellings are also described as "badly maintained; garbage was not lifted; and there were serious plumbing related problems" (ibid).

For those living in individual low-cost houses, which are deemed as more comfortable, they are faced with differing concerns, as these developments are located at the outskirts of cities. Dwellers are now faced with the issues of transportations and accessibility to public services such as health centres, schools and other essential social services. As mentioned above, earnings are wasted on transportations and incomes have been cut as less time is spent at work due to commuting. In some cases, this resulted to some of the people resorting to squatting back in areas nearer to the central cities. In this case, the solution that was supposed to remove squatter settlements in urban areas has failed and has brought to other problems and the decision of some people to squat back in urban areas brings the government back to square one.

2.2.4.1 *The Singapore Experience*

Singapore is known for its high-rise public housing that caters for all levels of income groups. With a land area of only 700 square kilometres (Sock-Yong, 2010:44), high-rise residential towers are the best means to house its population of 4.84 million people (in 2008) (ibid). In most countries, the existence of public housing is considered a sign of poverty or lower standard of livings but it is not the case in Singapore which it has been ranked 25th on the 2002 United Nations human Development Index with hardly any of its population living below the poverty line (Yuen, 2007:2). However, the scenario is different in the early 20th century. During this time, the supply of dwellings was low while the number of population was rising, as demonstrated in Table 2:

Population and building density in early Singapore Year	Population (City)	Dwellings	Building density (Persons per building)
1907	250,000	20,000	12.5
1931	567,000	37,000	15.3
1947	938,000 (700,000)	38,500	18.2

Table 2 Population vs. Dwellings provided

(Source: Yuen, 2007:3)

In the 1930s, four-fifths of Singapore's population were residing in the urban areas. In 1947, the figures showed 72% and in 1957 it was 63%, even though at the same time the rural population was growing. This was due to the fact that the poor, and especially the singles preferred to reside nearer to work and would rent in overcrowded shophouses that the landlords had divided into cubicles using partitions or by constructing more storeys (Loh, 2007:12). As the central area became more and more congested, people started to move to the urban periphery and erected unauthorised accommodations in the form of huts constructed of wood and *attap* (roofs made out of palm leaves). These settlements are known as *kampung attap* or *attap* dwellings. The majority of the dwellers were post-war migrants who migrated to Singapore during or immediately after the Japanese occupation (ibid:14). The dwellings were deemed inhabitable with poor sanitation and no proper drainage systems, like any other squatter settlements. Despite the deficient facilities, these *attap* dwellings have a unique, local characteristic: the community was close knit with relatives at hand in case of emergencies. However, at the same time these dwellings were labelled 'black areas' and associated with being breeding ground of secret societies, diseases, crimes, gangsterism and fire hazards. This eventually led to their clearance in order to "restore this perceptual margin, to redefine what modern Singapore was" (ibid:21).

It was reported that in 1947, Singapore was home to the world's worst slums with 300,000 residing in squatter settlements or the *attap* dwellings, without any proper sanitation, water supply and basic health facilities, while another 25,000 were residing in overcrowded ramshackle shop houses within the city area (ibid). Between 1947 and 1959, the Singapore Improvement Trust (SIT)³ had only managed to construct around 40,000 dwellings to accommodate 1.5 million people that were far from sufficient. By 1960, only 8.8 % public housing units had been built for the population, which had increased to 1.6 million (Reisman, 2007:161). The Housing and Development Board (HDB) was then set up to develop good quality public housing to improve the lives of its residents and most importantly, to overcome the housing shortage. By the 1960s, the greater population of Singapore is living and owning high-rise housing units while many other developing countries were still faced and struggling with a housing shortage (Yuen, 2005:3). Under its shelter-for-all policy, Singapore saw the rise of a number of its population residing in public housing, from 9% in 1960 to 86% in 1986. The policy enabled all citizens of Singapore who do not own a house and whose monthly household income was under the specified ceiling to either rent or purchase a public house (Yuen, 2005:5). The development of these high-rises started off as makeshift homes, as with most public high-rises accommodation throughout the world, but eventually and over time, the quality of their construction and design improved.

2.2.4.1.1 Affordable and Quality Housing

In 1959, the People Action Party (PAP) under Lee Kuan Yew took office and a year later the Housing and Development Board (HDB) was established as the successor to SIT. With the principle of “providing flats of sound construction, clean design and pleasant surroundings for the lower-income group for rents which they can afford” (Loh, 2007:31), their immediate task was to construct as many dwellings as possible to accommodate the housing shortage without compromising the quality of the

³ Set up in 1927 under the colonial government; its main task was to plan roads and open spaces, construct lanes between back-to-back houses, and build new dwellings to make possible slum clearance (Reisman, 2007:160).

construction. Apart from that, the objective was also to provide affordable housing for those who could not afford to own a home, mainly for the low-income group, and eventually including the middle income group (Tan, 1994:3). The HDB launched with Five-Year Building Programme that aimed to develop 10,000 numbers of low-cost public housing a year (Loh, 2007:31). The developed flats were predominantly one to three bedroom flats that included one-room emergency flats, which acted more as semi-permanent dwellings with communal space. Tan (1994:4) stated that there are four main tasks that can be listed as under the responsibility of HDB which are:

1. Management of policies

HDB's role is to ensure that all housing policies developed are to protect the resident's welfare and rights. Over time, these policies and regulations would be reviewed and updated accordingly. These regulations include eligibility of rental and purchase of flats, allocation of flats, rules against misuse and abuse of public property and uncivil behaviour and outlining fines and charges.

2. Management of ownership

This includes the management of allocation of flats and its registration process, lease and resale, legal and welfare services, and loans. The Singapore government aimed to ensure that all its residents own a home and this aim was realized for most of Singaporeans through the introduction of the Home Ownership Scheme in 1964. The Scheme was developed to provide public housing for those who cannot afford to purchase a house. Other housing schemes are also available and it is their responsibility to provide services in the management of the transaction process.

3. Maintenance and improvement

HDB's tasks include major repairs to and replacements of mechanical parts and electrical installations such as lifts and water pumps. However, in 1988, the responsibility of maintenance was handed to town councils. They are

assigned to provide regular up keeping services, cyclical preventive maintenance such as lift services and re-roofing, and major repairs such as car park extension and piping.

4. Community development support

HDB organises community activities to encourage communication between residents and grassroots organisations in support of community development. Grassroots organisations consist of volunteers and are supported by the town council. Their main role is to reinforce participation in community activities. Residents are also involved in the daily management of their flat, overseen by the town council. To ensure that the management of tasks and communication run smoothly, it is therefore important that the leader of the council is made accountable to the residents. Apart from that, other support services and organisations are established to promote better community living.

Homeownership was once a privilege that could only be afforded by those from the middle and upper income groups. However, Singapore's government, through the HDB, had made it possible for the low-income group to also own a home via the introduction of the subsidised homeownership scheme in 1964. Before that, all HDB public housing were rental-only. It is reported that the homeownership rate has exceeded 90% and that 86% are residing in more than 900,000 units of public housing that were developed by HDB, although 95% of the units were purchased on a leasehold-ownership basis (lease for up to 99 years) (Phang, 2010:44). Financial assistance is provided under the scheme through which eligible buyers can withdraw their savings from the Central Provident Fund (CPF) to use as down payment and mortgage payment towards their home. This is even better for first time buyers as they can pay their monthly home loans entirely from their CPF savings (Yuen, 2007:12). This assistance had a positive effect in terms of homeownership as it saw a rapid increase of homeowners among the lower income group.

In most countries, high-rise accommodations, especially public high-rise housing, are perceived as uncomfortable and insensitive to its residents as well as having other negative associations such as social, safety and crime issues. However, Singapore has successfully warded off this perception when it comes to the development of public housing. Over time, HDB has progressively improved the conditions of its public housing making it equivalent to comfortable middle-class housing (Yuen, 2005:6). The development of high-rise public housing is given priority and most are developed within the city's sphere, as land is scarce. In order to maintain the quality and high standard living conditions, the amount of living space was increased, unlike in other countries, including Malaysia, where the space is inadequate to house a large family. For a standard three-bedroom flat, the average size is 90 square metres (970 square feet) and for a four-bedroom flat, 110 square metres (1200 square feet) (ibid). The three-bedroom flats in Singapore are almost 50% bigger than that provided in Malaysia, which is just 650 square feet per flat. That clearly demonstrates how the quality and comfort of public housing units in Singapore is a far cry from the public housing developments in Malaysia.

HDB housing developments are designed according to towns or estates for smaller developments. These towns and estates are designed to be self-contained and sustainable where all the community's needs are provided within its compound, which includes all aspects of services such as health, education, and even recreational facilities. Each town is divided into several neighbourhoods, between two and nine neighbourhoods, and each neighbourhood has its own commercial centre. The blocks of each neighbourhood are placed to envelop a communal space in order to promote interactions between residents and also to make the neighbourhood more secure. Each individual block has a 'void deck', which refers to the first level that is left vacant of any housing units; to be used for communal activities such as weddings, funerals and bazaars (The Straits Times, 2010). The 'void deck', which is unique to Singapore's public housing, can also include permanent facilities such as Residential Committee office, medical centres and nurseries, among others. Selected blocks also have stand-alone shops that cater to the community's basic needs. This area is where most communal activities are conducted and where neighbours mingle.



Figure 3 Void deck, a place where the community integrates

(Source: The Straits Time, 2010)

To ensure integration, the Singapore government implemented rules that every neighbourhood must include a mixture of different ethnic groups that mirrors the ethnic ratios in Singapore as a whole (Reisman, 2007:168). This is to promote mutual understanding and social interactions between races thus reflecting the image of a united nation. Apart from that, each block consists of flats of different sizes which means that different levels of income groups co-exist within a neighbourhood (ibid:169). However, it mostly consists of lower and middle-income groups as the affluent are not eligible to purchase HDB housing units and their option is to purchase private housing developments. The ceiling price for eligible buyers is at S\$8,000 per month per household that is considered high for a nation that has an average monthly income of S\$4,943 per household. This means that only 20% of its people are not eligible (ibid:170).

All in all, the Singapore government's extensive intervention in the housing sector has had a propitious effect on its citizens with the result that the majority are now home owners and are living in good quality housing regardless of class and income status. The government believes that everyone has equal rights to good affordable housing. That is the basis for improving the housing conditions of the poor, resulting in better home, secured tenure and eventually improved quality of life. Although high-rise accommodation was once, and still is, deemed as problematic especially in

western countries, Singapore has proven that, if done right, high-rise accommodations can be the best solution to accommodate the lower income group, especially in a world where there is an urgent need to house the ever-growing population. What is important is having management and development that has the community as the centre of its design; having people-centred planning (Yuen, 2007:14) brought success to high-rise accommodation in Singapore. The housing policy implemented in Singapore can best be an example for Malaysia as both countries have similar backgrounds.

2.3 The Malaysian context

In Malaysia, squatter settlements, also known as *perkampungan setinggan* (squatter village), evolved from small encroachments into vacant land reserves near riverbanks or railway tracks, abandoned mining land, coasts and the outskirts of urban areas. It started with 15 to 25 houses and eventually increased to up to more than 500 forming a village. Historically, *kampung setinggans* existed long before Malaysia's independence from British occupations that started in the late 18th century. These squatters were associated with the growth of Malays mainly in Kuala Lumpur in the early 1900s that saw the emergence of Kampung Kerinchi and Kampung Abdullah Hukum, the settlement behind the 'litter killer' incident⁴. These two settlements became the core for extensive erection of squatter dwellings (Johnstone, 1983:294). After the Depression in the 1920s, the economic landscape saw a dramatic change and this was when *kampung setinggan* became more predominant. At that time, the export industry was booming and new technologies were introduced. Concurrently, the country was faced with rapid urbanisation. Although the agricultural industry was growing, because of the introduction of new technologies, less human labour was needed. Therefore, unemployment and decreasing wage levels were on the rise (ibid:295). This led to the displacement of

⁴ In 1997, a technical assistant was killed by a brick thrown from a low-cost high-rise flats in Jalan Bangsar, Kuala Lumpur in the incident known as the 'litter killer'. The dwellers were previously from the Kampung Abdullah Hukum squatter settlements, which were relocated to these flats after their former settlement was demolished to make way for the development of Mid Valley Megamall.

plantation workers to urban areas in search of new dwellings and jobs. This was the origin of the Indians' *kampung setinggan*.

The unemployed Chinese squatted and cultivated lands for their survival that later developed into cash crops when the mining industry too saw a drastic reduction for the need of labourers. These lands were near and at the outskirts of existing cities that later expanded and enclosed these *kampungs*. Unlike other *kampung setinggan*, some Chinese's squatter settlements were set up by wealthy Chinese mine owners as unemployment relief camps in areas that were famous for tin mines such as in Taiping, Ipoh and Kuala Lumpur. These areas later formed part of the growing cities. The British government too seemed to encourage the rural-urban migration and somewhat 'legalised' the squatting and cultivation of vacant land, mainly for food supplies, by launching the 'Grow More Food' campaign without defining which lands could be cultivated. This move of course, led to the occupation of large areas of urban and the outskirt of urban area (Johnstone, 1983:296). During this time famous squatter settlements were developed, such as Salak South and Sungai Besi which were Chinese squatter settlements, and Gombak and Setapak, which were Malay squatter settlements (Mokhzani, 1974) (as quoted in *ibid*).

The population of *kampung setinggans* has increased every year since then, not only in Kuala Lumpur but also other towns throughout Malaya. However, things changed during the Japanese occupation between 1942 and 1945 that saw these dwellers moving back to the rural areas and urban fringes. This was mostly inflicted by the Japanese themselves with their brutal regime and reprisals, especially against the Chinese. The 1970s again saw a major influx of rural-urban migrants of which two-thirds were Malays. During this time, the New Economic Policy (NEP) was introduced with its main objective being to 'eradicate poverty among all Malaysians and to restructure Malaysian society so that the identification of race with economic function and geographical location is reduced and eventually eliminated' (Sardar, 2000:165). In reality, it was the government's way of equalising racial population and to establish the Malays' participation in other economic industries.

2.3.1 Factors of the growth of squatters

There are several factors that promoted the growth and development of *kampung setinggans* in Malaysia:

1. Rural-urban migration to main cities in search of better job opportunities and better living;
2. Historical factors such as the British government's policy that encouraged the migration of foreign immigrants mainly Chinese and Indians, to Malaysia;
3. Housing developments offered by the government and private agencies were unaffordable to these people;
4. The high standard of living and high rent;
5. No coordination between development agencies and government departments that was responsible for squatter control. This weakness was taken advantaged of by opportunists.

2.3.2 Evictions in Malaysia

The first form of evictions began in the 1950s to the 1970s during which Chinese *kampung setinggan* dwellers were forced to move out from their *kampung* settlements, as the areas were believed to be the habitats and hot spots of communists and anti-British anarchists. As these settlements were packed and overcrowded, it was harder for the police force to supervise and to intervene in any developments (ACHR15, 2003:32). The second surge of evictions was in the 1980s, especially during the economic depression period. This heightened when the economy recovered in the late 80s during which land became an important commodity to the governments and Kuala Lumpur and its surrounding cities were fast expanding. This went on until 1997 during which Malaysia's economy was at its peak and saw the development of major mega projects such as the Kuala Lumpur International Airport, Petronas Twin Towers, Putrajaya and the Sepang International

Circuit. These projects inevitably meant that many parcels of land were seized and bought, including plantations, resulting in the evictions of communities working in these plantations. Then, in 1997 to 1998, the world was faced with another economic crisis that saw a halt in the evictions of squatters as the Malaysian government was more focused on other more important economic issues, and all developments were temporarily terminated (Fernandes, 2006).

However, this situation did not last long because in 2001, the state government of Selangor announced the launch of the 2005 Zero Squatter programme. This programme was first put in motion in Kuala Lumpur from 1990 to 2003 when Kuala Lumpur was rapidly being developed and expanded, and later carried out in Selangor and other states throughout Malaysia. The programme was to ensure that Selangor would be a squatter-free state by 2005, line with one of the aims of the state that was to achieve the status of being a developed state by 2006. The government also announced that it would eradicate without notice any new squatter settlements erected after 1997 (ACHR15, 2003:32). This was a fast track project, which saw express evictions and the lifting of conditions in the ordinary process of land development in order to make way for speedy completion (Sufian and Mohamad, 2009:120). Nevertheless, both Kuala Lumpur and Selangor did not fully achieve their target by 2005 even though serious efforts were made to clear squatters' areas, and this continued until 2006. It was reported that by 2007, Selangor had successfully demolished 93.6% of squatter settlements throughout the state during which 44,701 of the 47,756 squatter families were evicted. In the year 2010, Sarawak announced that it too would be implementing the Zero Squatter programme with the target of achieving the zero-squatter state status by the year 2015. At the moment of the announcement, the state had 10,000 *kampung setinggans* that were mostly located in major towns such as Miri, Bintulu, Kuching, Samarahan and Sibul. According to Datuk Amar Abang Johari, the Minister of Housing and Urban Development of Sarawak, the demolition of these settlements was to allow squatter dwellers who earn less than RM2,500 a month the opportunity to own their homes under the Affordable Housing and People Friendly Housing programmes (Bernama, 2010).

2.3.3 Relocations

The Malaysian government has been relocating evictees into low-cost houses and flats since the 1980s. Evictees were temporarily placed in temporary settlements known as *rumah panjang* (long houses). These supposedly temporary transit shelters were to be occupied by these former *kampung setinggan* dwellers for a period between six months and two years while the government developed their new low-cost settlements. As these long houses are transient, the built and make of its structure were badly constructed using cheap hazardous materials such as plywood, zinc and asbestos sheets. Not only were the structures of the buildings in bad inhabitable conditions, proper facilities were also not provided, as the reasoning was that the situation was only temporary. However, what were supposed to be two-year accommodations eventually became permanent residences, even up to 20 years for some. This was due to the government's failure to keep up with the demands of low-cost housing for the evictees as well as their inability to actually fulfil the demands. This led the evictees to appoint the private sector to develop low-cost developments. Unfortunately these developments too were inefficient and fell short of the target of providing low-cost housing according to what was required. On the other hand, there was a rise in the development of medium and high cost housing, more than what was in demand (Ali, 1998:4). As the built environment is a profit driven industry, the private sector, and even the government, was not interested in this type of development as it earned little financial returns. Sadly, poor communities were the ones affected by the situation and they had no choice but to remain in the shabby long houses as they could not afford to rent elsewhere. These temporary settlements would later become slums, resembling the places at which the squatter dwellers had formerly resided. This negative attitude towards these communities is best reflected by Ali's (ibid) comment:

“Housing for the poor is still insufficient and inadequate. Housing development continues to be a business for profit, and the housing for squatters is seldom seen as part of the government's social responsibility to provide shelter and to protect the welfare of the lower income groups”.

With the introduction of the 2005 Zero Squatter programme, the state of Selangor underwent a major series of relocation processes. While their new settlements were being developed, squatter dwellers were placed in transit flats around Selangor, mostly near to their former settlements such as in Lembah Subang and Damansara. According to an officer from the Petaling Jaya Local Council, after all the evictees had been relocated to the permanent housing that was provided for them, these transit flats were rented out to other lower income groups that were not included in the programme, and priority was given to single mothers at a rented rate of RM124 per month (approximately GBP25).

By the year 2004, many of the evictees had been successfully relocated into their new homes. The relocation was conducted in phases. These low-cost housing projects, named *Program Perumahan Rakyat (PPR) Bersepadu* (for rent), translated as Integrated People Housing Programme, were authorised to relocate mainly former squatter dwellers throughout Kuala Lumpur and major cities in Selangor. PPR has also been established in other states such as Perak, Pulau Pinang, Sabah and Sarawak. PPR projects were in the form of one-storey or double storey terrace low-cost houses, or 11- to 12-storey or 16- to 18-storey low-cost high-rise flats (Sufian and Mohamad, 2009:120). However, the former are located at the outskirts of major cities, making it harder for residents to access the city centre where they work, using public transportation to reach their workplace. At the same time, the multi-storey flats were located in areas where their former squatter settlements were previously situated but the evictees had to sacrifice privacy and space. All type of housing have the same standardised size of 650 square feet, consisting of three bedrooms, a living area, a kitchen, a bathroom and a toilet (National Housing Council, 2011). The following table demonstrates the characteristics of PPR housing:

Target Group	Squatter dwellers with monthly income below RM1,500.
Type of houses	11-12 or 16-18 storey in the major cities and 5 storey in smaller towns
Size of houses	Not less than 60 sq. meter (650 sq. feet)

Features	3 bedrooms, 1 living room, 1 kitchen area, 1 bathroom and 1 toilet
Rental rate	RM124/= per month.

Table 3 Characteristics of PPR housing

(Source: National Housing Council, 2011).

The PPR programme was later revised to include the 'PPR (Ownership)' where PPR houses can be purchased thus allowing lower income groups to own their own homes. The characteristics of the houses and eligible buyers were the same as 'PPR (For Rent)' and the programme was first implemented in Pahang and later carried out in other states.

Meanwhile in Sarawak, the state government has announced that the development of low-cost housing for their Zero Squatter programme will be approached in three ways. The first approach is the introduction of the *Program Rumah Mesra Rakyat* (RMR), translated as People Friendly Home Programme, that emphasises efforts to rearrange or re-plan traditional villages without affecting the cultural traditions of village life. The ministry, through the Housing Development Corporation (HDC), assures that RMR will ensure that the concept and culture of village life will be maintained, as it is the basis to a united community. Through this programme, the state government will try to recreate traditional village environments that are more community friendly by expanding the village in a more organised manner without affecting the everyday life of the community from the area. In the Malaysia National Housing Company's (SPNB) website, it is stated that this programme was established to assist lower income groups, especially farmers, fishermen and poor families who do not own a house or live in dilapidated houses but own lands where they can develop comfortable homes for themselves. Unlike PPR, the RMR houses are slightly bigger and the eligible buyers can select one of two available sizes depending on their family size and their financial status. The prices are predictably more expensive than the PPR houses: RM80,000 for a 866-square-foot house or RM69,000 to RM79,000 depending on the area size of the 700-square-foot house.

However, one third of the price will be subsidised by the state government. Table 4 below demonstrates the characteristics of the RMR houses and eligible buyers:

Target Group	<p>Must be of Malaysian nationality with a monthly income of below RM1,500.</p> <p>Does not own a house or living in a dilapidated house.</p> <p>Owns a suitable land with no loan collateral upon it. If the land does not belong to the applicant, certificate/statutory authorisation from the landowner is required to build and mortgage the land to SPNB.</p> <p>Married or single parents with dependents.</p>
Age	Between 18 to 65
Type of Houses	Single storey bungalow houses on land or on concrete stilts.
Sizes	700 sq. feet or 866 sq. feet
Features	3 bedrooms, 1 living area, 1 dining area, 1 kitchen, 2 bathrooms

Table 4 Characteristics of RMR housing

(Source: Malaysia National Housing Company, n.d.)

The second approach is the redesigned and improved version of the Affordable Housing programme that claims to be more comfortable and is designed in such a way that there is no need for renovation by buyers in the future. The houses are in the form of single and double storey housing units and the neighbourhoods are provided with infrastructure and facilities, and more green areas needed by a community. The final approach is the provision of flats to overcome the shortage of housing in densely populated areas such as major urban areas in the state. The main target for this development are those earning below RM1,500 per month; they can rent these flats until they can afford to purchase (Mstar online, 2010). At the same time, the programme hopes to fulfil the high demands for homes in major cities such as Kuching due to rural-urban migration. Overall, Sarawak aims to develop 50,000 units of housing in the state that includes 20,000 units to be developed by the state government. For each 4.4 hectares of land reserved for housing development,

30% must be for the provision of affordable houses for lower income groups (Bernama, 2010).

Out of the four programmes discussed above, the RMR most emphasises the preservation of the original social structure of an existing community. It aims to conserve the traditional lifestyles of village dwellers thus not disrupting the sense of community that has been built for many years. In addition, the dwellers would have better and more comfortable homes. There is no need for the community to reconstruct the social aspects of neighbourhood living, which is now faced by other relocated communities. The only downside to this programme is that eligible applicants must own a piece of land on which to construct their new homes. These poor communities do not even own a proper home, let alone own a piece of land. For squatter dwellers, if they own the land they are squatting on, therefore, it would have not been identified as squatter settlements in the first place. The programme also stated that eligible applicants could acquire certificate or statutory authorisation from the landowner to give permission for their new homes to be built on the land. However, it is most probable that landowners would prefer their land to be developed for financial returns rather than to allow it to be occupied by the poor. It will be interesting to see how the state government of Sarawak will implement the RMR programme for former squatter dwellers and how they will go about the issue of land ownership.

2.4 Governmentality

This section will discuss the concept of governmentality as it is fundamentally relevant to this research and will be explained throughout the thesis. This section will also look into the definition of governmentality and how it has been implemented in the world today, with examples from the United Kingdom and developing countries.

2.4.1 The Concept

Governmentality is a concept that was developed by the French philosopher Michel Foucault in the 1970s. It is a new understanding of power and has been defined as “the deliberations, strategies, tactics and devices employed by authorities for making up and acting upon a population” (Rose, 1996:328), or simply as the “art of government” (Foucault, 1991:87-104) or governing. It can also be understood as how the people who are governed are affected by the conduct and practices of a government. It is not only about the act of governing, it can also include the way people conduct themselves and how the two factors merge and relate. Mitchell Dean, who later elaborated the concept, used the term ‘mentalities of government’ and stressed that it is not merely about the way we think about government and governing, but also incorporates how and what people who are governed think about the way they are governed (Dean, 2010:24). Governmentality here can also be described as the evolution of a government that foresees that the power of governing lies in the way it is optimised, used and fosters living individuals as a component of the population (ibid:28).

The population is at the heart of governmentality where the outcome or the ‘ultimate end’ that has been aspired for a population is the main goal to be achieved by government. What should be important to a government is not just the act of governing itself, it should also include the welfare of the population, the improvement of their conditions and health, and how the government go about in implementing and accomplishing their goals or ‘ends’ either directly or indirectly, without the people being fully aware (Dean, 2010:100). Foucault (ibid) also added that for effective governing, the population must be taken into consideration and understood. At the same time, each individual is also expected to be entirely responsible for administering the economic, health and other risks involved in his individual existence. In order for an individual to manage or govern himself, he needs to have knowledge, and through knowledge can power be positively materialized and thus utilised by individuals to guide the conduct of a population, which leads to a more efficient social control.

2.4.2 Government and the Art of Government

The word 'government' does not only mean the government in terms of the state; it also means government in terms of any "conduct of conduct" (Dean, 2010:17). This means that a government should strive to form some aspects of the populations' actions in accordance, which certain rules produce a variety of outcomes. At the same time, government refers not so much to a political or administrative state which focuses on the conducts of individuals or groups, it refers more to the execution of the government in shaping, sculpting and mobilising the individuals and groups by providing them with choices and also through their desires, aspirations, needs, wants and lifestyles (ibid:20). Foucault (1991:91) listed three types of government and each of them are related to certain disciplines: (1) the art of self-government, related to morality; (2) the art of properly governing a family, related to economy; and (3) the science of ruling the state which is related to politics. All three types are complementary to each other and must have some form of continuity to be distinguished as the art of government. Thus it is important that some form of continuity is established in both top-down and bottom-up practices. Foucault (ibid) explained that the bottom-up continuity could only be achieved when the recipient who intends to govern the state has discovered how to first govern himself before he can successfully govern the state. The top-down continuity, on the other hand, has the same principles as the government of state but they are more narrowed down to individual mannerisms to reflect how one manages oneself and minds the individuals under one's care such as the management of the family's economy. The art of government is basically more about the introduction of the economic aspect into political practices in the lives of its population through governing, that is, it refers to the mannerisms of the head of state in properly determining and managing individuals or groups so that their wealth and incomes increase. As Foucault puts (ibid: 92) it:

"To govern a state will therefore mean to apply economy, to set up an economy at the level of the entire state, which means exercising towards its inhabitants, and the wealth and behaviour of each and all, a form of surveillance and control as attentive as that of the head of a family over his household and his goods."

To sum up, Foucault derived the definition of government from that of La Perriere's theme of "the government of things". The word 'things' is used in the sense of man as opposed to objects, and anything that has any form of connection or relation to man such as his links to i.e. wealth and resources; his conducts, his territory, such as the environment and fertility; and other matters such as misfortunes, famine, epidemics, and death; and how those are governed. He defined it as "a right manner of disposing things so as to lead not to the form of the common good, but to an end which is 'convenient' for each of the things that are to be governed" (ibid:95). What he meant by 'disposing' was to use strategies and tactics as an instrument in achieving an aim instead of imposing laws on society through the employment of certain methods to maintain a stable society in all aspects. In simple words, government has its specific aims and ends, and it uses a specific practice, that is control, that leads to achieving these ends.

2.4.3 Targeted Population and Policy

The emergence of slums and squatter settlements has resulted in the acceleration of legal interventions through planning and housing policies which consider the dwellers of these settlements as *targeted population* – the disadvantaged groups or the 'at risk'; as opposed to *active citizens* who are capable of managing their own risks. The targeted population therefore requires intervention in handling their risks (Dean: 2010:195). 'Risk' is used in the sense that the dwellers are living in squalid conditions, faced with poverty and at risk in terms of health, education and safety. This was what Foucault termed as '*biopolitics*' which means that governments would seek to manage and rationalised issues manifested "*by the phenomena characteristic of a group of living human beings constituted as population: health, sanitation, birth-rate, longevity, race*" (Foucault, 1994:73). This is also a concept that Dean (2010:195) described as '*new prudentialism*' or what can be defined as risk minimisation that is now increasingly affiliated with management and self-care. The following are examples of control in planning and policies in relation to housing developments and the management of its residents as well as resettlements in developing countries:

An example of planning policies is the development of Park Hill estate in Sheffield in the late 1950s. The area was initially the site of a slum settlement that was hit by diseases, had below par sanitary standards, was congested and the children had low 'intelligence levels' (Hollow, 2010:121). This was the basis for the intervention and the dwellers were to be 'reoused' with the aim of improving and upgrading the quality of living of this community. The architects, Lynn and Smith, looked into detail every aspects of the building's design from the layout of the lightings to the construction of an environment that would stimulate the residents' conduct. The accommodations were designed based on the architect's belief that human needs can be provided for through the management of the physical (ibid:123). However, 'needs' here were what had been determined by the architects based on the data of abstract figures, results and statistics compiled by the local authority (ibid:124) instead of through direct participation with the community in the design process, which meant that the designers had full control in determining what they perceived were needed by the residents. Even though there were no direct regulations imposed on its residents regarding their conduct in the housing estate, the layout was designed in such a way that the residents were manoeuvred to behave in a certain way (ibid:126). This is also another form of control implemented in Park Hill that can be seen in a positive light, as its intention was to ensure that the sense of community that had been developed back in the slum could be preserved in the new development. The corridors had ample space for the community to conduct communal activities, and the facilities provided within the estate such as pubs, launderettes and shops resembled to what they had in their former settlement and were familiar with.

Another example is the implementation of policies on social housing regarding homeownership. In the United Kingdom, social housing dwellers are often associated with a negative perception as 'underclass' and 'excluded' as they are enabled to own their own home, either because they cannot afford to or are unwilling to purchase. Therefore, social housing dwellers are rationalised as the targeted population for intervention as they are unable to self-govern and are dependent on the government. The UK government seeks to minimise the gap between private and social housing, as social housing is perceived as inferior (Flint, 2003:617).

Consequently, homeownership is encouraged to reduce social housing. Citizens who still cannot afford private homes are then problematised and thus seen as being in need of intervention through the provision of social housing. However, as quoted in Flint (ibid: 616), the social housing must be developed in such a way that it resembles private housing and “blends into the area, with a good reputation” (DETR 1999a:23). It can be said that this policy is more concerned with the image of the housing industry and the normalising of the residents’ behaviour, which lends credence to the fact that social housing policy does not only focus on homeownership, they also spill over into the development of policies on anti-social behaviours in social housing estates (Flint, 2003:615).

This type of policy seeks to exercise what Dean (1999, 2010:197) termed ‘technologies of citizenship’ to mould certain communities into *active citizens* with their own self-government and as active members in self-managing communities, or at least, reflects the identity of such community. These social housing agencies have, to some extent outlined defined codes on how the community should behave under what they classified as ‘community’ values. The policies also include educating and communicating to the residents about what is considered as anti-social behaviour and what are expected of them (Scottish Executive, 1999b) (as quoted in Flint, 2002:623). Another form of intervention or control which mainly focuses on the safety aspects of these estates and also other housing developments, is through the physical design that includes crime prevention methods through such features as defensible space and Secure By Design. Safety is also reinforced through human control intervention by having police patrols, segregation of different age groups and having a mixture of residents from both the *active citizens* and *targeted population* groups (ibid: 625-626). This form of control can be described as more disciplinary, as opposed to regulative that witnesses how the government directly controls and monitors the behaviour of its citizens.

In Malaysia, squatter dwellers are a targeted population as they live in conditions that are deemed inhabitable and are associated with social issues such as urban poverty, unacceptable ‘rural’ conduct and as the breeding ground for social ills and

crimes. Therefore, the government has this basis as the reasons for intervention. Its method of intervention is by relocating the targeted population into more 'modern' and 'better' housing developments that it hopes would automatically change the 'uncivilised' behaviour of this community (Bunnel, 2002:1690). However, unlike the development of Park Hill, no thoughts has been put into the design and layout of the buildings to promote integration and a positive change in the behaviour of its dwellers. Instead, the developments are ad-hoc and only conform to minimum housing development regulations.

In a different context, the squatter community has been 'problematized' as a means for the government to intervene and confiscate valuable lands that are occupied by squatter dwellers in order to make way for profitable developments. The development of low-cost housing was depicted as the fulfilment of their rights to proper homes and homeownerships, as opposed to illegally squatting on private lands, as well as to improve their quality of living. In buying houses, the poor community is given the opportunity to be entrepreneurs, to invest so as to make more money and benefit from this homeownership. This runs true to what Foucault (1991:92) stated, that the art of government includes the introduction of economy in all aspects of the lives of its population, including the poor community. However, in the case of former *kampung setinggan* dwellers, they cannot afford to own a house in the first place and the forced eviction has made their lives even harder in terms of their incomes. On top of that, the construction of their new settlements does not have the community as the basis for the designs and does not reflect the 'quality of living' promised by the government. The relocation has not only failed to improve their lives, in many cases, their lives have also deteriorated. Hence, the new 'better' settlements over time have turned into slums. However, the government's moral intentions cannot entirely be blamed for the situation. To begin with, the community itself brought on the deterioration of their community that caused them to be 'problematized'. Nevertheless, the fact that this community is the targeted population means that they are unable to self-govern and assistance is needed to help them to adapt to their new vertical settlement. However, there was, and continues to be, no 'intervention' or means of solutions formulated to prevent social issues from resurfacing in the new settlement, and neither are they prepared and

educated on what life would be like in high-rise accommodations. Therefore, it can be concluded that the intervention was merely for the benefit of the government and developers and this points more to the use of power to achieve what one wants.

Another example of governmentality in the developing countries can be seen in the resettlement of communities for the development of dams in Africa and Turkey. In Mali, Afrika, the development of the Manantali dam displaced 32,000 ethnic Malinke that had resided in villages along the Bafing River that became the reservoir for the dam (Reyes-Gaskin, 2005:77). The community consisted of farmers who had irrigated crops using water from the river and the resettlement was to make way for the dam. One of the aims of the dam was to provide “the annual production of 800 Gwh of electrical energy guaranteed nine years out of ten” (“Le barrage de Manantali”) (ibid). The embedded agenda was however, to re-mould the ‘backward’ community into ‘modern political beings’, from peripheral non-state beings into manageable beings (ibid). They were to leave behind their traditional method of agriculture and crops, move to technological cultivation, and introduced to new crops to be produced for food and cash crops. However, what was supposed to improve and modernise their lives instead degenerated them.

The land that they were resettled to was infertile, which meant that they had to use fertilizers to cultivate rice (that was encouraged by the government), thus making them more dependent on the government for subsidies, which they were not before. The cultivation of rice was costly and not as productive as expected and adequate facilities and services were also not provided for (ibid:78). On top of that, due to the disruption of the environment and natural habitats caused by the dam’s development, the community was faced with a health epidemic, schistosomiasis, especially among children. This condition was due to the drastic reduction in the consumption of fish, thus leading to less protein intake, a situation caused by the environmental change (Black and Sessay, 1998:37). The dam’s construction did not meet its aim and the resettled community’s lives deteriorated in every aspect including the loss of their independence, economic status and health. In reality,

development and benefits for other populations were put ahead of the Malinke community's welfare, and they were the ones who suffered in the long run.

In the case of Turkey, the Ilisu Dam project is another example of how government uses its power to manipulate a community. The Kurdish community has long been excluded from the Turkish nation ever since the founding of modern Turkey by Ataturk in 1923, and the establishment of Turkey as 'one nation' that saw diversity being banished. Through this 'one-nation' policy, the ethnic Kurdish were not allowed to practise any cultural customs including language, clothes, music and even religion. Therefore, their ethnic minority status is not recognised and they are not entitled to any protection (Morvaridi, 2004:725).

The development of the Ilisu dam was a quest for modernity and to 'catch up' with the Western countries in terms of economic and capital growth (ibid:722). Its development along the Tigris River affected areas that were occupied by 90% of the Kurdish community, while the remaining 10% comprised Arabs and Turkish who lived in areas such as Diyarbakir, Mardin, Batman and Sirnak. In addition, an ancient town, Hasankeyf, also occupied by the Kurds, came under water once the dam is completed despite it being listed as a first degree protected archaeological site. This demonstrates that the ideology of development is given priority above everything else in the Turkish regime. Just like the development of the Manantali dam, there was an embedded agenda other than development behind its construction in which the main intention was to subvert the Kurdish identity and disperse the Kurds throughout the country (Reyes-Gaskin, 2005:80). The resettlement of Kurds to urban areas was also a means for the government to monitor and control them easily. In both dam developments, none of the communities were consulted nor were given the opportunity to participate in whatever decisions involving their resettlement.

What can be said is that governmentality practised in the developing countries is more driven towards the economic status of the country and it almost always has a negative impact on poorer communities or ethnic minorities. The reasons given for the improvement of lives are always brought forward as an excuse for development

but in reality, the welfare of the people after resettlement was not taken care of or was handled in a makeshift or ad-hoc manner. Unlike in developed countries such as the United Kingdom where the form of control imposed on its citizens is more for the betterment of their welfare and benefit, regardless of whether the implementation itself is a success.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the issues of impoverished neighbourhoods, the reasons behind their eradication and the effects relocation has on the evictees. The development of cheap but low-standard dwellings to replace demolished settlements is the reason that sub-standard dwellings continue to be an issue globally, specifically in areas of rapid urbanisation and rural-urban migration. As discussed, poor communities in urban areas require a central location, multiple use of space and a strong sense of community and association. The mega scale evictions have an adverse negative impact on evictees. Therefore, there is a need to improve relocation programmes and a good example has been given. In addition, the last section of this chapter reviewed the implementation of governmentality and control in the United Kingdom and developing countries. It can be said that control in developing countries leans more towards what benefits the country and its government, not so much towards benefitting its citizens as the government is more concerned about the image of the country and its financial status. Poor communities are the main targets as they have no voice and the issues surrounding them are used as reasons for the basis of the government's actions. This can be fairly described as undemocratically conducted and the powers that it has are used unwisely. A good government should find the means to solve the issues of the community rather than shoving them away from sight that would result in more problems arising from the 'moral' conduct. The failure of the government's programmes and strategies give rise to the redeveloping and reworking of new programmes, which are financially inefficient and costly.

Chapter 3

Critique of Possible Approaches to Understanding Poverty

3.0 Introduction

This chapter contains a discussion of possible approaches to studying and analysing the causes of impoverished neighbourhoods in developing countries and also in the European countries. Three approaches will be reviewed, starting with the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA), followed by the Capabilities Approach and finally the Everyday Life concept. Each approach will be explored in relation to its development, contribution to development discourse, and its advantages and disadvantages as a method. At the end of the chapter, the approach chosen for this research will be confirmed and its application will later be discussed in the following chapter.

3.1 The Sustainable Livelihood Approach

The Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) is basically an approach to poverty reduction and is a way to improve the understanding of the livelihoods of poor people. It draws on the main factors that affect poor people's livelihoods and the typical relationships between these factors. It focuses on one of the most fundamental aspects of life now and in the future, that is, people's ability to support themselves. SLA is conducted with a view of livelihood within both micro and macro contexts, including the social and physical environments at local and global levels. A livelihood is a set of capabilities, activities and assets that provides a medium for the poor to fulfil their needs and to maintain their wellbeing. Livelihoods are not just a local issue; they are linked to environmental, political and economic development on a wider context, that is, to regional, national and global contexts. A livelihood is sustainable depending on its hardiness and resiliency when faced with short term, or long term, challenges.

This methodology has been adopted by various multilateral agencies and NGOs. Prominent among these are the United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID), the Institute of Development Studies (IDS), the Cooperative for Assistance and Relief (CARE) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (Krantz, 2001:1-37). In the late 1990s the approach gained momentum when DFID put the SLA concept into operation and published a series of guidance sheets. All these mentioned agencies have developed diverse frameworks and focus on different areas. However, these frameworks were adapted based on the same conceptual origin of SL as defined by Robert Chambers and R. Conway (1991:6), which is:

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the short and long term”.

According to Krantz (2001:10-11), there are three perspectives to poverty that are the roots of the SL approach. One is that although economic growth is the fundamental factor for the reduction of poverty, the growth relies upon the poor's capabilities in taking advantage of economic situations. Therefore, there is a need to understand and uncover what hinders the poor from bettering their economic condition, which allows for appropriate supports to be structured. The second perspective is that poverty is not just about low income; it also comprises other issues such as low education, lack of services, bad health conditions and many more, which can be generalised as a state of powerlessness of the poor. The argument is that by improving one sector of the issue, it would automatically have a positive effect on the other sectors as these sectors are linked to each other. The final perspective is that there is a need for the poor to be involved and their voices to be heard in policymaking and neighbourhood projects, as they are the ones who best know their conditions and their needs. Thus, commitment and participation would improve any given implementations and projects.

3.1.1 The Framework

The approach consists of various components of livelihoods for people to construct their living. These components include tangible assets such as stores (food stocks, gold, jewellery, cash savings); resources (land, water, trees, livestock, farm equipment); intangible assets such as claims (demands and appeals which can be made for material, moral or other practical support); and access, which is the opportunity in practise to use a resource, store or service or to obtain information, material, technology, employment, food or income (ibid:9-11). The livelihood of people should also include the ability to weather and recover from stresses (seasonal shortages, rising populations or declining resources) and shocks (fires, floods and epidemics) which can be perceived as coping strategies for people with vulnerability to adopt in pursuit of better livelihoods. Figure 4 illustrates the SLA framework taken from the DFID guidance sheet:

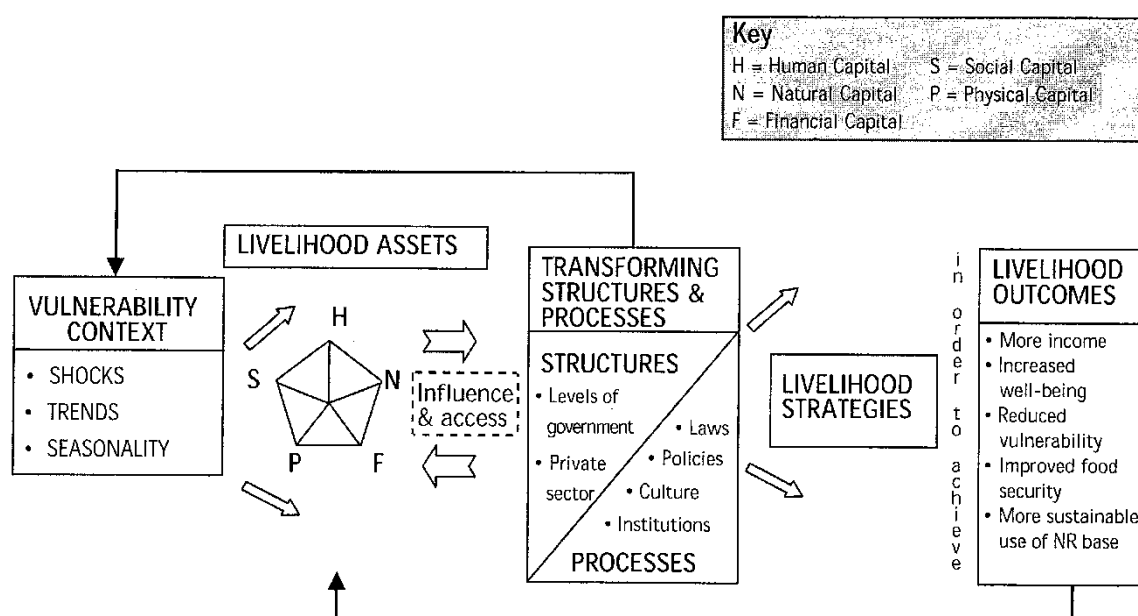


Figure 4 The Sustainable Livelihood Approach framework

(DFID, 1999: section 1.1)

Within the framework, people develop their portfolio of livelihood assets to make a living by interconnecting an array of necessary tangible and intangible assets. SLA identifies five types of core assets, all of which, to some degree, are required to develop a livelihood. The first asset is *human capital* that represents skills, knowledge, work ability and good health. The second asset is *natural capital* that consists of natural resources including how the resources are managed and distributed. Next is *social capital* that deals with formal and informal social relationships including their reliability, adaptability and trust. The fourth asset is physical capital that refers to goods produce, amenities and infrastructure. Finally, *financial asset* refers to financial resources.

3.1.2 Strength and Advantages

The concept of 'sustainable livelihoods' developed by Chambers and Conway (1991:1-29) responded to two important initiatives in development movements, which are human development and sustainability. The first response focused on putting the people in the centre by assessing their assets and priorities alongside an analysis of their vulnerability through meaningful development interventions. The second response is by justifying that every aspect and factor of sustainability is significant to SLA (DFID, 1999: section 1.3).

DFID listed principles as a guideline for poverty-focused development activities, mainly for SLA, which are addressed as follows:

1. People-centred

In order for poverty eradication to be achieved, supports must focus on the people, in terms of understanding the distinctions of different groups, what matters and works for them that are compatible to their livelihood, social and physical environment and their ability to adjust to different conditions or situations. In this sense, DFID (ibid) makes it clear at a practical level, the definition of 'people-centred':

- It begins by analysing livelihoods and what the changes are through time;

- It respects the people's views and freedom and includes them in the process;
- Each action should be determined and motivated by the poor's livelihoods;
- It centres on the outcomes and impacts of different policies upon people or households.

2. Responsive and Participatory

The poor themselves are the ones who know what is best for them and their needs. Therefore, they should be made the main actors in determining their livelihood priorities. Ashley and Carney (1999:26) stated that participation is one of the key factors of the SL approach, whether for informing policy research, designing projects or even assisting communities to conduct their own livelihood analysis. DFID (1999:section 1.3) also states that in order for the livelihood approach to be effective, it has to be conducted in a participatory manner by people who have the skills in social analysis and are committed to the elimination of poverty. DFID (ibid) also states that participatory poverty assessments (PPAs)⁵ are strongly linked to sustainable livelihoods. Oxfam also acknowledges that they should begin with PPAs whenever exploring the direction of their assisting projects.

3. Multi-level

Poverty eradication should be achieved through working at several levels, micro and macro. This can be achieved through policy development, effective environment and helping the poor to develop their strengths (ibid: section 1.5). It is vital for all agencies or sectors to collaborate as livelihoods consist of multiple aspects that no single expert can understand or master.

⁵ PPA is an instrument that includes the poor's views in the analysis of poverty and the formulation of strategies to reduce it through public policy (Norton et al, 2001: 6).

4. Conducted in partnership

Ashley and Carney (1999:31-32) stated that DFID's staff should take lessons and materials from other donors who have used SLA, and other donors should learn from them too. They also demonstrated that the method of sharing the SL approach is either through sharing the framework or its principles, although more emphasis was given towards sharing the SLA principles, which is deemed more important, compared to sharing the framework. This could be conducted with both the public and private sectors.

5. Sustainability

Sustainability is the backbone of this approach, as signified by Chambers and Conway's (1991:1-29) definition of sustainable livelihoods, in which sustainability is the main goal and objective of the livelihood approach. There are various definitions of sustainability by different agencies based on their foci and goals of development. DFID (1999: section 1.4) lists four key elements of sustainability that are institutional, economic, social and environmental. All play an important role, and there is a need to strike a balance between all four elements. For Oxfam, the four key elements are social (gender equity, networks); economic (credits, markets); institutional (access to services and technology, political freedom, building capacity); and finally, ecology (the availability and quality of resources). On the subject of sustainable livelihood, UNDP looks into how men and women make use of portfolio assets now and in the long run. There are four main objectives in UNDP's Sustainable Livelihoods projects, which are:

- To have the ability to cope with and recover from shocks and stresses;
- To be effective economically;
- To be socially equitable;
- To be ecologically sound.

6. Dynamic

The SL approach is an evolving and dynamic process, as well as a flexible one, as it recognises the ever-changing nature of livelihood outcomes and people's circumstances. It also develops commitments for the long run. SLA also calls for on going investigations that support positive change and alleviate negative patterns (ibid: section 1.3).

3.1.3 Weaknesses

As SLA is still evolving as a concept and process in terms of its methodological and practical issues, critiques have indicated some drawbacks of the SLA principles and framework. These are listed as follows:

3.1.3.1 Power and rights

According to Carney (2003:23), even though in principle SL puts the poor first, many feel that it has failed to sufficiently emphasise the importance of increasing the poor's rights and power. This was also criticised by Norton and Foster (2001) who suggested that the SLA stance towards development failed to specifically address the issue of power. Changes in terms of social relations between the people and other agencies, such as the private sector and traders, have not been encouraging and that has an effect on the economic context of livelihoods. Carney (2003:23) stressed that this issue goes back to how the governance framework was conceived and what roles were to be executed by the poor. Little will be achieved in terms of sustainable poverty reduction if those using the SL approach do not understand the relationship between the people and the institutional environment, power and the evolution of changes.

The gender aspect is also another issue in relation to power that has been raised, as there is definite inequality between men and women within a poverty stricken

community. This matter has been identified by all agencies using SL approaches, such as DFID, UNDP and CARE, although consideration of gender is covered minimally through their frameworks and analytical procedures (Krantz, 2001:24). UNDP has been exploring on how to make their programmes more gender sensitive while CARE has disaggregated their data collections at community level by gender when undertaking livelihood security assessments. Meanwhile, DFID places emphasis in their SLA framework the need to concentrate on women under the 'vulnerable groups' in administering SLA analysis, later reinforced with the Gender Analysis⁶. However, it is easier said than done, as there are fewer platforms for women to truly express their opinions, perceptions, interests and needs pertaining to issues of livelihoods. According to Krantz (ibid:25), this is mainly due to the fact that most of the programmes and exercises do not fit women's time requirements and other practical constraints, apart from not allowing adequate amounts of time for continuous dialogues which are necessary for women to express their opinions on certain issues. The SL approach also tends to analyse based on the household as a unit. This result in inequalities and insufficient attention being given to women, as decisions regarding economic issues, interests, opportunities and others are all gender biased. Despite all this however, DFID has made efforts in their Guidance Sheet to disaggregate men, women and different age groups, as they have identified that the household cannot be the sole unit for analysis.

3.1.3.2 Sustainability

Different agencies have different definitions and understanding of sustainability since Chambers and Conway's (1991:1-29) definition of 'sustainable livelihoods' does not clarify its relationship with sustainability. Although this demonstrates SLA's flexibility,

⁶ Gender Analysis is a tool to better understand the realities of the women and men whose lives are impacted by planned development. It aims to uncover the dynamics of gender differences across a variety of issues that include **social relations** (how 'male' and 'female' are defined in the given context; their normative roles, duties, responsibilities); **activities** (gender division of labour in productive and reproductive work within the household and the community; reproductive, productive, community managing and community politics roles); **access and control** over resources, services, institutions of decision-making and networks of power and authority; and **needs** (DFID, 1999: section 4.3).

it can also lead to misunderstanding and misinterpretation when working with SLA as the meanings of the words 'sustainable/sustainability' might have different significances and contexts depending on the different agencies. Apart from that, according to Ashley and Carney (1999:34), little attention has been given by SL initiatives concerning environmental management and protection. In addition, the line between the significance of environmental sustainable and livelihoods sustainability is blurry. Another issue that has been raised by Ashley and Carney (ibid) is defining *what should be sustained?* Sustainability in SLA consists of four main components that are economic, social, institutional and environmental elements, all of which must be addressed in combinations, in the form of assets and activities. This notion seems appealing but in reality, it is difficult to be conducted.

3.1.3.3 Identifying the Poor

Another main concern that has been raised is identifying the poor. While SLA's main goal is to alleviate poverty, none of the SL initiatives have actually discussed how to identify the poor as part of their targeting interventions (Krantz, 2001:22-24). There are a few ways to classify the poor, either through geographical area, using the 'poverty line' that looks at the income level or food insufficiency, or the poor themselves defining criteria of poverty based on their experiences and opinions. However, all these techniques have their drawbacks. For instance, if identified geographically, not all the people within a community are poor, as the poor and the more affluent can co-exist within an area. Using the 'poverty line' technique is complicated and expensive, as it requires systematic data collection on the level of income and other variables for all the households. DFID however acknowledges this issue by explicitly identifying the poor through the analysing process of livelihoods based on their framework. Nonetheless, a number of methodological tools need to be applied in the process, which means that resolution is time-consuming, expensive and not simple to be conducted.

3.2 The Capabilities Approach

In the mid 1980s, Sen (1985) developed the capabilities approach as an approach to welfare economics. The approach emphasises the assessments of the well-being or quality of life of a person based on functional capabilities (substantive freedoms) over resources (such as income) or utility (such as happiness), and people are given effective opportunities to lead the lives they have reason to value (Robeyns, 2006:351). Some aspects of the approach are based on Aristotle, Smith and Marx, but later Sen developed the approach as a coherent theory that was also partially formalised (Robeyns, 2000:4). The approach concerns “concentration on freedoms to achieve in general and the capabilities to function in particular” (Sen, 1995) (as quoted in *ibid*). The main components of this approach are listed as *capabilities* and *functioning*, in which the latter is described as a person’s “beings and doings”, while the former describes a person’s capability as “various combinations of functioning that a person can achieve. Capability is thus a set of vectors of functioning, reflecting the person’s freedom to lead one type of life or another” (Sen, 1992:40) (as quoted in *ibid*). Sen (1987:36) (as quoted in *ibid*; Robeyn, 2003:11) further explained in detail the definitions of *functioning* and *capabilities* as:

“A functioning is an achievement, whereas a capability is the ability to achieve. Functioning are, in a sense, more directly related to living conditions, since they are different aspects of living conditions. Capabilities, in contrast, are notions of freedom, in the positive sense: what real opportunities you have regarding the life you may lead.”

Sen dismissed the excessive focus on income of other inequality literature, which he openly criticised. He believed that there are several factors that are often disregarded in terms of deprivation and inequality. First, as mentioned above, too much focus is given to income; therefore, this unnecessary standpoint needs to be rectified. Second, a wider range of sources is needed, instead of focusing on income as the only source of information. Finally, the lack of wellbeing is not only characterised by the deprivation of commodities and income. Sen repeatedly stated that other issues are as important as the lack of income to the poor and the socially

excluded, such as opportunities, freedom and choices. He argued that although income can be a vital means for opportunities, it however serves as “a rough proxy for what intrinsically matters, namely people’s capabilities” (Robeyns, 2003:9). He favoured the opportunities and choices that individuals have over resources, as resources do not always guarantee good wellbeing. Approaches that focus on resources as a means of measurement are different to measuring the functioning (Alkire (a), 2005:3), for instance, in cases where a person does not have the capability to use their resources in ways that are suitable to them. This is due to the fact that human beings are diverse; therefore, different amounts of resources or incomes are needed for different individuals to enjoy the same capability. These diversities include age, gender, disabilities and talents, amongst other. They result in two human beings having differing quality of life even if equipped with the same resources. Another issue with resources is that there are other commodities which people value other than increased incomes or resources. Increased resources could have social implications, such as changes in culture and lifestyle, which are rejected by some people (ibid). Sen expressed that it is also important to look into the means by which resources can or cannot be utilised for the betterment of wellbeing.

3.2.1 *Sen versus Nussbaum*

Sen developed the Capability Approach framework in the 1980s and 1990s, and since then other researchers and scholars have conducted many new works based on the framework. The most commonly known scholar of the approach, other than Sen, is Nussbaum. The social frameworks of Sen’s and Nussbaum’s approaches are very similar to each other, and both are known as criticising the utilitarianism approach. Nevertheless, both have introduced contrasting versions of the Capability Approach on a number of issues, while sharing some core ideas and views of the approach (Robeyns, 2003(b):23).

First and foremost, both have different personal intellectual backgrounds that influenced their works and both have different goals while administrating their approaches to capabilities. Sen started the Capability Approach without a clear goal

in mind, and instead was very interested in the question “equality of what?”. He asserted that there are good arguments for focusing on capabilities rather than on utility or resources (Sen, 1980) (ibid:24; Nussbaum, 2003:3). Sen’s work was more focused on poverty in developing countries, economic reasoning, and favours quantitative empirical measurements and applications. On the other hand, Nussbaum had a specific aim in mind by which she aimed to develop “partial theory of justice by arguing for the political principles that should underlie a constitution” (Robeyn, 2003(b):24). She argued that the government should assure its citizens of its political principles via its constitution. In order to undertake this task, Nussbaum vindicated the need for a list and she herself developed a well-defined, but yet general, list of central human capabilities as a reference for all constitutions. She stated that her list is universal and that all governments should authorise these capabilities (Nussbaum, 2003:12). Unlike Sen who came up with partial formalised equations to measure characteristics and capabilities, Nussbaum’s works focus more on narrative approaches to interpret people’s needs, hopes, inspirations and opinions. What can be said of these differences is that Sen’s approach emphasises more on the belief that capabilities is primarily that of real or effective opportunities, whereas Nussbaum approach, in terms of the aspects of capabilities, gives more attention to people’s skills and personality traits (Robeyns,2003(b):23-26).

Secondly, time and time again, Nussbaum argued that there is a need for a list and she proposed a list of ten central human capabilities, which will be discussed in the following section. The list is very general and is open to revision and improvement. One can also see that the list evolved from one publication to another. Nussbaum also argued that Sen too should develop a list to strengthen and degeneralise his approach, and in response, he would argue against it. Finally, Sen’s Capability Approach has a wider scope and context compared to Nussbaum’s that centres on “constitutional principles that citizens have a right to demand from their government” (Nussbaum, 2003:1-28). Due to this, Nussbaum has been criticized for her belief that a government’s actions should not be justified, even though the issues regarding the social and distributive justice within the government’s responsibilities are openly discussed (Robeyns, 2003(b):25).

3.2.2 List of capabilities

Critics have been very critical about the fact that Sen's Capability Approach does not define a set of functionings as well as not defining how to conduct the selection of capabilities. The most vocal critic against the absence of an endorsed list in Sen's Capability approach is again the philosopher Martha Nussbaum. Nussbaum (2003:20) argued that:

“Sen cannot avoid committing himself to a core list of fundamental capabilities...If capabilities are to be used in advancing a conception of social justice, they will obviously have to be specified, if only in the open-ended and humble way I have outlined.”

Her argument is that the list should not be made rigid or that it should be at an abstract level. The ten capabilities that she listed were merely general goals and basic guidelines that can be adjusted, further specified and adapted accordingly to the local context.

Nussbaum (2000) expanded Sen's Capability Approach and listed ten capabilities that she classified as The Central Human Capabilities. These are basic principles to the approach and they contrast with Sen's intention to refrain from listing which he defended by stating that any such list must be democratically decided (Nussbaum, 2003:16). Although Nussbaum based her work on Sen's work, her version of the approach's framework is seen as more general and broader compared to Nussbaum's approach. The principles are:

1. Life: that human have the right to live to the end at a normal length.
2. Bodily health: being able to have good health.
3. Bodily integrity: having the freedom to move, be safe against assaults, having sexual satisfactions.
4. Senses, imagination and thoughts: being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason (to make choices, freedom of speech, pleasurable experiences).

5. Emotions: attachment to things and people outside ourselves (love, grief, longing, gratitude, anger).
6. Practical reasons: the understanding of the good and being able to participate in planning of life.
7. Affiliation: the ability to live with other humans (have concern, social interactions, understanding other people's situation, non-discrimination).
8. Other species: the ability to live with and respect other living forms (animals, plants, nature).
9. Play: enjoyment, recreations.
10. Control over one's environment: to have and participate in political choices, owning properties, the right to seek employment, the ability to work.

Apart from defending her list as general and basic guidelines, she also insisted that there should be room for the list to evolve and be extended within the parameters that are appropriate to other nations based on their country's background and situation (Nussbaum, 2003:12).

3.2.3 Operationalizing of the approach

Many critics have focused on the challenges and difficulties regarding the operationalising of the approach into practice, in particular, its application and its practical use. Robeyns (2000:26) observed "despite the fact that Sen published *Commodities and Capabilities* in 1985, the number of empirical applications is still quite limited". She then added that out of all the applications that she reviewed, none of them "were using surveys which were specifically constructed to measure functionings". According to Comim (2001:2), what makes the Capability Approach a challenge to operationalise is partly due to its "fruitful philosophical incursion into development ethics" which makes it complicated to be implement in reality. He then added that the difficulty arises due to two factors: one, because of its emphasis on value judgements with high informational requirements; and two, due to its

multidimensional nature. Critics such as Sugden (1993), Ysander (1993) and Roemer (1996) indicated that the multidimensional nature of Sen's approach made it not practical and unusable, and that he did not put into his approach much empirical significance (as quoted in *ibid*).

Sen thus argued that in fact, his approach does have strong practical meaning to it. He stated, "the approach must nevertheless be practical in the sense of being usable for actual assessments of the living standard". He also gave examples of his many empirical works that looked into the issues of gender inequality, hunger and Indian development (as quoted in *ibid*). Nevertheless, all these were not enough to affirm and convince critics that his approach would not be confronted with other difficulties at the implementation stage, as there are other loopholes to his approach. As stated by Alkire (1998:3), "Sen has not specified how the various value judgements that inhere in his approach and that are required in order for its practical use (whether at the micro or macro level), are to be made" and "without specification the Capability Approach cannot be used efficiently" (as quoted in *ibid*).

3.3 The Everyday Life Approach

The idea of equality between men and women emerged in 1957 at the Treaty of Rome and it was the basis for the European Union (EU), predominantly addressing issues related to employment (Gilroy & Booth, 2000:9). However, despite it being emphasised that it would be implemented in legislations related to social justice and businesses, gender inequality was still prominently practised within the EU members. Nevertheless, the 1970s saw some positive changes. Equal opportunities were given in funding programmes developed by European Structural Funds (ESF). It was further emphasised in 1994 when equality took precedence in the ESF regulations. Nonetheless, studies still showed that women's involvement was still limited and non-beneficial in regional policy programmes (Horelli & Roininen) (as quoted in *ibid*:10). Although equal treatment and positive actions were taken, especially in employment, and the success rate had risen, the approach of treating individuals as the same only benefitted women who had similar circumstances to

men. Other programmes such as New Opportunities for Women (NOW) and Opportunity 2000 have both taken action in eradicating discriminations in workplace and increasing number of women in male-dominated fields. However, these actions are seen as simply adding and integrating women into the structure, not transforming the system (ibid). This led to the demand for incorporating gender equality across all policies including in public policies and governance (Gilroy and Booth, 1999:307 – 309). Horelli (2000:11) suggested that a toolkit or instrument is needed that allows more women to not only participate in social and economic development, they would also take part in the processes in cases where communities are actively engaged in improving the quality of their life.

The 'everyday life' concept has gender equality as its foundation in community planning developments. The concept, also known as the Scandinavian women's concept, came to light in the late 1980s (Horelli et al, 1998:13). It was developed after Scandinavian women expressed their frustration about the burden that they had to carry on a daily basis. This led to the development of the New Everyday Life (Horelli & Vespa, 1994) (as quoted in Gilroy & Booth, 1999:309). It criticised the fragmented everyday life of a community and also the 'mosaic like society' that comprised various units of self-governing and self-sufficiency in utilising local resources (Horelli(a), 2009:11). It also criticised tradition methods of urban planning and policies, the gaps in participation and voices heard, the lack of centralised solutions in resolving issues of everyday life, and the devaluation of unpaid work such as caring by society (Horelli et al, 1998:13). The elements of work, care and housing which are all important within a community were segregated and thus needs to be integrated as one in the neighbourhood's living environment. Horelli defined everyday life as:

"...the subjective experience of everyday, in contrast to the structures or systems made of institutions, financial flows etc. Scientifically everyday life can be approached as a process and practices in which people shape in their homes, at work or in the living environment" (2009(a):11).

The Everyday Life approach began as a concept that concentrates on the ways in which women conduct their everyday routines, and is committed “to create material and socio-cultural support structures – the infrastructure of everyday life” (Gilroy & Booth, 1999: 309). It places close attention to the function of spatial arrangements by which working time and child care options, for instance, are determined by the arrangement and spacing of jobs, housing and services within a residential development. In other words, the approach is concerned with trying to integrate in a feasible way, the management of time and space of every day’s nature routine of dwelling, working, relaxing and caring. In order to realise this concept in planning development and policies, it is firstly important to understand the nature of everyday living and developed ways of responding to people’s needs.

Economic contributions can also be achieved through this concept by what has been termed by Horelli and Vepsa (1994:206) as the intermediary level. The Intermediary level is the central concept of this approach that has its place between the sphere of public and private sectors and households, as illustrated in Figure 5 (Horelli et al, 1998:13). It acts as an intermediary that binds together the many everyday routines and burdens into one environment. An example in The EuroFEM Toolkit gives a clearer view of this concept. It refers to a Scandinavian co-housing project where childcare and everyday domestic chores are distributed and shared between householders. Another example is when residents in a neighbourhood, through mutual decision, together organise the exchange of goods and services, or engage in material recycling without the use of money, an activity which is arranged either by the residents’ association or the people themselves who live in the neighbourhood (Gilroy & Booth, 1999:309).

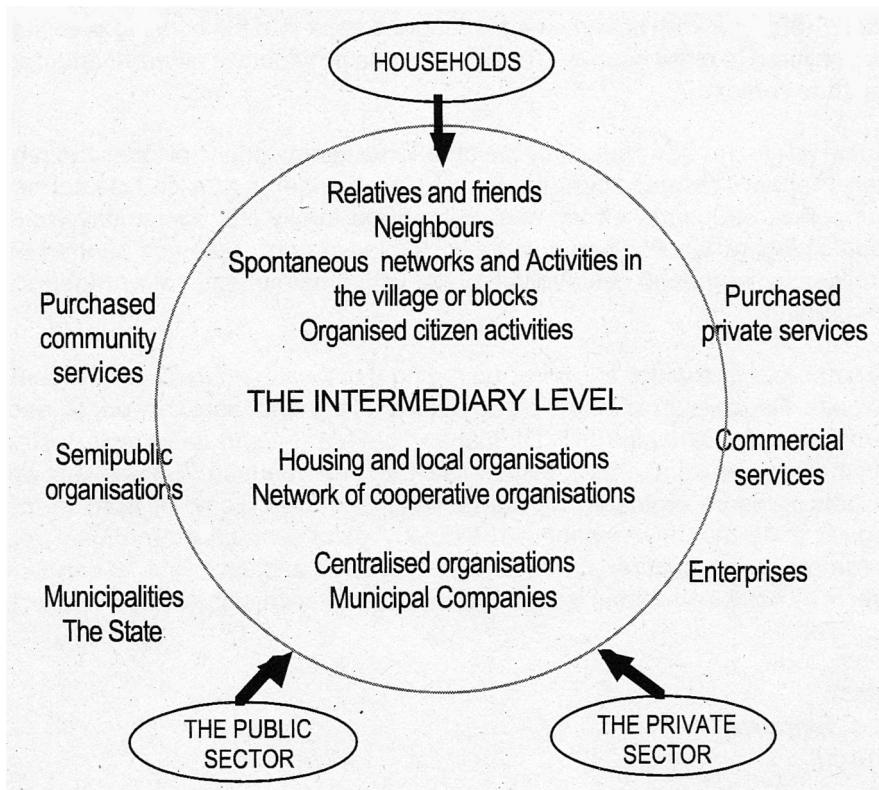


Figure 5 The Intermediary Level

(Horelli, Booth & Gilroy, 1998:13).

Although the concept began as a feminist approach to planning developments, it benefits all members of society to solutions of neighbourhood issues should be at a scale where even children and the elderly can benefit through the support of the infrastructures of everyday life (this will be discussed in 3.3.3). It can also be applied by any community and neighbourhood, urban or rural, through a heuristic approach that includes physical, functional and participatory frameworks (Horelli(a), 2009:11). The functional structure of housing solutions and accessible services must vary and include participation of all regardless of gender, age, ethnic groups and disability. This means that even though this approach has only been implemented in European countries, the approach can also be employed in Malaysia and other developing countries. This is because the nature of the concept considers every aspect and actor of a neighbourhood in resolving issues and planning, instead of focusing only on one aspect such as eradication of poverty. Malaysian women and society in general, also have to juggle the burden of working life and managing the household,

therefore, the everyday life concept is worth considering in developing solutions for underprivileged communities in poor neighbourhoods.

3.3.1 EuroFEM

EuroFEM, a Gender and Human Settlements network, was founded in 1994 after a series of international conferences conducted by European women who were interested in planning and development issues. What started as conferences that discussed gender issues within the built environment later focused on to the dissatisfaction of women with their living environment that does not consider their everyday life routines. These conferences raised much criticism of current approaches and policies in urban planning that hindered women's ability to fulfill their multiple roles within their living and working environment (Gilroy & Booth, 1999:311). The participants, although from different backgrounds, unanimously raised the need to develop and bring forward a new programme that was based on everyday life experiences with an application that is gender sensitive. This could be achieved through the development and planning of environmentally friendly housing, transport system, local services and amenities, and job opportunities at the local level. In response to all the criticism raised, the network was created through the meeting of Chris Booth and Rose Gilroy from the United Kingdom, together with Liisa Horelli from Finland (Horelli, Booth & Gilroy, 1998:1).

Gilroy and Booth (1999:311) stated that there were four aims that were initially formulated by the EuroFEM team, which are as follows:

- (1) To create a network of European women working in the built environment and celebrate the achievement of women
- (2) To create an informed network for women to seek guidance and mentors for projects;
- (3) To disseminate, through networking, the importance of European linkages down to those working at the grassroots level; and

- (4) To call the attention of political and social communities to equality and emancipation.

At the centre of the researches conducted by the EuroFEM network, was the concept of everyday life. Their projects sought to explore new methods within the local context of the distributing and delivering infrastructure for everyday life. The projects had as their basis four themes in regards to the infrastructure of everyday life: job creation and local initiatives; gender sensitive planning; policy and development; models of involvement and the rearrangements of everyday life within living environments (Horelli, 2002:2).

Apart from that, the EuroFEM team also came out with a framework as a guidance to help in the gathering, analysing and interpreting of information, in relation to mobilising women into local and regional development. The toolkit is not a manual unlike those of other guidelines; instead, it compiles a series of stories and methods of women's projects across the EU that had successfully implemented the everyday life approach. In the EuroFEM toolkit (1998:9 - 10), there are three domains on which the framework is based:

- (1) Collaborative planning and governance: where the interests of everyday life and business can interact through the integration of spatial, social, economic and environmental processes of the locality or region. It needs tools that allow everybody regardless of their gender and age groups to participate in the development of new supportive infrastructure for everyday life.
- (2) Empowerment evaluation: an assessment tool that allows communities to help and improve their projects through self-evaluation in predesigned learning situations.
- (3) Feminist research: information regarding the circumstances of women and men in a society, especially unequal circumstances, is analysed and interpreted. It aims to change the unequal and biased situations of a society and visualise how it should be, while embracing the values of everyday life experiences.

3.3.2 Lessons learned

Gilroy and Booth (1999:312-317) documented several case studies of success stories across Europe for examples as benchmarks or pointers that can be used as precedent studies and guidance. They listed a number of lessons that can be learned from these case studies, the first being *reorganising everyday life* where co-housing projects demonstrate ways of sharing the loads of everyday living that are environmentally responsible, for instance, shared laundry would mean less machines are used, therefore less usage of electricity and cost. Another issue that has been looked into is time planning. Some projects have highlighted the importance of understanding and implementing the 'time-space' diaries with residents to discover how time is managed within a household. This would allow more understanding regarding the difficulties concerning time faced by residents, in particular women, in dealing with their daily activities at work and home. The outcome of this is the provision of childcare, the extension of opening hours of services and retailers and the arrangement for transport during peak and non-peak hours.

The second lesson that can be learned is *gender sensitive planning and development* in which public housing projects were designed in a way that it is more women friendly. The winning design applied the following criteria to their project:

- (1) Creating an 'interaction zone' that accommodates everyday life, where spaces aid contacts between residents;
- (2) Providing easy access to facilities and services by locating them nearer to the dwellings;
- (3) The flats are designed in such a way that housework space is made the main requirement;
- (4) Installing crime prevention methods in the design.

Although women's needs were given priority in their design, it must be pointed out that designing spaces that are women friendly would benefit not only the women, the whole community also profits from it.

Thirdly, *models of involvement* are projects which “were committed to bringing women into the process at the grass roots level by building capacity” (ibid:315). Some examples were given of projects that were not only gender sensitive, they were also culturally and issue sensitive. The first example the training of minority ethnic women regarding safety issues within their neighbourhood, in particular their safety and that of their children. The second example is a project that involves women escaping domestic violence, in which they and women’s aid workers participate in the designing of a refuge building. Most of the women’s recommendations were a by-product of their everyday life experiences, and these were included in the design. It is important that planners and designers truly understand the nature and background of a community; in this case the everyday nature and culture of women from certain backgrounds, and are more sensitive to issues faced by them. These projects are good examples of how buildings and physical environment can be welcoming and safe for troubled women and provide services and facilities that are sensitive to their needs and conditions.

The last lesson that was listed is *gender sensitive job creation at the local level*. At this level, resource centres were developed to allow women to meet, discuss their ideas and create businesses as sources of income, most importantly on their own time and terms. An example provided by Gilroy and Booth (1999: 316) is of the cooperative Women’s House in Kokkola, Finland, where women’s dreams for their region were realised and implemented. Apart from the resource centres, this project outlined four other main activities for each house, which are:

- (1) Business advice for women, and also men, on starting their own business;
- (2) Providing basic business services such as fax, telephone, photocopier, and advertising;
- (3) The work order centre, which is a centre for cooperative members with health care skills to search for work. The scope of skills, however, has expanded to other skills.
- (4) The handicraft shop, where products by skilled cooperative members are sold.

The project was such a success that it inspired the setting up of two other resource centres in Finland. It also proved that small-scaled projects can be good models for other major practised developments.

3.3.3 Infrastructure for Everyday Life

The original model of infrastructure for everyday life was gradually expanded not only in terms of scope, it also stretched from local settings to regional, national and even transnational levels (ibid: 307 -324). However, the concept has not been widely used in urban policy, especially in developing countries, as it is a concept developed for societies in the European countries. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the concept cannot benefit and be applied by other societies around the world. Figure 6 illustrates a comparison of the traditional view of the provision of everyday life by policy makers with that of the more flexible gendered and experienced biased life view.

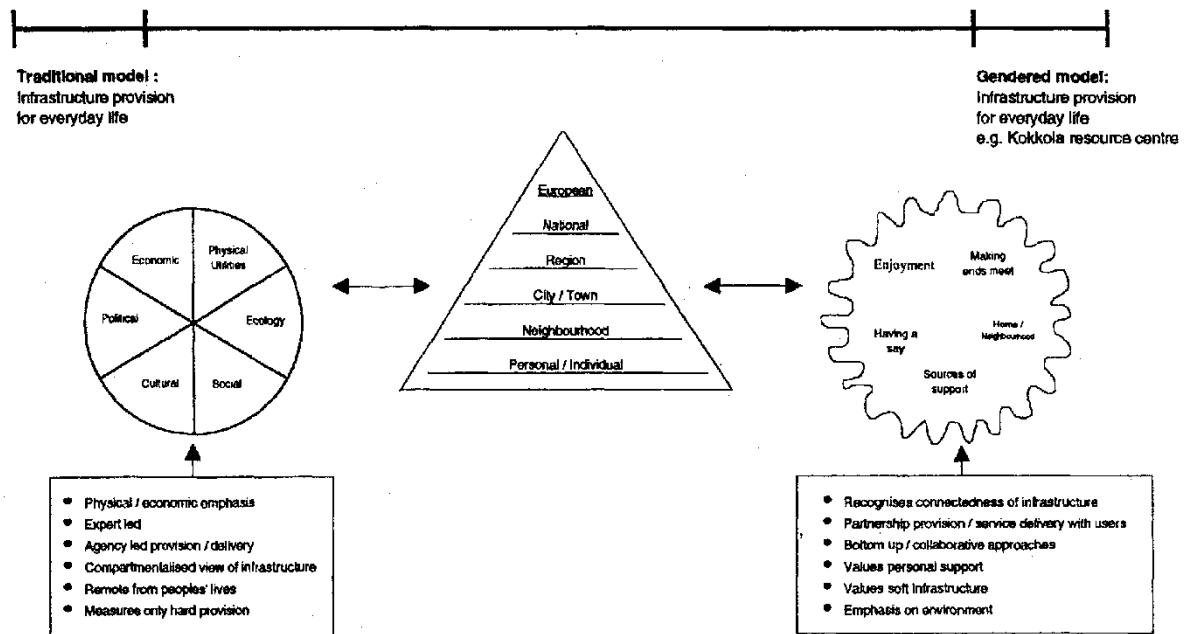


Figure 6 Conceptual models of infrastructure for everyday life

(Gilroy and Booth, 1999:310).

According to Gilroy and Booth (1999), there are five elements of infrastructure for everyday life that are applicable to all regardless of gender, age and income. These elements are as follows:

- (1) **enjoyment** – infrastructure for relaxing, socialising, religion and culture;
- (2) **home and neighbourhood** – the living conditions, neighbourhood and its surrounding environment, facilities and services;
- (3) **making ends meet** – affordable goods and services, employment;
- (4) **sources of support** – friends and family, religious support, community network; and
- (5) **having a say** – the right to be heard, participate in decision making regarding the community.

However, it should be noted that **home and neighbourhood** is the central domain of the whole concept of everyday life as it mostly caters to and accommodates the other elements. At the centre of these elements is the household, each with distinctive characteristics such as gender, age group, socio-economic factors and race. As explained by Speak (2012: 6-8), the relationship among the five elements and household characteristics can be clearly understood and interpreted through the framework. Each element is interconnected with the others, creating a balance in providing a better living based on everyday experiences, as demonstrated in Figure 7 below:

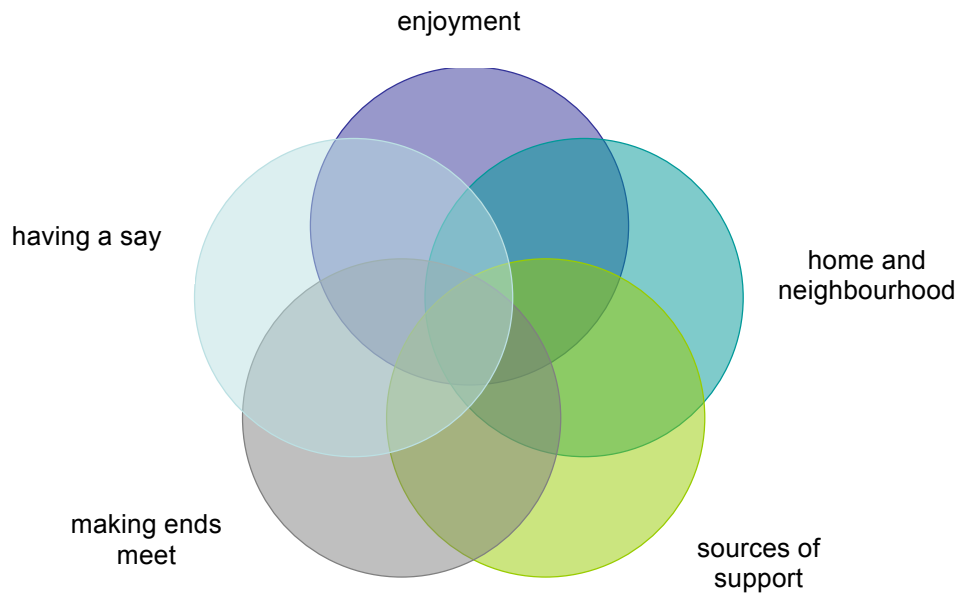


Figure 7 Interconnection of five elements.

(Speak, 2012: 7)

Gilroy (2008: 152) then went to further develop the framework and observed that four of the five elements are in fact embedded within the home and neighbourhood element (illustrated in Figure 8). She stated that our living environment actually already accommodates most of the resources that are crucial for the other four elements.

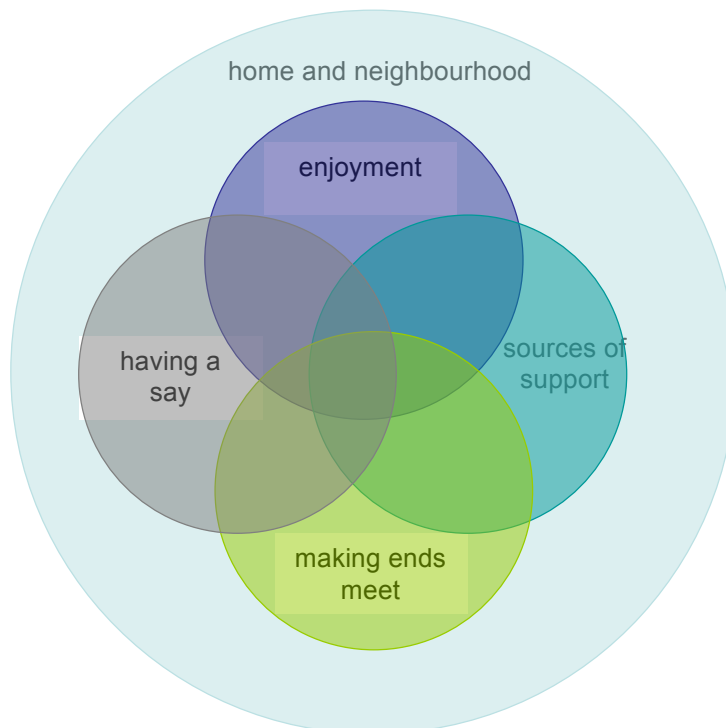


Figure 8 Four elements embedded in the home and neighbourhood element

(Speak, 2012: 8)

Although the Everyday Life concept was initially developed in response to the issues regarding gender inequality in the built environment, it is not just about women; the approach also concerns the spatial development of a community as a whole which will eventually have an impact at local and regional levels. The concept is a mainstreaming tool that explores the dynamics of changing the roles of gender (Gilroy & Booth, 1999:322) and can be used for analysing and evaluating the impact of development on communities. It is important that planners and policy makers bear in mind the actual reality of everyday life experiences of a community when planning or structuring policies for a development. They should include residents in the process and respond as much as possible to their needs and concerns.

3.4 A comparison

All three approaches have been discussed and the following table illustrates a comparison of the positive and negative aspects of each approach:

	Sustainable Livelihood	Capabilities Approach	Everyday Life Approach
What is it?	It is a way to improve understanding of the livelihoods of poor people. It draws on the main factors that affect poor people's livelihoods and the typical relationships among these factors.	An approach to welfare economics, it emphasises the assessments of the well-being or quality of life of a person based on functional capabilities (substantive freedoms) over resources (such as	The concept of everyday life is a relational network through which people manage their existence across time and within space.

		income) or utility (such as happiness), where people are given effective opportunities to lead the lives they have reason to value (Robeyns, 2006:351).	
Strengths	<p>- People centred, in which provision of supports focuses on the people.</p> <p>- Responsive & participatory where the people are the actors in determining their livelihood priorities.</p> <p>- Multi-level that is that poverty eradication could be achieved at several levels, micro and macro.</p> <p>- Conducted in partnership in which lessons and materials should be taken from other donors that have used SLA and vice versa.</p>	<p>- An ethical individualistic approach as functioning and capabilities are properties of individuals. Therefore, each person is taken into account in normative judgement.</p> <p>- Looks at people's being and doings in non-market as well as market settings.</p> <p>(Robeyns, 2003:7)</p>	<p>- Integrating separated elements of daily activities into a spatial and temporal sphere on the neighbourhood level.</p> <p>- The approach does not only concern women, it also concerns the spatial development of a community as a whole.</p> <p>- The five domains of Infrastructure for Everyday Life are already embedded in neighbourhoods and relevant to all, thus</p>

	<p>- Sustainability is the backbone to this approach, and also the main goal and objective.</p>		<p>allowing for evaluations to be easily implemented.</p>
Weaknesses	<p>- It fails to sufficiently emphasise the importance of increasing the poor's rights and power.</p> <p>- None of the SL initiatives have actually discussed how to identify the poor as part of their targeting interventions even though the main goal is to eradicate poverty.</p> <p>- Different agencies have different definitions and understanding of sustainability that can lead to misunderstanding and misinterpretation when working with SLA.</p>	<p>- Its underspecified nature makes it susceptible to a biased judgment in the capability evaluation.</p> <p>- Without some specifications, the approach cannot be implemented efficiently; and its richness in theoretical and philosophical terms makes it impractical to be used.</p> <p>- Humans are diverse, therefore, their capabilities could not be assessed uniquely against the resources they have available and also their capabilities in utilising these</p>	<p>- Has not been widely used in urban policy especially in developing countries.</p> <p>- To change the mind-set of policy makers and decision makers in institutionalising change related to gender equality and perspectives.</p> <p>- As the approach in integrating equality in development planning is still relatively new even in the European countries, let alone the developing countries, tackling issues cannot be done at only one</p>

		resources. - No specific indication on how to measure functionings.	level, as it is unlikely to create change. It must involve the local and regional levels, which is a challenge.
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Table 5 A comparison of the three approaches.

3.5 Conclusion

After much research and careful consideration of all three approaches, the author has decided on one approach that best suits her research. The following are the author's arguments and chosen method for her analysis:

The Sustainable Livelihood Approach seems like the best option as it is widely used and there are various and plenty of case studies to delve into. However, this approach focuses more on the livelihood and poverty of a community over other issues. Although the community of Desa Mentari are those of the low-income group, their main concern is not poverty. Based on interviews conducted with the residents, their main concerns are racial issues and the deteriorating relationships among the community. Another factor that has not been touched on in this approach is the means of understanding how a community conduct their daily lives, how different cultures and religions live together and how they survive or cope. These are essential in developing or planning for a multi-racial community. Nevertheless, the participation of the urban poor in development is listed as one of the core elements in this approach, which is also another issue that needs to be addressed in Desa Mentari.

The second approach, The Sen's Capability Approach, is the most unlikely method of analysis to be applied for the author's research. The approach is considerably complex and not easy to understand. Furthermore, it vaguely explores and

discusses the everyday lived experiences of the people. The critics themselves are very wary and doubtful whether it is possible for this approach to be implemented in policy development. In a Malaysian context, a complex framework such as the capabilities approach would not be accepted and would be blindly rejected. The Malaysian federal government would prefer an approach that can be easily understood by the local authorities, as they are the ones that would be implementing the policies. There are many cases where officers do not truly understand a concept that has been enforced by a policy and merely applied on-site for the sake of having the work done. This issue will be discussed in detail in the findings and analysis chapters.

Although the final approach discussed in this chapter the Everyday Life approach has not been widely used in urban policies especially in developing countries, compared to the SL approach, and even though there is not much literature available on the subject, the author sees this as an advantage as she can explore and delve more into the approach in terms of how it was applied in various contexts in the projects conducted by EuroFem. Apart from that, this concept or methodology best suits her research as it takes on a holistic approach to community and neighbourhood planning. The framework is particularly valuable as it is flexible enough to be adapted to different subjects and contexts depending on the area and types of community. The framework does not set a specific guideline to be followed, as sometimes it could be restrictive. Instead, it provides a 'manual for good practice' (Horelli, Booth & Gilroy, 1998:5) using EuroFem's projects as examples. Most importantly, although the everyday life concept was developed for women, all will benefit from the adaptation of this approach on spatial development as it impacts the community as a whole.

The main concern of Desa Mentari is the negative impact it had on the residents when they were relocated to the flats, in particular the breakdown of their community structure and the racial issues. Apart from offering solutions to develop a neighbourhood that caters to supportive infrastructure for everyday life in the form of environmentally friendly neighbourhood, services and employment for a community

regardless of gender and age, most importantly, the approach focuses on sensitive means of planning according to different natures of culture and religion within a community. Other than that, the participation of this community in planning and development was weak or next to none. Therefore, this would be the best tool for the community to voice out their needs and issues concerning their neighbourhood, as they know them best. People of different cultures and religions have different ways of conducting their daily lives and activities. Thus, it is important to understand and find the means or strategies for these communities to cope and survive together, as well as to integrate cultures and religions with dwellings, work and care.

Chapter 4

Methodology and Framework

4.0 Introduction

This chapter contains a discussion of the methodologies used throughout the whole process of this research. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section will discuss the overall design and the selection of the case study area. The second section documents the methods used to collect data and the rationale for the structuring of the data. The third section will discuss the analytical frameworks used to analyse the data as well as problems faced in data collection and the appropriate resolutions of those problems. It is valuable to revisit the research questions to understand how the methodology was developed.

The author essentially seeks to find answers to the following questions:

- What are the reasons behind the eradication of *perkampungan setinggan* in Malaysia, in particular Kuala Lumpur and the most developed state of Selangor?
- What are the impacts on the lives of those relocated - what are the coping mechanisms?
- Given the evidence of failure behind the relocation of settlers to new high-rise neighbourhoods, why does the government continue with this approach?
- To what extent are external perceptions a fair or distorted view of reality of the issues of new settlements?
- Might approaching the issues from an Everyday Life perspective be a better basis on which an understanding for policy can be built?

4.0.1 Section 1: Overall design

This section will now discuss the overall design of the research. The nature of the above questions reveals two main issues that dictate what data need to be collected. According to Yin (2003:5 - 7), questions beginning with *what* and *why* impose an exploratory and explanatory nature to the research, as mentioned earlier in the chapter. Exploratory *what* questions justify conducting an exploratory study if the research aims to develop applicable hypotheses and propositions for further inquiry. As for the *why* question, it is more explanatory and is likely to use case studies as a method as it involves operational links that are traced over time (ibid). The following explains the exploratory and explanatory nature of the author's research questions:

- **What** – Exploratory research – seeks to explore the reasons for and expose the negative implications of the Government's action to relocate former squatter dwellers to low-cost high-rise flats.
- **Why** – Explanatory research – seeks to answer the real reason behind the relocation of former squatter dwellers.
- In addition, the research seeks to find ways to understand and apply the Everyday Life concept to the lives of low-cost flat dwellers.

The research has, therefore both exploratory and explanatory elements that suit the use of case study as a method. Figure 10 at the end of this chapter expresses the overall process of the research.

4.1 Case Study Approach

The case study site used is Desa Mentari in Petaling Jaya South, Selangor. The site was originally chosen, as it was well known for its squatter settlements and its high rate of crimes. Petaling Jaya South, in particular, Kampung Medan, became famous after what became known as the "Kampung Medan incident". In March 2001, a racial clash between Malays and Indians in Kampung Medan resulted in the death of six

people and caused injuries to more than 200 people, mostly Indians. This area once consisted of six main squatter settlements that were Kampung Lindungan, Kampung Medan, Kampung Ghandi, Kampung Pinang, Kampung Semarak and Kampung Muniandy. Upon the author's return to Malaysia for data collection, it was found that the squatter settlements had been demolished since 2005 and the squatter dwellers relocated into low-cost high-rise flats within the vicinity. The main population comprised not just Indians; the Malays were also a major group. This changed the characteristics of the respondents from squatter dwellers to flat dwellers, and also changed the nature of the study that had initially focused more on issues relating to Indians vis-à-vis the community issues as a whole.

Desa Mentari at Taman Medan PJS 2 became the central unit of analysis in an *embedded single case design*, which is a case study that contains more than one sub-unit of analysis (Yin, 2003:42). The rationale for the selection of Desa Mentari as a case was because it represents a *unique case* to the research by being labelled as a high-risk neighbourhood. The author then identified the method as an embedded single case study as it involves more than one unit of analysis (other actors) within a single case (Desa Mentari). According to the Service Director of Social Strategic Foundation, these neighbourhoods were labelled as high-risk when concerns were raised regarding the Indian community who resides in these neighbourhoods being involved in gangsterism, anti-social behaviours and violent crimes. Low-income groups; low in terms of opportunities and options, low levels of education, and low socio-economic status; primarily populate these areas. The areas were also breeding grounds for crimes and social ills, and therefore were termed as high-risk areas.

4.1.1 About the case study area

In brief, Desa Mentari was specifically developed to relocate former *perkampungan setinggan* dwellers. The dwelling is located in Petaling Jaya South, simply known as PJS. As the name suggests, PJS makes up the southern part of Petaling Jaya, one of the most developed city in Malaysia. Situated along Old Klang Road, one of the

oldest links that connects Kuala Lumpur and Klang, the settlements are literally buried under expressways. It has become one of the most congested areas in the Klang Valley. The Malays and Indians make up the majority of the settlement's population, along with a small number of Chinese, and Indonesian and Bangladeshi immigrant workers who are renters. The majority of the population is from the lowest income group in Malaysia and the neighbourhoods have the highest rates of crimes and social ills.

The whole development of Desa Mentari consists of ten blocks, eight of which are located in Taman Desaria, PJS 5, and the other two blocks in Taman Medan, PJS 2. The settlements were developed in four phases, from 2004 to 2006, with the settlement in Taman Medan, PJS 2 being the last phase. The eight blocks in PJS 5 are 11 storeys high while the two blocks in PJS 2 are 17 storeys high. One- and two-storey terrace houses, low-cost apartments and abandoned developments, surround both settlements. On top of that, the settlement in PJS 2 is directly located along the New Pantai Expressway (NEP). For the purpose of this research, the author concentrated and conducted her data collection process at Taman Medan, PJS 2 as its size allowed for interviews and focus groups to be conducted. Further discussion of the case study regarding its history and the author's personal experiences throughout the data collection process, as well as more information on the site, will be discussed in Chapter 7.

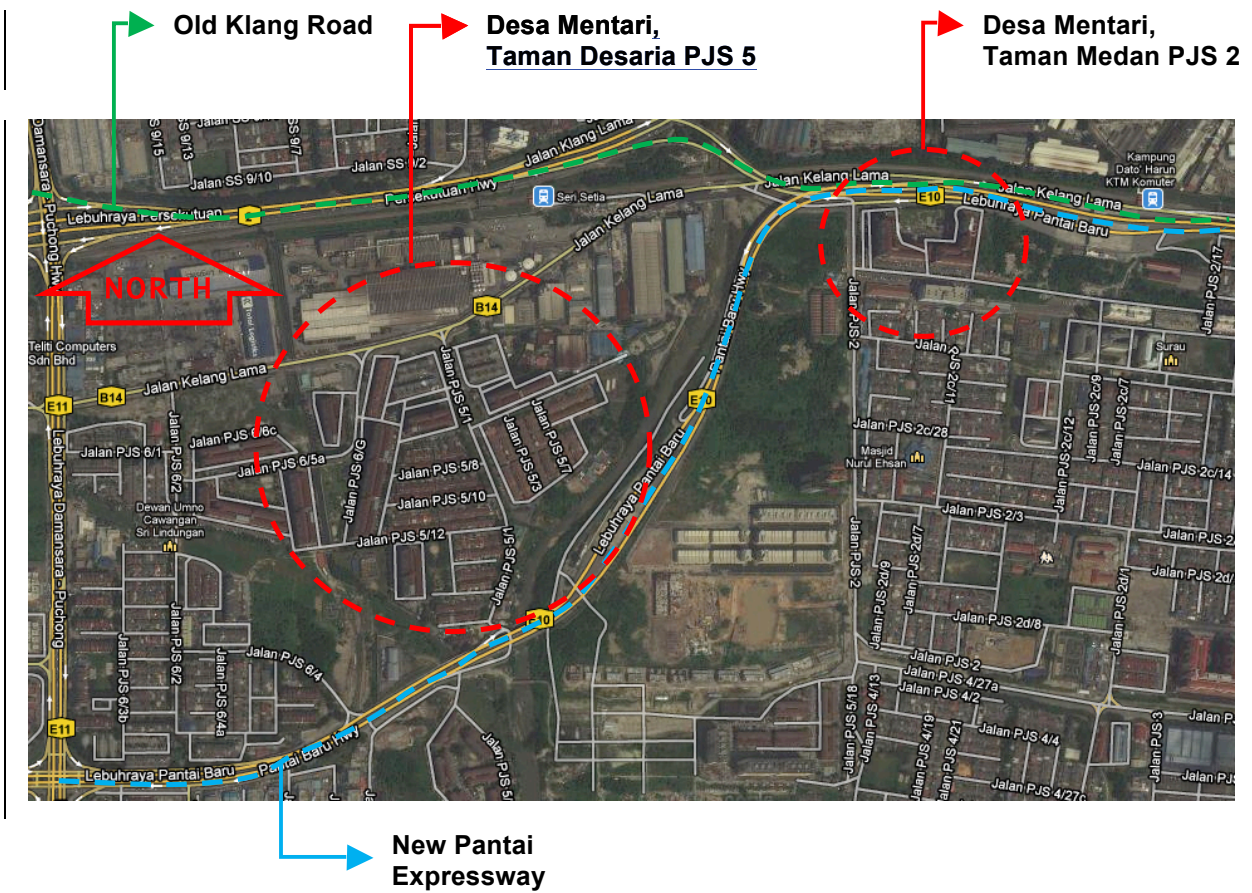


Figure 9 The location of the chosen settlements (Source: Google Maps).



Figure 10 The two 17-storey Desa Mentari high-rise residential blocks (Picture taken by author)



Figure 11 The NEP expressway that is located in front of Desa Mentari, Taman Medan (Picture taken by author)

4.1.2 Selection of the Site

The reasons that this site was selected as the case study for this research are fivefold. Firstly, the settlement was where former squatter dwellers were relocated to, on which this research is based. Apart from that, it is a typical low-cost high-rise residential area for lower income groups; therefore, the findings can be used and extended to other similar neighbourhoods. Secondly, research has previously been conducted on the community, but from a different perspective, so the organisations can act as 'gatekeepers' that allow the author to gain access to the community as well as available secondary data. Thirdly, other researchers have also raised various issue regarding these types of settlements, hence, the findings can be justified. Fourthly, the scale of the settlement is suitable for undertaking interviews and focus groups. Finally and most importantly, the characteristic of the majority of its residents fit the characteristic needed for this research, which is former squatter dwellers who were relocated to low-cost high-rise settlements.

4.2 Section 2: Data Collection

In order to strengthen the case study research, the author collected multiple sources of evidence to address a broader range of issues and to allow for a triangulation of data for more convincing and accurate findings. The data collection process was completed in two phases. The first phase was from January to April in 2009, during which the author mainly conducted interviews with professionals and non-governmental organisations, collected secondary data, identified the site and conducted interviews with families and individuals who volunteered as well as site observation. The second phase was from June to October in 2009 during which the author undertook more interviews with the authorities and the local Member of Parliament (MP), conducted focus groups and collected more secondary data.

4.2.1 Primary Data Collection: The Interview as a Method

The case study research employed several techniques for collecting data, the interview being the most commonly used. The interviews, which were designed and used by the author for this research, were based mainly on a semi-structured format as well as some structured formats. They combined focused and open-ended questions in order to guide the respondents to the expert or personal knowledge held by them, but at the same time allowed them to express their opinions leading to open-ended discussions between the author and the respondents. It is important in a case study interview that the process flows fluidly instead of being rigid (H.J. Rubin & Rubin, 1995) (as quoted in Yin, 2009). Therefore the interviews were more open-ended. The process took place over a six-month period, ranging from formal one-to-one interviews to more informal conversational interviews with focus groups, and covered targeted respondents who were required and identified for the research.

A semi-structured format allows a wide range of subject to be covered by the interviewer. The questions are in a more general form but the interviewer also is able to vary the sequence of the questions (Bryman, 2008:438). One of the advantages of this format is that it allows the interviewer to ask further impromptu questions in response to the replies given by the respondents. On the other hand, a structured format poses questions that are usually specific and the respondents are offered a fixed range of answers. These types of questions are also known as closed or close ended questions (ibid:193). A focused interview, on the other hand, is still open-ended and conducted in a conversational manner. However, it follows a more fixed set of questions. The author, when interviewing the community, used this technique.

The core of the designed questions is based on the issues of crime and social ills in high-risk neighbourhoods. Two sets of interview questions were outlined, one for the professionals and the other for the community. The first set was more in-depth, to be used while interviewing professionals and non-government organisations in acquiring professional and expert opinions on the history, backgrounds, policies and the underlying factors behind the issues faced by the community. The second set of

questions was initially designed as a questionnaire but was later used as interview questions following a recommendation by the Service Director of YSS. This set combines semi-structured and some structured questions designed for the community to obtain information on the experiences of the respondents living in the area, issues of their community, issues of the local authority, what is lacking and their needs. The structured questions were used mainly to measure the respondents' satisfaction regarding residing in the flats and issues concerning their safety.

Understanding the negative implications induced by squatter relocation is the main focus of this research. However, the questions were initially outlined to answer questions regarding safety and crime in these neighbourhoods. As the questions were designed in a semi-structured manner, therefore open-ended, it brought to light other more important underlying issues faced by the community that, in turn, led to the reassessing of the research focus. In the community category, apart from safety and crime, respondents were asked about the physical and living conditions of the flats, facilities provided for them, the management of their flats, the contribution or lack of it from authorities or other agencies, what improvement they want for their neighbourhood, the issue of the Indian community from the neighbourhood being associated with crime and social ills, and their opinions on whether the improvements to their living conditions could improve the quality of their lives.

As mentioned earlier, more general sets of questions were applied while interviewing the professionals. In general, the questions covered a range of issues, from the issue of crime in high-risk neighbourhoods, what has been done to identify the issue, what the characteristics of high-risk neighbourhoods are and why it has been so labelled, the current Safe City Programme, the roles of officials/authorities, and the living conditions and physical environment of these high-risk neighbourhoods. In addition, respondents were also questioned on the history of these communities, the factors behind the recurring incidents of crime and social ills in these neighbourhoods, the Kampung Medan incident, and their opinions on what may be the best solution to the issues.

After reassessing the research's focus, more questions were added to the existing sets. The additional sets of questions mainly covered the issue regarding racial problems occurring in the neighbourhood, what the factors are behind the racial issue, other community issues such as the youths' involvement with social ills, why these issues occur mainly in this neighbourhood, the local authority's attitude and treatment towards the community, what has been done so far to curb these issues, why the area was not included in the Local Plan, why the community was relocated, why high-rise flats were chosen as a solution and the future plans for the neighbourhood. Furthermore, one respondent was questioned regarding the Kampung Medan incident and why no documentation of the incident was available, such as the absence of newspaper clippings in the National Archive and why all publications of the incident were banned. After all the interviews were conducted, the data was transcribed and the analysis process began. The transcribed data was first translated into English as some interviews, mainly with the community, were conducted in the Malay language. The detailed analysis process of the interview data will be discussed in 4.3.1: The Grounded Theory in Section Three of this study.

A total of 22 face-to-face interviews were conducted, of which nine were with the community and 13 with the professionals. The first gatekeeper (please refer to 4.2.2) introduced five of the respondents for the community data, while the rest of the respondents were either introduced by the second gatekeeper or approached by the author. As for the professionals, their selection was based on their field of expertise that is relevant to the research. For instance, the author needed to understand the issues and history of the community. Therefore, NGOs that had conducted researches with the community, the local State Assemblywoman, Officer-in-Charge and a Professor in Indian studies were interviewed. For information regarding the relocation processes and why the *perkampungan setinggan* dwellers were relocated, a State officer and the local authority were consulted. Federal officers were sought for their expertise in developing guidelines and regulations, as well as their opinions in dealing with the local authorities.

4.2.1.1 Collecting the Data - Professionals

As mentioned above, for the professional data, interviews were conducted with professionals who specialise in fields that are related or relevant to this research. Similar to the household data, the collection process of the professional data was conducted twice, the first half from January to April 2009, and the second half from June to October 2009. The following pages briefly summaries the interviews conducted with the professionals (in initials).

The first interview was held on the 28th of January with Dato' SAC II SS, the Commandant at the Police Training Academy in Kuala Lumpur. He is the writer of the article 'The Rise of Crime in Malaysia, an academic and statistical analysis' for the Journal of Kuala Lumpur Royal Police College. The author's initial research was based on issues raised in that article. In his article, SS delved into the academic reasons for the increase in crime in Malaysia and listed seven main factors that contributed to the rise. One of the factors that became of interest to the author is the issue of the Indian community. According to SS, the majority of violent crimes and gang related activities were committed by the Indians. Statistically, Indians only comprise 7.7% of the total population of Malaysia. They represent a small minority group when compared with the Malays (65.1%) and the Chinese (26%), and this is a big concern. SS also stated, this troubled community resides in areas identified as high-risk neighbourhoods in which the author was interested and chose as her case study. However, SS was unsure of the location of these neighbourhoods. The interview revolved around the factors behind the issues of the low-income Indian community and their history as well as on the type of crimes with which they are mostly involved.

The interview was then followed by other interviews conducted with two federal government officers from the Town and Country Planning Department who were RZ, the Head Assistant Director of the Sustainable and Safe City Unit, and RY, a planner under the Research and Development Department. These two interviews mainly discussed the Safe City Programme that JPBD were conducting as well as the types

of crime in high-risk neighbourhoods and the issue of how local authorities handle policies developed by them. They explained that it is important that any policies or guidelines must be simple and easily understood or else they would be rejected or would not be carried out as required by the authorities. This has hindered them from introducing better and more complicated methods of solutions, as they would not be successful.

Before returning to Malaysia, the author tried countless times to contact and set an appointment with the Social Strategic Foundation (YSS), a social development network working with the Malaysian Indian community, but with no success. During the interview with SS, he suggested that the author talks to Datuk Dr DJ, the former Executive Director of the foundation. The author saw this as an opportunity for her to make contact with YSS and an appointment was set up for 16th February. DJ is the Chairman of the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Working Group at the Human Rights Commission of Malaysia (SUHAKAM) and is Principle Research Fellow at the Institute of Ethnic Studies, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. He has done extensive research and groundwork with and on the issue of the Indian community while he was with the foundation. It was during this interview, that the author learnt the location of the high-risk neighbourhood that later became her case study. Desa Mentari is one of the numerous researches that DJ had conducted with YSS before and after the community was relocated. Like his peer SS, he too discussed the history of the low income Indians and how that relates to the issues they now face. He also addressed the unsatisfactory physical state and the inadequate facilities of the flats in Desa Mentari, and the inequality of the treatment meted out by the authorities to the Malay and Indian communities living there.

Finally, on 18th February, with the help of DJ, the author bagged an interview with one of the directors from YSS. JA had been the Service Director of this foundation since 1998, and since the beginning of 2007, she has played the role of Service Consultant. She has more than 20 years of experience in social work with grassroots communities. Her researches focus more on sustainable and liveable cities and she is currently investigating on how to create safe cities and neighbourhoods for

children. She believes that by creating a child-friendly neighbourhood, it would mean that the neighbourhood is safe for everyone. She too discussed the condition of the flats and the lack of facilities as well as the inequality in the provision of services and treatment to the Desa Menatri community, consistent to what was been claimed by DJ. She then introduced the author to gatekeeper A, a programme-coordinating officer at the foundation who acted as the 'gatekeeper' to the community.

The final interview for the first leg of the data collection process was with a professor and the Head of the Department of Indian Studies in Universiti Malaya, Prof. Dr. SK, held on the 23rd of March 2009. This interview mainly discussed the issues faced by the Indian community in high-risk neighbourhoods and the factors that caused the issues as well as the perceptions and treatments towards this community. He also explained that frustration is a norm among the Indians, as they comprehend that no help will ever be provided for them and that they are a neglected community. This has been instilled from a young age and that discrimination is not unusual, that they will forever be treated that way and they do not hope for any changes. He believes that only through education can the circumstances in this community be changed and drive them to move forward.

For the second leg of the data collection, the first appointment was on the 20th July with HT, a State Assemblywoman for Taman Medan, at her office in Shah Alam, Selangor. It was important for the author to meet her as she needed a professional and clearer view of the underlying problems faced by the community within these neighbourhoods, as well as the State Assemblywoman's role and contributions to the community as their representative. During this interview, HT expressed her dissatisfaction of MBPJ, the local authority, regarding their ill treatment, negative perceptions and nonchalant attitude concerning the Desa Mentari community. She claimed that MBPJ is biased when it involves the provision of services as higher more priority was given to the more affluent community of Petaling Jaya. This is clearly evident in the contrasting image of the Petaling Jaya North, which is well developed with modern facilities and buildings, and Petaling Jaya South with deteriorating high-rise low-cost flats and squalid environment, both communities that

are separated only by the Federal Highway. She also highlighted the issues faced by the community, in particular regarding their squatter behaviour, and the factors that cause it.

After numerous attempts to set up an appointment with any of the planners from the local authority, Majlis Bandaraya Petaling Jaya (MBPJ), a planner, FH finally agreed to meet up with the author the day after her interview with HT. After briefly talking with her, FH then introduced the author to KN whom she claimed has more knowledge in relation to the research. The interviewee was asked regarding the Local Plan that does not include Petaling Jaya South, future plans for the area and the issues faced by the community. The interview only lasted for 15 minutes and it was the most unpleasant interview the author had ever conducted. Throughout the whole interview, the interviewee did not even look at the author and was busy typing away on her laptop. The author got the feeling that she did not care about these areas and was not happy that she was questioned regarding them.

About two weeks later, on 10th August, the author had an interview with the Officer-in-Charge of Desa Mentari, Chief Inspector RP. The first thing he revealed, after the nature of the research was briefly explained to him, was that the real main issue of Desa Mentari is racism and that it happens specifically in these flats. He explained that the smallest matter can cause a big commotion and it is something that he has never experienced elsewhere throughout his life and career. He however claimed that crime has reduced, which were mostly property crimes, but the community is now confronted with social issues mainly inflicted by their youths, apart from racial conflicts. He also stated that the community has a better relationship with the police force compared to MBPJ, and that they always become the middlemen when any problems or complaints regarding broken down facilities are reported to them instead of to the authority.

The final interview was with a Selangor state government officer MY, who was previously involved with the Selangor Zero Squatter 2005 programme. He was accompanied by an acquaintance, SN, who also gave his opinion on related issues.

The discussion was mainly on the implementation and processes of the Zero Squatter programme, why high-rise accommodations were chosen as a solution, the problems they faced and the issues surrounding the community of Desa Mentari. He also explained the main roles of the State Government regarding this type of community and that although they were aware of the negative implications of the relocation, he stated that it is no longer the State Government's problem. Their main role is to provide homes for the former squatter dwellers in which they have succeeded, and what happens next is up to the community themselves and the local authority is responsible. It was during this interview that the author realised that there was contradicting information, which will be revealed in Chapter 9.

4.2.1.2 Focus Group

Another technique of interviewing used for this research was the focus group. It involves a group of respondents in an informal discussion, *focused* on a set of issues (Silverman, 2004:177). In principle, it often involves between four and ten respondents, and the size of the group depends on the complexity of the topic to be discussed (Bryman, 2008:478). Conducting a focus groups is a flexible technique that allows the respondents to hold conversations and arguments among them based on a guided topic, which later gives the author a clearer and more realistic account (ibid:475) of the issues addressed. Upon conducting the first site inventory, the author realized it was harder to approach the Malays and teenagers for a one-on-one interview. She therefore decided to conduct focus groups instead on her second visit as some individuals, who were reluctant to participate in a one-on-one interview, might be comfortable in a group setting as quoted in Silverman (2004:181):

“Some focus group researchers have argued that the method may be particularly useful in work with severely disadvantaged, hard-to-reach social groups, people who may be ‘uncomfortable with individual interviews’ but happy to talk with others, particularly others they already know, ‘in the safe and familiar context of their own turf’” (Plaut et al., 1993).

With the help of the 'gatekeeper (please refer 4.2.2), two focus groups were selected and gathered as representatives of particular groups of the community. The first focus group was held with the Malays. Before the interview was conducted, the author was informed by the gatekeeper that it was not possible for him to gather a group of Malays if it was arranged beforehand, as there was a big possibility that there would not be any volunteers. He suggested that the best way was to conduct an impromptu focus group with a group of Malays who always gathered at the coffee shop of the flat every night, and who were also his acquaintances. Seven Malays were approached and they agreed to be interviewed. One more participant later joined the group. The interview started with the author introducing herself, why she was conducting the interview, and briefly explaining her research. The respondents introduced themselves by using their nicknames and would not reveal their ages and occupations. However, the author could guess that the respondents were in their late thirties to sixties. The same sets of questions used for interviews with the community during the first visit were again utilised but more questions were added. The additional questions concerned racial issues, social ills and other community issues within the neighbourhood, a comparison with their previous lives in the squatter settlements, the authorities' attitudes towards the community, and why and how they were relocated.

The second focus group was conducted with a group of eight teenagers, ranging in age from 15 to 20, which was held at the gatekeeper's home. It was important that the author consulted the teenagers as, based on previous interviews conducted, the adults from the neighbourhood blamed them for being the culprits behind most of the issues faced by the community. The questions asked were based again on the interview questions used for the community but were adapted to suit the young respondents. The teenagers were mainly asked on their opinions regarding the accusations that they are one of the factors behind the problems in their community. They were also inquired regarding the issues in their community from the youths' point of view, their thoughts and reasons that caused the youths to be involved in social ills, comparisons with their previous home, what has not been provided for them and what they want in terms of facilities and services for the youths in their neighbourhood. At the end of the discussion, the author requested the respondents

to capture photographs of anything that they did not like about their neighbourhood, such as the surroundings, lack of facilities and cleanliness. The respondents were provided with three disposal cameras for this task.

However, the focus group technique has its drawbacks; there are some limitations or weaknesses, as listed by Bryman (2008:488-489) and as shown by the author's personal experiences. Although the focus group is the best method to obtain a huge amount of data quickly, nevertheless, due to the amount, the data are harder to analyse and it is time-consuming. It takes longer for the recordings to be transcribed, it took the author more than eight hours to a discussion that lasted one and a half hours, and it was even more difficult to identify who was saying what, which made the process of identifying themes complicated. There was also the issue of one person dominating the whole conversation while some were passive. In this situation, the author had to constantly encourage other respondents to voice their opinions. There were instances, mainly focus groups conducted with the teens, during which the author had to deliberately impose questions directly to passive respondents. With the teen focus group, the author also found that respondents tended to give more general opinions as compared to conducting one-to-one interviews or the focus group with the adults, and more probing was required. Focus groups are harder to organise as not only do the researchers need to secure a number of respondents to participate, the participants also need to agree to attend at a fixed date and time. This could lead to no turn ups which Bryman (ibid:479) also added as a big problem in focus groups as it affects the size of the sample. He suggested that focus groups should be 'consciously over-recruiting' respondents as there are no possible way to control 'no-show' situations. Fortunately for the author, she did not experience any 'no-shows'. However, some of the respondents did turn up late which had a slight effect on the earlier session and the author resorted to individual questioning the latecomers about any topics missed by them. Despite the drawbacks, the data collected from these focus groups were rich and rewarding.

4.2.1.3 Observational methods

Direct observation was another method applied by the author. It is imperative that a researcher has a clear understanding of the context or the phenomenon being studied, and a first-hand experience of the site as part of the fieldwork as case study takes place in the natural setting of the 'case' (Yin, 2003:92). In this study, observations were made during numerous field visits at different periods of times and days of how the spaces were used, for instance, and to have a clearer view of the building conditions, living environments, facilities and amenities, and other elements that indicated impoverishment as reported, as well as the local identity and culture of the community. Photographs of the site were taken as valuable proof to support the findings. To strengthen the key points of the study, the author also employed a group of teenagers who participated in the focus group to also take part in the observation by taking photographs of what they did not like about their neighbourhood. These two sets of photographs were then compared and analysed.

4.2.2 The Gatekeeper

As mentioned in 4.2.1.1 and 4.2.1.2, gatekeepers were used while conducting interviews with the community of Desa Mentari. Gatekeepers can be described as individuals or groups that act as intermediaries between researchers and possible respondents, whose main role is to support researchers during the research process by providing "efficient and expedient conduit for access between researchers and respondents" (Clark, 2011:486). For the purpose of this study, the author used two gatekeepers to gain access to the community. The first gatekeeper (gatekeeper A) was a social worker from the Social Strategic Foundation that works closely with the Indian community of Desa Mentari. He was introduced to the author by the Service Director of the foundation who suggested that interviews with the community should be held with a familiar individual attending as the community is very cautious of outsiders. Gatekeeper A then arranged for the author to hold interviews with families and individuals who had agreed to participate. The second gatekeeper (gatekeeper B), a high school sports coach residing in Desa Mentari since 2007 and who was

previously from Pulau Pinang is the representative of the Indian community of Desa Mentari. He was also initially a participant in the initial interviews conducted by the author that was organised by gatekeeper A. After the interview, gatekeeper B invited the author to visit a project undertaken by the community as well as to meet his acquaintances who might be potential respondents. From then on, the role of gatekeeper was transferred from gatekeeper A to B. Gatekeeper B mainly assisted the author in organising focus groups with the youths and the Malays.

Using a gatekeeper in research has its advantages and disadvantages. Apart from providing access to a community and identifying potential respondents for the researcher, a gatekeeper provides validity and credibility to the research through his influence on the locals (Sixsmith et al., 2003:583). In addition, the sample can be further enhanced through a snowballing technique once the gatekeepers have identified the initial respondents. Seidman (1998) stated that the process of introductions through other members of the community facilitates in equalising 'inherent power relations' since a known person is introducing the researcher to a participant and where the researcher is perceived as a 'friend of a friend' to the gatekeeper (as quoted in *ibid*:584). This is an advantage to researchers because of the basis of trust and confidence that the respondents bear towards the researcher. On the other hand, gatekeepers can possibly attempt to influence the data needed by researchers by controlling which respondents can be interviewed. They can also alter the type of information accessible to the researchers (*ibid*; Reeves, 2010:325). In this case, the data collected could arguably not be entirely legitimate and therefore must be treated with some caution. In the context of Desa Mentari, the gatekeepers' main roles were to organise meetings for the author, introduce the author to respondents, as well as to act as an informer. The selection of the respondents was on a voluntarily basis. Although gatekeeper A arranged the first five interviews with the community for the author, his actual role was to act as a mediator between the author and the assistant representative of the Indian community who had volunteered to be interviewed, and also to search for other possible volunteers. Gatekeeper A was present in all five interviews, again as a mediator between the author and respondents, as well as to create a comfortable atmosphere for the respondents by being the familiar face, acting as a translator and further explaining

questions that were unclear to respondents. In some cases, he also gave his feedback and opinions on certain issues raised by the author. Gatekeeper B used a different approach from gatekeeper A.

Unlike gatekeeper A, who arranged the meetings beforehand, gatekeeper B preferred an impromptu approach where he introduced the author to his acquaintances and requested for them to be interviewed then and there, without advanced notice. This method was used for both individual interviews and focus groups. However, the focus group for youths was arranged in advance in which some of the youths were known by gatekeeper B such as his daughter and students whom he coaches. They were then asked by gatekeeper B to bring along their friends or siblings to participate. Gatekeeper B was not present in all the interviews arranged by him. Apart from that, gatekeeper B also kept the author updated with the latest news regarding the community. However, the author found that she had to constantly push gatekeeper B to arrange for the focus groups. The focus groups were eventually held successfully even though they were later than planned. Overall, the author did not face any major problems with either gatekeeper. Both were very helpful and played their roles efficiently. The author found that the use of gatekeepers in research is crucial especially when it involves communities. The gatekeeper is the main actor who ensures a smooth data collection process, and also saves the author's time in terms of arranging for meetings and seeking out respondents.

4.2.3 Secondary Data Collection

Apart from conducting interviews as discussed above, the author also compiled secondary data through documentations, such as data on squatter relocations in Malaysia, particularly on the squatter zero policy implemented by the Selangor government, and policies on housing, land codes and squatter settlements. Compiling secondary data is also one of the important techniques for case studies to certify and strengthen evidence collected from other sources. The documents provide more detailed information and also act as a back up or validation concerning

issues which arose, for instance in the research conducted by the author, to validate what the community reported in regards to problems faced by it. This can be achieved by studying other researches carried out about the neighbourhood and articles written in journals on similar issues that were brought up from the interviews. Newspaper clippings reporting any issues regarding the neighbourhood were also compiled. Another essential matter that the author needed to understand was why and how the former squatter dwellers were relocated. Therefore, she had to obtain and study the Zero Squatter 2005 Blueprint published by the Selangor State Government. Another form of secondary evidence that is relevant to this research is the archival record. The archival records that were collected are mainly maps, basic and historical information of Petaling Jaya, crime rate statistics and population census of the area. Figure 12 illustrates the data collection process for the fieldwork on site.

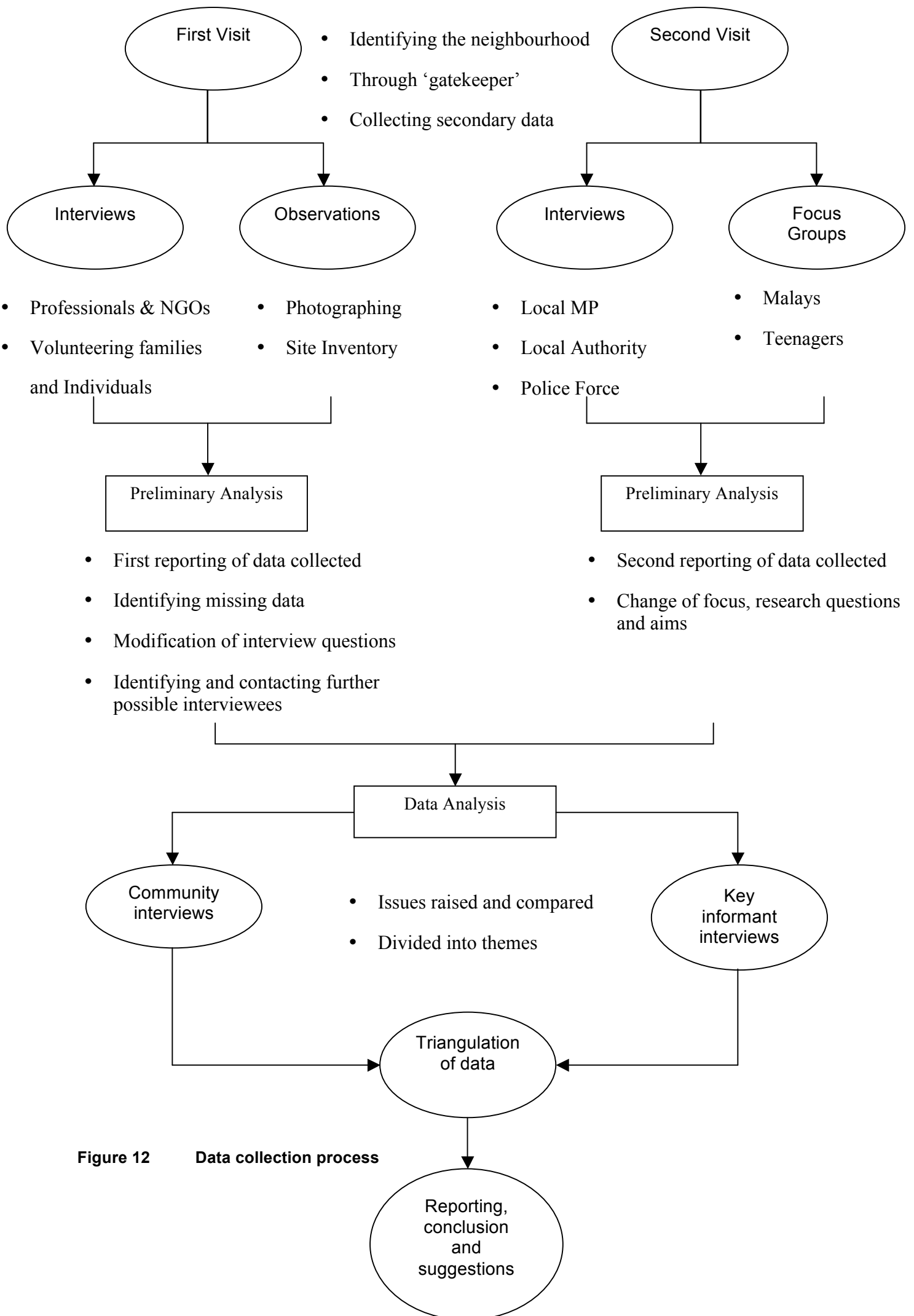


Figure 12 Data collection process

4.3 Section Three: The analytical framework

4.3.1 *Grounded Theory*

At the beginning of the analysis process, the author had yet to identify the theoretical framework to be applied for analysing her data. In a situation where a research does not begin with a theory, the grounded theory approach is a method that can be used to delve and review the data collected and allow the appropriate theory to emerge or one that best suits the data. As defined by Strauss and Corbin (1990:24):

“The grounded theory approach is a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about phenomenon”.

The author began by transcribing all the interviews that had been conducted and divided the transcriptions into two main groups: **the professionals** (interviews conducted with professionals, authorities, non-government organisations, academicians and the police force) and **the community** (the Malays, Indians, teenagers). These were then thoroughly reviewed and important phenomena were highlighted or coded, which is also known as open coding (ibid:62). However, it is important that during this stage, the author does not have any presumptions of the data in order to allow for a more genuine discovery. According to Strauss and Corbin (ibid:72-73), there are three ways of coding data. The first is a “line-by-line analysis” that involves close examination of each phrase or even word. This technique is very detailed and produces fruitful data, but it is time-consuming and tedious. The second technique, which was applied by the author, is coding by sentence or paragraph where the major phenomena are pulled out from a sentence and later revisited for a more detailed analysis. The final technique is coding an entire document or interview by asking questions and making comparisons with previous documents that have already been coded and again revisited for a more specific analysis. This technique is too general and there is a possibility that different phenomena are overlooked or do not fit into the coded phenomenon. After the data were coded, they were reviewed again and all similar data were grouped and organised according to themes. For instance, community issues, authority’s attitudes

and racial issues were again placed under the two main groups. Overlapping data from the two groups were then compiled into four major themes - racial issues, community issues, authority's attitudes and physical attributes - and later cross-referenced against data on similar issues gathered from journal articles for validation purposes. This is what the author coins as **thematic coding** and the process is illustrated in Figure 13 below, while Table 6 is a sample of the process conducted by the author.

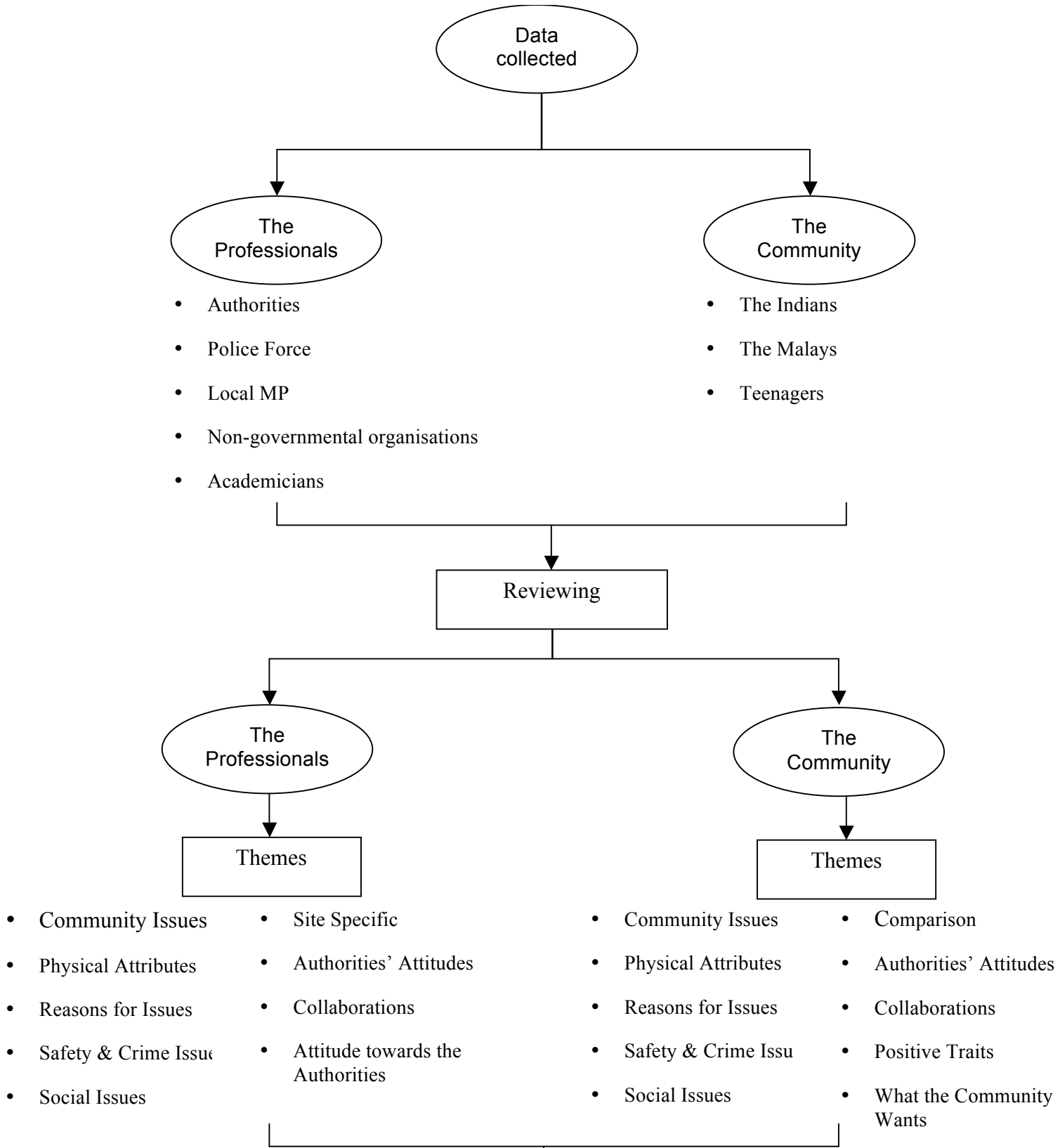
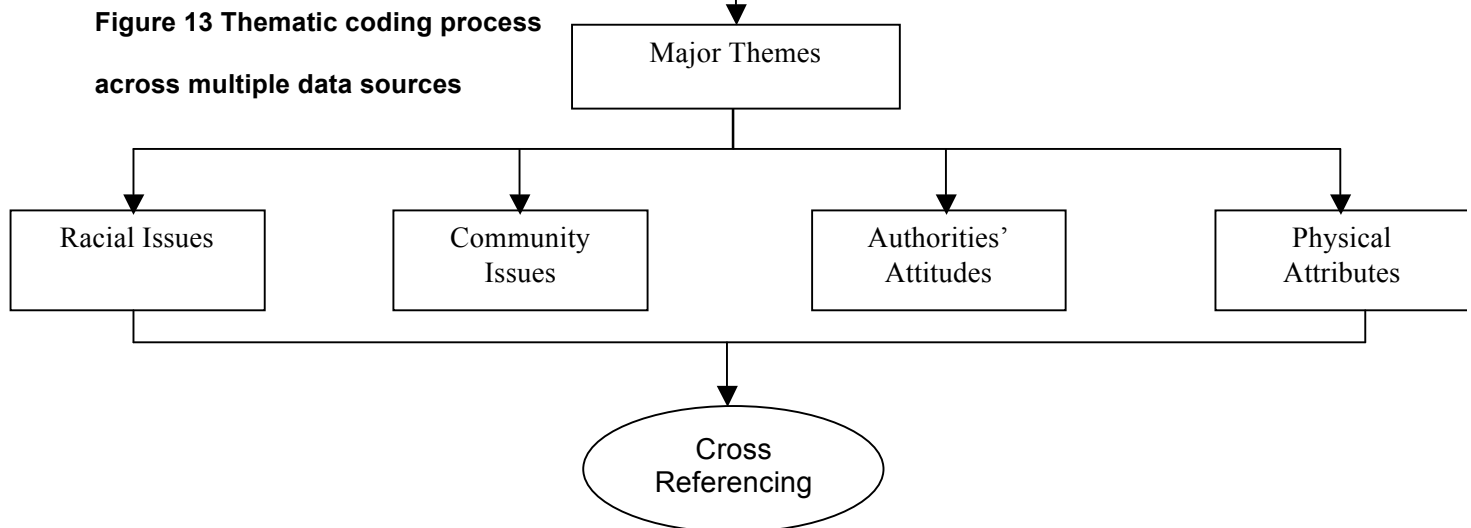


Figure 13 Thematic coding process across multiple data sources



Authorities (and others) Attitudes and Issues

Articles	Professionals	The People
<p>The desire to improve communication between the council and communities although was apparent but hindered by the lack of trust by both parties (<i>Osman; Syed A Rashid; Ahmad, 2008</i>).</p> <p>Awareness among the participations in LA21 were low not only among the general public, but also among officials in government (<i>Osman; Syed A Rashid; Ahmad, 2008</i>).</p> <p>Awareness among local council staffs and their communities remains an issue of concern, particularly of the language and framework of sustainability utilized by local authorities. Work is required on language and communication in order to facilitate a fuller sharing of concepts and values. The authoritative attitude among the council staffs and their lack of confidence with their community sometimes create tension among both parties.</p>	<p>Dr. Jayassoria : So children have no facilities, there are facilities but the children don't utilise it, or the facilities are for children not for teenagers. So the concept of public space or whateverlah, because like now the other are like gated community, like the gated community you go through some way, then you know where people are coming from and going. So one is the design, the maintenance, the upkeep, I feel one of the weaknesses of our design and briefing of the authorities is helping people become flat dwellers.</p> <p>See we are ground people. So even people from the kampong are on stilts, but you are not living in 17 storeys block, so how do you live in a 17 storeys block, how do you take care of your environment, cleanliness, of the open space. How much of space is needed if you have 1000 people living for recreation. So most developers will allocate the minimum, so you look at the by laws for design what are minimum requirements and</p>	<p>Saravanan : Kalau tanya penduduk mostly akan kata polis berat sebelah, so dia taknak pergi lapor, so tak settle any problem. We don't like the red lights on kereta polis. Nak masuk kawasan kami masuk senyap-senyap, don't announce it to everyone. Jadi macam jakun bila diorang masuk pasang lampu merah. Close the lights, datang macam friendly, duduk sembang. Kami hormat sebab uniform, you hormat balik pada kami sebab kami yang bayar gaji you.</p> <p>(If you ask the residents, mostly would say that the police are bias. We don't like the red lights on the patrol cars. If you were to enter our area, do it quietly, do not announce to everyone. Close the light and be friendly. We respect you because of your uniform, you should respect us because we pay your salary).</p> <p>Saravanan : Kita ada 3 pondok polis. Diorang ini tak pernah turun padang, yang</p>

<p>This has lead to the lack of confidence and trust among the community and social partners with the local authorities (<i>Osman; Syed A Rashid; Ahmad, 2008</i>).</p> <p>Local authority officers have often found difficulty to engage and discuss with the local population. The officers still prefer to be the authority in decision making and planners are just technical experts giving professional inputs rather than planning for sustainable community (<i>Osman; Syed A Rashid; Ahmad, 2008</i>).</p> <p>First, it was recognized the existence of public mistrust and lack of confidence by the community to the local authority decision in development process (<i>Osman; Syed A Rashid; Ahmad, 2008</i>).</p>	<p>whether it's suitable or not lah. I would feel that design would play a key part but it is not given that kind of public priority for discussion, because the poor have no bargaining power in design.</p>	<p>turun pekerja dia je. Polis ada tapi diorang buat tempat itu seolah-olah dia boring kat rumah so diorang lepak situ. Kalau nak buat apa-apa aduan kat pondok itu dia tak terima.</p> <p>(There are three police posts here. The higher rank police officers never paid any visits here. The police sometimes do come to the police post but they treat the place for them to go if they are bored. If we were to make any reports there, they would not accept).</p> <p>Aranagiri : Under Kementerian Perumahan ada e-kasih, untuk membantu penduduk miskin tegar tapi bantuan itu tak sampai because information tidak pernah sampai kepada penduduk.</p> <p>(Under the Ministry of Housing they have setup e-kasih to help the poor community, however, helps never reaches the community as the community have no access to this kind of information).</p> <p>Encik Rosli : Orang dia</p>
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		<p>ada turun tapi untuk menyamanlah orang yang berniaga situ, macam tulah. Turun menyaman je.</p> <p>(The authority does come to this neighbourhood but to give out fines).</p>
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Table 6 Sample of thematic coding

4.3.2 The Application of the Everyday Life Approach

As the study progressed and the data was collected, the author explored a range of analytical frameworks to help her analyse the data. These are discussed in Chapter 3 above. It became clear that the most suitable approach was the Everyday Life framework as it relates so very clearly to housing, neighbourhood and daily functioning. The Everyday Life approach was also chosen as it offers a holistic approach to community and neighbourhood planning, again as discussed in Chapter 3. In the Everyday Life approach, data are evaluated against each element or domain whereby each domain will identify matters regarding the physical environment of the neighbourhood, social and community issues, issues with the local authorities, what are lacking and the community's needs, and other matters that have an effect on everyday life. It has to be noted that, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Gilroy (2005:152) re-stated that the four elements (sources of support, having a say, enjoyment and making ends meet) are embedded in the home and neighbourhood domain, which is the central of the framework, and therefore should not be separately evaluated. Any issues regarding home and neighbourhood were analysed accordingly within the four elements. In addition, data used for this analysis were in the form of interviews, author's observations and personal experiences, and photographic evidence. Interviews were conducted with the locals residing in the neighbourhood and also professionals such as the Government officer, local authorities, NGOs and local representative. Apart from that, the questions asked not only concerned the new settlement, they also involved the previous squatter

settlements that were used as comparisons. Here, the author explains how each element of the approach was used in relation to the case study primary data

4.3.2.1 Sources of support

The first element, sources of support, constitute any form of formal and informal supports provided for a community, as well as the lack of them, be it in the form of health facilities, neighbourhood watch, transportation, policing, NGOs, or informal supports such as social and family networks. In regards to Desa Mentari, the author formulated questions to be asked of interviewees regarding the facilities and services that have and have not been provided for them in their new neighbourhood, as well as what else was necessarily needed for their community, their opinion regarding their living environment and their relationship with the local authority and others, such as the police. Informal supports can be identified through questions concerning social and neighbourhood issues faced by the community and why they think these issues happen. For instance, teenagers from the neighbourhood are involved in anti-social behaviours and other social issues as a result of the parents working till late, or the parents are not able to control their children due to the physical form of their flat as they are unable to monitor their children's activities from higher levels or the parents simply do not care. Another example is that childcare is only provided for a certain race. In the case of Desa Mentari, childcare is provided for the Malays, not the Indians. The breaking down of a community structure can also be evaluated against this element; the dwellers are no longer a close-knit community once they are relocated to the new settlement.

4.3.2.2 Having a say

The second element is having a say, which includes all forms of participation in any decision that has an affect on a community and their neighbourhood. This could be in the shape of formal participatory meetings with the local authority, or any participation in a community organisation such as a neighbourhood watch. On the

issue of participation, both the local residents and the professionals were questioned on how involved were the people in the decision-making of their new settlement, prior to their relocation. Information regarding the process of the relocation, before, during and after, and why they were relocated was also compiled through interviews with government officers. In the development of new settlements for the low-income group who are relocated from squatter settlements, it is vital that they have a say during the design process as they know best when it comes to their needs. However, that does not mean that every single thing that the people asked for must be provided, but the planners and developers should listen and weigh what is necessary.

4.3.2.3 *Enjoyment*

The element of enjoyment does not only include any form of social activities that are fun and active, it also includes religious and spiritual activities. Enjoyment can be successfully delivered through the provision of facilities that allow residents to practise their beliefs, such as small mosques and temples, as well as spaces for them to hold religious classes and hear sermons. Social activities could be held in public spaces provided within the vicinity of the neighbourhood. This can be in the form of recreational areas, open squares, playgrounds and community halls that can be used for festive celebrations and weddings. At a glance, it seems that basic facilities are provided for in Desa Mentari, but after talking to the residents and through observation, it is not the case. For instance, proper spaces for recreational activities for adults and the elderly are not provided for apart from playgrounds and a basketball court. Proper religious places are also not provided as promised. Issues regarding their dissatisfaction with the community halls often came up in conversations. It is important that enjoyment, be it the fun aspect or the spiritual aspect, is instilled in such settlements as through 'enjoyment', the relationship between neighbours can be tightened, and safety and social issues can be solved or prevented. The element of enjoyment also acknowledges the resident's right to openly practise their beliefs, allowing the community to learn and respect other cultures and religions and celebrate the diversity of cultures in their neighbourhood.

Other than that, it promotes a healthy lifestyle by encouraging residents to be active and to de-stress if such space is provided for.

4.3.3.4 *Making ends meet*

The final element that needs to be looked into is making ends meet. This is a process that addresses how low-income households generate income and how they use it effectively. The income of the residents can be improved by providing employment within the periphery of the neighbourhood, or home-based enterprises for those who are unable to leave their homes because of other responsibilities but who, at the same time, would like to generate extra income. As an example, the area where Desa Mentari is located is zoned as a residential area only therefore does not offer new employment opportunities for the community. However, location is not an issue for Desa Mentari as it is located strategically near to the main cities and is easily accessed; therefore, most residents work in nearby cities. Nevertheless, because the settlement is located right in front of a major highway, safety becomes an issue. There were many cases in which female factory workers on early shifts waiting for transportation along the highway became victims of snatch thefts. As a result, these women are reluctant to go to work in the early hours, as they fear for their safety. Apart from that, the locals are not allowed to generate extra income by setting up food stalls around their settlement, and instead were fined by the local authority for setting up illegal stalls. In this case, the local authority should be more supportive and lenient regarding this matter. Instead of giving out fines, they should be assisting the residents on how to gain permission or providing ways and platforms for the residents to start small part-time businesses.

4.3.3 *Analysing Other Materials*

As briefly mentioned in 4.2.3 (Secondary Data Collection), other than conducting interviews, various materials were collected for the purpose of this research in the form of documents and photographic evidence. Documents used for this research

were mainly policies on the development of low-cost housing, reclamation of lands and the Squatter Zero 2005 Blueprint. These documents were vital to ensure that the author understood the process of relocating former *perkampungan setinggan* dwellers, why they were relocated, the policies used and the arguments, for justification and clarifications. These policies can also be used as guidelines for improvement as well as for guidance in the development and proposal of new policies. These documents were read through and cross-examined against the statements provided by the Squatter Zero 2005 Programme, interview data and other journal articles written on the issues raised. This was to affirm that policies, housing development and squatter relocation statements tally. Cross-referencing was one of the procedures used in the thematic coding process. Photographic evidence was used mainly to support data, especially when discussing the physical aspect of the case study.

4.4 Reflections on the Process: Not a Smooth Journey

From the start, the process of data collection was not an easy one for the author. She returned to Malaysia with only one confirmed interviewee, while the others were yet to confirm or completely ignored her request for an interview. She only had a vague indication as to where her case study would be as no one seemed to know anything about it or knew exactly where these high-risk neighbourhoods are located, even those working in the police force. Nevertheless, after her first interview, all the other anticipated interviews fell into place. One interview with a Chief Inspector from Bukit Aman, however, was cancelled at the last minute. Documented data such as the layout plan of the flats could not be obtained as the local authority refused to provide the author the information she requested, claiming that it was confidential. Even the latest map of the Petaling Jaya South area was not available. This was when the author discovered that the Petaling Jaya South where the case study is located was not included in the Local Plan of Petaling Jaya even though it is under the Petaling Jaya City Council's jurisdiction. The author later resorted to the non-updated map version of Petaling Jaya South obtained from the Malaysia Mapping Department. Interviewing with the local authority was also not a pleasant experience.

It took a long period of time for the author to finally get hold of and be able to set an appointment with one of the officers. The officer was reluctant at first but then finally agreed to meet with the author. During the meeting, the officer clearly expressed her unwillingness to be interviewed through her gestures and the way she answered the questions matter-of-factly. Throughout the whole interview, the officer did not even look at the author and was busy typing away on her laptop. She gave the impression that she did not care about the area and was not happy that the author was inquiring her about it. The interview only lasted for 15 minutes, as the author did not feel comfortable with the situation. However, she did manage to ask all the questions that she needed to.

Historical information about the neighbourhoods was also not available as these are fairly new developments, and since previously the area was squatter settlements, the history of the area was not documented. Apart from that, information regarding the Kampung Medan incident was not available. Even newspaper clippings reporting the incident at the National Archives were not obtainable and somehow all evidence of the incident has vanished. The author later discovered that the Malaysian Government, for undisclosed reasons, has banned all publications regarding the incident. The only facts available are from the Internet about which the author felt wary of the validity. However, some of the community interviewed had first-hand experience of the incident; an interviewee's father was one of the victims who were killed during the incident. They recalled the incident to the author but none of them seemed to know the exact reason that caused the incident to erupt. Another problem that arose was that the data for the exact number of people living in the flats could be acquired since the population census is conducted every ten years and the flat dwellers were relocated in 2005. The next census was conducted in 2010 and therefore the number of population of Desa Mentari could only be obtained in 2011. However, the author revisited the Statistics Department in January 2012 but was told that population data on specific area would only be available from July 2012. For the time being, the author can only use the data on the population that was previously residing in the demolished squatter settlements. However, this data is not reliable since not all former squatter dwellers from these settlements moved or were relocated to Desa Mentari.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter set up the research objectives, methodologies and framework that were conducted and used for this research. Multiple techniques were applied in the data collection stage to ensure as much information was compiled from the various sources available, and as the research is site specific, the case study method was selected as the main approach. The cases that were identified by the author as the unit of analysis are the community, their history and lived-in experiences as well as the neighbourhood itself. Other supporting units of analysis include NGOs, local authority, local MP, police officers, government officers and academicians. The delving and triangulation of data from multiple sources of evidence, in the form of documentation, interviews, archival records and direct observations, strengthen the case study. As each source has its weaknesses, combined strengths make the data stronger, meaningful and rich. Real issues borne by the chosen site unravelled during the data collection process, which led the author to reconsider her research questions and focus. Collecting the data was also challenging as only few agreed to be interviewed at first, dealing with non-cooperative, authority and not much information is available on neighbourhoods that have been classified as high-risk. However, all in all, it was a valuable experience and everything eventually fell into place.

Relevant frameworks and approaches were compared in the previous chapter and the author pointed out the necessity of adapting the Everyday Life approach for the analysis. Specific domains or elements were borrowed to generate the analysis process, and each element was discussed on what the factors are from the data that needed to be looked into and evaluated against. Chapters 8 and 9 will present the findings against the Everyday Life framework. First of all, the author will discuss the unsuitability of re-housing schemes, structured by each element of Everyday Life, based on the household data and also the author's observations, backed up by photographic evidence. A section will follow on control and governmentality where data collected from key informants such as the professionals and the NGOs are also presented against the framework. Figure 14 demonstrates the overall process

adapted by the author for her research from the initial research to the final identification of research focus.

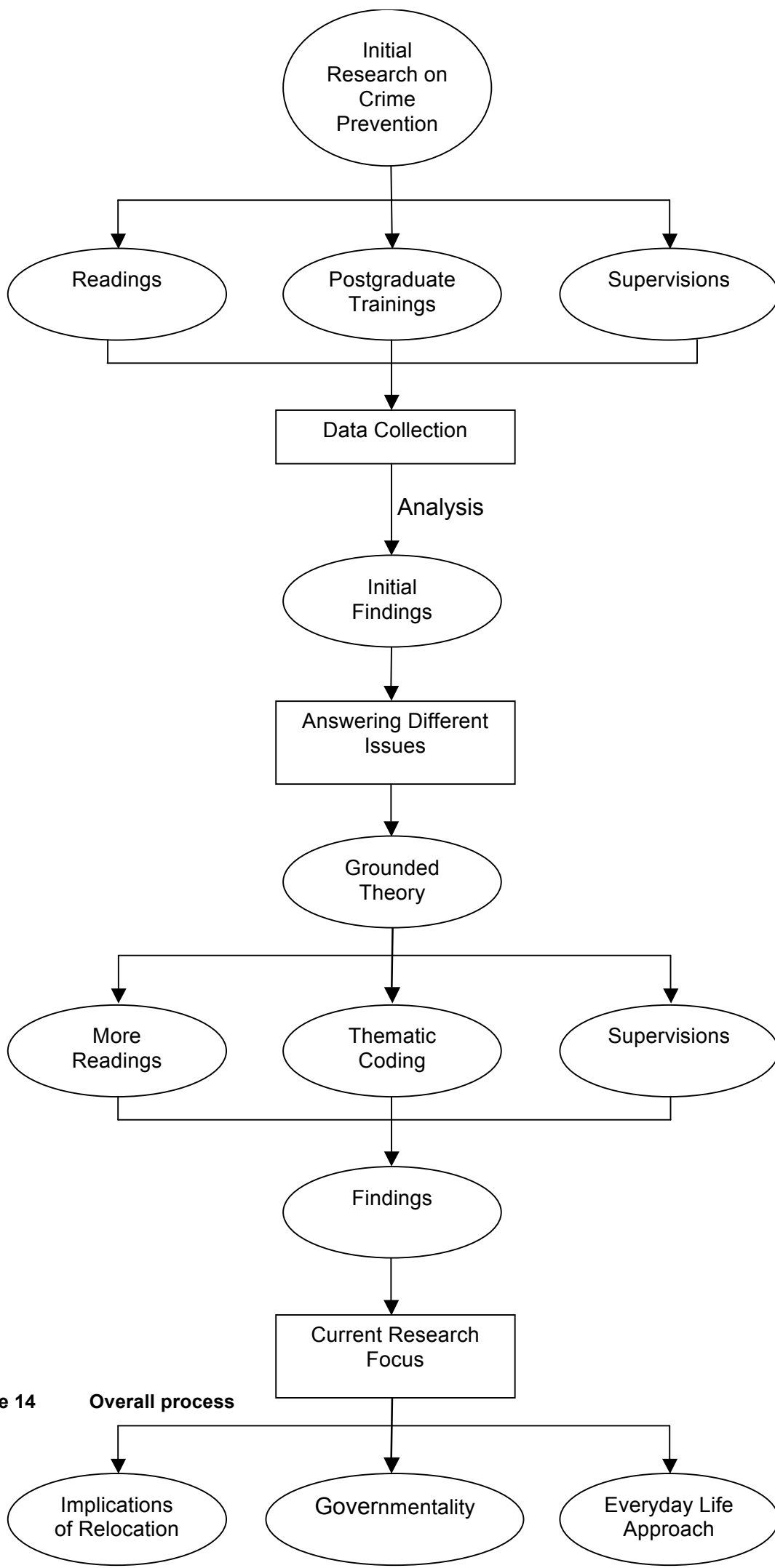


Figure 14

Overall process

Chapter 5

Control and Perceptions of the Malays and Indians in Malaysia

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the background and history of different ethnicities in Malaysia and how the Government and modern urbane society perceive them. It is important to understand why certain ethnicities and groups are negatively perceived and thus blamed for the account of inappropriate conduct and social ills, especially in low-cost housing developments. For the purpose of this research, the author will focus on the background and issues of the Malays and Indians, as they are the major residents of Desa Mentari, Petaling Jaya South.

5.1 Malaysia and Ethnicities

Malaysia is located in Southeast Asia and consists of two separate regions, Peninsular Malaysia and the states of Sabah and Sarawak in East Malaysia on the island of Borneo (see figure 11). Comprising 13 states and three federal territories, Malaysia has a total land area of 329,847 square kilometres (BBC, 2012). Kuala Lumpur is the national capital of Malaysia while Putrajaya has served as the federal administrative centre since 1999. Up to July 2010, the current population stood at 28.25 million people (Department of Statistics, 2010). Malaysia is a Federal state with a constitutional elective monarchy that is led by the Head of State which is the king. The office of the king is rotated every five years among the nine hereditary state rulers. These states are Selangor, Terengganu, Kelantan, Johor, Perak, Kedah, Pahang, Perlis and Negeri Sembilan. The current king is Sultan Abdul Halim of Kedah, who was installed as Malaysia's 14th king on 13th December 2011. Malaysia is ruled by a coalition party called Barisan Nasional (National Front) with UMNO (United Malays National Organization) fronting the coalition, joined by two prominent members that are MCA (Malaysian Chinese Association) and MIC (Malaysian Indian Congress). Najib Abdul Razak is the sixth prime minister of

Malaysia since March 2009. From the time Malaysia gained its independence in 1957, all six prime ministers have been from UMNO, which is the largest political party in Malaysia.



Figure 15 Malaysia is divided into two separate regions consisting of 13 states.

(Source: Gower, 2010)

Malaysia is a much-diversified country consisting of multiple ethnic groups, with the Malays and other indigenous communities, classified as *Bumiputera*⁷. They make up 60% of the total population of Malaysia. The Chinese constitute 37% of the population while the Indians comprise 11%. Both the Chinese and Indians are classified as non-*Bumiputera* (Ishak, 2002:102). The Malaysian population is a non-homogenous community, with different languages and religions across different ethnic groups, and also within the groups themselves. The Malays are Muslims and converse in Malay, also known as Bahasa Malaysia, which is the country’s national language. However, the Malay language is spoken in different dialects in each state. The other *Bumiputeras*, such as the Dayak, Mulu and Kadazan, who are mainly from the East Malaysia states of Sabah and Sarawak, converse in their ethnic languages

⁷ *Bumiputera* means sons of the soil and the term is mainly used in the context of affirmative action programmes, for instance quotas in public universities and discounts for housing.

and practise differing religions. On the other hand, the Indians too have various different ethnicities and religion, which will be discussed later in this chapter. The Chinese are even more complicated; the majority are the Min Chinese who originated from Fujian, Guangdong and the Hainan provinces (Cambria, n.d.). The Hokkiens are the largest Chinese dialect group in Malaysia followed by Hakka, Cantonese, Teowchew and those who speak Mandarin. The Chinese population is mostly concentrated in Sabah and Sarawak, as well as in Selangor (Department of Statistics, 2005:60-64).

5.2 The Malay and Indian Dilemma

To understand the ill treatment and negative perception towards certain groups of Malays and Indians, it is important to first grasp the history and backgrounds of these two ethnic groups in terms of their occupancy in *Tanah Melayu* (Malaysia before independence), culture and characteristics, economic status and their status in Malaysia as a whole. The following sub-headings will discuss in detail regarding this matter, beginning with the Malays:

5.2.1 The Malay History

The history of the Malays in Malaysia can be traced back to 100BC. According to anthropologists, the Malays, then known as proto-Malays, originally came from China as seafarers and farmers and were considered as one of the first groups to inhabit Peninsular Malaysia. They were also the cause behind the migration of the aborigines, the Negritoes, to the jungles and the hills (Nair et al, 2009:103-105). The present Malays, anthropologically known as Deutero-Malays, are a mixed breed of proto-Malays with Indian, Arab, Thai and Chinese blood, the result of mixed marriages during the trading era. The mixed breed of various ethnicities that forms the modern Malay today can also be seen in the Rajas, the Malay rulers (also known in Malaysia as Sultans), especially from the Malaccan royalty between 1400AD and 1511AD (Zain, n.d.). Malay culture is also influenced by several other cultures of the

Asian region such as Siamese, Javanese and Sumatran. However, the majority of the Malay traditions are derived from Indian culture. Before the arrival of Islam in the 15th century, the Malays were Hindus and some Hindu rituals, especially in wedding ceremonies, are still evident.

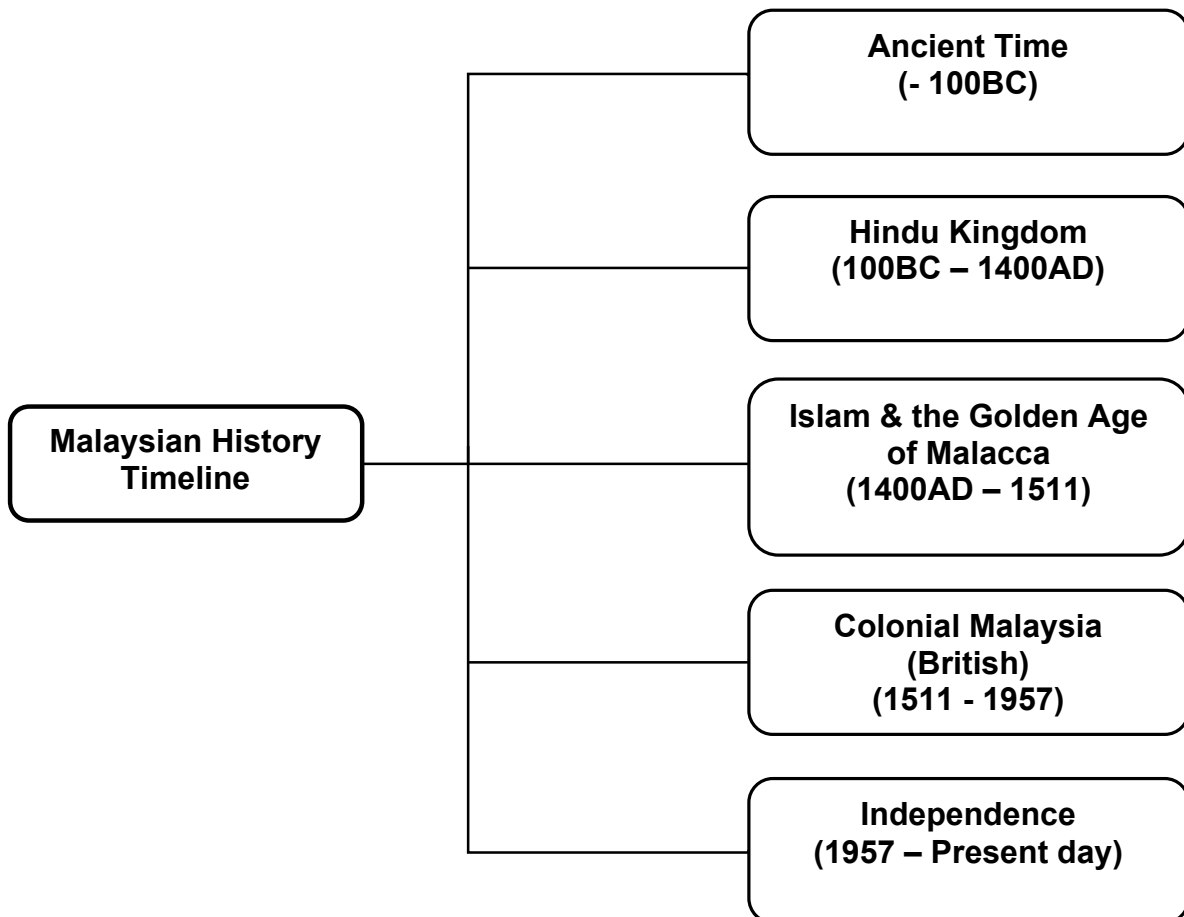


Figure 16 Diagram illustrating the timeline of Malaysian History

(Source: Nair et al, 2009:103)

Islam brought a lot of changes to the lives of the Malays, adding barriers to certain aspects of their lives. Whereas before they were free to marry anyone outside their religion, they now are only allowed to if certain conditions are met. At the time when Malacca was one of the main trading centres, attracting foreign traders, the Malays became resistant to any non-Islamic influences. The Chinese immigrants who migrated to Malaya between 1800 to 1930 (Ahmad, 2009:20) were completely cut off

from Malay society, due to differing religion, even when they adopted the Malay language and some culture (Mohamad(a), 2010: 37). While the Chinese preferred inter-marriages among different clans and even ethnicities, the Malays preferred inbreeding. Before the arrival of the Chinese, the Malays held most of the important roles and jobs such as administrative positions, and working as skilled workers and craftsmen, as well as being petty traders. When the Chinese came, the economic landscape changed. Whatever the Malays could do, the Chinese could do better and at a cheaper price. Eventually, the Malays had to give way to the Chinese, and as the Chinese became richer because of their contacts with traders from the homeland, the towns were taken over and the economy was controlled by them (Mohamad(a), 2010:39; Muhd Taib, 1996:30). As the price of land in town rose, the Malays sold their properties and moved to the outskirts of town or back to the rural areas (Mohamad(a), 2010:40).

5.2.2 *The Malays Divided*

During the British occupancy, the Malays were divided into two major groups, the town Malays and the rural Malays. The town Malays mainly worked as administrators as the Chinese were not interested in administrative posts. They were more concerned with gaining fortune to return home to China (Wan Teh, 2011:31); therefore the ruling of Malaya was left to the Malays. Apart from that, the Malays were aware of the importance of maintaining political control (ibid:19; Mohamad, 2010:40). Due to the nature of their jobs, the town Malays had immediate contact with the British officers and worked closely with the Rajas. As a result, they became more sophisticated, well educated and were more open minded, especially in regards to contact with other races. This gave way to inter-marriages within the same religion, mainly with Indian Muslims and Arabs. As time progressed, the town Malays became more open minded and intra-religious marriages later took place. It is worth noting that even though one parent is non-Malay, the child is still considered as Malay. These inter-marriages enriched and created new Malays (Mohamad(a), 2010:42).

The rural Malays, who were considered as purebred Malays, were mainly farmers and they tended to reside in small villages or farms. They were under-skilled as they only worked to provide to meet the basic needs of their families. They were small communities; therefore, development and services were not given prominence. Social contacts were limited to families and fellow villagers. Other than that, not only did they not have any interaction with other races, they had no ties with the town Malays as well. The British took advantage of this division between the Malays and Chinese, and the town and rural Malays, and made things worse by introducing new rules and policies that contributed to the Malays being political and economically incompetent. White-collar jobs were given to the town Malays to make them feel superior over the working, peasant rural Malays. In terms of education, only town Malays had access to English education while the rural Malays were denied any such education (Wan Teh, 2011:18). They remained poorly educated and there were no efforts to assist them to improve their lives, economically or socially. Even the Chinese and town Indians were given opportunities to be schooled in English schools which resulted in them being more economically advanced and modern compared to the Malays (ibid:19). The British also introduced land reservation that contributed to a bigger divide among the people. Rural lands were reserved for the Malays; therefore they would remain rural (Mohamad(a), 2010:42; Ahmad, 2009:117). This fact is also supported by Sardar (2000: 155) who explained, "it is a deliberate policy of colonialism to keep the Malays in the *kampung*, and keep the *kampung* out of economic development". Town lands were unreserved, which meant that anyone could purchase these lands. However, as town lands were expensive, only the Chinese could afford to obtain them.

The Malays' lack of contact beyond their domains deteriorated the situation and they were left far behind. To make matter worse, further communication between the rural and town Malays were prevented by the lack of roads that connected the towns and rural areas. Most roads developed by the British were within the proximity of town areas and were mainly used for administrative purposes and for the transportation of tin and rubber. The town Malays took advantage of the development around them. Through newspapers, portals and other means of communication, they became well versed and more open minded while news was restrained and not freely distributed

to the *kampung*. They also benefitted from available education and since they were exposed to the lives and cultures of other communities, they became somewhat more sophisticated compared to their rural counterparts (ibid).

5.2.3 The Malay Characteristics

The rural Malays were thought to have migrated to the urban areas in the 1960s where they squatted on vacant lands. The first Malay squatters are traced back to 1966 in Kuala Lumpur, and by the 1980s, squatting had become a 'Malay problem' (Bunnell, 2002:1689). This migration was actually 'pushed' by the Government, as access and services were limited for the *kampung* people. Therefore, they migrated to seek more opportunities and for the betterment of their livelihoods. At the same time, the urban areas were seen as a potential breeding ground for 'modern' Malays to the point where it was stated in the 1971 state policy government which saw "exposures to the influences of an urban environment as necessary for the modernisation of Malays" (ibid). This brought the flood of Malay migrations to Kuala Lumpur in the 1970s. However, the Malays were said to have brought with them their primitive *kampung* life to the city (Pirie, 1976:56 as quoted in Bunnell, 2002:1690) and these squatters were referred to simply as *kampung* too. These Malay squatter dwellers did not fit into the urban category and the squatters became an urban problem of 'Malayness' (ibid: 1689). Malaysia's former Prime Minister, Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad has been very vocal about the issues faced by the Malays, especially the rural Malays. He listed some characteristics that he believes are the reasons behind the Malay problems, which are explained below and in the following pages:

Unlike the town Malays who are open to inter-marriages and propagate a new breed of Malays, the rural Malays are purebred and prefer inbreeding by marrying their children among relatives. Research has shown that marriages between first cousins will result in the production of children with poorer hereditary characteristics which have an effect on the physiological development of the Malays (Mohamad(a), 2010:44). Apart from that, marrying at an early age of 13 or 14 is also very common,

regardless whether they are fit or unfit to marry. Still dependent on their parents, they then give birth to children who would later be dependent on their grandparents. This results in a society that is non-independent and cannot fend for itself.

Another problematic characteristic of the Malays that was highlighted by Mohamad (2010(a):149) is their courteous and self-effacing manner. This laudable manner has been wrongly interpreted and seen as a sign of weakness by non-Malays. By nature, the Malays are very noble and loyal to their rajas. They always take a step back, give way and show deference to other people. They expect the same courtesy from other Malays but not from the other ethnic groups. The non-Malays could get away with being rude and using bad manners. To the Malays, they did not understand the Malay culture and as guests in their country, it was discourteous to embarrass them. To the British, the habit of the Malays addressing them as *tuan* (sir) was interpreted by them as being the master of the Malays. This courteous but disruptive manner was eventually one of the ways in which the British easily took over *Tanah Melayu* (Malaya). As for the Chinese and Indians, they took full advantage of this behaviour that allowed them to carry out anything that the Malays could not. In the course of time, this courtesy became a conflict to the Malays and made them more withdrawn and they were left behind.

Religion and *adat* (custom) play a big role in the lives of the Malays. Nowadays, *adat* has lost its grips and is no longer essential in the Malays' everyday life except on special occasions such as weddings and royal ceremonies. However, to some extent, it is still evident and stronger in the lives of the conservative rural Malays. Custom once played an important role in the Malay lives to the point where they even came up with the phrase "it is far better that our children die rather than our *adat*". Customs are mostly influenced by past and present religions, but some are unrelated to faiths, which are passed down and inherited from their ancestors. The basis for the code of conduct and values of the Malays is based on what is good or mostly proper for the community. This 'proper' conduct is drawn from the strict code of Islam and custom (Mohamad(a), 2010:198). Islam and the Quran are the basis for the Malay's values; what is written in the Quran is a guideline that teaches how to

distinguish well from error and is relevant at any given time. It is important to be well versed in religion, and those who are learned and pious would be given the utmost respect in society. However, when it comes to traditional customs, for these conservative Malays, some bending of the rules is tolerable even though certain customs are known to be opposed to Islamic teachings. Mohamad (2010(a):199) explained that this way of thinking does not only stop at customs:

“If the Malays are not epicureans, they are also not quite stoics. Life is a series of suffering, but it is not expected that all suffering must be endured stoically. A certain bending with the wind under adverse conditions is expected. Even with religion it is enjoined that rather than endure the pain of torture one should at least make a show of giving up one’s faith.”

A belief in fatalism and superstition is another characteristic of the conservative Malays. Frank Swettenham, the Resident of Selangor, portrayed one of the Malay characteristics as, “the leading characteristic of the Malay of every class is a disinclination to work” (as quoted in Sardar, 2000:62). These Malays hold strongly to the belief that what happens in life is determined by fate. Although in Islam it is true that ones’ life has been written by God, as humans, we still have to work with our utmost ability for a better but approved life and the rest is in God’s hands. However, this is not the case as the Malays would succumb to and accept everything. To them, their fate has been decided; therefore, failure or betterment should be accepted with resignation, and it is best that life is dedicated to the preparation for the afterlife. This belief affects their everyday lives such that worldly goods are not a priority, they have no will to change, are uninventive, and having pride and striving for success in their jobs is uncommon. Mohamad (2010(a):205) expressed doubt that this fatalist behaviour is mainly due to their faith in Islam, but that this attitude “is a form of escapism from the realities of life, an insulation against the envy the Malays must feel for the prosperity of other races and other countries”. Therefore, this dedication to the afterlife is seen as a means of convincing them that worldly goods are not important, as life is temporary.

This “leaving everything to fate” attitude towards life is still evident in some Malays now, whether town or rural Malays, which has resulted in them, being labelled as lazy natives. Another former British Resident, Clifford, wrote that the Malay will “never work if he can help it”. He also remarked “the Malays are the laziest people that inhabit God’s earth”. This was after he witnessed a group of 25 Malays paddling his boat non-stop for 26 hours (Savage & Kong, 1995:15). Both Clifford and Swettenham believed that the Malay’s laziness was due to the “tropical environment, something beyond human control” (ibid). Swettenham stated that the climate was one “which inclines the body to ease and rest, the mind to dreamy contemplation rather to strenuous and persistent toil” (ibid; Sardar, 2000:63), and Clifford saw that the behaviour of the Malays was “an acceptable resignation of ‘eternal defeat’ to the powerful and intimidating force of tropical nature” (Savage & Kong, 1995:15). However, there cannot be any truth to this, as other ethnic groups during that period had no problem with working in a tropical climate. Swettenham then added:

“The Malay’s disinclination to exert himself is also due to the fact, in the course of many generations, he has learned that when he did set his mind and his body moving, and so acquired money or valuables, these possessions immediately attracted the attention of those who felt that they could make a better use of them than the owner” (Sardar, 2000:63).

This goes back to how the Chinese conquered and realised that they could do better than the Malays, which resulted in them taking over businesses as skilled workers and craftsmen. Another view of the Malay being labelled as lazy was due to the fact that they were self-sufficient and refused to work as labourers, jobs which the Chinese and the Indians were willing to take on because they were immigrants (ibid:64).

Another factor that led to the Malays being labelled in such a way was their lack of motivation. In reality, the Malays were hardworking, diligent and trustworthy. However, they were not inclined to be motivated to work harder because of low returns and productivity (Muhd Taib, 1996:11). While suggesting that the 19th century Malays lack industriousness, Swettenham also said:

"And yet, if you can only give him an interest in the job, he will perform prodigies; he will strive, and endure, and be cheerful and courageous with the best" (ibid: 63).

In relation to the current Malays, being interested will motivate a person to do quality work, to go the extra mile. In this instance, one must match the right candidate with the right position or he or she will lose interest. Time is also an issue; the Malays have a total disregard for time and making plans with them, be it work related or leisure, is unreliable. This attitude applies to both town and rural Malays. Punctuality is uncommon; turning up late for a meeting is common, and once the meeting has started it can go on forever. Time awareness and consciousness is very low among the Malays, and time wasted by loitering at coffee shops doing nothing is a norm and is associated with the Malays. This attitude of not valuing time contradicts with the Malays' value for life since life is highly regarded as a gift from God. However, time that is significant to life is taken lightly. Mohamad (2010(a): 206) believes that the failure of the Malays to appreciate and value time is a handicap to their progress and that this is one of the factors that they are a backward society as they will never be able to catch up with the more time-conscious societies. There is no explanation for why this behaviour is embedded in the Malays' behaviour and it has become synonymous with the Malay culture so that the phrases "*janji Melayu*" (Malay promises) or "*masa Melayu*" (Malay time) are often associated when making appointments with them. Nevertheless, not all Malays are unpunctual and regard time as without value. However, it has become part of the image of the Malays.

Finally, envious of other people's success is also a negative characteristic that is associated with the town and rural Malays. Outwardly, they seem very supportive, happy and humbled at their family's or friend's success or gains, but inwardly, it is a different story; they gossip about the success and try to outdo the person. This mostly applies to the material aspects of life and titles or status within the community and it is more about showing off. As explained by Sardar (2000:156):

“While maintaining the outward appearance of everyone being the same, everyone is engaged in trying to outdo their neighbours, individually to acquire the goods and symbols of higher status”.

He gave an example of “the man who spent all his money buying not one but two televisions and then loudly told everyone he never watched television”. This characteristic of envy should have been used to push oneself forward and as an encouragement to upgrade or better their lives. However, that is never the case, as they would only gossip about it but do nothing to improve themselves to match the higher standard of others. Envy can also be dangerous as it can drive one person to hurt another through black magic, for instance. *Kampung* or rural areas are the domains of *bomohs* or shamans (Sardar, 2000:158). They are the traditional healers but their services are also used to inflict hurt and bad things, such as low sustenance, illness and even death, on other people. Although it is against Islamic teachings, the *bomoh* is still widely sought after. Despite Malaysia being a modernised country now, many still consult the *bomoh*, be it the Malays, Chinese or Indians.

Despite all these negative characteristics, there are some good qualities of the Malays, especially the rural Malays. As previously mentioned, the Malays are very courteous, polite and respectful to the elderly and others compared to their Chinese and Indian counterparts, although this trait has somewhat waned in the younger generation, especially the urban youths. Some still hold on to traditions and customs, which are vital aspects of the country’s heritage. Rural Malays still remain close knit as a community and their lives are lived as in previous generations, only with better homes and more facilities and services. Although the majority of the young rural Malays have moved out from the rural areas to work and settle in the cities, the *kampung* is still considered as their real home and this is mostly evident during major festivals such as Eid and Chinese New Year during which everyone would head home to the *kampungs* to celebrate. It is only during these periods that one would discover who the real city people are. According to Sardar (2000:156), the linguistic roots of the word *kampung* (village) means gathering, which is an

essential part of the social life of the rural Malays. In the *kampung*, everybody knows each other and they gather to keep up with each other's lives. Another trait that is unique to the *kampung* life is *gotong royong* or communal work. This is when the whole community gets together, for instance, to clean up their village or help in the preparation of food for a wedding. Both these traits are not evident in the urban areas where most people do not even know their own neighbours and prefer to keep to themselves.

5.2.4 The Malaysian Indians: A History

The people of Southeast Asia first came under the influence of Indian civilization and culture from 500BC or earlier (Tate, 2008:3). Nevertheless, for Malaya (the former name for Peninsular Malaysia), the history of the Indians can be traced back to 779AD, according to an inscription found in Ligor, Peninsular Malaysia, that describes trade relationships between the Tamil country and Malaya (Arokaswamy, 2000:37). However, the major migration of the Indians happened during the British occupation when the Indians were brought in to work as estate workers in rubber plantations. In the early 19th century, rubber made its appearance and became the new cash crop replacing the coffee industry that has declined due to dropping prices, poor harvest and the disease that came along with it. In 1905, with the development of cars and with tyres being manufactured, rubber was in demand and became a major export for Malaya (Sardar, 2000:71). During this time, Chinese labourers were deemed as insufficient to work in rubber plantations as they concentrated on tin production. Therefore, Indian labourers were brought in.

The Indians are a non-homogenous community, with differing cultures, vernacular languages and religions. According to the Service Consultant of the Social Strategic Foundation (YSS), the majority of the labourers who were brought in were South Indian Tamils, and they make up of 85% of the total Malaysian Indian population now. The remaining 15% are Malayalees, Gujaratis, Punjabis, Indian Muslims and Bengalis. While the Tamils were labourers with a minority working as Government workers, the Northern Indians were mainly merchants and businessmen; the

Punjabis were either in the police force or were watchmen; the Gujaratis dominated the textile industries; and finally, the Bengalis were mainly professionals, for example, doctors or lawyers. This division of occupations and expertise according to different groups of Indians was based on the caste system back in India and continued when they migrated to Malaya (Jain, 2011:40 – 57).

Religions and faiths practised among the Malaysian Indians also varied, with the majority of them, mainly Tamils, practising Hinduism and some were Christians. Of the whole Indian community, 10% were Indian Muslims while the Punjabis practise Sikhism. Geographically, the Indians were distributed according to the nature of their occupation. The South Indian Tamils were concentrated in rubber plantations in Selangor, Perak and Negeri Sembilan while the business community was concentrated in the urban areas of Kuala Lumpur, Penang and Ipoh.

5.2.5 Indian Issues

Based on interviews conducted with a Chairman of the Malaysian Human Rights Commission; the Head of the Indian Studies Department, Universiti Malaya; the Commandant for the Police Training Centre, Kuala Lumpur; and the Service Director of Social Strategic Foundation, unveiled the issues faced by the Malaysian Indians, as well as the background and underlying factors and causes. These Indians are mostly the lower income group of Tamils. The discussions regarding the Indian issues are dealt with in the following paragraphs.

The South Indian Tamils originated from villages in Tamil Nadu where a whole village or clan was transported to Malaya to work as labourers. They were chosen because they were socio-economically poor, passive and educationally inept. Arriving in Malaysia, the whole village, or most from the same families, were located in the same estates around Selangor, Perak and Negeri Sembilan. They remained close-knit communities, as everyone knew everyone else, were interdependent on each other, worked very hard for their families, but at the same time were totally cut

off from the outside world. They were unaware of other communities, opportunities, proper homes and education provided outside the plantations; their world was only within the estates. When the crop industry fluctuated and rubber was replaced with oil palm, this had a big impact on the Tamil community, as the skills needed for oil palm harvesting are different; it required hard labour compared to rubber tapping. The Tamils were left unemployed, as they were unskilled and were forced to move out from the estates, migrating to urban areas where they squatted on vacant lands. This was when all the problems began.

First and foremost, they did not know the laws and orders of the country and simply squatted on any land regardless of whether the land was gazetted land, private land or owned by the Government. Although it was not an issue then as the Malays who migrated from the rural areas also squatted, it has now become a problem as the Government is reclaiming land for development. Secondly, they have no skills other than rubber tapping and were also lowly educated therefore preventing them from acquiring any jobs. This affects them significantly economically as they need to learn new skills that require time to master in order to survive. While the Malay community is known for being lazy, the Indians are labelled as violent. Being jobless yet needing to feed the family resulted in them being involved in gang related activities to earn easy money, and the situation is still an issue now. This is supported by a research done by Sidhu. In his article, he explained that the Indians committed the majority of crimes, especially violent crime (Sidhu, 2005:17). Statistically, Indians only comprise 7.7% of the total population of Malaysia. They represent a small minority group when compared with the Malays (65.1%) and Chinese (26%)(ibid), but the Indian youths have earned a stereotyped reputation of being involved in criminal and gang related activities and also in other forms of social ills. A study done by the Social Strategic Foundation attributed the main causal factor of violent crime and gang related activities to manifestations of urban poverty, because the community resides in squatters, flats and long houses and areas identified as high risk neighbourhoods (ibid:19).

Thirdly, back in the estates, they were a homogenous community with little or no contact at all with other ethnic groups. Moving to the urban areas was a big shock to them, as not only did they have to survive economically, they also needed to adapt their lives to other ethnic group as heterogeneous communities. This was another skill that they needed to be equipped with. Language was a big problem as they could only converse in their native language; in addition, culture and beliefs were also an issue. This caused tensions, conflicts and disputes when they were forced to live together as they could not understand and were insensitive to each other's differences. Apart from that, their own community structure had somewhat broken down, as they could no longer reside together as one community in an area. Their community was dispersed to different areas that were available for them to squat and suddenly they had no families to fall back and depend on when faced with personal problems. Belief in religion had waned among the younger generation; this also affected them and resulted in them acting irrationally and without thinking about the consequences of their actions. Religion played, and still does play a big role in the Indian's lives. While at the estates, the elderly could monitor and advise the youngsters if ever they strayed, in the new urban settlements there was nobody to control and ensure that the youths did not get side tracked.

Fourthly, as they settled into their new settlements, they realised that the other ethnic groups had more opportunities in terms of employment and education compared to them and they started to question and rebel. One of the reasons was the New Economic Policies (NEP) that opened more opportunities for the Malays as the original citizens of Malaysia (will be discussed in 5.3). For people who were brought in mainly to work as labourers, they could not understand the true essence and history behind the development of the NEP and why the Indian and Chinese leaders agreed to it. They only viewed things on the surface and based their opinions on what they experienced. Therefore, they questioned why certain ethnic groups were given more advantages and assistance. Nevertheless, the Chairman of the Malaysian Human Rights Commission added:

"I still hold that there is no problem. In my own understanding the Government can continue to assist the Bumiputra community with whatever assistance, but don't neglect this kind of group (the Indians)".

It is important that the Government and authorities strike a balance in any provision of services, opportunities and facilities irrespective of race.

As mentioned before, the Indian community is associated with violent behaviours and one of the factors is urban poverty. Apart from that, according to the Head of the Indian Studies Department from Universiti Malaya, Tamil movies made in both India and Malaysia, had and continue to have an adverse affect on their community. The storylines always involved fighting scenes and gangsterism, with the heroes and villains frequently carrying around knives and other weapons. These scenes were imitated in real life and were what motivates them. They were strongly influenced by the ideas showcased in the movies and what they saw was depicted as real, hence making them believe that they too could be heroes and carry themselves the same way. Unlike the Malays who had their *kampung* to go back to as their real home, this was not the case with the Indians. Since they came in Malaya as immigrants, their real home was India, but it was impossible for them to go back. On top of that, they had made and considered Malaysia their new home but had no roots to fall back on. This became a problem as they did not have any sense of belonging and this attitude was brought with them wherever they went. When they felt like they did not belong, whether it was in their living environment or a community, they therefore did not care about the place.

Despite all this, the Indians too have some good qualities. Like their rural Malay counterparts, they thrive as a homogenous community as they remain a close-knit community. In their community, they have what they call 'good gangs' who look out for their community and make sure that troubles are kept at bay. They make sure that their residents are not involved in crime related activities such as drug addiction and dealing, and they also make sure that their youths are not left behind educationally.

5.3 New Economic Policy: Racial Inequity?

The Malaysian New Economic Policy (NEP) was developed in 1971 during the governance of the second Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tun Abdul Razak. This policy was deemed a controversial programme that favours Malays in restructuring the socio-economic landscape of Malaysia. At the same time, it was also applauded for reducing the socio-economic gap between the Malays and Chinese that was inflicted by the British during their occupancy of the country that saw the Malays being left behind in all aspects. The following paragraphs discuss the backgrounds and the contents of the NEP and how it affects the perceptions of certain ethnic groups.

5.3.1 The History

In the lead up to the declaration of independence for Malaya in 1957, the Constitution of Malaysia was drafted in which was a means to safeguard the special position of the Malays. This means was stated in Article 153, although Tunku Abdul Rahman (first Prime Minister of Malaysia) had also requested that:

"In an independent Malaya all nationals should be accorded equal rights, privileges and opportunities and there must not be discrimination on grounds of race and creed" (Ahmad, 2009:320–325).

However, at the same time, he voiced his doubts concerning the non-Malays' loyalty to Malaya and that it needed to be resolved before they were granted citizenship (ibid). The Chinese and Indians then were seen to be more interested in gaining wealth and a better life. Essentially, Article 153 was a means of awarding the Malays privileges for granting the non-Malays their citizenship. In 1963, Malaya merged with Singapore, Sabah and Sarawak to form Malaysia, during which the Constitution was amended by grouping the indigenous people of Sabah and Sarawak with the Malays as *Bumiputras*, and honouring them with the same privileges as the Malays (Constitution of Malaysia, 1957:100-102).

The NEP was developed after the 13th May riot in 1969 between the Malays and Chinese. There had always been friction and strife between the two ethnic groups and it was heightened when Singapore merged with Malaya. Lee Kuan Yew, leader of the Singapore Government and the People's Action Party (PAP), kept insisting on a 'Malaysian Malaysia' and openly voiced his opposition against *Ketuanan Melayu*⁸ (Malay supremacy). He argued that the Malays were not the original residents and that one-third of the Malays were new immigrants; therefore they could not claim that they were Malaysians and did not have the right to determine the others as Malaysians as a favour to them (Ye, 2003:143). Lee went on with his opposition, even making some racial comments throughout the merger. After many disputes between the Malaysian government and Lee, Singapore was eventually asked to separate from Malaya and it became independent in 1965. However, the dispute left a big impact on the relationship between the Malays and Chinese, and this continued until the Democratic Action Party (DAP), a Chinese-based successor of PAP, and the Parti Gerakan Rakyat Malaysia, a seemingly multiracial party, contested during the 1969 elections against the reigning Alliance⁹ party. Both opposition parties proposed changes regarding education and language. They wanted to add English, Mandarin and Tamil as national languages together with the Malay language. In particular, regarding the Malay rights, DAP continued to campaign for Lee's idea of a 'Malaysian Malaysia'. The result of the elections saw both DAP and Gerakan taking over three states and almost winning the two-thirds majority in Parliament (Hwang, 2003:75).

This 'victory' of the opposition parties led them to arrange victory parades on the 11th and 12th of May 1969. During the rallies, participants jeered the Malays with written slogans such as "Finish off all the Malays", among others (ibid:77-78). Although an apology was issued soon afterwards, this enraged the Malays and through UMNO

⁸ *Ketuanan Melayu* is a concept where privileges were given to the Malays who claimed to be the *tuan* (masters) and the original residents of Malaysia. It was an agreement commissioned with the Chinese and Indians in return for granting them citizenship (Yaakop, 2011: 125).

⁹ A union of three parties, United Malays National Organization (UMNO) with the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA) and the Malayan Indian Congress (MIC). UMNO still strongly supports *ketuanan Melayu* but formed the Alliance to contest the 1955 Federal Legislative elections. The Alliance, going by the name Barisan Nasional, is still the governing party today.

they carried out their own parade on 13th May to celebrate their victory, as well as to counter-attack the previous rallies that had ‘insulted’ them and the Malay rights; this parade was to “teach the Chinese a lesson” (Means, 1991:6–7). This was when the riot started as participants assaulted any passing Chinese along with their homes and shops. The riot then spread widely throughout the whole of Kuala Lumpur, and a state of national emergency was immediately declared. At this point, some members of UMNO came out with open statements asserting that a power-sharing government would be a failure and that the power should be returned to the Malays. Mahathir Mohamad then openly blamed Tunku Abdul Rahman for “giving face to the Chinese” and that he should step down as the Prime Minister. This resulted in Mohamad, along with Musa Hitam being sacked from UMNO (ibid).

5.3.2 *The Content of NEP*

When the state of national emergency was declared because of the riot, parliament was suspended and the National Operations Council was formed which was led by another UMNO member, Tun Abdul Razak. During this time, the NEP was developed as the plan to “eradicate poverty and by restructuring Malaysian society”. It also aimed to eradicate poverty by “raising income levels and by increasing employment opportunities for all Malaysians irrespective of race” (Tate, 2008:125-126). This saw the non-Malays’, mainly the Chinese, hold on the economy reduced, and the net “losses” were divided among the Malays. This was essentially to address the Bumiputras’ economic backwardness (Ishak, 2002:108), especially the ‘economic imbalance’ between the Malays and the Chinese. The policy was structured based on a book, *The Malay Dilemma*¹⁰, written by Mahathir Mohamad during his exile. When Tun Abdul Razak took office as the second Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamad and Musa Hitam rejoined UMNO, and the NEP was launched two years after the 13th May incident.

¹⁰ The Malay Dilemma was first published in 1970, and reprinted with a new preface in 2008. The book reveals the author’s thought of the issue of the Malays at that time, and explains the behaviour and characteristics of his people and of the immigrants. It is written in total frankness, and the new preface explains that so much has changed regarding the Malays since he first wrote the book.

The NEP has been badly criticised and deemed as more racially based, being in favour of the Malays, rather than its actual goal of eliminating deprivation. Education is the most controversial policy of all its policies. In the policy, the Bumiputras were granted a fixed number of admissions to any of the local public universities up to 2002. However, since the quoted figure was calculated in the 1970s, the allocation for Bumiputras had therefore reduced by 2002. Nevertheless, the non-Malays still remained dissatisfied. This policy was later abolished in 2003. Despite that, the public universities are still dominated by the Malays and other *Bumiputras* as the non-Malays, especially the Chinese, prefer to send their children to private universities or to study abroad.

At the secondary school level, most Bumiputras, especially the Malays who had done well in primary school, entered public boarding schools on scholarships. A very small number of places were offered to the non-Malays and they were normally the cream of the crop and from poor families. Public boarding schools were seen as producing the best students and those who graduated from these schools were given higher priority for places in public universities and scholarships to study abroad. As the majority who completed their education in these schools were Malays, more scholarships were therefore awarded to the Malays and other Bumiputras. Educational scholarships were also another issue that caused dissatisfaction. The non-Malays questioned to why more scholarships were given to the Malays/Bumiputras compared to the non-Malays. They saw this as the government being more in favour of and more willing to assist the Malays. They also argued that there were also poor bright Chinese and Indians who deserved the scholarships as much as the Malays.

In this context, Mohamad (2010(a):99) explained the reasoning behind this policy. He defended the scholarships that were awarded to the poor Malays as “justifiable and necessary” as it was one method to push forward a backward community, and to raise the level and standard of the Malays to the level of the non-Malays. Therefore, “a rich country like Malaysia would stand accused of moral responsibility if she did

not subsidise the education of the poor”. Before that, Mohamad explained why the Malays were a backward community. Education was not an important factor for the poor Malay parents and therefore they did not give sufficient moral encouragement to their children. Mohamad believed this was due to the fact that they were ignorant and disinterested. Poor education would lead to poverty, and poverty represents backwardness (ibid:98-99). This backwardness, according to Mohamad, was the result of the British Colonial regime. Most of the Malays during that time only attended primary school as it was free, and the wealthy Chinese who would later attain higher education levels mostly attended secondary schools. As for the Malays, the primary education did not fit them into modern society and did not equip them to face the world. Mohamad defended that “the scholarships are not a manifestation of racial inequality. They are a means of breaking down the superior position of the non-Malays in the field of education. The Malays are not proud of this treatment” (ibid:100).

5.3.3 *Bias and perceptions*

The NEP has been wrongly interpreted by most who claim that it is biased and skewed in favour of the Malays. Some twisted the contents to make them seem prejudiced for personal or political purposes and this causes friction between other ethnic groups and the Bumiputras, mostly the Malays. To make matter worse, this is one of the factors that caused the Malays to be perceived as lazy natives, too privileged and pampered because they are always pushed forward and the Government always gives them a helping hand. Although the same privileges are also given to the other indigenous people under the Bumiputra group, most of the time, only the Malays are mentioned when this matter is discussed. Even though the policy no longer exists and has been replaced with the National Development Policy in 1991, it is still brought up especially by opposition political parties when debating the issues of racial inequality.

What people did not realise is that although the NEP produced some positives results, the Malays were still economically left behind when compared to the

Chinese. In fact, Mohamad (2010(a):5) even questioned why the Malays had “not benefitted as much as they should from the New Economic Policy”. In 2004, the UMNO Youth Chief stated that a local study indicated that it would take the Malays “120 years to achieve income parity” with the non-Malays (News Straits Time, 2006). The former and current Prime Ministers, Datuk Sri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi and Datuk Seri Najib Razak, have both suggested the removal of a “race-based affirmative policy” as it does not help the Malays to move forward; in fact, they would remain static and unproductive. A poll conducted by Merdeka Centre in 2008 proved too that the majority of Malays (65%) also would want race-based affirmative policy to be abolished (Teoh, 2008). However, not all political leaders share the same view, some are still sticking to their guns and claiming that “no other race has the right to question our privileges, our religion and our leader” and that any such action would cause a stir (ibid).

When Najib Razak was appointed Prime Minister in 2008, he announced that he was ready to end special privileges for the Malays. In the same year, Lim Guan Eng, the Chief Minister of the state of Penang, which is currently under the ruling of the opposition party, made a breakthrough decision whereby he announced that the new state administration would be free of the NEP (Bernama, 2008). Najib also launched the 1Malaysia programme, which aims at national unity and ethnic tolerance, advertised the slogan “People first, performance now” and highlighted the latest “Generating Transformation” programme. The idea is that in order for Malaysia to be a developed country by 2020, first and foremost, the country must be stable and strong. The only way to achieve this is if the people are united. Another basis for this programme is fairness for all races, which means no ethnic group would be neglected and all are treated equally (Prime Minister’s Office, 2008:4). A year after its launch, Tun Mahathir Mohamad voiced how he still does not understand the concept of 1Malaysia, and a further two years later, based on a poll conducted in July 2010, the public too held similar opinions and remains wary of the concept, (Zalkapli, 2010).

All in all, despite all the efforts to unite the nation through policies and programmes conducted by the government, and although the NEP is obsolete, it is feared the perception of the Malays will never change. They will always be perceived negatively as lazy, primitive and *kampung*; that signifies anti-urbanity (Bunnell, 2002:1686). If they are successful, they will be perceived as pampered and privileged because the Government has assisted them. The former is more apparent in lower income group Malays and this is what has been identified as “Malayness”.

5.4 An Overview

As a multi-ethnic nation, Malaysia is seen or perceived by the outside world as a harmonious country. True to form, nation building has been a crucial agenda, where it sees most national policies addressing and stressing on nation building. However, even though this agenda seeks to bring together the nation as a united Malaysian nation, mainly through the Vision 2020 project, the brainchild of Malaysia’s former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, the country faces more challenges and problems (Ishak, 2002:103). The nation becomes more divided when one ethnic group feels threatened that its identity is slowly fading and is dominated by other ethnic groups. This has given rise to ethnic groups venturing into politics as a means of protecting their identities (ibid:104). In the political arena, this of course creates conflicts, and the conflicts spill over and affect the whole country.

Nowadays, there are definite improvements and a lot of success stories that can be witnessed of the Malays and Indians. Due to rapid urbanisation, Malay lifestyles, especially that of the rural Malays, have changed dramatically. They no longer favour inbreeding or insist on juvenile marriages. They are better educated with many of them working professionally and holding higher education qualifications. However, another negative trend has emerged in which the majority of Malay students in universities are female. Therefore, more and more females are working professionally compared to males. So far, no explanation has been offered for why this is happening (Mohamad(a), 2010:4). Mohamad (2010(a):5) also mentioned that the Malays are somewhat still left behind. However, there is definitely significant

progress. Apart from that, some characteristics are still strong and evident in the Malays especially their attitude towards the value of time, and some of them still hold strongly to fatalism. The same too can be said of the Indians, especially the Tamils. More Indians are conquering the professional world, mainly as lawyers and doctors. The other groups of Indians still remain in what they specialised in when they first came to Malaysia, such as the Gujaratis still dominates the textile industry and the Punjabis in the police force. However, of all the Indian groups, the Tamils are still left behind. Many still work as 'labourers', this time as factory workers or lorry drivers and reside in low-cost flats.

The negative perceptions of the Malays as being lazy and the Indians as being violent have stuck with them until today even though so much has changed. This is more evident in the lower income group of both Malays and Indians. This negative perception has resulted in the poor of these communities being ill treated, especially by the local authorities. The authorities are aware of the issues faced by these societies but they simply brush the issues aside and put the blame on their 'laziness' and 'violent' behaviours. These communities are neglected and alienated from development, and believe that they should learn to fend for themselves in order to survive without any assistance being handed to them. This mentality needs to change because in order to achieve as a developed country, these 'petty' problems must be tackled at the roots, not just on the surface because of what they believe to be their definition of good development for these people when in fact some of the problems were inflicted by the community, the government and the local authorities themselves. If the people are constantly labelled as lazy and violent without any effort at change, they will then forever remain as lazy and violent.

Apart from that, it is apparent that from early on, since the British occupation, some form of control has been applied to manage the lives and divide the people according to their importance. Back then, the Chinese were able to succeed economically due to their sturdy, hardworking, "I will do anything" nature and also with the help of the British policies. Ethnic groups were divided according to settlements and types of occupations: the Chinese in the urban areas managing

businesses and tin mining, the Malays in the rural areas working on agricultural lands and the Indians in plantations as labourers. Even the Malays were divided into two groups, the town and rural Malays. These two groups had no contact whatsoever with each other, a situation which was deliberately manoeuvred through the prevention of physical access between the urban and rural areas. Even though administrative and government roles were given to the Malays, these roles had no significant impact on the management of the country and they were merely created to make the Malays believe that they were important. Education was also another means of control used by the British. Primary schools were free, therefore, anyone could benefit from schooling. However, secondary schools and English education were only available for those who could afford them. Therefore, only the Chinese could gain from the education and the Malays were left behind.

After independence, the new government also used policies to control the management of the people. This time they developed the NEP as a means for the Malays to gain control again over their country. The Malays believe that they are the original citizens of Malaysia and that the non-Malays were granted citizenships as a favour. Although the aim of the NEP was to eradicate poverty, it was mainly used to solve the economic gap or imbalance between the Malays and the Chinese. This caused more friction among ethnic groups and it seems that nothing has been learned from the 13th May incident. Although the NEP is now obsolete, it remains the centre of debate the issue of racial inequality is discussed. Control of and manoeuvring the people or certain groups of people in policies are still evident today, for instance in the housing development for low-income groups. This form of control is known as governmentality, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter (and has also been previously discussed in Chapter 2).

5.5 Conclusion

Overall, this chapter discussed the issues faced by the Malays and Indians and how the issues came to be. It is important to first understand the issue of ethnicities in Malaysia before delving into matters that are now faced by the community of Desa

Mentari. The chapter also discussed the form of control in policy that have long existed since the British occupation that saw different ethnic groups segregated based on areas, education and employment. During this time, the Chinese was way ahead economically compared to the others. After independence, racial segregation was still applied in policies in the form of NEP, but this time the Malays were given priority and more privileges as a means to assist them economically. This form of assistance still exists today in Malaysia, and specifically in Desa Mentari (this will be discussed in Chapters 8 and 9). Control is also still evident, especially when dealing with the lower income group. Chapter 6 will further discuss governmentality in housing policies in Malaysia.

Chapter 6

The Issues of Squatters and Governmentality in Policy

6.0 Introduction

This chapter highlights how governmentality of low-income groups is manifested in policy, specifically focusing on housing and services as well as the background and issues surrounding squatter settlements in Malaysia. Governmentality is a concept that was developed by the French philosopher Michel Foucault in the 1970s, which is defined as the “art of government” or governing. It basically translates as how the people who are governed are affected by the conduct and practices of a government (please refer to Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion). The author will now discuss low-cost housing policy in Malaysia as well as the issues regarding squatter settlements and the Setinggalan Sifar (Zero squatters) 2005 policy. At the end of the chapter, the issue of control or governmentality through policies will be addressed.

6.1 Squatter Settlements in Malaysia

The issues surrounding urban squatter settlements in Malaysia have long been brought to attention by the government and measures have been taken in preventing its redevelopment and the relocation of dwellers from demolished settlements. Squatters are prevalent in states such as Selangor, Penang and the Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur, concentrating at the periphery of major cities. For the state of Selangor, squatter settlements have existed since the 1960s when rubber and oil palm plantations began to close down as well as the depletion of tin in the rural tin mining industry and people migrated to the city in search of jobs. In Kuala Lumpur, squatter settlements existed even before Independence and this was due to the policy and leniency of the British themselves. The British seems to tolerate and encourage squatting and this is evident in their policy. As an example, after the Second World War, they encouraged squatter dwellers to produce food whereby dwellers would cultivate crop produce on either private or state land (Sufian and

Mohamad, 2009:112). After Independence, the number of squatters increased as the result of urbanisation and industrialisation. The introduction of the NEP in the 1970s saw an influx of rural-urban migrations in which two-thirds of the migrants were Malays (Mohd. Razali, 1989 as quoted in Bunnell, 2002: 1689). However, although this migration was encouraged by the government in order to balance out the racial population and to ensure Malay involvement in economic activities in urban areas (Sufian and Mohamad, 2009:112), the Government failed to provide any form of settlements which led them to squat on any vacant land or existing squatter settlements.

From time to time, the number of squatter settlements in both Selangor and Kuala Lumpur increased. The reasons for dwellers residing in these settlements nowadays differ from those during and after the British occupation. Among the reasons is poverty, migration of legal or illegal immigrants, and also political interests where politicians promise that their settlements would be made legal mainly for vote banks. The phenomenon surrounding squatters has been a major issue for the government and this is often associated with a disfigured image of values opposite to what is perceived as an ideal living. Although the settlements are located in urban areas, they are referred to as *kampung* (village) or as city kampungs. The majority of these migrants are from poor, poorly educated groups and these settlements are overcrowded, with improper flimsy building structures, no proper infrastructure, facing issues of urban poverty and the breeding ground of social ills. As stated in Bunnell (2002:1689):

“It was the city kampung, or, more accurately, the squatter city kampung which came to be known as the site of a new urban problematic Malaysness.....City kampungs have been rendered problematic by a diversity of ‘experts’”.

Bunnell then went on to explain that these former rural migrants could not adapt to the modern, urban life that brought to its dwellers involvement in social ills such as drug abuse and loafing (ibid:1690).



Figure 17 and 18 Flimsy building structures made out of wood planks and zinc sheets.

(Source: Pictures provided by MBPJ).

Based on interviews conducted with a planner from the Petaling Jaya City Council, and an officer of the State Government, there are several categories of squatters:

1. Owner squatter: squatter dweller who built his home on state or private lands;
2. Squatter tenants: squatter dwellers who do not own a home but are renting homes on state or private lands;
3. Professional squatter: owner of squatters who rents out homes developed on state or private lands;
4. Speculator squatters: professional squatters who take advantage of former squatter lands that are developed to profit from compensation and low-cost houses which they later rent out.

As these city *kampungs* are regarded as ‘out of place’ (ibid) against the modern urban landscape of Kuala Lumpur and other major cities in Selangor, new programmes were developed to relocate squatter dwellers into more ‘appropriate’ housing and to reclaim the land for redevelopment. These high-rise complexes were

perceived as a means to modernise former squatter dwellers. It was assumed that their attitudes would gradually change if they were living in modern buildings. That was never the case as development does not change the conduct of humans, as proven by the tragic incident in 1997 in which a technical assistant was killed by a brick thrown from one of these low-cost high-rise flats (Bunnell, 2002:1685). Kuala Lumpur City Hall was the first to undertake the Zero Squatters Policy in the 1990s in a bid to reimage the city to their idealised vision as the national capital as well as a 'squatter free' city (ibid:1690). In 2001, Selangor followed suit by introducing the Program Selangor Setinggalan Sifar 2005 (Selangor Zero Squatter Programme 2005) that attempted to eradicate all squatter settlements in Selangor by 2005. This programme was also conducted in conjunction with the stated aim to make Selangor a Developed State in 2006. Both governments failed to meet the target of being squatter-free cities by 2005. However, the programme managed to clear most of the squatter settlements by the end of 2006 (Sufian et al, 2009:109).

6.1.1 Legislation and Squatters

Registration and ownership of lands is vital in Malaysia. The occupation and erecting of buildings on lands without proper registration is illegal even for those who were urban settlers. This is stated clearly in the National Land Code 1965, section 425, that it is a violation of law to occupy or erect a structure or conduct activities on state, reserved and mining lands without any authorisation. It also states that it is not required for an eviction notice to be handed out to occupiers before any demolition work is conducted. Squatter dwellers can be arrested without any arrest warrant required (section 426(1)(c)) and any properties seized from them shall belong to the state (section 426(1)(b)). For the state of Selangor and other states of Peninsular Malaysia, the eradication of squatters can be conducted through the Essential (Clearance of Squatters) Regulations 1969, under the Emergency (Essential Powers) Ordinance 1969. This regulation offers more comprehensive procedures for the demolition of squatter settlements, and as before, it is an offence to build structures on state, reserved and mining lands, with the addition of forest and private lands. Unlike the National Land Code, the illegal occupiers will be given seven days'

written notice beforehand (regulation 8) and the owner can claim any properties that have been confiscated within 14 days commencing on the date of removal (regulation 5). Both laws require the presence of security forces during eviction, as stated in section 426(2) and regulation 5.

These two policies clearly show that no laws acknowledge any form of squatting and equity cannot be questioned or be held against the authorities. It also states that any form of demolition can be conducted immediately or without delay. However, it must be argued that not giving a notice of eviction is unfair and the provision of only seven days' notice is inadequate. It is impossible for someone who has occupied the land for many generations to just simply empty his or her homes immediately, or even within seven days. Furthermore, although the laws and regulations are stated clearly, there is no clear indication of how the regulations should be enforced on squatters and how to deal with its occupiers. The most common complaints by evicted squatter dwellers are lack of notice, as mentioned above, disorganised methods of delivering notice and lack of negotiations, and the way negotiations are handled with squatter dwellers (Sufian and Mohamad, 2009:118). There are also cases in which squatter dwellers were depending on promises made by politicians to help solve their eviction problems, and some even went on to promise that they would not be evicted as they had the right to the land (ibid). This is never the case as it has been written in the law that it is illegal to occupy lands that has not been registered to the occupier. There are many cases where evicted squatters tried to bring matters to the court and so far, none has succeeded in gaining rights to the land. However, some were granted reasonable notice to vacate the land and also an amount of compensation (ibid).

6.1.2 Selangor Zero Squatter Programme 2005

For decades, the State Government of Selangor has attempted to solve the issue of squatters but has never succeeded as more and more squatter settlements were erected through the years. Squatters were regarded as an indicator of an imbalanced development of the state, but at the same time, squatter dwellers make a big contribution to the state's economic growth, especially through the industrial

and production sectors. Ismail (2005:72) stated that the failure to solve the issue of squatters was described as having a negative effect on the state's credibility and prevented it from becoming a developed state by 2006; therefore, drastic measures must be taken. The programme was implemented based on the Government's awareness of the implications of improper accommodations and the lack of infrastructure that could lead to various social problems. The Government was also concerned with the children of squatters' academic achievement as living in an unhealthy environment would have an adverse effect on their mentality and abilities which reduce their opportunity to improve their standard of living in the future through education.

The Zero Squatter 2005 programme was introduced in 2001 to ensure that by the year 2005, everyone in the whole nation of Selangor would legally own a house. Other than that, it aimed to provide the opportunity for its residents to benefit from a balanced social development and a healthy environment, with the motto 'one family one house, a perfect family comes from a perfect home' (Ismail, 2005: 73). One of the first actions taken by the State Government to solve the squatter issue was by determining old and new squatters. The local authorities were to immediately demolish any squatter settlements built after 1 January 1998, and this was determined through cooperation with the local Department of Statistics Malaysia. At the same time, a blueprint was developed, which was the Selangor Zero Squatters 2005 Action Plan, that set out actions to be taken to solve squatter issues and the development of low-cost housing in Selangor within five years, from February 2000 to December 2004 (Ismail, 2005:74). The blueprint aimed to achieve the goal by 2005 in conjunction with the state's goal to be a developed state by 2006.

6.1.2.1 Selangor Zero Squatter 2005 Action Plan

There were two main strategies to realise this campaign, which was to resolve issues in existing squatter settlements, and to prevent the construction of new squatter settlements. The Selangor State Government employed holistic means in handling these matters, which involved five approaches:

1. Planning

Compiling complete data on squatters and low-cost houses to ensure the provision of adequate low-cost and medium-cost houses for target groups and squatter dwellers.

2. Supervision

Monitoring and ensuring that the development of low-cost housing was according to schedule and is parallel to other types of development.

3. Distribution

To ensure that the distributions of low-cost housing are efficient and fair to the eligible target group and squatter dwellers.

4. Enforcement

Prevention and immediate enforcement would be conducted on any new squatter settlement and imposing measures on developers who failed to develop low-cost housing as planned and as scheduled.

5. Housing management

To guarantee that after 31 December 2004, all Selangor's residents legally owned a home

Although on paper the process seemed straightforward and could easily be implemented, most of the time it did not go according to plan. According to a State Government officer, after the compilation of data and identification of squatters, they discovered that new squatter dwellings were still erected every time they visited or when it was time for demolition. These new squatter dwellers would then claim that they too were eligible for compensation and low-cost housing units. However, as

they had records of original squatter dwellers collected during the planning stage, the problems were easily resolved. In most cases, the squatter dwellers were resistant and refused to vacate their homes. Some would even go as far as trying to interrupt and stop demolition work by forming barricades while the women and children remained in the houses as a protest which led to confrontation with the enforcement units (Ali, 1998:1334). These confrontations normally led to police reports of injuries inflicted on squatter dwellers and unfair conduct by the police force and government enforcement teams as well as reports on destruction of properties. Some cases were even brought to court by both parties, with the squatter dwellers demanding stay orders, right of possession, compensation, while the police force claimed that the squatter dwellers were obstructing them from carrying out their duties and also alleged injuries inflicted by them (ibid). There were also cases instituted by developers against squatter dwellers for illegal occupation of land. After the relocation, other problems surfaced such as the insufficient provision of housing units which led to some families remaining in transit settlements and longhouses (ibid:1333; Bunnell, 2002:1698). It is unclear whether any actions were taken on developers that failed to provide sufficient housing units. In the case of Desa Mentari, there is no future low-cost housing development for this community. This demonstrates how regulations were not always implemented and conducted as stated.

6.1.2.2 Local Authority Squatter Unit

The local authorities were the main driving forces behind the implementation of the squatter zero policies as well as resolving the issues of squatter settlements within their areas. The divisions involved under this unit and their roles are as follows:

1. Secretariat

This unit was led by at least an assistant planner officer, depending on each local authority. Their role was to manage all meetings and anything related to squatters and the development of low-cost housing. In addition, they also

monitored the implementation process in developing low-cost housing and managed the census and survey process on squatters.

2. Task Force

The leader of the area led the task force committee. It also involved the state assembly member to ensure speedy development of the low-cost housing and to assist in resolving issues that arose in regards to low-cost housing and squatters. This committee also had the authority to identify problematic developers and explain themselves in the task force squatter meetings.

6.1.2.3 Squatter Census

The census process was carried out in order to identify areas of squatter settlements and their dwellers. This was vital in obtaining data on the number of families who needed to be relocated and the number of low-cost housing units that needed to be developed. Aerial photographs of areas occupied by squatters were captured and the physical boundaries were identified according to election zones. After the areas were divided, the local authorities would appoint local university students, authority's staff and others to conduct census survey on the identified areas, commencing April until June 2001. From the survey, every detail regarding the squatter families, number of households, households' socioeconomic status, occupations and other relevant information were collected based on the survey form provided. Pictures of each head of family were captured as proof and given an identification number for data storage, as well as for planning the relocation and the prevention of the eradication of new squatters. Based on the results of the census survey, an inventory list of squatter settlements was composed according to locations and election zones. This was to facilitate the planning of the low-cost housing development, relocation process and the division of squatter dwellers.

Based on the census survey in July 2001 by all local authorities in Selangor, the programme identified 41,007 units of squatters in 311 settlements throughout the

state, sheltering a number of 43,547 families of which the majority were Malays. Four areas were the main focus of squatter settlements, which were Petaling Jaya (16,404 families), Ampang Jaya (8,269 families), Klang (7,421 families) and Selayang (4,095 families) (Berita Harian, 2004, as quoted in Ismail, 2005:78). The survey also identified illegal immigrants who were residing in and renting these squatter settlements. Based on this, a big-scaled operation named *Ops Helang* (Eagle Operation) was conducted to immediately demolish squatter settlements that were occupied by illegal immigrants. The homes of 10,668 out of the 41,007 families in 131 areas were instantly demolished to achieve the Squatter Zero 2005 goal, commencing 18 February 2002 and ending on 31 May 2002 (ibid).

6.1.2.4 Provision of Low-cost Housing

The development of low-cost housing in Desa Mentari was the main solution to replace the homes of former squatter dwellers. However, private developers were not keen on this type of development as its economic returns were less lucrative. Nevertheless, the Government managed to convince some private developers to participate in the development of these low-cost housing (Ismail, 2005:80). The task force committee played a big role in ensuring a systematic and controlled development of the housing and that it was conducted according to schedule. The committee, from time to time, also inspected the implementation status of the developers by means of a monthly report that had to be submitted and an explanation was required from developers for any delay caused by them. Most new low-cost housing was developed on the site of the demolished squatter settlements.

6.1.2.5 Negotiation with Squatter Dwellers

Demolition of squatter settlements that have been occupied for decades is a sensitive issue for both the dwellers and the authorities. Even though their occupation of the land is illegal, the settlers still voice their rights over the settlements. The situation is worsened when politicians from opposing parties and

non-government organisations also support the dwellers in the form of promises and even providing legal support (Sufian and Mohamad, 2009:114). Therefore, in the Squatter Zero 2005 programme, in order to ensure a smooth relocation process and to prevent any conflicts, negotiations between the dwellers with the state assembly member and developers were often conducted. The negotiation revolved around matters regarding the price and the design of each housing unit, temporary shelters and other compensations and claims. Dwellers were briefed on the Squatter Zero 2005 policy and the plans that had been laid out for them, questions about their new homes and any opinions were to be voiced out during the negotiation.

6.1.2.6 Relocation Process

According to the programme, geopolitics, sensitivity, accessibility, facilities and family values were among the factors that were taken into consideration in ensuring a systematic relocation. There were three criteria for the relocation of squatter dwellers to low-cost housing:

1. In-situ relocation

If the land use of any squatter settlement site were previously allocated for low-cost housing developments, all squatter dwellers from that area would be listed on the in-situ low-cost housing scheme.

2. Relocation within election zones

If the site of the squatter settlement were not developed for low-cost housing, other sites within an election zone would be identified for development.

3. Relocation to the nearest election zones

If there were inadequate low-cost housing projects within an election zone, areas nearest to the election zone would be identified for development.

It was the local authorities' responsibility to match and identify the best criteria of the squatter dwellers and allocate them to the most suitable schemes. The authorities were required to review the stock of housing units under their jurisdiction and to identify surplus of units from other authorities to be divided to other areas that had inadequate units. This was to ensure adequate distribution of housing to all former squatter dwellers in Selangor. A 14-day notice was distributed to squatter dwellers to vacate their homes and demolition was conducted on the 15th day. Physical structures were erected to prevent former squatter dwellers from entering the area, and for those who refused to vacate their homes, affirmative action was carried out. In the interview conducted with a State Government officer, he stated that if any former squatter dwellers decided to take the matter to court and lost, they were not eligible for any compensation or low-cost housing unit.

Before the demolition of squatter settlements, the State Government developed 5,140 units of transit shelters to be rented out to former squatter dwellers while they waited for their new homes to be constructed. Rental of these units was at RM124 per month. This was to ensure that the developers would speedily develop the low-cost housing on the sites of former squatter settlements, thus accelerating the resettlement process of former squatter dwellers to their new homes. The State Government determined the price of each three-bedroom, two-bathroom unit at RM35000 even though the ceiling price was RM42000. A subsidy of RM7000 was given to former squatter dwellers with no deposit required and with a payment of only RM1 upon registration, and instalments were to be paid once they had moved into their new homes (Ismail, 2005:82). For the other lower income groups who were eligible, the price for the low-cost housing unit within the city council's territory remained at RM42000 per unit, RM35000 for housing within the district council's territory, and RM30000 for housing outside both of these territories (National Housing Department, 2004, as quoted in Ismail, 2005:83).

6.1.2.7 The reality

Although the target was to demolish all squatter settlements by December 2004, demolition work was still in progress in 2005. As at end 2005, only 55% (25,213 families) were successfully relocated to their new settlements while the rest (20,353 families) were still waiting to be relocated. The development was at various stages and if any delay occurred, it was primarily caused by the developers (Ismail, 2005:85). All squatter settlements in Selangor were eventually cleared by the end of 2006. Overall, in written form the Squatter Zero policy seemed like a humane, organised and well thought out programme. However, this was never the case. Based on interviews conducted with the former squatter dwellers, NGOs and professionals, there were no negotiations conducted by the authorities. They were simply told that their settlements would be demolished and that they were to be relocated to low-cost housing. The price and the design of the housing were already fixed and they were not given any chance to voice their opinions on what facilities and amenities were needed for their new homes. The 14-days notice to vacate their homes was not enough as they had lived there for many years. Apart from that, they were also promised that they could claim compensation from the local authorities for transferring their properties to temporary shelters at the amount of RM1,000 per household. However, as at the date of the interview, they had yet to receive the money. According to an interviewee from Ampang Jaya, he was required to pay the monthly instalments even though his new home was yet to be developed, which was contradictory to what was stated in the programme. Even worse, in some cases, the authorities miscalculated and inadequate number of units was provided, even though people started paying for their units. According to a planner from the Petaling Jaya City Council, there were no plans for any more low-cost housing to be developed. This resulted in some former squatter dwellers being left with no homes as promised and they continued staying in the temporary shelters. Some even went on to construct new squatter dwellings on vacant lands. Factors that involved sensitivity, family and community values, and facilities were never really considered when designing the low-cost housing and there is evidence that social problems and the breakdown of the community structure are common in these neighbourhoods, that has also resulted in them being labelled as high-risk neighbourhoods. Issues that

were constantly associated with squatter settlements such as social ills and crime-prone areas were some of the factors behind the demolition of these settlements, and they have never been solved. In fact, the situation has gotten worse.

6.2 Governmentality and Policy

As earlier mentioned in the Introduction (6.0), governmentality is an “art of governing” whereby the people are directly or indirectly affected by the administration of a government. It is not only about the act of governing, it could also include the way people conduct themselves and how the two merge and relate. Mitchell Dean who later elaborated the concept, termed governmentality as the ‘mentalities of government’ and stressed that it is not merely about the way we think about government and governing, it also incorporates how and what people who are governed think about the way they are governed (Dean, 2010:24) (please refer Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion on this concept). The following sections will discuss how rulers and the Malaysian Government used policies to control and manoeuvre the nation from the pre Independence period to the housing policy used now.

6.2.1 *Pre Independence*

As discussed in Chapter 5, the use of policy to control people has long been practised. In Malaysia, it has been around since the British occupation. During the occupation, the nation was economically segregated based on ethnic groups and divided into different locations. As reviewed in Chapter 5, the intentional form of segregation has had an adverse effect on the relationships among the three ethnic groups comprising the Malays, Indians and Chinese. Policy-wise, during this time, the British introduced the Deed and land reservation system to replace the customary laws of land ownership, which were based on Islamic laws. According to Islamic principles, a person would have rights to a land as long as the land is occupied and cultivated. Another principle allows vacant lands, which are known as

'dead land' that are not owned by anybody, to be possessed by the person who cultivates it. The cultivator would then have to pay tax to the state (Sufian and Mohamad, 2009:110). In the Deed system, all land belonged to the Crown. This was later reintroduced as the Torrens system and all lands belonged to the state when Malaya became Malaysia¹¹. Sir Robert Torrens who originated from South Australia introduced this system. The system ensured that land remained indefeasible through title to the land registration, especially when it concerned lands that did not have a definite owner. In the Torrens system, land dealings such as transfer, lease, mortgage, lien and easement were registered in the title that assisted the Government to control or detect any doubt in land dealing that might lead to speculation in land transactions. Therefore, registration was key and whoever occupied state land was considered to be trespassing and violating the law, and therefore could be prosecuted (ibid). Land reservation was another policy introduced by the British.

Urban lands were expensive and unreserved, making it hard for the Malays to obtain, while most of the rural lands were reserved as Malay Land Reserves. This was a strategy of the British to ensure that the Malays' development remained rural, and at the same time making it seem as if they were protecting the Malays' rights from the Chinese which enabled them in manoeuvre them to whatever direction that they pleased (Mohamad(a), 2010:42). The most evident injustice regarding the handling of Malay Land Reserves was when it involved tin-bearing lands. If, for instance, a piece of Malay Reserved land was identified to be a potential tin mine, the State Council would have the right to acquire the land which would later be benefitted by the British and the non-Malays. The land would then be exchanged with another state land of the same size. However, the new land was mostly worthless forest land that had no value or immediate use to the Malays (Mohamad(a), 2010:94). Although the essence of the Malay Land Reserve Laws was to ensure that some land remained in the hands of the Malays, in reality, the Malays ended with worthless lands while the British and the non-Malays took over valuable tin-bearing lands and lands suitable for rubber plantations.

¹¹ Stated in the National Land Code, Section 40, Article 95B and Article 74(4)(2).

6.2.2 *Post Independence*

While the pre independence period saw how the Malays were economically backward and politically powerless due to the policy created by the British, the post Independence period saw the rise of the Malays. After the May 13 incident, the Malaysian government introduced the New Economic Policy (NEP), an affirmative action policy, which aims to eradicate poverty and restructure the country's socio-economy. In reality, the policy strongly favours the Malays especially in reducing the economic gap between the Malays and the Chinese and also the gap in education. The content of this policy is similar to the Constitution, but it further extends privileges to the Bumiputras in public traded corporations and Bumiputras are given discounts ranging between 5% and 15% when purchasing automobiles and real estate (Kua, 2011:23; Ahmad, 2009:265-274). Former Prime Minister, Tun Mahathir Mohamad, defended the policy stating that it is not a means to acquire control for the Malays over other ethnic groups, but that it is mainly to assist the Malays who were outstandingly left behind, especially economically and educationally, as a result of the British rulings. He stated that the Malay dilemma needs to be solved and a major revolutionary action is required as whatever issue that has an effect on the Malays, would also affect the others, "for the Malay dilemma is also a Malaysian dilemma" (Mohamad(a), 2010:133). This is due to the fact that the Malays and other Bumiputras form the majority of the whole population.

6.2.3 *Squatters and Low-cost Housing*

Illegal squatter settlements have long been an issue in Malaysia. They have been around since the British occupation when they brought in Chinese and Indian immigrants. Although it is clearly stated that squatting is illegal, it is somewhat 'legalised' due to various factors at that moment. Firstly, the influx migration of Chinese and Indian immigrants, which was encouraged by the British, was not systematically handled, as there was no proper provision for housing. The increasing wealth brought by the tin-mining industry led to rapid migration to new towns, mainly Kuala Lumpur, which brought with it the emergence of urban squatter settlements

(Caldwell, 1973 as quoted in Sufian et al, 2009:110). In the 1970s, the introduction of the NEP brought increased migration of the rural people to the urban areas in particular, the Malays who also were encouraged by the government but again without proper provision of adequate housing. Not only was the provision of housing handled unsystematically, the relocation process was also disorganised. The government had begun the relocation process of squatter dwellers since the 1970s whereby they were placed in transit shelters or temporary “long houses” while waiting for their new homes to be developed (Mat Zin, 2005:15). According to the Service Consultant of the Social Strategic Foundation (YSS), the people were promised between six months to a year for them to be transferred to their new homes. However, in some cases, their new home were never developed or were abandoned half way due to economic reasons, and the people ended up residing in these long houses for up to 15 years. As these longhouses were temporary accommodations, amenities and facilities were very basic and in some longhouses, even these basics were not provided for. Residing for six months to a year in this condition might be bearable, but for 15 years would definitely create problems. Families grew from two generations to three generations and this had an adverse impact on the social aspects of their lives. These areas are also known to be crime prone and faced with social ills. The inadequate provision of housing has also led to more squatter settlements being erected.

Secondly, history shows that the majority of those who migrated to urban areas and squatted on vacant land or existing squatter settlements were and are poor and lowly educated. Therefore, they have no knowledge of the laws and orders of the country. Prime examples are the Indians who were brought in to work in rubber plantations. As their migration from the rural to urban areas was somewhat encouraged, the development of their homes in existing or new squatter settlements was considered as legal to them. For the Malays, they feel that they have rights to the land as they were the urban settlers who opened up the land. In customary and Islamic laws, vacant land, also known as ‘dead land’, may be harvested and developed, and whoever develops the land can own it. These squatter settlements have existed for many generations and if the government drastically relocates them to new settlements, it would have an impact on their community. The Service Consultant of

YSS claimed that Urban Governance in Malaysia is poor in terms of the local authorities' management in relocating squatter dwellers because proper planning has not been instilled. The local authorities did not prepare these people in terms of their financial management, for example, loan and bill payments, and what life would be like living in high-rise flats as these people were used to living on the ground. The authorities seemed more inclined to an ad hoc method of problem solving that solved issues for a short period of time rather than implementing more costly but effective long-term solutions. This impromptu method is, in fact, more costly in the long run and has had negative impact on the community. Moving to the flats was a big cultural shock to these communities. There was no community involvement in the planning process of the development of the low-cost housing. The authorities comprised professionals in the built environment who saw themselves as experts and decision makers. Therefore, they believed they knew what was best for these people. As the people were from the lower income group and were poorly educated, they had no say in whatever decisions and were unable to influence any changes to their community. The authorities were also not democratically accountable to the people (Osman et al, 2008:7; Jayasooria, 2008:100). This has led to soured relationships and mistrust between these communities and their local authorities.

In regards to the low-cost housing provided for former squatter dwellers, there were many factors that discouraged the people from moving into their new homes. When eligible recipients were identified, they were given a choice of either a terrace house or five-storey flats in areas at the outskirts of town, or a unit in the high-rise flats located within the periphery of major towns. As the majority of former squatter dwellers worked in major towns, they had no choice but to choose high-rise flats. The more comfortable housing was located far from work with no accessibility to public transport, and family arrangements, such as sending children to new schools, was a hassle. In terms of the physical attributes, these high-rise flats were relatively smaller in comparison to their former squatter homes and the conditions were appalling. Even though the flats consisted of three bedrooms, it was still described as 'pigeon holes' and 'chicken coops' by the residents (Yeoh, 2001; Bunnell, 2002) who mainly comprised an average of five to six members per household, and some had even more people (Mat Zin, 2005:16). The quality of workmanship of these flats

was substandard; facilities and amenities were inadequate, such as the lack of public spaces for the residents; the garbage disposal system or garbage chute was not yet installed which resulted in the flats being garbage filled, and only two elevators were provided for 17 to 22 storeys of cramped, uncomfortable and densely populated flats (Ali, 1998; Bunnell, 2002; Jayasooria, 2008; Suffian et al, 2009). The lack of facilities then led to the lack of healthy activities which was in some cases, the culprit behind social ills in these areas. The environment was and is unhealthy and studies have shown that this has an effect on the children's performance in school (Siti, 2006 as quoted in Sufian et al, 2009:113).

According to Aiken (1981:169), the architects and planners regarded squatter dwellers as problematic and the design of these developments "incorporate rigid land use and zoning regulations and tend to emphasise the physical components of planning rather than the socioeconomic, environmental, and communal aspects of urban development". Another issue that was constantly brought up is the governments' failure to acknowledge their insensitivity towards the multi-racial composition and various cultures and religions of the people who were to live together and become a community (Jayasooria, 2008:122). Their insensitive design and the inadequate provision of spaces for festivities and religious practices have had a big impact upon the community's integration, as the racial issue is common in these areas (this will be discussed in detail in the following chapters). Eventually, what were deemed as a more modern appropriate accommodation for the former squatter dwellers became a vertical slum and even worse, the breeding ground for social ills and crime. The government and authorities are aware of the negative effects that their solutions for relocation has had on these communities. However, they believe that the relocation is a success as their main purpose was to provide homes for former squatter dwellers; the impact after the relocation is no longer their problem. It is up to the community and their local authorities to resolve the issues with which they are now faced. These communities constantly feel that they are pushed around, made to believe that they are disadvantaged and are used primarily for political purpose that is, as vote banks. Their voices are never heard, their issues are brushed aside or solved cosmetically rather than having the root problems resolved. This development of unhealthy living conditions can also be seen as a

means for the government to slowly remove these communities to the outskirts or rural areas as lands in the major urban areas are valuable as well as to achieve the image of an ideal modern metropolitan city.

6.3 Low-cost Housing Policies in Malaysia

As a whole, Malaysia's National Housing Policy (2011:57 – 100) aims to ensure that every single person of the nation, rich or poor, owns a house. Through this policy too, the government tries to reflect the multi-ethnic country through mixed community housing developments, in the hope that the longer various ethnics live together the more they can tolerate and understand each other's differences and thus live harmoniously. Therefore, the division of assets and home ownerships between the different ethnic groups based on quota is important. Every now and then, amendments are made based on current issues that arise. These amendments are to ensure that within the period of 20 to 30 years, development planning does not divert from the New Economic Policy's aim that has been approved by the government. The development of housing policies and regulations is to ascertain that a sufficient amount of houses are provided and the quality of the houses as set by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (MHLG).

Programmes that focus on low-cost home ownerships, especially among the urban poor, have long been established since the development of New Economic Policy (NEP) in the 1970s. The Malaysian Government made a commitment to provide shelters for its people and this is best reflected in its Five Yearly Development plans and annual budgets (Abdul Aziz and Hanif, 2005:40). These programmes target low-income groups that earn a monthly income of less than RM1500 per household. Low-cost housing is typically in the form of five-storeys flats, 9- to 18-storey high-rises or terrace houses, at a selling price between RM25000 and RM42000 depending on its location. It has to be noted that the newer development of low-cost terrace houses and five-storey apartments are mainly built in areas at the outskirts of main cities, while for those who prefer to reside within the city's periphery have to reside in high-rises. Initially, the programme was entirely a government project where

public sectors are fully involved in the provision of low-cost housing. However, it has been documented that the Government has failed to meet the expected provision as required, resulting in the appointment of developers from the private sectors (Hamzah, 2010:5).

6.3.1 Parties Involved

The State Government plays an important role as the housing provider under the administration of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (MHLG). As stated in MHLG's website, their main objectives and functions are to plan and to implement policies and programmes that are in line with the nation's development plans, as well as to coordinate the provision of adequate housing for the nation, especially for the lower income groups, in the urban and rural areas. They also ensure that any housing developments that are to be developed by local governments must meet the standards and requirements outlined, are comfortable, equipped with safety features and have adequate social and recreational facilities.

As for the State Government, local authorities under each state assume the duties involved in the provision of housing under their jurisdiction. There are three units and one department that are involved in the outlining and execution of housing developments:

1. Economy Planning Unit

This unit under every local authority has similar objectives, mainly to outline the state's economic development policies, strategies and programmes for short and long terms, as well as to offer recommendations regarding issues in relation to the current economy. Their roles are to determine the provision of development budgets for five years and to assist the Ministry of Finance in allocating the yearly development budgets.

2. Planning and Development Unit

The role of this unit is to ensure that developments are parallel with the plans that have been outlined which are to implement minor social projects and adequate facilities for every neighbourhood community; to coordinate and monitor development programmes and projects implemented by other agencies at the district level; and to assist the government agencies in executing other development programmes in their district.

3. Enforcement Unit

As the name suggests, this unit handles any cases in regards to development enforcement such as supervisions and ensuring that state lands are not trespassed upon; the secretariat to the Squatters Planning and Enforcement Committee; filing and updating records of squatter settlements which encroach on state lands; and to monitor and enforce any other offenses as stated in the National Land Code 1965 and Strata Title Act 1985.

4. Planning and Building Department

This department is responsible for monitoring and supervising all planning and development that are conducted in an area under their jurisdiction. All approval regarding planning and building plans must also be processed through this department. In addition, they are also responsible for identifying existing squatter settlements as well as controlling and preventing the eradication of new squatter settlements to achieve the zero squatter goals.

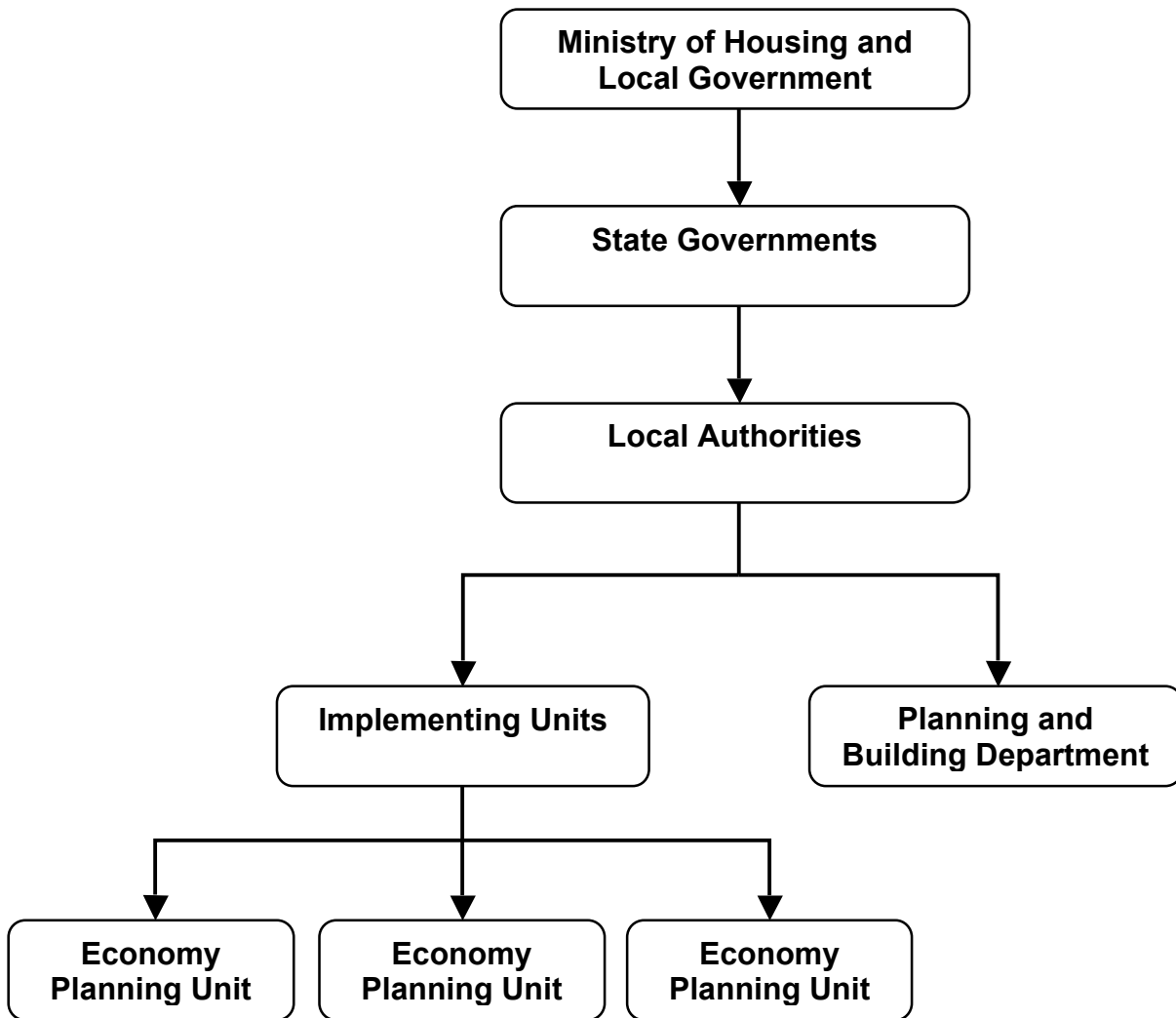


Figure 19 Illustrates the power line of agencies involved in housing provision in Malaysia

6.3.2 Types of Housing Schemes

In an effort to provide adequate housing for its people from the lower income group, including the squatter dwellers, the Malaysian Government introduced two major housing schemes, which are below:

1. *Program Perumahan Awam Kos Rendah (PAKR)* (Public Low-cost Housing Programme)

The main purpose of this programme is to provide proper housing for the lower income group residing in small towns and sub-urban areas, complete

with basic and social facilities. The rationale for low-cost housing developed by the public and private sectors is to achieve the government's aim to improve the quality of living and to eradicate poverty. This programme is financed through loans provided by the federal government to the State Government whereby the amount of funding is based on the number of units that need to be developed in that state. The State Government plays an important role in identifying and providing suitable sites as well as opening tenders. Based on requests and targeted groups that are eligible, the State Government specifies a list of suitable buyers and assists in obtaining financial aid from the Federal Government.

These houses are offered to buyers who earn less than RM1500 per month. The houses are in the form of five-storey flats or terrace houses located outside or at the outskirts of major cities. Each housing unit has a minimum built-up area of no less than 60 square metres accommodating three bedrooms, a living and dining area, a kitchen and separate bathroom and toilet. This is based on the guidelines issued under the Construction Industry Standard 1 (CIS 1)¹² and 2 (CIS 2)¹³, planning specifications for the development of low-cost housing (Sufian and Mohamad, 2009:120). Before February 2002, each unit cost RM25000. However, commencing 27 February 2002, the prices range between RM25000 and RM35000 depending on the location in Peninsular Malaysia. For Sabah and Sarawak, the price can be increased by no more than 20% (Ismail, 2005:49).

2. *Program Perumahan Rakyat Bersepadu* (PPR) (Integrated People Housing Programme)

This programme was implemented primarily to relocate former squatter dwellers the result of the demolition of squatter settlements, an action taken to achieve the Zero Squatters 2005 programme within Kuala Lumpur and the

¹² The standard construction guidelines for single and double storeys low-cost housing.

¹³ The standard construction guidelines for high-rise low-cost housing.

Klang Valley in the state of Selangor (Sufian and Mohamad, 2009: 120). According to Ismail (2005:49), the PPR is a fast track project under the Seventh Malaysian Plan with regards to the decision made by the National Economic Action Council in December 1998 to speed up development in order to stimulate economic growth through the construction sector, specifically in low-cost housing developments. It was also introduced to provide houses to be sold and rented out to former squatter dwellers in the government's attempt to solve the squatter issue. As previously, the construction cost was borne by the Federal Government and the units were to be developed by the State Government. Since this was a fast track project, some regulations and conditions of the land development process were lifted to ensure speedy completion. The main target group was the former squatter dwellers that earn less than RM1500 per month (Sufian and Mohamad, 2009:120) and the housing units are in the form of 11- to 14- storey and 16- to 18- storey high-rise flats in major cities and five-storey flats in sub-urban areas. The housing unit's characteristics are the same as PAKR, offering a rental price of RM124 per month or it could also be purchased at the same price offered by PAKR. However, after June 1998, the price of low-cost housing units was increased to RM42000 per unit due to the rising cost of labour, material and land, mainly in major urban areas. Nevertheless, the government subsidised RM7000 out of the total price of the unit, which meant that the qualified recipient could purchase the housing unit at RM35000.

In February 2002, the minister's cabinet agreed to amend the policy and the implementation strategy of PAKR, which were handled by the State Governments and funded by the Federal Government to *Program Perumahan Rakyat* (PPR) (Owned) (People Housing Programme). This meant that the housing units could be owned at a price of RM35000. However, this programme was only implemented in Pahang. *Perumahan Negara Berhad* (SPNB) (National Housing Company Limited) was given the responsibility to execute the new amended programme while at the same time, the PPR (to rent) was still on going. For these two programmes, priority was given to former squatter dwellers and when the Squatter Zero programme has met its

goal by 2005, only then would it be opened to others in the lower income group. Consequently, the Open Registration System (ORS) was founded, coinciding with the Seventh Malaysia Plan, which was a reliable system that registers eligible buyers in both the low and low medium income groups. The purpose of this computerised system is to ensure that the distribution of the low-cost houses, whether by the public or private sectors, would be more fair, efficient and transparent (Wan Abdul Aziz et al, 2005:41). The ORS was set up due to many cases and complaints that saw non-eligible buyers from the higher income group purchasing low-cost houses, mainly to be rented out. Applicants must meet the following criteria: Malaysian citizen aged 18 and above, total household income must not exceed RM2500, does not own a house, and must be registered and applied through ORS.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the housing policies, especially the low-cost housing policies and the Zero Squatter policy that are currently implemented in Malaysia. An overview of the squatter settlements' situation in Malaysia was also discussed. Overall, although the Government's intention was to ensure that all its citizens, including former squatter dwellers were entitled to a house, the provision of low-cost flats does not cater to the needs of this community in terms of its size and facilities. Nevertheless, more comfortable, on-ground single storey terraces and semi-detached low-cost housing were also provided as alternatives. However, the location is at the outskirts of major towns, far away from public services and work places. The provision of uncomfortable homes can be seen as intentional and as a means for the Government to push this lower income community out of the city using social ills and the unhygienic behaviour of low-cost flats dwellers as strong reasons for future relocations. The Federal Government and the State Government are aware of the issues faced by this community as many incidents involving low-cost flat dwellers were highlighted and reported in the media but there was no intention to resolve these issues. This chapter highlighted how the Government used policies to control the people ever since the British occupation to the current Zero Squatter and low-

cost housing policies. For some of the population, this means of control has a positive impact on their lives, but to others, for instance, the former squatter dwellers, their lives have not changed and in most cases, have gotten worse. The frustrations and issues regarding this community will be further discussed in Chapter 8 and 9. The following chapter will discuss the selected case study, its background, characteristics, and why it was chosen.

Chapter 7

The Case Study – Desa Mentari, Taman Medan, Petaling Jaya South

7.0 Introduction

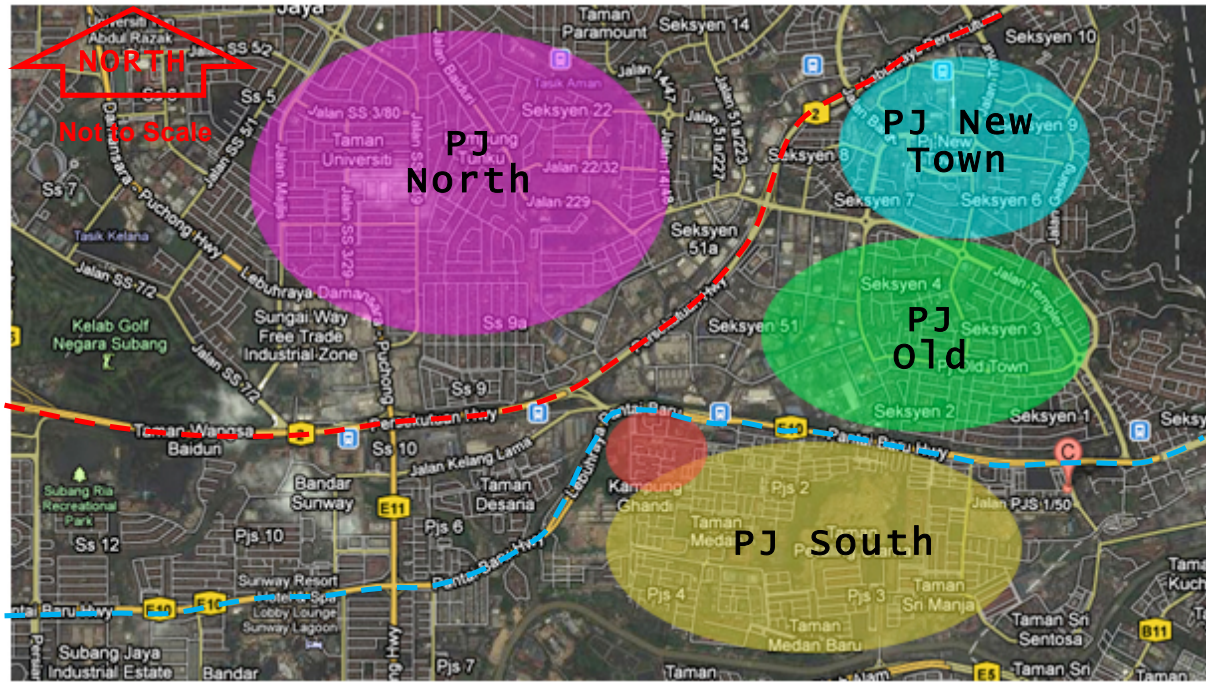
This chapter will discuss the case study that has been selected for the purpose of this research. It will start with a brief history of Petaling Jaya followed by the history of the *perkampungan setinggan* before it was developed into the new settlement. It will also discuss the infamous racial clash that occurred in the area. The chapter will end with the narration of the author's experiences while conducting her data collection at the selected site.

7.1 A Brief Background of Petaling Jaya

Petaling Jaya; fondly known as PJ by the locals, is the offshoot of the rapid development that took place in Kuala Lumpur in the early 1950s. As a result of the progress, Kuala Lumpur became a focal point, leading to an increase in population and resulting in the spread of squatter settlements in its outskirts. To overcome the problems of squatters and overcrowding, the Selangor State Government singled out the Effingham Estate, a 1,200 acre rubber plantation in Old Klang Road about 6 miles from Kuala Lumpur, to be developed into a new area for settlement. To encourage growth, the Selangor Government offered landless settlers 1,300 lots of land, each measuring 4,000 sq. feet, at a nominal price. The area was chosen because it was very flat and devoid of minerals as well as for its proximity to the highway between Port Klang and Kuala Lumpur. Within the area too, mining lands had been converted into housing estates and industrial zones. The new settlement was named Petaling Jaya and became the first satellite town in Malaysia. The development of Petaling Jaya began in February 1953 when the rubber trees and secondary forests were cleared to make way for roads and houses. In the early stages of its development, housing and industrial sites were sold at low prices to encourage investors and more people to buy housing lots. The development began

with two main town centres – Old PJ (PJ Old Town) spanning Sections 1, 2 and 3, and the new town centre known as ‘State’ to the north of Section 7. The first phase of the Federal Highway linking Kuala Lumpur, Petaling Jaya and Port Klang was opened in 1957 resulting in a surge of development in Petaling Jaya. This was evident when Petaling Jaya’s administrative boundary was expanded to include the new areas such as section 52, also known as New Town (1958), ‘Sungai Way–Subang’ (1954 – 1956), Petaling Jaya South (1964) and Petaling Jaya North (1965).

Petaling Jaya progressed rapidly due to the massive rural-urban migration in the 1970s. The latest official census conducted in 2005 showed a population of almost half a million people at 417,030 made up of 40% Chinese, 37% Malays, 16% Indians and 7% others (MBPJ, 2005:13). Petaling Jaya is well known as the leading industrial area in Selangor and acts as one of the centre hubs of Klang Valley (comprising parts of Kuala Lumpur, Petaling Jaya, Shah Alam, Subang Jaya and other surrounding areas) for industry. Apart from that, Petaling Jaya is also known as a shopping haven for Klang Valley’s residents with 11 major shopping centres developed, making it one of the most prosperous cities in Malaysia. Physically, PJ is divided into three sections and the northern part is where Petaling Jaya North and Damansara are located. These two areas are the centres for commerce, education and recreation. The eastern section comprises PJ New Town and Old Town that centre on government and private offices and also commerce. The southern section of PJ is where Petaling Jaya South is located. This is where the industrial sectors are concentrated and it is also the area where the lower-income groups are placed. In terms of boundaries, the Federal Highway (Figure 20 and 21) and the New Pantai Expressway (Figure 22) act as the dividers between Petaling Jaya North, Petaling Jaya South and PJ New and Old Town. The Federal Highway is the first expressway in Malaysia that was developed to connect Port Klang (Malaysia’s national port) to Kuala Lumpur. The whole of Petaling Jaya is under the jurisdiction of the Petaling Jaya Municipal Council or simply known as MBPJ (*Majlis Perbandaran Petaling Jaya*).



Legends:








- | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--|-------------|---|-----------------|
|  | Case Study Site |  | PJ South |  | PJ North |
|  | PJ New Town |  | PJ Old Town |  | Federal Highway |
|  | New Pantai Expressway | | | | |

Figure 20 Map showing the Federal Highway and the New Pantai Expressway that separates Petaling Jaya North and South (Source: Google Maps)



Figure 21 and 22 The Federal Highway that divides Petaling Jaya North and South, and the modern Damansara–Puchong Highway Bridge that connects them (Pictures taken by author)



Figure 23 The New Pantai Expressway crosses over the Old Klang Road acted as a boundary to Desa Mentari (Picture taken by author)

Petaling Jaya South, the location of the case study and commonly known as PJS, is situated at the southern part of Petaling Jaya in one of the most strategic locations between the National Capital City of Kuala Lumpur and Selangor's State Capital, Shah Alam. It is 16 kilometres away from both Kuala Lumpur and Shah Alam and takes only 25 minutes to reach by car. The area is made more strategic after the development of the New Pantai Expressway that connects two major townships, Bangsar and Sunway, via PJS. Because of its location, it has easy access to public services and amenities. PJS has a total area of 6.28 square kilometres and is divided into ten sections. In 2005, the total population was 100,630 residents where PJS 2 was the most populated at 29,276 followed by PJS 5 at 14,967 (MBPJ, 2005:18). Figure 24 illustrates the site hierarchy of PJS and Desa Mentari within Malaysia:

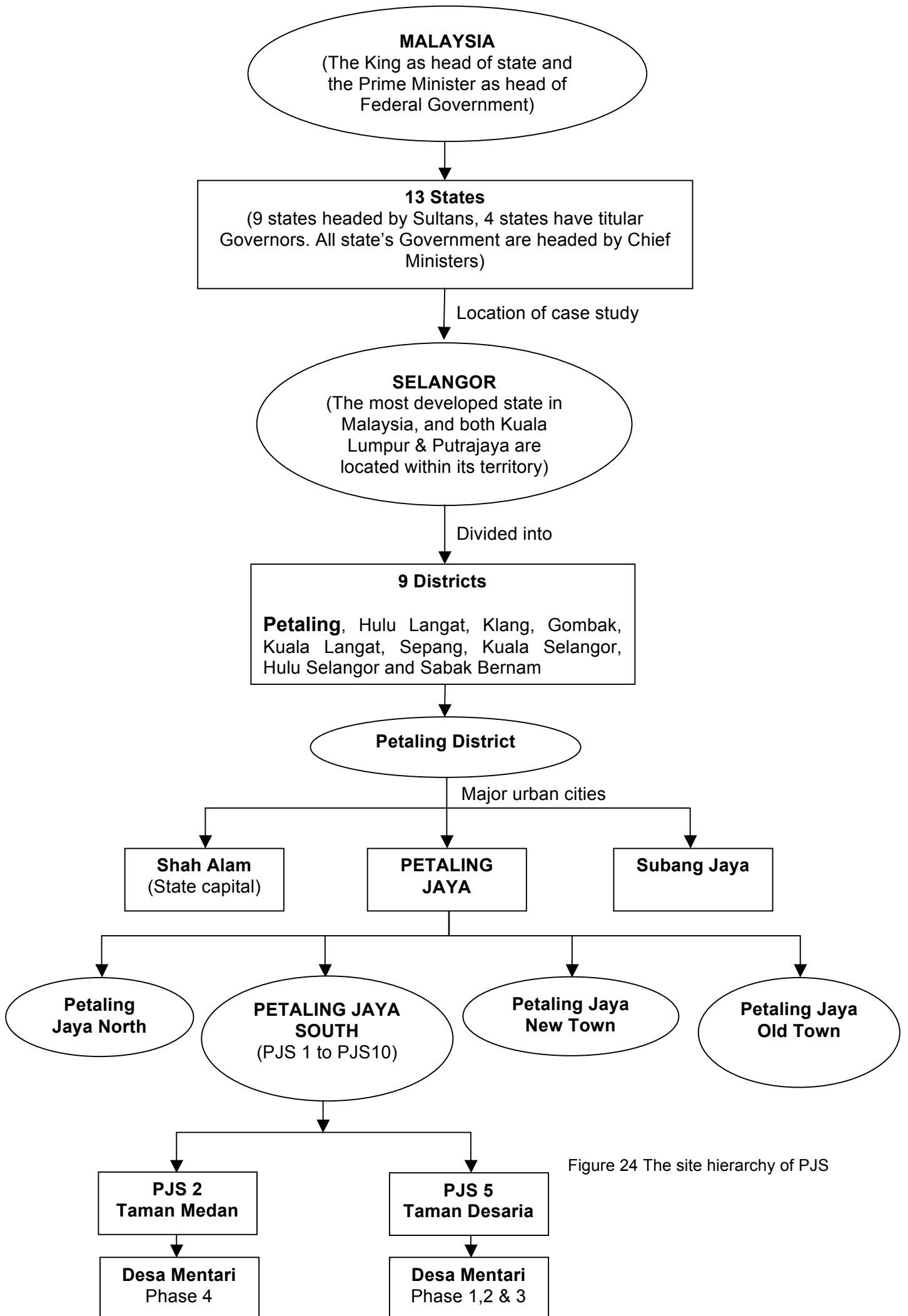


Figure 24 The site hierarchy of PJS

PJS has been identified as one of the areas with a high number of poor families where the majority of its population is from the lower-middle income and lower income citizens. They are categorised as urban poor, with an average income of RM1500 per month for the lower-middle income group and RM763 is the Poverty Level for the lower income citizens (Aziz, 2010; Ujang, 2011). Even though the income of the lower-middle income group is above the poverty line, they are included as part of the urban poor due to the increasing prices of basic goods while monthly incomes remain static. Although Petaling Jaya is being rapidly developed with big major development projects, the scenario was not reflected in PJS where most of the poor are concentrated. Middle and upper class suburbs with affluent houses, modern high-rise buildings, shopping complexes and educational institutions enclosed PJS (as shown in Figure 25 to 29), a stark contrast to the squalid, decaying image of Petaling Jaya South (Figure 30 to 32).



Figures 25 and 26 Modern retail buildings located in Petaling Jaya North (Pictures taken by author)



Figures 27 and 28 Modern high-rise office blocks and residential houses in Petaling Jaya New Town (Pictures taken by author)



Figures 29 and 30 The clean streets of Petaling Jaya North versus the garbage strewn and unkempt sidewalks of Petaling Jaya South (Pictures taken by author)



Figure 31 Unkempt landscape and abandoned development with Desa Menatrias its backdrop (Picture by author)



Figure 32 Abandoned housing and shoplots developments are a common sight in PJS (Picture by author)

At the time the fieldwork was conducted, the state Government of Selangor was ruled under the opposition party, *Pakatan Rakyat* (People's Justice Party)¹⁴, or better known as PKR, since 2008 until the next election scheduled between the ends of 2012 to early 2013. The Zero Squatter programme and the development of Desa Mentari were conducted by the previous ruling Government, *Barisan Nasional* (National Alliance), and funded by the Federal Government. The local authority, MBPJ, was appointed to monitor and construct the development of Desa Mentari and later maintain as well as manage the neighbourhood. As this was a national programme, all costs were borne by the Federal Government. However, since the state of Selangor has fallen to the opposition party, therefore, any funds needed for the neighbourhood is now the responsibility of the local authority and state Government.

¹⁴ PKR is a coalition party that consists of three opposition parties, *Keadilan* (Justice Party), Democratic Action Party (DAP) and Parti Islam Semalaysia (Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party).

7.1.1 Taman Medan, A History

The Desa Mentari settlement studied by the author is located in Taman Medan, Petaling Jaya Selatan. Taman Medan was previously known as Kampung Medan. It was once a tin mining area that was compared to as a no-man's land and later established as one of the most well known squatter settlements in the Klang Valley. There are different versions regarding its establishment; the first is that the name Kampung Medan was suggested by Damansara's UMNO¹⁵ branch leader, Raja Nasron Raja Ishak, around 60 years ago. From its name, many believe that the people of Kampung Medan originated from Medan, Indonesia, when in fact the people were Malaysians who migrated from Perak in search of better job opportunities. As 80% out of the 80,000 of its residents were from Perak, it was herald as the second Perak (Mohamad(b), 2010). Meanwhile, according to the local Member of Parliament of Taman Medan, is that the people of Taman Medan were brought in from Perak by Dato' Harun, a local personality, and they were the earliest Malay settlers to open the areas in Taman Medan, mainly in Kampung Dato' Harun. Another version by Samad (2001) stated that Kampung Medan was first known as Kampung Jaya and was explored by 30 families between the years 1965 to 1968. Before it was explored, the area was an abandoned mining land that was famously known as Petaling Tin. Due to frequent floods in Kuala Selangor and Sabak Bernam in Selangor, and Kampung Baru in Kuala Lumpur, the State Government decided to relocate these communities to new settlements. However, the people were left to develop the lands and established new villages on their own, which was why Kampung Medan became a squatter settlement.

As for the Indians, they migrated to Taman Medan, and other major urban areas, after they were displaced from the estates when the crop and rubber industries fluctuated and they were replaced with oil palms. As the Indians did not have the skills required for oil palm harvesting, they were forced to move out and search for other job opportunities in the urban areas (please refer Chapter 5 for a detailed

¹⁵ UMNO is the abbreviation for United Malays National Organisation, Malaysia's largest political party and the founder member of the National Front (*Barisan Nasional*) coalition.

discussion). They opened Indian *perkampungan setinggan* within the vicinity of Taman Medan, such as Kampung Ghandi and Kampung Muniandy. Some of them were relocated from other former *perkampungan setinggan* into longhouses such as in Kampung Lindungan. The Chinese only comprised 10% out of the whole population of Petaling Jaya South and were mainly concentrated in the low-cost housing areas. Now Indonesian and Bangladeshi immigrants also add to the population of Taman Medan, most of them having entered the country illegally.

7.1.1.1 Before There Were High-rises

Taman Medan was made famous because of the Kampung Medan incident (please refer to 7.1.1.2) and it has since been referred to as Kampung Medan even though the *perkampungan setinggan* no longer exists. There are no official records stating when Taman Medan came into existence. However, according to Ismail (2005:88), Taman Medan has existed since the 1930s. The *perkampungan setinggan* was erected because of the railway tracks as well as the industrial areas located in the vicinity of Petaling Jaya. It was inhabited by various ethnic groups mainly the Malays and Indians and some Chinese. Other than the *perkampungan setinggan*, Taman Medan also included one- and two- storey low-cost housing developments. Before the relocation, there were 11 *perkampungan setinggans* in Taman Medan.

On average, about 40 to 60 families were residing in these settlements and each household consisted of six to ten family members (Ismail, 2005:113). One can only imagine how cramped and overcrowded the houses were as they were single storey buildings and the sizes were small. Figures 33 to 35 show photographs of the *perkampungan setinggan* between the years 2004 and 2006 before their demolition. Each *perkampungan setinggan* had no specific demarcation and was only marked by drains or barriers made out of zinc sheets and the settlements were situated close to each other. Each *perkampungan setinggan* had its own leader who acted as the representative of their people, especially in expressing any matter concerning their community. Since the late 1990s, illegal immigrants, mainly from Indonesia, who came in search of a safe place for them to live and hide from the authorities, have

flooded these *perkampungan setinggans*. They mostly entered and worked in Malaysia without valid permits with some settling in the country for more than ten years, even building their own families here. They first resided in Kampung Dato' Harun, Kampung Medan Lama and Kampung Medan Luar but eventually dispersed to other areas within Taman Medan due to overcrowding (Ismail, 2005:94). However, the local communities frowned upon this invasion by illegal immigrants in Taman Medan as they had to share limited resources, and they were perceived as being 'more aggressive' and violent (Pillai, 2010), adding up to the already high level of crime rate in the area.



Figures 33 and 34 The dwellings (before demolition) housed up to ten people, single storey, were small, had no boundaries between dwellings, and the setting resembled the kampungs in rural areas (Picture archive from MBPJ)



Figure 35 The different settlements were close together and were only separated by zinc barriers (Picture archive from MBPJ)

Even though these *perkampungan setinggans* were categorised as illegal squatter settlements, the local authority still provided basic infrastructure such as water,

electricity and access roads although these infrastructure could not cater for the overcrowding population. The national water company, *Syarikat Bekalan Air Selangor* (SYABAS), supplied water to the area while *Tenaga Nasional Berhad* (TNB) supplied electricity albeit these supplies were often interrupted. For some areas in Taman Medan, a private company supplied electricity to the community but they charged higher rates than TNB (Jayakumar, 2001). This became a financial burden to the already poor community and resulted in them stealing electricity from electric cables. The roads were in poor condition as all types of vehicles, including heavy vehicles such as lorries, used them. As for the roads in the *perkampungan setinggan*, they were narrow, there were holes everywhere and they were merely paved with tar with no proper roadside borders. Even the roads in the low-cost housing areas were narrow and always congested.



Figures 36 and 37 The roads were narrow and in poor condition while garbage strewn the road side (Picture archive from MBPJ)

The sanitary and drainage systems were below par, and in most of the *setinggan* areas, the situation was appalling. The residents themselves built the drains that were often clogged and caused their home to be flooded every time there was a heavy downpour because the water could not be properly drained out (ibid). Individuals of the community also built small grocery shops, which provide basic everyday needs. Nevertheless, other proper retail shops, developed by the local authority in the low-cost housing areas, were available for the convenience of the communities. All in all, the living environments of these *perkampungan setinggan* could be classified as unhealthy and do not even meet the lowest quality standard of living.



Figure 38 Improper drainage system constructed by the *setinggan* community (Picture archive from MBPJ)



Figure 39 Self built grocery shop (Picture archive from MBPJ)

7.1.1.2 The Kampung Medan Incident

The Kampung Medan incident was the third major ethnic clash that occurred in Malaysia since the country achieved independence in 1957. The first occurred in 1969 right after an election that saw the opposition parties almost overthrowing Alliance, the ruling party. This resulted in the opposition parties holding ‘victory’ parades while jeering at the Malays for their so-called loss. This provocation later led to the 13th May tragedy, an ethnic clash between the Malays and the Chinese. The tragedy was defined as a “wake-up call” to the reality of the underlying strife between the various ethnic groups. The second incident was in 1998 in Kampung Rawa, Penang between the Malays and Indians. Although it was non-violent, it was still described as upsetting (Damis, 2007). The latest incident was, of course, the Kampung Medan Incident in March 2001 that saw six innocent people dead (five Indians, one Indonesian), 52 injured and more than 400 people detained. The clash went on for ten days, beginning on 4th of March and finally ending on the 14th, although in reality, the conflicts never ended. It began with what has been dubbed as ‘a wedding and a funeral’ (Wong, 2010), a quarrel between neighbours that involved issues related to a wedding and a funeral both of which were happening simultaneously, as well as a misunderstanding over the broken windscreen of a van

that had happened a few days later. It was nothing political, religious or even racial; it happened to be that both Malays and Indians were involved.

Then rumours broke out and spread about so called fights between both racial groups. Soon, full-blown racial clashes took place that resulted in the whole area of Kampung Medan put in a state of emergency. Police were stationed to control the whole situation. However, it was reported that the police were unprofessional, were not firm and were biased towards the Malays (Syed Husin, as quoted in Kabilan and Koya, n.d.). An interviewee from Desa Mentari whose father died during the incident also confirmed this; she claimed that the police just watched when a group of Malays attacked an Indian:

“They (the police) were stationed at every kampung but they did nothing when groups of Malays from other kampongs came attacking any random Indians that happened to be out. The police just watched. Instead, our Malay neighbours came to the rescue”.

The whole of Malaysia was kept in the dark, was repeatedly told that it was an isolated case and that it was nothing serious, while the media were falsely reporting that the Indians were attacking the Malays, accompanied by with photographs of injured Malays. To make matter worse, Norkhaila Jamaludin, a former representative of the area, issued a controversial statement saying, “the Malays have long been patient”, confirming that the incident indeed was racial as well as justifying the attack against the Indians. This, coming from someone who had previously won the election with strong backing from the Indian community of Kampung Medan (Jayakumar, 2001), proved that the area was indeed the best place for politicians to bank on votes (ibid; Bunnell, 2002: 1690; Yeoh, 2001:112). An interview with JD, a Commissioner with the Human Rights Commission of Malaysia, also validated that based on his research, the incident was in fact a racial clash and was triggered out of resentment toward the Indians. JD revealed:

“But one of the issues was that the behaviour of the Indian youths in terms of how Malays saw it. So that was something the Indians felt I shouldn’t have said because I was blaming Indians for the problems. So what basically I was

trying to say was in a community where you live, some of the Malays were not happy with the behaviour of a number of Indian youths and that doesn't justify the killing or whatever or the injury, they felt it was a contributing factor that justified them taking action".

The commotion, both within the area and in the media, lasted for more than a week, and then there was silence.

The Government blamed the incident on rumours that were spread by irresponsible individuals or groups (Lee, 2001; Pillai, 2010); it never addressed and explained the incident. At the same time, all publications regarding the incident were banned. The reality was that the incident was a ticking time bomb waiting to explode as racial conflicts and fights were common occurrence in the area (Jayakumar, 2001) with no fewer than 40 violent cases being reported before the incident. Gangs were not a myth but in fact exist and were formed to ensure their survival in the squalid neighbourhood. The 47 families living there had to put up with garbage-strewn streets, clogged drains, official neglect, drug addiction and violence on a daily basis (Jayakumar, 2001; Pillai, 2010). Gangs were their source of protection and security. It was reported in *The Star* that Taman Medan had the highest criminal cases, as mentioned above, as well as juvenile delinquency, incest (Pillai, 2010) and even prostitution (Nadarajah, 2007(a):73; Jayakumar, 2001). In the same year after the incident, the State Government announced that they would be implementing the Zero Squatter policy in Selangor with the aim that every citizen of Selangor would own a house legally by the year 2005. In addition, they aimed to provide opportunities for its residents to benefit from a balanced social development and a healthy environment; the motto was 'one family one house, a perfect family comes from a perfect home' (Ismail, 2005:73). However, many believed that the implementation of the policy and the eradication of the squatter settlements were influenced by the incident.

7.1.2 The Case Study Settlements

The chosen site for the research's case study is Desa Mentari, a neighbourhood to which former squatter dwellers were relocated. These neighbourhoods are located along the infamous Old Klang Road, one of the oldest links connecting Kuala Lumpur to the port of Klang. The road and settlements are now buried under the intersection of three expressways, making it one of the busiest and most congested areas in the Klang Valley. These expressways are used as alternative routes to avoid traffic congestion to and from Kuala Lumpur via the Federal Highway. In terms of location, Petaling Jaya South is strategically sited between two major cities, Shah Alam and Kuala Lumpur, allowing it to have easy access to public services and amenities. Largely Malays and Indians, along with some Chinese, and immigrant workers from Indonesia and Bangladesh, populated the neighbourhoods. The majority of the populations were from the lowest income group in Malaysia and the neighbourhoods had the highest rates of crimes and social ills.



Figures 40 and 41 The NEP expressway that is located in front of Desa Mentari, Taman Medan (Pictures taken by author)

The development consisted of ten low-cost high-rise flats and was divided into two neighbourhoods: Taman Desaria, PJS5 and Taman Medan, PJS2. The neighbourhoods were developed in four phases, three phases being eight 11-storey blocks in PJS5, and the final phase being two 17-storey blocks in PJS2 where it is located right in front of the New Pantai Expressway (NEP). Other than the

expressways, low-cost high-rise apartments, two-storey terrace housing developments and some abandoned developments surrounded the neighbourhoods. For the purpose of this research, the author concentrated on Desa Mentari in Taman Medan, PJS 2 due to its size, which allowed for interviews and focus groups to be conducted. It consisted of two 17-storey blocks with 697 housing units per block and an average of five to seven people per household (Ismail, 2005:92). Each housing unit had three bedrooms, two bathrooms, one common area and a kitchen. The area size of each unit was 60 square feet per unit.



Figure 42 New low-cost apartments opposite Desa Mentari

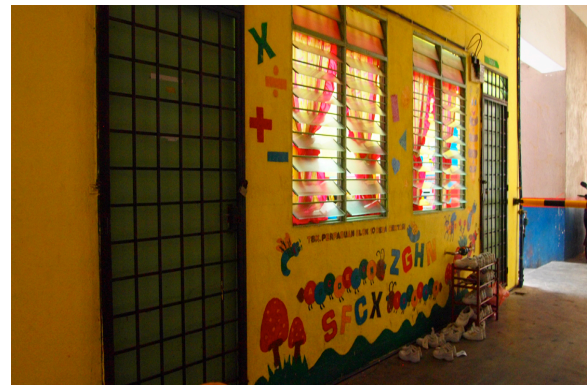
(Picture taken by author)

While in the *perkampungan setinggan* the communities were homogenous, the residents of Desa Mentari were heterogeneous consisting mainly Malays and Indians who belong to the lowest income group and who work as daily wage earners, low ranking officers in government departments, factory workers, drivers, messengers, policemen and sweepers. Taman Medan has existed since the 1930s. The area was opened when squatter settlements developed to house the influx of workers due to the railway and the industrial areas around Petaling Jaya. There were 11 squatter settlements in Taman Medan, with an average of 40 to 60 families per settlement, before it was all demolished (Ismail, 2005:91). Infrastructure provided for the Desa Mentari settlement included mainly shop lots used as grocery stores, workshops and restaurants. Some of the shop lots were converted into halls, *surau* (small mosque)

and a nursery as these facilities was not included in the development. A small run-down green space with playground structures was also provided but did not cater for all various age groups of the community and was not proportionate to the number of people living there.



Figures 43 and 44 Shop lots used as a workshop and grocery store (Pictures taken by author)



Figures 45 and 46 Shop lots that have been converted into a *surau* and a nursery (Picture taken by author)



Figure 47 The only green space provided for the settlement (Picture taken by author)

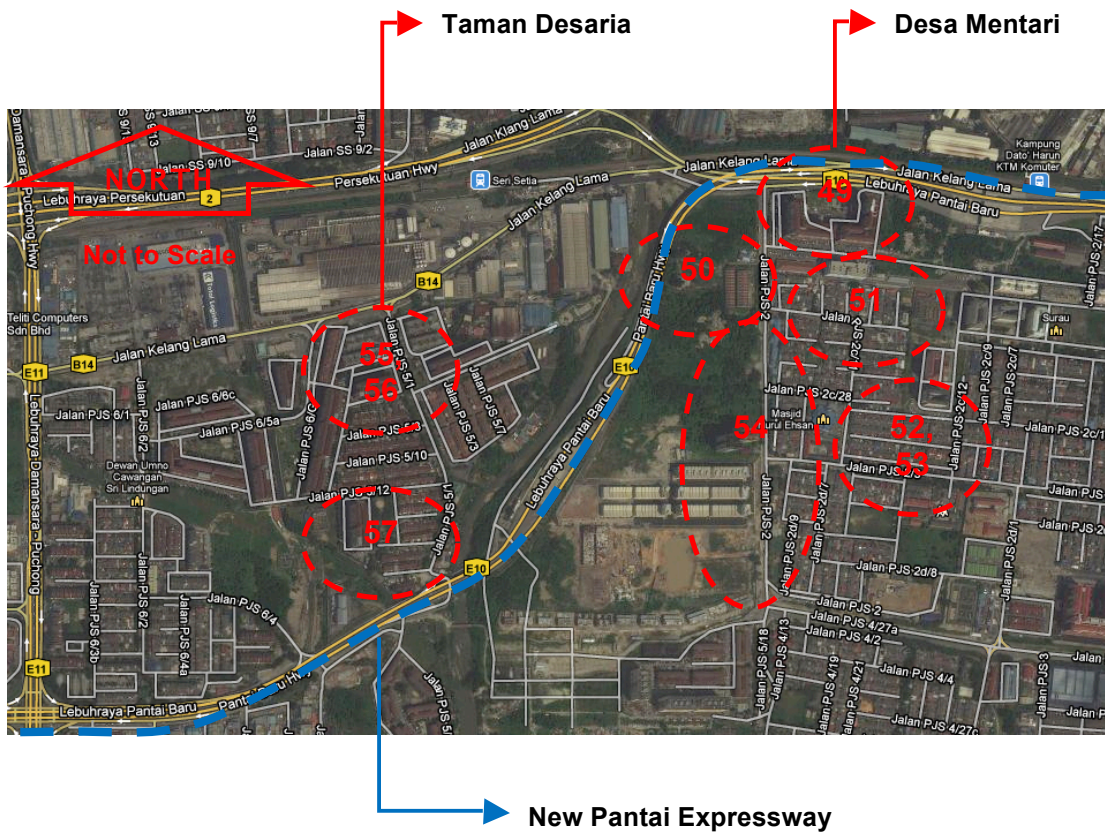


Figure 48 The location of the chosen settlements. The numbered circles represent the following figures: (Source: Google Maps)



Figure 49 The two 17-storey Desa Mentari high-rise residential (Picture taken by author)



Figure 50 Abandoned project developments opposite Desa Mentari (Picture taken by author)



Figure 51 Retail shops and clinic provided for the community of PJS (Picture taken by author)



Figure 53 Low-cost two-storey terrace houses in the surrounding area (Pictures taken by author)



Figure 52 Low-cost two-storey houses were renovated without conforming to regulations (Picture taken by author)



Figure 54 The main access road to Desa Mentari and PJS2 with zinc roofed food courts along the road (Picture taken by author)



Figure 56 The 11-storey low-cost Desaria residential (Picture taken by author)



Figure 55 Rows of vehicle workshops in front of the Desaria residential (Picture taken by author)



Figure 57 Two-storey terrace houses in the surrounding area of Desaria. This area is dominated by Chinese (Picture taken by author)

7.2 Working the Field

The preparation work for this fieldwork included interviews with a Commissioner with the Human Rights Commission of Malaysia (interviewee DJ), who was formerly the Executive Director of the Social Strategic Foundation (YSS); and interviewee JA the Service Director of the foundation. YSS is an organization that works closely with the Indian community from Desa Mentari. DJ arranged the interview with JA, as she previously did not respond to the emails sent by the author requesting for an interview. As for DJ, he was suggested by DS; the first interviewee; who is an acquaintance and knew of his work with high-risk neighbourhoods. These three interviews gave the author clearer insights into the histories, causes and underlying problems of the community, especially about the Indians, and their neighbourhood.

The chosen case study, Desa Mentari in Petaling Jaya South, was accessed through three approaches. The first approach was through 'gatekeepers' who introduced the author and brought her to meet some of the community. The second was through informal conversations and focus groups, and finally, the third approach was the author's own observations. During the interview with JA, she warned the author that using the survey method in the form of questionnaires would not be effective as it was most likely that the community would not respond, and this was based on her own experiences. The best approach was to hold face-to-face interviews with some of the community with the attendance of a familiar face from the foundation, as the community was very wary of outsiders.

In order to gain access to the community, gatekeeper A; a social worker who worked closely with this community; acted as the 'gatekeeper'. Through the assistant leader of the Indian representatives, gatekeeper A arranged for families who agreed to hold interviews with the author. A date was set after office hours and the author was to meet with gatekeeper A at a coffee house in one of the blocks in Desa Mentari, PJS 2. The author's first impression was that the neighbourhood seemed crowded, compact and dark. Cars and motorcycles were parked wherever there was space (see Figure 58 and 59). Entering the coffee shop, the author was aware that she was stepping into other people's territory as the locals were all staring at her. However,

the intensity of their gaze faded when gatekeeper A approached her. He then introduced the author to MM, the assistant leader who was a disabled person sitting on a wheelchair. MM then brought them straight to the home of the first family who agreed to be interviewed. Altogether three families and two individuals agreed to be interviewed that day. More details of the interviews will be discussed later in Chapters 8 and 9.



Figures 58 and 59 Cars were parked blocking other cars as there were insufficient parking spaces and motorcycles were parked in spaces for cars (Picture taken by author)



Figure 60 From the outside, Desa Mentari gave the impression of a cramped and crowded environment (Picture taken by author)

On the way to the homes of the families who had volunteered, the author observed how the flats were very close to each other, the corridors were very narrow, the blocks were littered with garbage, and there was no proper ventilation other than a very narrow air well (Figures 61 to 66). The author was informed that there were only two slow moving elevators for the two 17-storey blocks, so she and gatekeeper A decided to take the stairs instead and meet MM on the seventh floor. The author

again noticed how the staircases were also strewn with litter and had an unpleasant odour.



Figures 61 and 62 The blocks were close to each other with a narrow road dividing the two (Pictures taken by author)



Figures 63 and 64 Garbage strewn car parks and awnings (Pictures taken by author)



Figures 65 and 66 The blocks were dark and the corridors narrow with only a confined air well as the source for ventilation and light (Pictures taken by author)

Despite all that, the interviews with the three families were pleasant and humbling experiences. They were shy and reluctant at first, but still welcoming and warm towards the author, and as the interviews progressed, they became more open and truly expressed what they felt. The author came to these homes with a semi-structured interview questions, but somehow the interviews evolved into a more informal, conversational interview and some of the questions were adjusted to suit the conversations. The three interviews each lasted for almost an hour, and as the night drew in, the author headed back to the coffee shop to meet with the leader of the Indian representative gatekeeper B. Two more heated interviews were conducted that night, which ended with gatekeeper B inviting the author to join him the following day at a site in Taman Desaria, PJS 5, to observe their community project and to meet with some of his acquaintances for the author to interview. From then on, the 'gatekeeper' duty was transferred from gatekeeper A to gatekeeper B.

The following day, the author was brought to the site along the river, Sungei Way that divided Taman Desaria, PJS 5 into two areas. A group of Malay residents was lounging at the car wash that they had developed themselves and gatekeeper B approached them and introduced them to the author. Several more interviews were conducted with these men although they seemed a bit uncomfortable and reluctant when asked about the issues of their neighbourhood; nonetheless, they still

cooperated. Since then, several more visits followed during which the author conducted a detailed site inventory of the neighbourhood. There were times when she was approached by passing residents who were curious about this outsider who was capturing photographs of their neighbourhood. Impromptu interviews were held there and then. Sometimes she approached the shopkeepers, or residents loitering around, for light conversations. There were also times when the author felt uncomfortable and unsafe when she heard catcalls and people glaring and eyeing her camera. Stories of snatch thefts came to mind and the author usually left immediately.

The author went back to Newcastle following the three-month data collection period and subsequently returned to Malaysia in June 2009 for the second leg of the data collection process. A meeting was set up with gatekeeper B and he arranged focus groups. He helped the author to organise two groups of teenagers and Malays to participate in the focus groups. Time, date and venue were set and decided by him with the agreement of the participants. The use of focus groups for the second visit was decided upon after the author realised that it was harder to approach teenagers and the Malays in general for face-to-face interviews while conducting her site inventory on her first visit. Focus groups were deemed as the best solution as they were conducted on a voluntarily basis. A semi-structured interview questions was also used for both focus groups and it too evolved into a more conversational interview, especially with the Malays focus group. The youths, however, needed more probing during the early stage of the focus group to elicit any response and answers. Nevertheless, as the interviews progressed, they became more open and participated intently. The teenagers were also provided with three disposable cameras and were requested to take photographs of what they did not like about their neighbourhood, a task that they took on with much enthusiasm. The author kept track of the progress of the assignment, and has since maintained a close friendly relationship with one of the girls. The photographs were later used as part of the analysis process to validate of the issues brought up by the author. Throughout the whole on-site data collection, the author conducted observations on her own during the day, but during the evening visits a male companion accompanied her for safety purposes.

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter discussed in detail the selected site that was chosen as the case study for this thesis. The author explored the history of Taman Medan and the physical environment of the *perkampungan setinggan* before it was demolished and discovered that the Malays and the Indians who later migrated to Taman Medan originally explored the area. The community belonged to the lower income group but was high in the number of members per household. Each ethnic group opened up their own *kampung*, which meant that the area was once segregated according to race; therefore, they were a homogenous community. Even though they were living separately, strife between the two ethnic groups often occurred which later exploded into a full-blown racial clash, famously known as the Kampung Medan incident. Although the community was relocated to a new settlement developed by the local authority, the physical environment was still unsatisfactory and the provision of infrastructure was limited. This chapter also narrated the author's experiences and the progress of her data collection process at the site. The data collected and the findings will be further discussed in the following chapters. Chapter 8 will discuss the unsuitability of re-housing schemes as well as present the household findings that were collected during the data collection process in the form of interviews and photographic evidence. In chapter 9, an inventory of the findings from interviews held with key informants, professionals and NGOs will be cross-referenced to other research and findings on control and governmentality conducted by other researchers regarding the same issues raised.

Chapter 8

Findings from the Fieldwork with Households

8.0 Introduction

This chapter will now present the data collected through interviews and focus groups with the community residing in this settlement. The data will be presented against the five domains of the Everyday Life concept. The original translated clippings of what the respondents said of the issues discussed will be presented as quotes followed by images (if applicable).

8.1 Home and Neighbourhood

Under this domain, issues regarding the dwellings, the physical state of the neighbourhood, its environment and surroundings as well as facilities and services will be discussed.

8.1.1 Cleanliness

The unclean and badly kept state of the neighbourhood was of great concern to many residents. Others have also highlighted this issue of cleanliness in their studies on slum relocation (please refer to Bunnell, 2002:1693). The flats are strewn with garbage, especially on the staircases, giving an unpleasant stench of waste, as shown in Figures 67 and 68.



Figures 67 and 68 Residents disposed their garbage at staircases and in front of their homes (Pictures taken by AZ and AS)

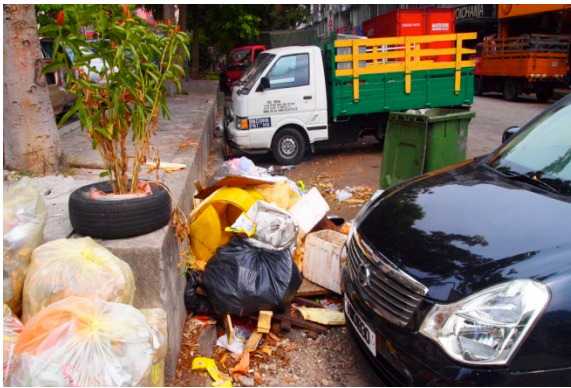


Figure 69 Garbage disposed at parking area (Pictures taken by author)

Rubbish thrown from windows litters roofs below, as shown in Figure 70. A resident noted:

“Sometimes they would throw out garbage from the upper floor. They do not care really.” AZ.

Even large objects have also been disposed of from windows. There are cases where other residents were hurt and car windshields were damaged because of this irresponsible conduct. One man noted:

“Car batteries were thrown out from above. Glasses were also thrown out and hit the police officer.” Mr L.

This issue is a common occurrence in other low-cost high-rise accommodations such as in Sungai Pinang Flats, Penang, where a screwdriver was thrown out and damaged the car's windshield of one of its residents (Harian Metro Online, 2010). The paper also reported that a few days earlier, a vase was thrown out and almost hit a passer-by. Apart from that, garbage is also disposed of and left at the air wells of the flats as this resident noted

“They dispose (garbage) at the air well on level 5. But we could not blame anyone because we do not have any proofs.”



Figure 70 Garbage thrown out of windows littering roof (Pictures taken by author)

Most of the respondents blamed the attitude of other residents for the unhealthy state of their homes. Some blamed the management for not maintaining the flats:

“I don't know what the maintenance people do....Only a few people were employed to collect garbage and sweep the corridors. But the staircases are dirty, the lifts are not okay, slow, especially during peak hours we have to scramble our way in because there are only two lifts”, SM.

Many complained that the fee charged to the residents does not reflect the maintenance work conducted by the management. They also argued that the fee is too expensive as most of them are low-income earning workers and that they attempted to bargain with the management to reduce the fee but without any success. The condition of the flats has increased the resident's dissatisfaction with the management team, as bemoaned by a resident:

“We’ve asked the maintenance to reduce the fees but they refused. But I don’t know what are they doing, there are two lifts but only one is working, the other one has not been repaired. The flats are dirty but ask us to pay (fees).” HA.

Nevertheless, the lack of waste disposal facilities is only partly responsible, as will be discussed in another chapter. As previously mentioned, one of the proper methods of disposal that should be included in the design of a 17-storey building, is to install garbage chutes. However, none have been installed and the residents are expected to dispose of their household garbage at the disposal centre provided at the parking lots. This resulted in residents abandoning their garbage in elevators or staircases on their way down, and some even resorted to throwing garbage through their windows.

The locations of the garbage centres are also an issue as they are located further down at the parking area, which is a hassle for the residents and is also a contributing factor to the whole situation, *“We have to go all the way down to the waste disposal centre. But most don’t dispose it there, they just leave it at the staircases”*, said SM.



Figures 71 and 72 Garbage centres located at the parking area and now polluting the environment (Pictures taken by author)

8.1.2 Design and layout of flats

The overall design of the flats was not properly planned as only minimal natural ventilation is allowed through the buildings resulting in the accommodations being dark and uncomfortably humid. The developers also failed to provide proper means of diverting water flow from the upper floors, as explained by SM, a resident:

“The developments of the flats are not well planned, so let say the residents from the upper floors were cleaning the floors of the corridors, the water will then flow to the lower flats. There should be gutters to drain out the water.”



Figures 73 and 74 Narrow air well allowing minimal natural ventilation and water from upper floors disposed of through pipes straight to the ground floor (Pictures taken by author)

On the issue of maintenance, the situation can be described as that of ‘chicken and egg’, as explained by HT:

“The residents leave their garbage in the lifts, and then the lifts are not functioning most of the time and they would complain. The management would then say they couldn’t keep repairing the lifts because it is expensive and on top of that, the residents don’t pay the maintenance fee, because their mentality is still squatter. At the squatter everything is free, so when they won’t

pay the fees, then the management won't maintain and clean the flats. And when the flats are dirty, the residents would complain. So it's like chicken and egg."

8.1.3 Racial Issues

Another major concern within the neighbourhood is that of racial issues within their community. According to the respondents, their community consists of almost an equal number of Malays and Indians and since moving into the flats, fights between the two groups are a common occurrence, especially during the weekends and on public holidays. They claim that this was never an issue back in the squatter settlements, apart from the Kampung Medan incident¹⁶, as the Malays and Indians mostly lived in separate *kampung*s or one group was the majority. The Indians mainly believe that this is due to the impact from the Kampung Medan incident; it seems that most of the Indians still hold grudges over what had happened, as explained by gatekeeper A:

"The incident (Kampung Medan incident) happened less than a week but the impact can be felt until now. If the Indians were asked do you like the Malays? They would answer no. Registration rate of Indians in Kampung Medan School, which is dominated by Malays, has decreased. They parents would rather send their children as far as Bandar Sunway where the school is dominated by Chinese... Before the incident there were no problems. We're not sure how it started, but from what we've heard that there was a Malay wedding and Indian funeral near Sri Manja, and it sparked from there".

Other Indian residents also backed up this statement, such as:

"The impact from the Kampung Medan incident is still there. They still hold grudges between them", said gatekeeper B, head of the Desa Mentari's Indian community and who is the sports coach in a secondary school.

¹⁶ Racial clash that occurred in March 2001 between the Indians and Malays that resulted in the deaths of 6 people and the injuring of more than 200 people, mostly Indians. The media reporting made it look like the attacks were inflicted by the Indians and that the victims were Malays when in fact it was the other way round. The Government has banned all publications regarding the truth of the incidents.

Apart from the impact of the Kampung Medan incident, these clashes occur because of other various factors, one being the practice of different values, religions and cultural backgrounds as well as the interventions and provocations from individuals who live in Desa Mentari, for instance, parents who interfere in normal arguments between children:

“Racial clashes happen here because they have indifference stance. Small quarrels become big fights because the parents intervene, which later causes racial clashes”, said gatekeeper B.

These disputes normally occurred during the weekends and public holidays and were started by a small number of people and the quarrels would later escalate into major disputes. The latest was in May 2010 where it ended with the involvement of the police and FRU. Nevertheless, there are attempts to unite the communities through neighbourhood associations, as one respondent (gatekeeper B) noted:

“I have founded the Indian Association here to make the Indians realise the importance of being united as a community.”

However, such effort did face obstacles because trust is a major issue as again disclosed by gatekeeper B: *“It was hard at first when Malay parents refuse to allow their children to be part of a team led by an Indian coach. However, we now see some improvements.”*

The situation has come to the point where the residents live their lives cautiously and do not dare voice any concerns or dissatisfaction towards other residents. Mrs R, a resident and a single mother best describe this:

“I’m not satisfied here because I can’t sleep, it’s noisy. Back then I could just scold and ask them to keep quiet, but now I can’t because it could cause fights...Back at the squatters where I’m from the majority was Indians, so if their children were making too much noise, I could just simply scold them. But here, the noises are caused by Malay children, so I can’t scold them.”

This creates a significant divide between the two communities and preference towards their former *setinggalan* neighbourhood, as exclaimed by ME, the Indian community assistant:

“I like it better at the kampung (squatters), the kampung is better, unlike here, don’t mix, divided.”

Apart from that, the Indians feel that there is so much unfairness and that more priorities are given to the Malays when it comes to facilities (this will be discussed and demonstrated in detail in the section on Sources of Support) where a resident, RM, stated that: *“Here when it comes to religion, there are a lot of issues and unfairness.”* This unfairness does not only take place in relation to facilities and services, it also shows of the police force’s treatment of the Indians, as alleged by gatekeeper B: *“Let say there was a fight between the Indians and the Malays, the police was suppose to ask the crowds to disperse, but no, they would park their patrol cars and ask the Indians to disperse and then arrest the Indians. They should have come and asked everyone to leave not just the Indians”.*

8.1.4 Crime and Social Issues

The area where the settlement is located was labelled as a high-risk neighbourhood by the Social Strategic Foundation back in 1996 or 1997 when Datuk Megat Jonid was still holding office as the Minister in the Home Ministry department. According to JA, there was a public outcry during that time regarding the Indian community being involved in gangsterism and other anti-social behaviour as well as in violent crime that urged the Home Minister to take action. Based on where the identified perpetrators resided, certain areas have been outlined; one of them being Taman Medan. These areas were then characterised as high-risk which included other factors such as its socio-economic status mainly low-income group neighbourhoods, lowly educated, low in opportunities and of course the rate of crime levels.

In Desa Mentari, the most common offences, apart from fighting were property crimes such as motorcycle thefts and snatch thefts, according to Chief Inspector RP,

Officer-in-Charge of Desa Mentari, as well as the respondents. However, RP added that snatching rarely happens in these areas because they are always buzzing with activities and the people would help to chase the snatcher. Snatchers would always aim for isolated areas and their main target are women carrying handbags. This is true as one of the respondents whose wife was a victim of a snatch theft claimed that it happened while she was alone at 5am waiting at the bus stop for her transport to work. The resident, RM, recalled:

“My wife was a victim to snatch theft. She was waiting for the van to take her to work at the bus stop down there at 5am. There was no one there and then six Malays passed by on motorcycles. They stopped and one of them chased after my wife and snatched her handbag and another person snatched her necklace till she fell”.

Most of the respondents blamed the youths as being responsible for all the crimes occurring in their neighbourhoods. One resident claimed:

“Cannot be controlled. The people who are causing troubles are youths between the ages of 18-19. I suspect that they take drugs. Vandalism, they vandalise the public phones, vending machines, and they do it in public, they don’t care and they’re not afraid.” RM.

Respondents also claimed that those who committed the crimes are from the same area. However, this contradicts with Inspector RP’s statement which claims that that the crimes are mostly committed by outsiders (this will be discussed in Chapter 9).

Motorcycle parking spaces are insufficient and are not provided with any safety mechanism that prevent thefts, as expressed by gatekeeper B:

“Motorcycle theft is common as there are no proper parking spaces provided. Facilities provided are not enough for the community to live comfortably.”

This has resulted in some residents taking matters into their own hands by moving their motorcycles up to their homes. This action of course also becomes an issue with other residents who claim the elevators’ floors are strewn with motorcycle oil and children are at risk of being hurt by the hot exhaust pipe when they are cramped in the elevator.



Figure 75 Motorcycles are parked inside the flats as insufficient parking for motorcycles is provided and for fear of motorcycles being stolen (Picture taken by author)

However, according to some of the respondents, since they formed the neighbourhood watch, the number of motorcycle thefts has reduced, as explained by Mr L: *“Crime such as motorcycle thefts, alcoholism, loafing, social issues are common here, but since we’ve set up the neighbourhood watch they respect us.”* Inspector RP has also confirmed this. Nevertheless, despite the presence of a neighbourhood watch to ensure the safety of the community, some residents still feel unsafe, as expressed by one:

“I don’t like it here, I don’t feel safe. Every day I would wait downstairs for my children to come home from school to make sure they are safe. Before this (back at the squatters) it was not like this, I don’t have to wait for them. Here I’m worried.” RM.

Although the crime rate has officially decreased, some still believe that the situation has not changed: *“The crime rate here has not changed, many fights, robbery, motorcycle thefts, and all are committed by people from this area. Here we have drug addicts, alcoholics, those who steal motorcycles are from here too”,* said Mrs R. One respondent, gatekeeper B, even stated that the crime rate was increasing: *“Crime is on a rise because the area is congested. Before there were not so many people in an area, but these flats are cramped with residents from different kampungs so the crime rate is on a rise.”*

Another issue that is associated with this settlement is the involvement of their youths in social ills. The youths here, both Indians and Malays, are said to be involved in drug abuse, alcoholism, fights and some even said prostitution. Respondents claimed that this group of troubled youngsters can no longer be controlled and are creating fear among the residents. They would gather at the playground at night and on weekends, and openly consume alcohol and use drugs. This was revealed by some of the respondents:

“There are drug issue and juvenile crimes among the youths, small fights that became big ones when adults interfere, to a point that causes racial tensions between the Malays and Indians. The youngsters use the playground to get drunk, both Indians and Malays, and they would use the empty flat units to take drugs. They themselves make their home unsafe”, said gatekeeper B.

Mr L then explained the problems with Malay youths in Desa Mentari: *“The Malays are faced with social issues among the youths such as drug issues. For example, in the empty flat units they would cut school and hang out there, take drugs, do immoral things”*.

When the author first visited the settlement, she noticed that the walls were vandalised with graffiti, some of the public phones could no longer be used and the playground facilities had been vandalised. According to one respondent, the facilities were vandalised by the young residents themselves, and that it was acted out openly for other residents to see. However, nobody dared to stop or advise them:

“Vandalism, they vandalise the public phones, vending machines, and they do it in public, they don’t care and they’re not afraid”, RM.



Figures 76 and 77 Walls and elevators are scrawled with graffiti (Pictures taken by author and AZ and AS)



Figures 78 and 79 Playground facilities have been vandalised (Pictures taken by author)



Figure 80 Vandalised public telephone (Picture taken by AZ and AS)

8.1.5 Physical Attributes

The buildings were constructed using cheap materials and are not structurally safe, as proven in the report by The Malay Mail Online (2009), where the bases of the buildings are actually hollow. One of the residents claimed that when a concrete slab

from the building is placed in the water, it would actually float. The newspaper also reported that residents could feel the buildings shaking every time there is a strong wind, and in 2004, a strong wind blew off the roof of one of the blocks. This is astonishing considering that in 2004, residents had just moved into Phase One of the development. In addition, from her visit, the author also noticed how the flats seemed very run-down for a three-year old building as some of the ceilings had fallen off, floor slabs were cracked or missing, and some staircases had no railings. According to respondents, complaints were made but no action was taken. The situation is similar to what was reported in the Malay Mail where the residents had filed complaints to the developer Mentari Cooperation Sdn. Bhd., the local council and also the Selangor Exco in charge of housing, but as at the date of writing, nothing has been done. This confirms the attitude of the authorities towards this community where any problems faced by them are taken lightly or completely brushed aside and their safety is not a concern. The situation is different when the authorities deal with issues faced by the more affluent society of Petaling Jaya where any problems are dealt with immediately.



Figures 81 and 82 Floor slabs are missing and there are holes in the ceilings (Pictures taken by author)



Figures 83 and 84 Cracked badminton court and no railings on staircase (Pictures taken by author)

The size of the housing unit is also a major issue and several other researchers have highlighted it. Although each unit comprises three bedrooms, these units have been described as ‘pigeon holes’ and ‘chicken coops’ by its dwellers (Ali, 1998; Yeoh, 2001; Bunnell, 2002; Suffian, 2009). This too has been expressed by some of the residents:

“I have six children, at one point all lived with me so the house was cramped and uncomfortable. Now my daughter is working as a nurse so she lives in a nurse hostel and one of my sons is studying at a college now so he too lives at a hostel, so the house is fairly okay now compared to before, but still cramped”, said JL.

This is due to the fact that the majority of families who were relocated here consist of an average number of five to seven people per family and the 60-square-foot units do not provide the comfort level and space needed by big-sized family. The housing units were divided among the former squatter dwellers regardless of how many members there were in each household. Even if the family consisted of several generations (that is, grandparents, parents and children) it was still counted as one household. A recent census exercise conducted by the Statistics Department found that a family of 20 people, consisting of seven adults and 13 children, was living in one housing unit in Desa Mentari (The Star, 2010). One can only imagine how cramped and unhealthy the living conditions of this family were. This was one example that served to show why children, especially teenagers, spend more time outside their homes because they have no space for themselves. However, not all

are dissatisfied with their homes, as one resident, Mrs R, revealed: *“Here five people per house, so it’s kind of okay. Our old house was okay too, in fact bigger and on the ground”*.



Figure 85 The family of 20 people being interviewed by an enumerator from the Statistics Department (Source: The Star, 2010)

Each housing unit is placed so close to each other that there are eight to 11 units per row. There are no barriers between the units and due to their closeness, it allows for no privacy for its residents. While conducting interviews in the respondents’ homes, the author could clearly hear noises from neighbouring units and also along the corridors. As there is no proper ventilation, the only ventilation is from the kitchen rear bedroom windows and the front door. The doors of most homes are left open, allowing neighbours to see activities happening inside. Some respondents even claimed that they know which neighbours are having marital problems and so on as arguments between spouses can be heard throughout the whole block, as told by a group of teenagers residing there:

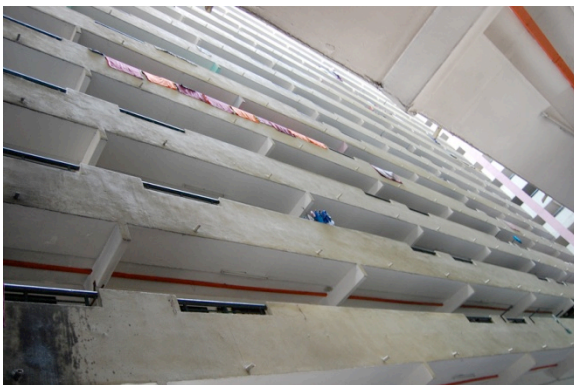
“Domestic violence and fights between husband and wife...Here on level three, you can see every day, the whole block knows”, said KS.

A home should be a place for families to spend private quality time without the prying eyes of the whole community, but in Desa Mentari, that can never happen. Apart from that, all wet laundry is dried out along the corridors’ barriers, as there is no proper equipment installed or drying area provided. The corridors and balconies of

adjacent buildings are so close together, leaving little ventilation and light to flow through, resulting in the flats being dark, humid and suffocating.



Figures 86 and 87 Housing units are close together and the only ventilation is through the kitchen and rear bedroom (Pictures taken by author)



Figures 88 and 89 Wet laundry drying out along the balconies and the corridors are so close together leaving little ventilation and light to flow through (Pictures taken by author)

Finally, the lack or insufficient number of facilities is also a major complaint of the community. Most of the facilities provided in Desa Mentari are merely just to justify the ticking of tick the boxes listed in the housing regulations and guidelines. One teenage resident, SD, said:

“In my opinion, some facilities are provided for, and some are not. For instance, they are no lights provided at the staircases.”

The most grumbles upon is the lack of space, both indoor and outdoor, incorporated into the design of the settlement by the developer. For Desa Mentari, PJS 2, only a playground with a badminton court has been provided to cater to two 17-storey residential blocks occupied by thousands of residents. Not only is the size inadequate and results in children playing along corridors instead, the function of the space does not support the needs of the various age groups that exist in this community. A resident noted: *“Children have no space to play so they play along the corridors”*, Mrs R. Apart from that, halls for conducting social and communal activities were not included in the design. ME disclosed:

“There are no suitable places for the community to gather....There is nothing here, no field, no temple, and even no hall.”

The community had to open up rows of shop lots on the lower ground and transform them into a hall instead. However, the space is too small with columns running throughout the lots. Parking space is also a big issue here as not enough were provided. There are about 697 housing units in each block, and each house has at least one car and a motorcycle, some even have two cars. To make matter worse, outsiders also park in front of their flats and along the main road. They even park vans, buses and lorries here that add to the congestion problem they are facing.



Figures 90 and 91 Parking spaces are not enough and are always full even during the day. Motorcycles are parked on areas allocated for the use of shop owners (Pictures taken by author)

According to Mr L, they are currently trying to overcome the over-crowdedness of their area by planning to hand out car stickers to residents with vehicles and only

allow those with stickers to park here. The over-crowdedness has led residents to compare and prefer their lives back in the squatter settlements which they claimed were more comfortable and supported all their needs: *“The facilities here are not enough for the community to live a comfortable life”*, said gatekeeper B. He also believes that the lack of space contributes to the disunited situation: *“We do not have space to conduct activities so how does the Government expect us to be united.”* This clearly demonstrates the Government’s failure in providing a better quality of life for former squatter dwellers, as stated by Sufian et al (2009:123),

“The Malaysian government has provided various housing schemes for the poor and special group of people including squatters. Unfortunately, the elements of quality housing, sufficient facilities, comfortableness and affordable housing have not been addressed considerably resulting in the hesitation of squatters to move to houses provided for them.”



Figure 92 The only open space provided for the community (Picture taken by author)

8.2 Sources of Support

Sources of support constitute any form of formal and informal supports provided for a community, or the lack of them, be they in the form of health facilities, neighbourhood watch, transportation, policing, NGOs, as well as informal supports such as social and family networks.

8.2.1 Breakdown of Community Structure

In regards to Desa Mentari, all of the respondents made a remark regarding the breakdown of their community since they were relocated. They claimed that prior to the relocation, they were close-knit communities where everyone knew everyone else, and were helpful and cooperative. They described the scenario as one that was just like in the *kampung*s and there was a friendly atmosphere. They accepted and respected other racial groups within their community and celebrated different festivities together. Moving to the flats changed everything, as expressed by Mr L:

“Everything is different from the kampung (squatters). I’m from Kampung Lindungan, and they are from other kampung. Everything is fragmented...I prefer living in the squatter (settlement). The community cooperates with each other. Since moving here, the cooperation among the community has disappeared. Back then, everybody talks to each other, everything changes when we moved here.”

Some might think that this preference for their past is due to the fact that they lived for free, but in reality it was the *kampung* style living that they preferred and missed. Mrs R told the story of how the *kampung* community was helpful:

“Back at the kampung (squatters) everybody helped each other. When my husband died everybody got together to help. Here, when someone dies nobody knows except the closest.”

Despite the flats being overcrowded, some residents still do not even know their next-door neighbours, and even the ones from the same *kampung*s no longer socialised. One respondent, SM, made a comparison between her current life and the life back at the *perkampungan setinggan*:

“Back then, many of my neighbours are Malays and we didn’t have any problem, we knew each other. I’ve been here for 3 years but I still don’t know my next-door neighbour. Back then, any festivities are celebrated together, here, even if we invite them they would not come.”

As for AZ, she felt that the community was detached and relationships have somewhat disintegrated since relocating to the new neighbourhood: *“I know some of my neighbours here but not all. Aaaa I feel that we are no longer close here because back at the squatters we were very close, but since moving here it looks like we have divided.”* Some respondents revealed that the merging of equal numbers of two racial groups makes it difficult for them to socialise as they are used to a homogenous community:

“Lan the problem is, before it’s just our people (Malays), when we come here your neighbour is Indians, of course we don’t talk to them”, said KK, a resident.

Apart from that, one resident felt that as the community is now heterogeneous, it is harder to ask for help, especially for the disabled:

“I prefer living in the squatters, the majority are Indians there. I have no problem mixing with the Malays but the problem is it is hard for me to move around here, getting in and out of the lifts. Here the people keep to themselves”, said ME.

Due to the high level of property crime in the area, most of which were motorcycles theft, the community formed a neighbourhood watch to patrol the area and to ensure the safety of the community and properties. However, only a small number of residents had volunteered and they are expected to safeguard the thousands of motorcycles, and if any were stolen the blame would be put on the watchers. The Malay respondents who are all volunteers claimed that those who volunteered are mostly Malays and in their 40s, as explained by Mr L:

“For each group of the community watch that needs to make rounds, we’ve put in both Malays and Indians. However, the Indians won’t cooperate. I do not know what is the reason, whether they are not interested or they feel isolated, I don’t know.”

This is supported by Jayasooria (2008:125) who stated that the Malay community is more active in the residents’ association compared to the Indians who are more

concerned with places of worship and political parties. However, one respondent refuted the above statement and claimed that the Malays too are uncooperative when it comes to volunteering:

“It’s not just the Indians, it’s the Malays too. Some of the people here just mind their own business, don’t bother to mingle with the neighbours. We have set up a community watch so why can’t they help us keep our neighbourhood safe”, said KK.

On top of that, some residents claimed that among the volunteers, some are disabled: *“The ones with no legs, deaf, disabled who comes to volunteer. How come they can help while the ones who are healthy couldn’t? The single, young men, they should be ashamed of themselves. But they don’t care; all they care is that they have to work tomorrow. We have to work too!”*, said Mr L.

They found that the community is more self centred, unaware of their surroundings and other people, and civic consciousness is low. For instance, ME, a disabled resident noted that they would not give way or give priority to the disabled or elderly:

“As a disabled, it is hard for me to move around....the community here do not care and won’t give priorities to disabled for instance when entering the lifts. The civic consciousness among the community is low here.”

Some of the respondents even claimed that there are residents who were inconsiderate to other residents. For example, because the housing units are stacked on top of each other, this has also caused disputes between neighbours when the residents on the higher floors would accidentally contaminate properties belonging to other neighbours on the floors below when cleaning their corridors or motorcycles. A resident, RS, explains:

“The problem is, the neighbours below would dry their washings along the corridors, and then the upper level neighbours would clean the corridors, of course the washings below will get dirty. When we say something about it they think we want to fight, so in the end, we just ignore the whole thing.”

In this case, the residents cannot entirely be blamed as it goes back to the design of the flats itself because proper gutters have not been installed to allow water to flow down properly. Some residents are aware of this problem, such as SM who said:

“The developments of the flats are not well planned, so let say the residents from the upper floors were cleaning the floors of the corridors, the water will then flow to the lower flats. There should be gutters to drain out the water.”

Another example of the residents’ inconsiderate behaviour is when some would transport their motorcycles to their homes using the elevator without considering other users. HJ explained

“The problem is, during the peak time is when they want to take their motorcycles up, with the children coming back from school, what if somebody gets hurt from the hot exhaust. If we say anything, then it will start a fight. It’s very hard.”



Figure 93 Water from upper levels flow through pipes straight to the ground level instead of being drained out through gutters (Pictures taken by author)

8.2.2 Lack of Parental Control

Aside from the unhealthy and deficient physical state of their homes, teenagers from the neighbourhood are involved in anti-social behaviours and other social issues as a result of the parents working until late or the parents are not able to control their children due to the physical form of their flat. They are unable to monitor their

children's activities from the higher levels or the parents simply do not care. One resident confirmed this:

"Parents live at the upper levels, they are not aware of their children's activities downstairs. If someone told them only then they know. And by the time they've found out, it is already too late because the children can no longer be controlled", RM.

In addition, the parents themselves are to be blamed for the rising rate of social ills perpetuated by their children and should take drastic measures in handling the matter. Some respondents claimed that some parents were aware of their children's behaviour and have not done anything about it, as revealed by RM:

"Hmmm, I think this area has been labelled (as high-risk) because there is no control. The parents just ignore, do not control their children, just let them cause trouble...I have met the father of a troubled boy to help him but the father just ignores me."

Another respondent, JL, added: *"The parents should have some control over their children, monitor their activities and ensure that they excel in their education. As a school bus driver, I often see school children skipping school and when I tell the parents they don't seem to care. It is the parent's duty, not teachers, to mould their children."*

When other residents tried to advice or report the troubles caused by their children, the parents would remarked that it is simply none of anyone's business:

"If let say I saw a 15 year old boy drinking, I'll go to him give him a good slap, and then I'll take him to his father and he'll give him a good slap. Then there won't be any problem. But the problem is, it doesn't work like that. People are like "why are you such a busybody? If he wants to get drunk, so let him!" That's why there are so many problems. So if asked why, the answer is it is because of the parents they became that way", gatekeeper B.

The lack of control and discipline by parents, added to the physical state of the settlement, turned the situation from bad to worse. In Desa Mentari, these troubled youths are described as rude and intimidating, and they are disrespectful and not afraid of the adults and the elderly. In fact, the adults fear them and no one dares to advise them. A resident, RM, stated:

“The problem is the father is a drunk, and the son is also a drunk. Here the youths take drugs openly at the playground. But nobody dares to say anything. There was one time I was sending my wife to the bus stop around 5am and I saw three Indian boys and one Malay boy buying drugs. All are school pupils. The parents can no longer control. But the parents are another thing. You should be worried if your children are not at home at 4am or 5am.”

8.2.3 NGO Support

The Social Strategic Foundation (YSS), an Indian based non-governmental organisation, has worked closely with the Indian community of Desa Mentari since before they were relocated and were still residing in the squatter settlements. The organisation has conducted numerous researches with disadvantaged groups within a community in their attempt to address social needs and issues through an informal and community friendly approach. Prior to the relocation, YSS provided support in the form of free tuition and computer classes for the children, nurseries and also sewing machines to be used by those who would like to earn extra income. One former Indian *perkampungan setinggan* dweller recalled:

“Back in the kampung, there was a nursery for Indian children, but now we do not have any. Back then, we have nurseries both for the Malays and Indians...We’ve received aids and supports from YSS (Social Strategic Foundations). They gave us five computers and Giri held computer classes....They’ve provided sewing machines for those who are unemployed or would like to earn extra income by sewing clothes. We don’t have all those things here anymore. We don’t even have any space to do it if we wanted to”, RM.

However, since the community were relocated to Desa Mentari, the support that YSS had provided before can no longer be continued in Desa Mentari due to the lack of space. Even the equipment that was previously used for these programmes has gone missing. A resident commented:

“Back at the squatters we have places to gather, here we don’t, and back then the children get free tuition classes, but not here”, ME.

8.2.4 The People and the Police Force

The community of Desa Mentari has a love-hate relationship with the police force. The Indians perceive the police as being biased and unfair when handling any matters related to the Indian community. They claimed that they are always blamed for any offenses that occurred in their neighbourhood, and this was made obvious every time there were fights between the Malays and Indians when the police would take sides with the Malays. Gatekeeper B, the leader of the Indian community was very opinionated and frank when discussing the issue:

“Let say the Indians and Malays are fighting, the police should supposedly ask both groups to stop and leave, but they would park their patrol cars and ask only the Indians to leave, and then would even handcuff the Indians some more. I told I don’t want harassment happening here, I ask “How do you know he’s guilty, you came here parked your car, come out and handcuff the Indians. What do you know?” You should come here do your job and ask everybody to leave, not just the Indians.”

He then spoke out on behalf of the Indian community regarding their feelings towards the police:

“If you ask the (Indian) residents, mostly would say that the police are biased. We don’t like the red lights on the patrol cars. If you were to enter our area, do it quietly, do not announce to everyone. Close the light and be friendly. We respect you because of your uniform. You should respect us because we pay your salary.”

Apart from that, he also asserted that the police are not involved with the community and are not conducting their job, as they should: *“Involvement of the police with the community is low. They are only doing their job not carrying their job, it’s two different thing.”* He then went on to say that despite having police posts within their neighbourhood, police officers are rarely present and refuse to take any reports:

“There are three police posts here. The higher rank police officers never paid any visits here. The police sometimes do come to the police post but they treat the place for them to go if they are bored. If we were to make any reports there, they would not accept.”

However, this contradicts with Inspector RP’s statement that the police do take reports, even those that are not related to their scope of work (this will be discussed in Chapter 9). Even worse, a resident was convinced that the police are allied with the criminals, as most crime cases in their neighbourhood have not been solved:

“I don’t believe in the police, I think they are working with the thieves. My son lost his phone and we went to lodge a report and the police said ‘That you also want to report, you want us to catch?’”, RM.

The above demonstrates the low level of trust the Indian community has towards the police force. This too might be the result of the Kampung Medan incident that still has a damaging effect on the community, especially the Indians. It was alleged that during the incident, the police were siding with the Malays. The situation is different when it comes to the Malays. They seem to have a more friendly relationship with the police and affirmed that the police are more cooperative and accountable to their community when compared to the local authority. Their only complaint is that the police do not patrol as much since the residents formed the neighbourhood watch. Any programmes that are developed by the Malay community are supported and any reports are looked into, as stated by KK:

“The police do cooperate. But they want us to develop and operate it and they will support. Not they develop and we support, but we develop and they support.”

This might also be one of the reasons behind the allegation by the Indians that the police are biased towards the Malays. Overall, the respondents felt that their safety is not a priority as the police rarely patrol there and now it is even less since they formed the neighbourhood watch, as told by one resident: *“Since we’ve set up our own neighbourhood watch, the police rarely patrol here”*, MD. The conflict between these two parties goes back to the Kampung Medan incident where they claimed that the police did nothing to prevent the clashes. Gatekeeper B stated that the only way for the police to gain trust from them again is for them to be more engaged and be part of the community, as well as treating them more as friends and act as adviser:

“If you want to reduce the number of crimes here, then the police needs to mingle with the community. Then only we can trust them and automatically think twice before committing crime. The community is not afraid of the police, they hate the police.”

8.3 Enjoyment

The element of enjoyment does not only include any form of social activities that are fun and active, it also includes religious and spiritual activities. Enjoyment can be achieved through the provision of facilities that allow residents to practise their beliefs, such as building small mosques and temples, as well as spaces for them to hold religious classes and sermons. Social activities can be held in public spaces provided within the vicinity of the neighbourhood. This can be in the form of recreational areas, open squares, playgrounds and community halls that can be used for festive celebrations and weddings. At a glance, it seems that basic facilities are provided for in Desa Mentari, but after talking to the residents and through observations, it is not the case.

8.3.1 Communal Space

Some of the *kampung* value such as getting together for the preparation of a wedding, for instance, is still strong in this community, which is a good thing. Such positive values are no longer witnessed nowadays in modern neighbourhoods since

neighbours hardly know each other. No proper space or halls were provided for the Desa Mentari community to hold any communal activities and festivities. All respondents noted this issue, among them:

“We do not have space to conduct activities”, gatekeeper B; and: “There are no suitable places for the community to gather. There is nothing here, no field, no temple, and even no hall”, ME.

The community has to make do with three rows of shop lots that they have converted into a hall. Nonetheless, the size is inadequate to support a huge community and as the space was designed for retail purposes, it has rows of columns running through it. Therefore, it does not fit the purpose, as described by SM, a resident:

“There is a hall and it can be used, however, it is not comfortable as the size is small and there are rows of columns in between. If I were to hold a wedding, it is not suitable. It is also hard to gain permission to use the hall.”

The lack of communal space has even resulted in the community using corridors to conduct activities, as described by Mrs R:

“One of my neighbours had a wedding but we had to cook along the corridor in front of their house.”

A proper hall must be a stand-alone, open plan building, outfitted with proper equipment and is multipurpose in function, which was also mentioned by gatekeeper B:

“I need a proper hall. The shop lots were used as a hall. A hall must be a stand-alone building, not a shop building. Parking spaces are not enough. The charging fees are not worth it for maintenance purposes.”

Apart from that, the Malays have full control of the hall. Therefore, they dictate what can and cannot be conducted in the hall. This lack of provision of communal spaces has led to many disputes between the Indians and the Malays which divides them even more and makes it even harder to unite them (as discussed in the previous domain). A resident expressed her dissatisfaction regarding this matter:

“We have no place to conduct a funeral. There used to be more halls but the Malays have taken it and turn it into a surau (small mosque) and nursery. The other halls are normally used for Malay weddings, therefore they would not allow a funeral to be held there”, Mrs R.

All that the community want are basic facilities that allow them to conduct activities like any other more affluent community, as voiced by SM:

“I want a clean environment, a comfortable hall that everyone could use, safety and security, safety first then cleanliness.”

8.3.2 Recreational Space

Another major dissatisfaction for the community is that they have no access to any recreational areas for them to lead a healthy active life, which was noted by a respondent:

“There is no recreational area here. There are a lot of vacant lands here but they don’t bother to develop it as recreational areas”,RM.

The only outdoor space provided is a lacklustre run-down playground and a badminton court, which only caters for the younger age groups. Even those are not enough as the playground structures are limited and some of them are damaged from being vandalised, resulting in children playing along corridors instead. However, one respondent claimed that there are enough facilities. Nevertheless, the facilities are compromised and uncomfortable to use:

“Field, facilities are enough but not comfortable. They provide only the minimum. If we want to play football, we have to use neighbouring football fields”, gatekeeper B.

Due to the lack of space provided for the community, especially for the adults and the elderly, some community members resolved to develop their own outdoor space for them to utilise, as told by HA:

“We developed this small garden because they did not provide any for us. A playground and a badminton court are provided for but there is no place for us elderly to hang out.”



Figure 94 The small resting area developed by the residents (Picture taken by author)

As for the teens, they have to either play sports in their school’s field or to share other neighbouring fields. The following are complaints expressed by the youths: *“We would like it if a football field is provided”, AS; “Not enough (facilities). Field is not provided”, SS; and AZ related how they have to use their school’s field for recreational activities: “We have to walk all the way to school if we need to practise (sports).”*



Figures 95 and 96 The only recreational space provided is a playground and a gazebo (Pictures taken by author)

8.3.3 Religious and Cultural Space

Another factor under the enjoyment element is the right to openly practise religious beliefs and rituals as well as other cultural activities. In Desa Mentari, the community consists of two major religious groups, the Muslims and the Hindus. Both religions are strikingly different in terms of beliefs and practices. In addition, the Malay and Indian communities have diverse cultural backgrounds although it has to be said that some aspects of the Malay culture are derived from the Hindu's. This could have made for a colourful community, but the settlement does not reflect or celebrate the cultural diversity that exists here. The development of the two residential blocks did not incorporate any religious and cultural space, which resulted in the Malays using one of the shop lots as a *surau* (small mosque). It was easier for the Malays to transform the shop lot into a *surau* as they only require a space for prayers and to study and recite the Quran, whereas the Hindus require some space for them to erect a small temple. Mrs R grumbled about this:

“They have a surau (small mosque) here but no worshipping place for the Hindus, we have to go somewhere else which is far. We’ve requested for it so many times but nothing, we just want a small space to conduct our prayers.”

She then expressed her dissatisfaction that they were promised that their temple from the *perkampungan setinggan* would be moved to a location near to the new settlement, but after three years nothing had been done:

“Back at the squatters we have temple and surau, but now it is far for us to go so I’m not happy. Fifteen years I lived there, we have everything. They promised to move the temple here but till now they haven’t. Who made the promise? It was Samy Vellu¹⁷!”

¹⁷ Samy Vellu was the President of the Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC) from 1979 to January 2011. MIC is a component party of the *Barisan Nasional* coalition (the ruling political party of Malaysia).



Figure 97 Shoplot transformed into a *surau* (Pictures taken by author)

When it comes to religion, it is a very sensitive issue and involves a lot of restrictions. There were cases where the Indians were prevented from holding a funeral in the hall as it was mainly used for Malay weddings, and because of the high vertical physical structure of the flats, it was impossible for them to bring the deceased to the family's home. Eventually, the funeral was held under tents that were erected at the parking space along the road, which allowed no privacy to the mourning family members. RM disclosed:

"There was a death recently and they (the Malays) would not allow us to place the deceased in the halls. So MBPJ had to open up temporary tents at the parking area and promised to solve this matter soon, but until now nothing has been done."

This issue is constantly grumbled upon but the authority or management team has taken no action. ME summed up: *"There is nothing here, no field, no temple, and even no hall. We've been requesting for them but nothing. It's been two years now."*

8.3.3.4 Safety

Safety is paramount in any given community and it is important for the community to lead a quality, happy life. As discussed in the first domain, property crime and social ills are common occurrence in Desa Mentari. However, fights between the Indian and Malay residents are what most concern the community. This has left some residents feeling unsafe in their own homes including the fear that the Kampung Medan

incident would erupt again. One respondent described how she fears going out at night: *“I don’t feel safe. I don’t dare to go out at night, even to the shops in front there”*, SM. Another expressed fear of the occurrence of another Kampung Medan incident: *“I wish the police would do more patrolling at nights, especially during the weekends when more fights occur. They do patrols but rarely, and they rarely sit at the police post. It is not because it is not safe here. But I fear that the Kampung Medan incident would happen again”*, Mrs R.

As discussed in the first domain, these fights occurred due to the grudges they still hold against each other that leads to fights over even small issues. The lack of control of its youths has resulted in social ills infesting their neighbourhood. Although the community has their own neighbourhood watch and the occurrence of crime has decreased, the residents still prefer the police to patrol regularly:

“I want more police to safeguard the safety of the residents here because at the moment, the safety of the residents is not a priority. I don’t like it here, I don’t feel safe”, RM.



Figure 98 The hangout place for neighbourhood watch volunteers (Picture taken by author)

8.4 Having a Say

Having a say includes all forms of participation in any decision that has an effect on a community and its neighbourhood. This could be in the shape of formal participatory

meetings with the local authority, or any participation in a community organisation such as a neighbourhood watch.

8.4.1 Relocation Process

In the context of Desa Mentari, most of respondents expressed dissatisfaction in the way the authority manages their relocation. They were simply told that their homes would be demolished and each household was eligible for a three-bedroom flat, and while their new settlement was to be developed, they would be located to transit settlements. There were no discussions of what type of facilities and services were required and whether the three-bedroom flats were enough to fit their family, as described by a resident:

“When they were to develop this place, the authority told us they were going to demolish our homes and move us to flats. They told us it will be three-bedroom flats, that’s it. If it was up to me I do not want it, but I have no other choice”, HA.

The respondents also claimed that the authority has mismanaged the relocations process and some residents were not placed in the Phase that they were promised to:

“I’m from Kampung Lindungan so I was supposed to be relocated in Phase One but instead I was relocated here. I don’t know how they (MBPJ) do it...This is the power of MBPJ. It’s up to them where they want to place us”, Mr L.

The compensation of RM1000 for moving their possessions was never awarded as promised, and there were cases where the authority miscalculated and insufficient numbers of units were developed. Based on his friends’ experience, RM explained:

“When we were to move out from the longhouses (transit settlements), our new home should be ready to be relocated into, but up to now some people still have no homes as not enough have been provided. They have miscalculated...MBPJ promised that everyone would get a flat, but some have

to permanently stay at the transit flats in Lembah Subang which is far from work, school, which is inconvenient and more costs needed. You promised to give us new homes but it has not been delivered.”

As for compensation, not all were eligible, depending on which area they formerly squatted on:

“As for me, I’m not eligible to receive the money (compensation), because I was told by MBPJ that the land we used to occupy is not under MBPJ, but under TNB. See, that is the power that MBPJ have. We as the residents just follow instruction”, Mr L.

There are no future plans for the development of new low-cost housings, which led to some residents remaining in the transit settlements and some even resorted to erecting new squatter settlements. A resident stated:

“And when the flats are finally completed, the developer would ask for money there and then, RM5000, the residents do not have that much money. When we went to MBPJ, we were told that they are no plans to develop anymore low-cost flats in the future. It’s so hard to ask for their help” RM.

Other respondents also expressed how they were unhappy with the way the relocation was handled, especially regarding the miscalculation:

“What I don’t agree is that, if you demolish the squatters, develop the house first. When people see the development then we are satisfied. Like now, their homes have been demolished but their new home is not ready. We have to pay the loan to the bank RM250 per month but no house...Why can’t they develop the flats first then relocate us. Where is the Government when we need them? In some cases, people become homeless”, MD.

8.4.2 Racial Issues

Throughout the whole interview and focus group process, the author found that the Indians seemed more vocal when discussing this issue compared to the Malays. When asked, the Malays were reluctant at first but eventually would speak up

although not much was revealed. For instance, they would admit that there is racism occurring in Desa Mentari, but would not elaborate more. The following statements demonstrate their cautiousness in discussing this matter:

“In my opinion there is issue regarding racism here, but what type of racism I’m not sure...but now, the Indians are the one who does not cooperate in this community.” Lan; and: *“We are not trying to make the Indians look bad, but if only two or three Indians that would cooperate, then that is a problem”*, KL.

They mostly addressed the Indians’ lack of cooperation with the community but would not touch on the severe relationship between the two groups:

“Right now we do not get any cooperation from the Indians. We do not know the reason, whether they are not interested, or if they feel isolated. Because their leader does not communicate with the Malays’ leader so we do not know what is going on. But the Malays are not satisfied with the Indians”, Mr L.

They do, however, blame most of the crimes that occur in their neighbourhood on the Indians, but then admitted that when it comes to social issues, the Malays mostly committed it:

“The Malays are faced with social issues among the youths such as drug issues while the Indians are involved in crimes....This is reality. For instance, the motorcycles that have been arson last week were committed by the Indians. Five motorcycles, the Indians did it”, Mr L.

The reason behind their reluctance is fear as they, being the majority group in Malaysia, would be labelled as racist if the issue is openly discussed. This was bemoaned by one of the residents:

“If we talk about this racial issue openly, we would be branded as racist, so we just keep quiet...But when we brought this issue to the authority, they could not accept it. Some would listen but most of them could not accept it. Therefore, we could not talk about it because they branded us as racist”, HJ.

8.4.3 The People and the Local Authority

On the relationship between the community and the local authority, Petaling Jaya Local Council (MBPJ), both the Indians and Malays have a strained relationship with MBPJ. The local authority was described as unaccountable when it concerns the welfare of the Desa Mentari community. There were two main issues raised by respondents when addressing the attitude of the local authority: one, their indifferent attitude to the problems faced by the community; and two, their bias in the treatment of certain racial groups. MBPJ's maltreatment of the lower income group and the tensions between them have long been debated. The authority sees the community as a negative entity to society. Providing for the former *perkampungan setinggan* dwellers is not their main priority and it seems like it is not their social responsibility to ensure that the community is settled into their new homes and everything is provided for. As revealed by some of the residents: *"MBPJ promised us money for transportation to move out of the setinggan. We still have not received the money", RS.*

Any problems or inadequateness are not of concern to MBPJ, but matters pertaining to any wrongdoings by the community, such as opening up food stalls without proper permits, are quickly resolved. As one respondent exposed:

"They (MBPJ) would only come over to give out fines, for example to those who opens up food stall. They don't have any pity, those people don't even earn much", HJ.

This comment was supported by another respondent who claimed that the local authority would only visit their neighbourhood to collect fines: *"The authority does come to this neighbourhood but only to give out fines", RS.* This shows how MBPJ has no empathy for this community. The organisation was developed to assist the communities under their jurisdictions; instead, it was making life harder for the residents. Any complaints regarding faulty infrastructure were completely discarded and ignored:

“If there are any damages or faulty facilities in this area, MBPJ does not come down to solve the problems. If the lamppost is no longer functioning, they don’t bother to come and see”, Mr L.

Another example of the local authority’s uncommitted attitude is when dealing with racial issues and this matter was expressed again by HJ: *“Whenever we brought up this issue (racial Issue) to the authority, they could not accept. Some does admit there is a problem, but some don’t. So we just keep quiet because we do not want to be labelled as racist.”* It seems that the local authority is in denial or is turning a blind eye when it comes to racial conflict. Drastic measures must be taken to prevent another major clash such as the Kampung Medan incident. Nevertheless, not all is bad when there are means for the community to request for assistance at the national level in the form of e-kasih¹⁸. The programme was developed to assist, plan, and implement, monitor programmes and to generate incomes among the poor and deprived community (Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development, 2011). Unfortunately, this information does not reach these communities, as they have no access to the Internet or other media, as explained by gatekeeper A:

“Under the Ministry of Housing they have setup e-kasih to help the poor community. However, helps never reaches the community as the community have no access to this kind of information.”

In this situation, the organisation should instead reach the people by visiting deprived areas instead of waiting for the people to register with them. MBPJ can also identify eligible poor families through data collected by the Statistics Department.

Through the interviews, the Indians openly discussed the maltreatment of the authority and management in relation to the usage of facilities in Desa Mentari. They claimed that more priorities were given to Malays and the Indian community is left with nothing. For instance, in the division of shop lots for communal activities:

“There are not enough halls, and there are so many issues surrounding it. There were six rooms that could be use as a hall but all of them have been

¹⁸ E-kasih is a programme developed by the Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development.

taken over by the Malays, three as a hall, one as a store, one as a surau and 1 as a nursery. The Indians get nothing. We have made complaints but nothing has been done”, RM.

Access to the hall is also an issue, as related by another resident: *“It is hard for us to gain permission to use the hall. My mother said that priorities are given to the Malays. The hall is owned by the management, and the management are the Malays.”* SM. Not only is the usage of the hall an issue, the failure of the developer and local authority to provide spaces for worship has also become a problem. The Malays eventually made use of one of the shoplots and converted it into a *surau* (small mosque), while the Indians required a small outdoor space. However, they could not simply build a place of worship without permission. Mrs R expressed this dissatisfaction:

“They (the Malays) have a surau here but no worshipping place for the Hindus, we have to go somewhere else which is far. We’ve requested for it so many times but nothing. We just want a small space to conduct our prayers.”

Her dissatisfaction does not stop there, she recalled how they were treated when they wanted to hold a funeral for one of the Indian neighbours: *“There was a (Indian) funeral here once but we had to organise it on the side of the road because they would not allow us to use the hall. Previously there were a few halls here but Malays has taken over and used them as a surau and a nursery. There is another hall but it is normally used for Malay weddings therefore they do not want a funeral to be held there. But when there is a Malay wedding, they would conquer all halls. I do not mind about that, but you must be fair.”*



Figure 99 A shophot turned into a nursery for Malay children (Pictures taken by author)

Despite the negative attitude of the local authority, the Government has provided support that can be benefitted by the lower income groups. These schemes are in the form of health support: *“The situation now is okay because the Government have developed a scheme for poor people where we would only have to pay RM1 at public hospitals or health centres, so I’m not worried anymore”*, RM; education: *“Last year the Government had announced that whoever gets 8As for SPM (Educational Certificate Malaysia) will get a scholarship. But they must apply, regardless of race they will be offered”*, gatekeeper A; skills: *“The Government previously made offers for troubled teens to be sent to boarding schools that teach them skills, morals and religious subjects, with an allowance of RM600, but the fathers refuse to send them”*, RM; as well as financial support: *“The Government would donate RM2,500 for the deceased’s poor family. However, there is still no place for us to conduct religious rituals”*, RM. Even the housing units are partially subsidised by the Government, as explained by RS, a resident:

“When we were moved here, we have to pay for the housing unit for RM3000. It has been subsidised the flat is actually RM40000. Ha’ah, RM5000 subsidised.”

In addition, the Department of Irrigation and Drainage (JPS) gave permission for the community to utilise the river reserve of Sungai Way for vegetable allotments and other activities beneficial to the community. In return, the community has to keep the river clean. This project is called Water for Life and all equipment to filter wastes was installed and a cabin was also provided for their usage. Gatekeeper B was appointed as the leader for this project and he explained:

“We have a project at Sungai Way near the area of the other eight blocks. I’ve suggested that the community should manage the river. Through JPS (Department of Irrigation and Drainage) we’ve gained permission; they have even provided us with a cabin complete with air-conditioning to be used as an office. If we wait for the Government to do it then nothing will happen because the river is polluted and clogged.”

One of the volunteers also added: *“We have permission to use this land (river reserve) for the community’s benefit. We’ve cleaned the river and planted vegetables. JPS have no problem with that. But then suddenly, somebody claims that the land is his when in fact we know that it isn’t. But we just keep quiet, just wait and see”, HA.* The project demonstrates how the community is determined to improve and manage their neighbourhood but with some assistance from the Government. However, there are individuals who constantly trying to undermine, through the use of force and threats, whatever efforts the community had made for their home. It is assumed that these people do not know the rule of law as they are from the lower income group. This frustrates the community as they feel that they are continually restrained from leading a proper quality life.



Figures 100 and 101 The Water for Life project, and a car wash centre has been erected on the river reserve for the community to gain extra income (Pictures taken by author)



Figures 102 and 103 A small garden developed by the community next to river reserve and the cabin provided by JPS (Pictures taken by author)

8.5 Making Ends Meet

This is a process by which low-income households generate income and how they use it effectively. The income of the residents can be improved by providing employments within the periphery of the neighbourhood or by starting home-based enterprises for those who are unable to leave home because of other responsibilities but at the same time would like to generate extra income.

For the Desa Mentari residents, life has not been easy since they were relocated. Most of the residents work in low-income jobs as factory workers, messengers, lower rank officers in government departments and drivers among others. Living in the squatter settlements was ideal for them as everything was free and it suited their meagre earnings, as was confirmed by a former squatter dweller:

“I prefer it there, even though it was a squatter but everything is free which is appropriate for us low-income groups”, HA.

Moving to the new settlement however would mean an increase in their living expenses. Not only do they have to pay for the utility bills, they now also have to start paying a monthly loan for their home. This makes an already difficult life even more difficult. A resident moaned:

“But back at the KTM longhouses, it was better there because here we use a lot of money, everything has to be paid, I even have to pay for the lifts even though I don’t use it. It is very difficult here. I don’t have a husband, I have four children, me and my first daughter are the only one working, but she is getting married next year so she needs to save money”, Mrs R.

Although the price of each housing unit is considered very cheap and RM7000 out of the total price has been subsidised by the Government, in reality, they still cannot afford the flat. As a result, the community is constantly living in fear of losing their home and this results in them feeling stressed and insecure and, therefore, unhappy with their new life. One resident, HA, revealed: *“We keep receiving letters reminding us to pay the house loans or else we would be brought to court. Every month. Resident get scared hearing the word court.”* Unfortunately for some, their homes has been seized and auctioned as they were unable to settle their mortgage:

“Here everything has to be paid for and many houses have been auctioned as the residents could not afford to pay”, HA.

He also complained about the bills charged for electricity that seem illogical and do not amount to the electricity used: *“Here electricity is expensive, we don’t use air-conditioner, and during the day most of the residents are not at home. But the bill reaches up to RM200, the same amount for a bungalow house!”* The situation made the residents suspicious of the possibility that the management or developer has been deliberately tampering with the electrical hubs to maintain high bills for electricity as it is impossible for a small flat to use that much electricity.

On top of that, there are no sources for them to earn extra income in their new settlements. Nonetheless, some of the community have opened up food stalls throughout the day, most likely just tables, on the lower levels of the flats in front of the staircases. Some respondents even said that previously there were residents who had set up proper small food stalls at night along the road to scrape together some extra money for their family. These stalls were a hit. However, the stalls eventually had to be demolished as the local authority started giving out fines for not having proper permits. In this situation, the authority should have been more lenient

and understanding considering the financial circumstances faced by this community and provides an alternative medium for them to generate extra income, similar to what was conducted in the *perkampungan setinggan* by NGOs:

“(Back then) we’ve received aids and supports from YSS (Social Strategic Foundations). They gave us five computers and Giri held computer classes.... They’ve provided sewing machines for those who are unemployed or would like to earn extra incomes by sewing clothes. We don’t have all those things here anymore, we don’t even have any space to do it if we wanted to”, RM.



Figures 104 and 105 Residents opened up food stalls near staircases and along corridors to generate extra income (Pictures taken by author)

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter laid out the findings for the household data collected at Desa Mentari. Overall, the main issue of the community was the breakdown of the community’s structure which had an impact on their everyday lives. The relationship among the residents can be described as inharmonious and the *kampung* spirit that once was significant, as well as its identity as a *perkampungan setinggan*, has evaporated. The racial issue is another concern which has become a norm for the people of Desa Mentari. This problem is nothing new for them as before the relocation, they too faced the same issue even though they were living in separate *kampungs*. The racial conflicts between the Malays and Indians later erupted into a full-blown clash that is now famously known as the Kampung Medan incident. However, as the underlying issue was never resolved, the problem was carried with them when they were relocated. The unhygienic and deficient conditions of their new living environment

were another matter of concern for the residents. The uncivilised method of garbage disposal is purely to be blamed on the residents themselves; nevertheless, the design of the flats that does not include any form of garbage chutes has an effect on how the residents behave. The lack of facilities and services and their sour relationship with the local authority are also facilitating factors of the issues faced by the community. In Chapter 9, the professional data will support the findings disclosed in this chapter, followed by an analysis of the overall findings in Chapter 10.

Chapter 9

Control and Governmentality (Professional Data)

9.0 Introduction

This chapter will now present some of the remaining data collected, that is the professionals' data. The professionals' data are interviews that were conducted with professionals related to fields relevant to this research, such as the Officer-in-Charge of the area, the local authority, academicians, federal and State Government officers, NGOs and state assemblywoman. This data is important to understand and justify the issues discussed previously in Chapter 8 and is also presented against the five elements of the Infrastructure of Everyday Lives concept.

9.1 Home and Neighbourhood

9.1.1 Squatter Behaviour and Cleanliness

The appalling condition and the issue of cleanliness of these low-cost settlements are not new problems and they have been highlighted many times in newspapers and research articles. As discussed in previous chapters, the problems are blamed on the unacceptable '*kampung* traits and habits' that the residents have brought with them from their former squatter settlements which were known more as *kampungs*. During an interview with HT, the state assemblywoman of the area, she said:

"The people's mentalities are still kampung, because they did not have the time to develop. These people were brought here from Perak by Datuk Harun as urban settlers to develop a Malay enclave here, in the likes of Kampung Bharu in Kuala Lumpur. This is one of the earliest Malay areas. But somehow, when Datuk Harun brought them here, he did not think about the future generations of these settlers. The mindset of the people is still squatters' mindset. They are not used to living in flats so they would dispose garbage by throwing it out from the upper floors. In some cases, television was thrown

from the upper floors. The problem is even though they are residing in urban areas, but their mentality is still rural.”

What happens now is that these settlements have become vertical squatters or slums. On the outside, the settlement seems well-maintained but on entering the building, it is a different story. The flats are strewn with litter with an unpleasant odour filling the air, dark, humid, and have graffiti-filled walls and vandalised facilities. Rubbish disposal is a main concern for the residents here as irresponsible dumping is a common everyday occurrence. Some even disposes of their garbage through their windows. HT commented on the issues related to the maintenance of the flats:

“Garbage is left in the elevators. And the elevators cannot be used most of the time. When complaints are made to the management, they would say that they cannot do anything as the residence does not pay maintenance fees, therefore they could not afford to fix the elevators. The residents does not pay because while they were still living in squatters, everything is free, but now they have to pay for the house, rents, bills etc. So since maintenance fees are not paid, they do not clean the flats. When the flats are dirty, the residents would file complaints. So it’s like chicken and egg.”

On top of that, the maintenance of high-rise buildings is costly and not all can afford to pay the maintenance fees which resulted in the management not maintaining the flats appropriately. Add this to their habits, and the issue of cleanliness would never be resolved. The issue of attitude and maintenance was elaborated on by MY, a State Government officer, who stated that one way to resolve any problem is through good leadership within the community:

“We give RM100,000 to repaint the whole area. When we’ve paint nicely, in six months, seven months, it’s dirty again. Clean the garbage disposal centre, then damaged, vandalism is another problem. Drug addicts are another problem. We ask to form residents’ association, they won’t. So how do we do it? It’s not that we never tried to settle. When I was the district officer tried to settle so many problems, but there are ones that are okay. If they have a very good leader, someone they’d listen to. The Government had tried our best. They don’t trust each other.”

It has long been debated globally that lower income groups from demolished slums are not suitable to be accommodated in high-rises as they bring with them their slum habits. Eventually, their new homes would be turned into slums and the situation would be even worse as these settlements are usually densely populated. This issue was discussed in detail with MY:

“Rubbish everywhere and fights. Desa Mentari has that problem. Alaaaa, even terrace houses have problem but the problems are less because of low density. Parking spaces is a big issue there (Desa Mentari). When we go back to the attitude of garbage disposal, even if provide proper garbage bins it’s no use. It goes back to their attitude, the problem of people living there.”

In discussing the issue of old habits, MY reported that some of the residents, mainly Indians, are used to living in squalid a environment:

“They (the Indians) used to work at Sunway, haaaa those garbage recycling place, so when they live in better accommodation they want to start fights (because of cleanliness). And the neighbours are Malays, the Malays can’t stand dirty places, so this causes disputes.”

Another factor that brought about the transformation of the flats into vertical slums is that not all residents are originally from the *perkampungan setinggan*; they are, in fact, outsiders renting the accommodations. These accommodations are owned by professional squatters (please refer to Chapter 6) as explained by MY:

“Problems arise when some of the former squatter kampung involved, where the housing units are approved to who we call professional squatter, and the person does not live there but rents them to someone else. In which the renter’s attention is not to live there and preserve the area, but as someone who stays there for work purposes. When there are many of them then there would be social implication to the whole area. For instance Desa Mentari, those who lives there the majority are renters or the former squatter dwellers? When residents are living there temporarily, renters not original tenants, then there would be problems...because they won’t be thinking about the community, to join in the residents associations, they won’t bother.”

However, in the case of Desa Mentari, the majority are former *perkampungan setinggan* dwellers. Nevertheless, the community is still divided and many still refuse to cooperate on matters concerning the neighbourhood.

9.1.2 Design Affecting Community

The latest discovery by the Statistics Department, which conducts a census survey every ten years, is that at Desa Mentari, it was found that there is a family of 20 members living in one of the housing units (please refer page 213). One can only imagine how a three-bedroom, 650-square foot flat with two bathrooms can fit and cater for 20 people. This situation would surely have a negative impact on this household, especially on the younger generation. DJ, a Chairman at the Human Rights Commission of Malaysia, strongly believed that the design of the settlement and the spaces provided play vital roles in the development of a positive community:

“I think, I think if the neighbourhood is more conducive, for example to neighbourhood cohesion, if you take into account community needs, where community can gather. If the community more compactly designed rather than all open, then people come and go as they like, if not you have the, the design should be where people can interact, the space and other facilities, so I would think so. And then also lighting, the type of alleys you create, all these make an impact. Now some of the flats I’ve seen the balcony is inside, there will be air-well going up and staircases on the edge. So the ventilation is not good you know. So the only air-well is here it will be dark you know. Because the problem would be two bedrooms, one bedroom house, you got ten children, so all these contribute to other kinds of social problems.”

9.1.3 Racial Issues

The issue of racial conflicts between the Malays and Indians of the Desa Mentari community was again brought up and this time by the professionals, for example:

“But the main problem in these areas is racism. I come from Malacca and live in a mixed community village, I never had any problems with the Malays.

When I first came here, I noticed that there is a big problem here. The problem is site specific, doesn't happen anywhere else. The smallest thing can cause a big fight", Inspector RP; Officer-in-Charge of Desa Mentari.

The main culprit is of course the fact that they still hold grudges against each other because of the Kampung Medan incident. The underlying issue has never been resolved and now they are forced to live together, making matter even worse. HT believed that the incident caused the community to become distrustful and cautious of each other and the strain on their relationship was so severe that no form of activities can bring them together:

"There are so many problems here. Racial clashes happen here. Both the Indians and Malays here are the same. They are very suspicious of each other. There are attempts from community groups to reach out by conducting programmes for both races to participate, but it has not been successful."

Apart from that, before the relocation, both the Malays and Indian communities resided in separate *kampungs*; therefore, they were more adapted as a homogenous community. The relocation was a cultural shock to them as not only did they have to adapt to living in a high density vertical settlement, they now also had to come face to face on a daily basis with those whom they considered 'enemies'. Not only that, the different cultural and religious backgrounds result in a disjointed community as they are unfamiliar, and some uncomfortable, with the different religious rituals and other practices. This was elaborated on by JA, the Service Consultant of the Social Strategic Foundation, who gave her opinions on the reasons behind these racial conflicts:

"Okay, but here now they have to come and rub shoulders with other ethnic groups also. That is another skill that they were not equipped with. Language is a problem. Culture is a problem. Because for a Malay, beef is alright, but for an Indian, beef is not alright because it is to do with the beliefs. So these are the minor frictions. And then their sole entertainment is music, loud music and this and that. For Malays it might be different, for Chinese it might be different. So when they came they were forced to live together, the tension the pressure the things like that, I think...."

To make matter worse, one group is given more priority to openly practise religious beliefs and to dictate spaces for that purpose while the others are left with nothing which of course creates conflicts. Education is also another factor that contributes to the conflicts, as Inspector RP explained:

“They, the people are not very educated..not very educated, mentality very low. You see aaa, this like SS1, SS2, SS3 there are Chinese and Malay living together, why no problem? You know. So we cannot say that aaaa..We cannot aaa put aaa Desa Mentari as aaa...you know as aaa I mean to evaluate lah, to evaluate the relation of races, we cannot take that as an example for the whole of Malaysia.”

The community needs to be educated on the history and background of the various races in Malaysia and the importance of racial harmony instilled into them. However, this is being taught in school. Therefore, the Ministry of Education is required to study why certain groups of the population have not grasped the concept of racial unity and why they remain homogenous communities and refuse to intermingle with other racial groups:

“Here (Desa Mentari) they refuse to attend any events even if invited, the Indians and Malays live separately. The Indians would join the Indians, and the Malays stick to themselves. It is the same when it comes to schools”, SK, a professor in the Department of Indian Studies in Universiti Malaya.

9.1.4 Safety and Crime Issues

As mentioned in Chapter 8, Desa Mentari is listed as one of the areas that are identified as high-risk neighbourhoods. This is due to several factors, which are, its socio-economic status, mainly low-income group neighbourhoods; lowly-educated, low in opportunities and of course the level of crime that occurs here. The history and characteristics of high-risk neighbourhoods was clarified by JA:

“Okay, when we talk about high-risk neighbourhoods you know, initially I think in 1997 if I’m not mistaken, 1996, 1997, the time where Home Minister were Datuk Megat Jonid, he was the thing. So, the time he, there was a big human

cry about the Indian community being involved in gangsterism and all this kind of anti-social behaviour and all that kind of thing, violent crime and all that. So, there were certain areas outlined as the most of these kinds of people with this behaviour come from these kinds of areas. Those are the areas we put it as high-risk areas. High-risk in the sense in, is most probably like low income, is basically low-income neighbourhood, and then also the low in terms of opportunities, options and things like that. You see, the information is not there maybe education also low and all that. Basically the socio economic status and where it was blacklisted, this is where taken as, I mean the violent behaviour and things like that you know. Where you've got most cases coming from and all that kind of, that's why we've termed it as high-risk area."

In the case of Desa Mentari, apart from the fights, the crime that mostly occur here are property crimes, mainly motorcycle thefts and a few incidents of snatch thefts. To support this statement, RY, a planner in the Research and Development division of the Town and Country Planning Department, explained that they have developed a Crime Mapping system using GIS (Geographic Information System) for Petaling Jaya. According to their findings, Desa Mentari is one of the hotspots for vehicle thefts:

"Based on the hotspots, for vehicle thefts are in this area (Desa Mentari). House robberies are in different parts of Petaling Jaya. If motorcycle thefts, car thefts are all in this area. So these are, so it's proven, data has proven that in a way."

The residents of this neighbourhood number in the thousand and most of them own a motorcycle. Therefore, the parking areas around the two blocks are flooded with motorcycles. As there is no proper surveillance, natural or man-made, to monitor the properties within the vicinity, the settlement is an easy target for motorcycle thefts.



Figures 106 and 107 Motorcycles parked without any form of protection and parked at any available spaces (Pictures taken by author)

Apart from that, the area is easily accessible, allowing for easy exit or escape. DJ believed that the design of the settlement itself contributed to the issue of property crime in the area:

“I think if you look at most of the flats, the most the majority of theft cases are motorbikes. So then it is a structural design now, why is it, it can be stolen easily or the design where people can climb from the roof or come from another spot easily in that sense lah.”



Figures 108 and 109 Easy access to and from the main road and major motorway (Pictures taken by author)

Regarding the identities of the offenders, Inspector RP explained that outsiders committed these crimes as no one would commit felony in places they resided since they would be recognised:

“Trend is like that you know. The criminals here would go somewhere else, and criminals from other places would come here. Why you know? Because people will recognise them. So they change place lah.”

As this area has been blacklisted, it therefore attracts criminals to commit crimes in the area. To make matters worse, there were a few high-profile cases that were associated with the area. There were the kidnapping and killing of Nurin Jazlin¹⁹ and the kidnapping of Sharlinie Mohd. Nashar and Nur Fatiha, both in Taman Medan. All cases have never been solved. There were also several kidnapping attempts but they were never reported as the people saved the victims. The state assemblywoman brought this up:

“There was an Indian youth slashed the other day. There is this stigma that this is a black area so people come here to commit crime. Kidnapping also happens here. The Nurin Jazlin case was in PJS 1. Sharlene went missing at PJS 2, those areas. And now, people sell drugs openly in broad daylight.”

Nevertheless, Inspector RP claimed that the crime rate in Desa Mentari has reduced since the establishment of a neighbourhood watch by the community and with increased patrolling by the police. The confidential crime statistic was shown to the author as proof.

“I won’t just tell you, I’ll show you, show you proof. Yesterday three cases only. The day before yesterday, this is a daily crime statistic, actually I cannot show you, you know. Before this it was bad. Before that thing, that Taman Medan incident, clashes between Indians and Malays, that time crime rates were high. All this three cases, two cases only. Last Sunday no case at all. Actually crime is under control lah.”

However, even though crime rates have dramatically decreased, the social and community issues are still concerns and need to be looked into and resolved. Until

¹⁹ Nurin Jazlin was an eight year old who was reported missing after she had gone to a wet market located near her house in Section 1, Wangsa Maju, Kuala Lumpur on the night of August 20, 2007. Her body was later found in a brand-new gym bag that was left in front of a shop lot in PJS 1, Petaling Jaya.

actions are taken, the community will always be faced with the same problems and they could even escalate into bigger issues.

9.1.4.1 Indians and crime

The main reason that resulted in the labelling of Desa Mentari and other areas in Petaling Jaya South as high-risk neighbourhoods was that of a public outcry about the Indian community being involved in gangsterism and other anti-social behaviours, as well as violent crime. That urged the Home Minister to take action. Certain areas were outlined, one of them being Taman Medan, based on where these gangs resided. Before the relocation, Taman Medan was famously known to be the breeding ground of gangsters, mainly Indians, and other social ills. In his article, Sidhu (2005:18) stated that one of the factors for the increase of crimes in Malaysia was that Indian youths were involved in violent crimes, such as murder, arson, robbery and gang clashes. They also represented a major contribution to gang-related activities. What became a major concern was that the Indians only consisted of 7.7% of the whole population of Malaysia; yet they were associated with being violent and with gang activities as well as social ills (ibid:17). However, this cannot be generalised to cover all Indians in Malaysia as the Indians are made up of various ethnicities and religions. According to SS, the Commandant at the Police Training Academy; DJ, a Chairman at the Human Rights Commission of Malaysia; and JA, the Service Consultant of the Social Strategic Foundation (YSS), those 'troubled' Indians are mostly the lower-income Tamils who reside in low-cost flats and areas identified as high-risk neighbourhoods. SS further explained:

“But it’s true a large number of the Tamil populations who were from the estates and now living here, they are actually involved, they are involved in crimes. I feel it is more economic, they cannot get a job, they’ve difficulty in finding jobs, they get jobs which pay very little, so they get involved in all this.”

Nevertheless, the main factor that Sidhu stated in his article (ibid:19) is that of urban poverty. This is true as the majority of the Desa Mentari population is from the lower income group.

The living environment is also another factor. The physical environment of the neighbourhood is in a poorly state with inadequate facilities and services whereas, more affluent well-developed neighbourhoods enclose it. This evokes the feeling of being neglected and unfortunate among the Tamils. SS stated:

“Because they all, this area where they involve in crime, they all the longhouses, low-cost flats you know. So they are there, so maybe the living conditions are very not conducive. Then when they compare with the neighbour outside, so much better. They cannot get a job, difficult to find job, difficult to find education. That’s where they get frustrated, they get involved in crime, and sometimes these areas there’re also crime-infested areas, where triad groups are all there. So you have no way out, you have to join. So maybe this could cause why there is a lot of crime there, in such area.”

Apart from that, Tamil movies are also a big influence on the Tamil community; they look up to Tamil actors and take them as idols. There is a lot of violence and aggressive behaviour showcased in Tamil movies that cause the Tamil youths to believe that they too must act the same way, as told by Professor SK:

“Cinema is also another factor for the Indians, because in Indian movies the heroes are always carrying a weapon with them. They would carry knives or other sharp objects. Many fights in the movie. So the youngsters would copy this. This somehow motivates them. If we want to be a hero, we must know how to fight. People must be afraid of us. Heroism is in their hearts.”

SS also claimed that political figures also have a major influence on the way the community behaves: *“Indian politics, MIC²⁰ politics are thugs over there, aiyooooo, very sensitive to say but they are, they don’t behave as politicians should behave.”* In regards to the Kampung Medan incident, JD clarified the real reasons behind the incident that he believed had something to do with the way the Indians behave:

“But one of the issues was that the behaviour of the Indian youths in terms of how Malays saw it. So that was something the Indians felt I shouldn’t have

²⁰ Malaysian Indian Congress (MIC), is one third of the political parties of the ruling coalition, Barisan Nasional. This party represents the ethnic Indians of Malaysia.

said because I was blaming Indians for the problems. So what basically I was trying to say was in a community where you live, some of the Malays were not happy with the behaviour of a number of Indian youths and that doesn't justify the killing or whatever or the injury. They felt it was a contributing factor that justified them taking action."

9.1.5 Social Issues

The professionals too confirmed the youths' involvement in social ills such as drug and alcohol abuse, immoral conduct and aimless loitering. HT, the state assemblywoman, even claimed that there are girls involved in prostitution:

"They've identified Taman Medan as black area for err drug addicts. And then illegal racing (motorcycles), the girls who have, involved in social ills are from Taman Medan. I heard that they, these girls, give sexual services from Taman Medan.

Children as young as 12 years old are seen loitering around aimlessly during the wee hours of the morning on school days and teen girls hanging around with boys after midnight, as claimed by Inspector RP:

"You see there (Desa Mentari)...girls aaa 13 years, 14 years, 15 years aaa you go morning 5 o'clock they will be there you know, hanging around there, talking to the boys there...Then I would tell them 'You don't think he's nice. Most rape cases in Malaysia are done by someone the victim knows.' And they will sit in dark places you know. So if I call the girls 'I will ask your dad aaaa', they feel, they do not, nothing you know. When I say 'I will call your dad', they are not afraid."

To make matter worse, they are fearless of adults or policemen who reprimand and threaten to report to their parents. Inspector RP also added that some teenagers who were soon to be sitting for an important national exam still loitered around late at night when they were supposed to be studying. Apart from that, their knowledge was very poor:

“You see aaa now SPM (Examination for Higher Education) isn’t it, the next two, three months SPM isn’t it? But if you go there you see them hanging around. ‘You are sitting for SPM, why aren’t you home studying?.’ ‘Just for a while only.’ But this is the few months that is important, crucial time, but they don’t care you know. I asked the form five boys, form three boys, that time Abdullah Badawi was the Prime Minister, I asked ‘Hey who is the present prime minister, and who is before him?’ They ask their friends ‘Who haa, who?.’ Before Abdullah Badawi who is the Prime Minister they don’t know you know. The knowledge is very poor you see. How can they be like that aaa? This is your country what.”

Not only are the problems faced at home, they also happen in school. According to AS, a teenage respondent for the household data, her school has a bad reputation where the majority of the pupils are involved in social ills and the teachers are known to be fearful of the pupils. The police are a permanent fixture in her school now and even they cannot do anything. The success rate is very low and the good pupils would definitely leave the school if given the opportunity. What is worrying and has become a concern is that troubled children eventually would have a bad influence on other bright, smart children from the neighbourhood as they live in the same environment:

“Yes. But then aaaaa social problems lah. So the smart kids who want to be good would eventually be influenced by the troubled kids”, Inspector RP.

9.1.6 Physical Attributes

As previously discussed in Chapter 8, the poor living condition of the settlement is a matter of concern for the respondents. All in all, the respondents commented on how the physical state of the settlement has no quality and does not promote a healthy living environment. This is in total contrast to what was envisioned by the Zero Squatter programme and the housing policy, which was that all citizens are entitled to quality houses that are provided with sufficient facilities and services to allow them to lead healthy and happy lives. This may be true for those from the middle and upper

income groups but it is not the case for the lower income groups. There is a big obvious contrast between the two areas, which HT described:

“And you can feel the difference. When you walk, when you come from PJ city area and you come to this place you will feel congested and suffocated.”

Based on the interviews, basic fundamental facilities such as halls, recreational areas, places for worship and sufficient car parks have not been provided, facts which were raised by HT:

“There are too many people, the size of the flats is small and the buildings are high-rises with the minimum being 12 storeys. They have no recreational area, parking spaces are limited, the roads getting into the areas, access roads, are narrow, not following specification. As for the flats, there are flats that you cannot even have space to dry your clothes outside. The corridors are narrow that if a resident leaves the door open, it will take up space. The drainages are blocked, and now I believe that the life span of the buildings has come to its maximum span. Garbage is disposed of all over the place, and there is not enough space. You know what, most of the playgrounds are leftover spaces.”

JD, a Chairman at the Human Rights Commission of Malaysia, then commented on the overall design of the flats: *“Now if you look at the construction of the flats, the design, the space, the close congestion, high density, it doesn’t contribute towards healthy living. So these are factors, so then you have other problems like access to dewan (hall), access to prayer place, access to places where you have a funeral, so people have conflicts over that, parking.”*

This raises a lot of questions regarding the roles and the transparency of the local authority in ensuring that the welfare and safety of this community would be looked as it was their responsibility to monitor and certify that the design of the settlement was according to the guidelines. This was clarified by MY, a State Government officer:

“The local authority is the one that should check the design (low-cost flats), local authority. When it comes to the design, everything depends on the local authority, it’s their approval. In terms of its layout, all is up to the local authority. We only specified that the area for low-cost housing unit is 650 square feet, that’s all. But in terms of supports, services, common area, parking spaces...based on approval by the local authority. The state only comes up with policies.”

9.2 Sources of Support

9.2.1 Unsettled Community

Another major issue concerning this community, as previously discussed in Chapter 8, is the breakdown of the community structure which is due to several factors. According to DJ, one of the Chairman at the Human Rights Commission of Malaysia, as the community has just been relocated in the past few years to Desa Mentari, they are still in the process of building a community. The integration of a community needs years for it to become a strong community again. He explained:

“The notion of a settled community takes time, so if people are shifted only two years ago or five years ago, you are not a settled community, you don’t have an idea of a neighbourhood, a kampung, this kind of issue you know. And the impact of it is also the type of work that people do. Because people are in shift jobs, they are not going to one factory to work, so the sense of cohesion, family supports, history together, so there’s no history you know. The flats have no history.”

It is to be remembered that the community of Desa Mentari came together from various *kampungs* which had been established for more than 30 years. Therefore, their loyalty lies with their former neighbourhood. When they were dispersed into different blocks and even areas, it is harder to rebuild the connection and the relationships as everyone has an idea of what they expect from a community, based from their previous experience. In addition, the residents’ association in Desa Mentari

does not instill strong social bonds and networking among the residents apart from conducting social activities such as weddings and neighbourhood watches. This was noted by DJ:

“No, they will have, they have some social functions, Rukun Tetangga (residents’ association) might do some activities, but it does not build a sense of belonging, you know from this kampung. You know I grew up, I’m proud of my kampung.”

Life is even harder since the relocation as they now use more money to pay for bills, mortgages and to support everyday needs. Hence, more time is spent at work for extra income. The neighbourhood is treated more as a place to rest and sleep, and mingling with neighbours is seen as a waste of time resulting in some not even knowing their immediate neighbours. The involvement of volunteers in the neighbourhood watch is low, as explained by SK, a professor in the Department of Indian Studies in Universiti Malaya:

“They don’t even know their next door neighbour, even among the Malays, let alone the Indians. In Kampung Medan back then, everybody knew whose house this was even though they don’t know the person personally. It is not like that here. Here the flats are open, easily accessed. If a house is broken into, the neighbours wouldn’t care, it’s not their problem.”

The sense of community in low-cost urban neighbourhoods is lost, and the increase in other negative social issues and crimes worsen the whole situation: *“So people have no history of a place. And this is part of crime you know. Because there is no experience of a community, people are coming and going, people are renting places, the mobility of people. So social support system, social control systems had broken down in urban areas and this is coupled with other problems related to low income, families’ lifestyles, smaller houses, all these become major issues”*, DJ. All in all, they are not proud of their new home and this is well reflected in the way they treat Desa Mentari and the state of its slum-like conditions:

“They don’t feel proud. I believe it when people say that you are what you eat as well as you are what the surrounding is. Because they were previously from

different kampungs, they refuse to work together”, HT, the state assemblywoman.

9.2.2 Lack of Social Support

Former squatter settlements were described as *kampungs* because of the spirit that is similar to those in rural areas. In *kampungs*, the community is close-knit and has strong social support. Families reside within the same vicinity and neighbours know each other very well, therefore help is at hand whenever they need it. When the squatters were eradicated and the community was relocated, the families and friends from the same areas were displaced and dispersed into different settlements, as noted by Professor SK, Head of the Department of Indian Studies in Universiti Malaya:

“Here the family is missing. Back in the kampung (perkampungan setinggan) if they are in any difficulties, they could ask help from other immediate families. They still have strong supports to fall to, but not here.”

The Chairman of the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Working Group at the Human Rights Commission of Malaysia, DJ, also highlighted the issue of displacement and relocation that resulted in the breakdown of a community structure. He argued that the multiracial background within a neighbourhood was a shock to some communities as they were used to a homogenous environment, making it hard for them to adapt to:

“So they are also issues in my articles have highlighted between these sort of social control and social support systems. So the rural area had much stronger social support system and control, whereas in urban areas they were displaced, they came to squatters. Then the resettlement into flats, brings cross section of communities, Malay, Chinese, Indians, and Indians from many different parts.”

This creates conflicts, as they do not understand the different beliefs and practices, similar to what was currently happening in Desa Mentari.

9.2.3 Lack of Leadership

The underlying problem behind the breakdown of the community structure is due to the fact that they lack good leadership and the absence of a strong role model to guide and lead the community. As the community originally originated from various *kampungs*, there were various groups or cliques within the community itself and each group wants their leader to represent the community. On top of that, the Indians and the Malays were already divided, making a united community seem impossible. DJ elaborated on the situation in Desa Mentari:

“One of the major problem on the ground is that the community grouping is not well organised. You got neighbourhood watch, you got resident’s association, then you will have religious groups for the Muslims, for the Hindus, then you will also have political parties, so there isn’t a well coordinated neighbourhood tau (you know). It’s not like a Ketua Kampung (headman) and the person has some moral or fatherly authority in the area, it won’t be. So local neighbourhood leadership will be lacking, and in that context the informal leaders control. Informal leaders being gangs, someone who is from the underworld, or so Malay community might have theirs from the masjid (mosque), the surau (small mosque), then the Indians would have others. So it is not, you know people have not found the sense of belonging in the neighbourhood. So the neighbourhood becomes just a place to stay, go to work, come back, that kind.”

A planner from MBPJ also stated that there is a lack of leadership in Desa Mentari because the neighbourhood is overcrowded: *“There are a lot of issues, especially these low-cost housing areas. Usually, when there are so many people, everybody wants to be the leader”*, KN.

9.2.4 The Local Authority’s attitude

The Petaling Jaya City Council is the main organisation that is responsible for the welfare of the residents of the whole Petaling Jaya, including the community of Desa

Mentari. In its official website, www.mbpj.gov.my, it is stated that it is committed to providing services that are “swift, effective, on mark and friendly as well as with the initiative to improve the quality of service for the customer’s satisfaction.” It claims that it will deliver “quality services and exceptional town management” as well to provide “complete, safe, comfortable and friendly infrastructural facilities” and a “peaceful environment” for the people of Petaling Jaya. However, judging from the condition of Desa Mentari, its vision and mission did not reach Petaling Jaya South. It seems that MBPJ was selective when it involved the provision of services and development. HT stated that more attention was given to matter pertaining to the upper class community of Petaling Jaya, for instance, when handling complaints:

“And when the people from the upper class area of Petaling Jaya file complaints or speak to the local authority, they would act on it immediately. When the poorer community speaks out, they would be ignored. So I am quite upset with the different treatment of people.”

More attention should be given to the poorer community as whatever problems faced by the community would have a negative impact on the whole town in the long run, an opinion again raised by HT:

“We have been trying to tell the authorities especially the local authority (MBPJ). These areas are in need of their attention as it sits in the middle of the city. Therefore, you cannot ignore them as they are problematic and this will have an effect on the whole of Petaling Jaya. But they do not see the problem. To them, since these are problematic areas, therefore we do not need to do anything. They also like to raise the issue that these people could not be changed.”

The flats in Desa Mentari were developed simply to replace the people’s homes that were demolished. Therefore, they were hastily built and without concern for the quality, the level of comfort and the safety of the settlement. As a result, the settlement has now become a slum. HT’s view of the matter is that:

“The authority did not solve the problem; in fact they have created new problems. So even though they are now residing in flats, flats that are developed in a hurry and not conforming to guidelines. The mindsets of the

people are still the mindset of squatter dwellers. The authority wants to make their job easier, so they do not tackle the problematic areas.”

The local authority is perceived to have a negative perception of the community of Desa Mentari. Based on the author’s experience, the community although reserved at first, was very friendly, open and helpful throughout the data collection process. This was in total contrast to what was described to HT as a violent and uncooperative community. HT, who also regularly works with the people, affirmed that:

“The authority is giving lame excuses because I have been with the people. Even though I am an outsider, but I have never come across people who come and attack me as mentioned by MBPJ’s officers or officer from other government agencies such as JKM. They do not have the will to improve the area. They are afraid and indecisive.”

Another excuse commonly used by the local authority is the lack of funds which does not tally with the reality as the northern part of Petaling Jaya is well-developed and new developments are still on going in these areas. HT commented:

“It is unfair, actually with that amount of money that they have, issues of cleanliness, clogged drainage all can be solved. But when asked for funds, they would say no money. There are many rumours about how they have mismanaged funds, millions of ringgit to buy useless items. But that is the problem. If the director acts this way, so does the person under him.”

The issue of misuse of funds by the local authority’s officers was also raised by the State Government officer’s acquaintance, SN: *“Another problem is the Government would give some amount of money to maintain the area to the local authority. But sometimes the local authority would swindle a bit. The Government would give RM100,000 but they would only use RM30,000 for the area.”* MY simply summed up the local authority as problematic and blamed it on political interference:

“The local authority caused a lot of problem in this area.....When there is politic involved that is the problem. I think errr the CEO never comes to visit the place.”

Not only is the relationship between MBPJ and the Desa Mentari community problematic, the communities relationship with the police is also an issue. SS, the Commandant at the Police Training Academy, remarked that the local authorities do not involve the police officers in the planning process of any developments, even when it comes to safety aspects, which are the areas of their expertise. SS stated:

“We have our district council and all which actually where council meetings, police will be seated there. But how effective or how strong his voice is, I’m not sure he can be heard. Because the district council may not be, really listen to the police.”

9.2.4.1 Participation with the community

In Malaysia, public participation, as well as preparing the people for changed circumstances, is poor. In the case of Desa Mentari, there was none at all (also refer 9.5 Having a Say). All decisions were made without acknowledging and consulting the community and they were left to adapt to their new life, as bemoaned by HT, State assemblywoman for Taman Medan:

“The people are upset because they are not being consulted. Because they are from the low-income group, their rights to be heard are denied. All these whiles they take whatever that has been given to them. When asked to be relocated, they relocate to the flats, those kinds of treatments, so now the people are fed-up. The lands in Petaling Jaya are expensive and it has been taken over by developers.”

However, the community was informed beforehand regarding their relocation and told what would happen to them and why they were relocated: *“Errrr but we have a system lah. First we would go to these settlements and identify the houses and mark them on plan to make sure these are the houses that already existed for an adequate amount of time for future references. Then we would announce that this settlement would be demolished. We would estimate how many family members per house. Then we would announce that this settlement is under the Zero Squatter programme.*

After announcing, we would give out notice. But this is not an eviction notice, but notice informing them that they would be relocated, compensation, relocated where and the price”, said MY, a State Government officer.

At the state level, the relocation process was swiftly handled according to plan. Problems arose when the responsibility of relocation was then handed over to the local authority that conducted tasks just for the sake of being seen to be doing their job. HT gave an example:

“And then I noticed, the people were complaining that not enough time was given between the notice being put up and the event. They were not given sufficient time to study what the notice is about, the meeting, the proposed development etc. Therefore they decided not to give any feedback. They (MBPJ) are just ticking the box. They then can give reasons that the people did not come and go on with the development. When in fact the meeting is tomorrow and they put up the notices today. So when does the people have the chance to look at the notice.”

The local authority acted as the main decision maker in all aspects of the development without considering the needs and services that would be suitable for this type of community. In reality, the community themselves knew what was best for them as they were the ones faced with the problems and would later be living in the settlement. JA, Service Director of the Social Strategic Foundation (YSS), discussed this matter:

“When there is no citizen involvement then this is what going to be. People in government might say we are involving organisation, but who are these people? Are they credible in the side of these people or not, the local community and all that. Credibility of the organisation is also very important. So are we thinking because they are educated, they are scholars in their own thing, and they’re developers, they are builders, they are architects so they should know? It’s not. You see the actual and pulse of the community should be felt. So those are some of the issues lah.”

Not only the needs of the people must be identified, the historical, cultural and financial backgrounds of a community must also be studied and taken into consideration in any form of development. No one design can fit every community in Malaysia since different communities have different issues.

9.2.4.2 'I Don't Care' Attitude

While collecting the secondary data such as site plans, crime rates and population data, the author stumbled upon numerous problems and interesting revelations about the research, particularly the neighbourhoods. One was that the whole of Petaling Jaya South, including Desa Mentari, was not included in the Local Plan by the local authority. This means that no development was planned within the ten years that the local plan was structured out. When asked regarding the matter, the officer simply implied that the local plan was first structured out for the older towns and Petaling Jaya South would be included in the next local plan. The reason given was that it was too a big a scale for them to handle at once, as clarified by KN; a planner from MBPJ:

“Local Plan yang first we did for the old areas. PJ Old Town, Sect. 1,2,3, SS52. So if we want to do whole PJ it will take forever. So we tackle the old-old town first.”

When asked what future development would be provided when PJS is finally included in the local plan, the officer arrogantly implied that no development can be conducted as it has been zoned as residential areas. She also openly admitted that the safety of the residents was not a matter of concern to MBPJ:

“How can you change anything? Crime issues you can only develop programmes and beautification and education. How can you? You cannot change the land use. How do you change land use from residential to something else? It is a high-rise. You cannot demolish them. So we will maintain it as it is, but safety is not under our jurisdiction. Our job is to look after the tax, sanitation and others. Safety is not the core. We could not do anything in this neighbourhood because they are private properties. We can only look into the public areas, and we cannot interfere within the area.” “Not

so much you can prevent there, if we want to do anything there. There're strata we have to oblige to, so there're strata for the high-rise flats, so we cannot simply go there and make changes."

On top of that, they also have a negative perception of the community and the residents were described as lazy. FW, another planner from MBPJ, claimed that the residents could actually afford to live in better accommodations but preferred everything to be free and provided for:

"MBPJ's lands are expensive and the accommodation provided and sold on low-cost prices. That's all we can do. They can't afford to purchase. Well, they actually can afford but they want an easy life."

This opinion does not tally with the data gathered from residents and other professionals who described the community as poor, unfortunate and discriminated.

9.2.4.3 Other Issues

This section discusses how the local authority has previously mismanaged other community of former squatter dwellers. The attempt to relocate squatter dwellers happened long before the introduction of the Zero Squatter programme. Unlike those involved in the programme who were placed in temporary settlements in the form of flats similar to their homes now, back then they were placed in longhouses. The longhouses were one-storey of shoddy workmanship and had no proper facilities since their main purpose was to provide the settlers with a temporary settlement before they were to relocate to their proper new homes, which was supposed to be completed within six months to a year. Unfortunately, some settlers have remained there for 15 years and even more, as recounted by JA, the Service Director of YSS:

"You go to Jinjang Utara, there is another, this is a longhouse. That is also a crime prone and things like that. It is a high-risk area. Here it is all longhouses. These people, I think about 15 years ago or something like that, they said it's a transit shelter. Six months' time, we will give you new houses. But even after 15 years they're still staying there."

She then related the issue to the failure of proper planning in governance:

“Six months mean there’s not so much chance that I will, my family will enlarge. Okay, I’ll be there with my daughter and all those things and all that. But 15 years’ time my daughter would have married, and then another children, grandchildren and all that. So the next time you give me, I will ask for two houses, three houses only. Then the Government doesn’t want to give also issue. The practicality and all that. This is when, sometimes I think we always do things without a proper planning. It’s also a Urban Governance issue, the local authorities and all that. How they look into it and all that kind of things.”

This problem occurred due to the fact that the promised settlement was never been developed or construction was halted because of financial factors. However, the mismanagement or miscalculation of the number of homes that needed to be provided still occurs now, as claimed by the HT, Assemblywoman of the area, as some are still residing in temporary transit settlements in Lembah Subang:

“But there are still people living in longhouses, around 200 people at the Lembah Subang transit flats. So they are still waiting for their flats, flats promised by the developer that have problem with the law. They were awarded an injunction that prevents them from developing the flats. This is MBPJ’s problem too, because they overlooked the area that was designated for bungalow houses. So when the plan has been approved, nearby residents made a complaint and had a court injunction.”

9.2.5 The State Government

To the State Government of Selangor, its main role is to ensure that the Zero Squatter programme and the provision of homes for the former squatter dwellers meet the objectives. What happens after the relocation is not a matter of concern even though the Government is aware of the implications. This was revealed by MY, a State Government officer:

“But as a government I would say our focus is zero squatter. When the squatters have been relocated, then our focus has been achieved. What happens to the community after they were relocated is not our problem. The problems that arise because of relocation in my opinion errrr actually we don’t think about what happens after relocation. We are aware of the problems, we know that Malaysian people are not ready to live in a development under strata titles because they won’t share the cost. So the case where someone died because someone threw out a brick errr we consider it as social problem. So we cannot say that we are going to solve social problems.”

He also added that there are no plans by the Government to try and resolve any issues that are currently being experienced by the Desa Mentari community: *“So no, we have no intentions to solve the issue (social issues). We say that it is their problem not ours. Even though we know that an area where the community has social problems will eventually become a slum area, and the people will eventually move out.”* He strongly believed that it was up to the community to mould and shape their living environment and that the NGOs, not the Government, are the organisations that should work closely with the community:

“So when they are relocated, our work is done. So after that it’s up to the community. If they want a good area, good for living then they have to work for it, the residents association. That’s why when we talk about this, in my professional view, the NGO must get involved. Why should the Government? We’ve promoted healthy living and all but no organisations have come to assist these areas.”

Since all responsibilities have been transferred to the local authority, the community has a negative perception of the Government, as disclosed by Professor SK: *“It has been eight years since the Kampung Medan incident but the Government has not done anything. So we’re talking about society and the Government. The Government have not taken any initiatives to change, no changes. This clearly shows that they are neglecting. Neglecting in the sense that they don’t care, or people say, ‘Its okay, not that serious’”* However, there is some basis for asking to what extent the State Government should interfere, especially when discussing the ‘squatter behaviour’ of

the community, such as irresponsible dumping of garbage. MY questioned the limits of intervention by the Government:

“Should government interfere until that stage? Make policy? Should government interfere to take care of the lives of the community there? Should government make a policy for the disposal of garbage? We can’t.”

This is where the local authorities must play their roles as any issues faced by the community are their responsibilities. Unfortunately, in most cases, there were individuals who used community issues for their own individual benefits:

“That’s why, that’s why the local authority, they have their own representative under council members, the roles of council members to make sure these areas are taken care of. Under council members or under PBT we have another representative or we call all the YBs (the Honorable) lah the MPs (local Assemblymen). YB and all the MPs, their role is to ensure these areas, haaa they have to come, give talks, they have to show, and they need leadership. The problem is they go there just to meet the political desire to pull in votes. That’s the problem.”

9.3 Enjoyment

9.3.1 Recreational Space

“They have no recreational area, parking spaces are limited, the roads getting into the areas; access roads; are narrow, not following specification...You know what, most of the playgrounds are leftover spaces” complained HT, the state assemblywoman of Desa Mentari.

Both the professional and household respondents were not the only one to bemoan the issue of the lack of space for recreational activities, it was also highlighted in the local paper. As reported in Sinar Harian (Afidah Mujap, 2008) the lack of space for recreation was of concern as it got to a point where disputes occurred over who gets to use the fields. HT has suggested to MBPJ ten areas that can be developed as

playgrounds and open space for futsal as this is the favourite past-time for the youths in the area. She also envisioned that the development of these spaces would be a means to unite the multiracial community. Unfortunately, MBPJ does not see this as a move to harmonise the community. In the long run, she fears that Taman Medan may produce a more problematic generation. Instead, MBPJ only provided a playground whereas the community consists of various age groups who require different spaces for their outdoor activities, as mentioned by DJ:

“So children have no facilities, there are facilities but the children don’t utilise it, or the facilities are for children not for teenagers. So the concept of public space or whateverlah...”

This clearly demonstrates how the developers and authority were only conforming to guidelines, to simply fill in the tick the box without any consideration of the community living there.

9.3.2 Freedom to Practise Religious Belief

The inadequate provision of facilities includes the non-provision of spaces for the community to practise religious beliefs and rituals. As the majority of the community are Muslims and Hindus, the developer and MBPJ should have designed Desa Mentari with these two important factors in mind. The Malays were given more priority as can be seen in one of the shop lots being transformed into a *surau* (small mosque), and their religion, Islam, is practised more openly; the *azan* (call for prayers) can be heard throughout the settlement. The Indian Hindus, on the other hand, had to go to other temples that were quite a distance from the settlement, which was inconvenient for those who conduct prayers every day. Throughout the author’s interview with the Chairman of the Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Working Group at the Human Rights Commission of Malaysia, he mentioned this issue several times:

“You see the difficulties we have found in the Klang Valley in all the works I’ve done in the past phase that the Muslims want a surau or if there is a dewan and also Muslims are sharing they do not want a mayat (the deceased) to come into that thing. So a funeral arrangement is a problem. Because to take

a body up 17 storeys, where do the people meet? So you got to tap now, so where do you put the body? Or you might have a surau (small mosque) and a dewan (hall), so the Muslim groups are always taken care of in terms of its provision, but what about other religious groups?”, DJ.

The overall development and situation have caused dissatisfaction and friction within the community as one group feels that their needs have been neglected. Certain facilities can be shared but facilities that are related to religious purposes must be provided for separately and equally.

9.3.3 Hall for events and festivities

No community hall was provided in Desa Mentari that resulted in the community transforming three shop lots into a hall. Of course the ‘hall’ does not fit its purpose, as one, it was not designed as a hall, and two, the size can never accommodate the thousands of people residing there, as DJ highlighted:

“All then make it neutral dewan you know, or have more than one dewan within the vicinity. So even if you have 1000 or 2000 people living, the dewan only can accommodate 100 people or 50 people, so it’s totally inadequate, and the public space is very small. So that not taking into effect the quality of life.”

Not only that, the hall is controlled by the Malays, therefore the Indians are not allowed to conduct certain ceremonies, such as funerals, in the hall, which of course leads to conflicts.

9.4 Making ends meet

The relocation made life even harder in economic terms for the community as the dwellers were no longer living for free. Instead, they now have housing mortgages and bills to pay and the reality is that they cannot afford to. As claimed by DJ, urban poverty is one of the main problems faced by the community of Desa Mentari:

“But the root issue is urban poverty. I was quite badly criticised because of my findings, because I said they were from my inquiry during that time, there were more than five issues that emerged. So it’s like urban poverty, lack of opportunities, these kind of issues.”

As they were poor and yet living and working in major cities where everything is expensive, this resulted in adult and married children choosing to live with their parents, as they cannot afford to rent outside. Therefore, the already small and cramped accommodation becomes more crowded. HT stated:

“Because they are poor, they can’t afford to rent for houses in the area so they live with their parents. This area has easy access to many things, near to the town centre, school, hospital etc., so they do not want to move.”

Still on the matter of urban poverty, some cannot even afford to pay the maintenance fee but inevitably it was blamed on their squatter mentality. The fact is that they truly cannot afford to and they did not choose to live there:

“The resident does not pay the maintenance fees, because of their ‘squatters mentality’. They are used to living for free. Everything is free, no rent to pay. Now they have to pay for the flat. So they don’t pay the maintenance fee, therefore the management refuses to clean up the flats. When the flats are dirty, the residents file for complaint”, HT.

They cannot even pay for maintenance fees, let alone afford to pay a fixed monthly payment for home mortgages and bills. JA, the Service Director of YSS, explained that this community is not used to the systems and regulations that require them to commit to a monthly payment, and failure to do so would result in them losing their homes. It could be said that financial management is not a norm for this community as they earn just enough to survive daily and are used to living for free. JA elaborated:

“Kampung Muniandy was a squatter area, okay, squatter area you know the background, historically how they would have come to the area and all that kind of thing, and they were staying there, they were going you know walking

distance, they would cycle to their work like that and all that. Then these people were given, okay you will have a three-bedroom all this and that, and you can take a loan and all that kind of thing. But these people are not prepared to take a loan. They want to take a loan but they don't know how to take a loan, how to and then afterwards pay. And then, all this while it is like no water, no electricity, just curi (steal) from somewhere or have to make arrangement with somebody and they get it, no money for that. Now maintenance and so many things. Then there were new issues in Petaling Utama flats, there was problems with the developer. It's a private company, so then people didn't pay water, electricity bills, what he did was, because 80% of them didn't pay, he totally closed everybody's. Then it became an issues, that it has been politicised and this and that and then they had to come and all."

9.5 Having a Say

The community feels that they have no voice in whatever matters that concern their community and they are manoeuvred as the authorities pleased (also refer 9.2.4.1 Participation with the community). They were simply told that they were to be relocated as their squatter settlements would be demolished and they would have a choice to be relocated either to one-storey three-bedroom houses at the outskirts of Selangor or to three-bedroom flats within the same area. The majority, of course, chose the flats as this was nearer to work, schools and easy access to major towns. They were not consulted on how life would be different living in high-rises, how to maintain their new settlement and, most importantly, they were not inquired as to whether the size of the unit would be sufficient for their family and what facilities were needed for the community. Everything was decided for them and it clearly demonstrates how the poor has no voice. JA highlighted this:

"The preparation of people is very, very poor in Malaysia. Before you make a change, any change, policy change you know when you want to implement it, there should be a prepared mind-set in the community, otherwise they are going to react to it, going to rebel. Because, this one thing, the cycle social preparation. Secondly, participation, citizen involvement very very weak in Malaysia."

It was a different scenario when it involves to the more affluent community of Petaling Jaya where any complaints or dissatisfaction voiced by this group are immediately handled. As this group consists of professionals who pay higher tax, they are therefore given high priority.

9.6 Control and governmentality

9.6.1 Reasons for Relocation and High-rise as Solutions

Through an interview with a State Government officer, MY, it was revealed that the main reason for the eradication of squatter settlements was the value of the land. Since these lands were illegally occupied, the state did not gain any revenue in the form of tax on land. Therefore, the state was losing out income-wise:

“The main reason is basically about money, it’s about income to the state. Errr, as we all know, for the state, the only income that they get is through quit rent, land tax, and also through...land tax lah, that’s all the income that state control. Other than that it is under Federal Government. When the squatters are built on lands belonging to the State Government, it’s not a no man’s land but that piece of land is still under government, errr the problem is that the Government didn’t. The Government does not get any land tax from that land. That’s the main issues. Secondly, it’s for, the term in government is to, to rearrange the city, because most of the squatters are not well planned. Even though some of the kampungs have existed for more than 30 to 40 years.”

Apart from that, as these settlements were erected some 30 to 40 years ago, they would have began at the river banks as previous history of early settlements have shown. Therefore, these lands were illegally occupied as they are listed as river reserves. Although the settlers are the original urban settlers and opened up the land, the Government had no choice but to relocate them. The relocation was also part of the Government’s plan to re-plan and regenerate major towns in Selangor in striving to be a developed state by 2006. As MY explained:

“Errrr if we look back 30, 40 years ago, the development of kampung will start nearest to the river. The nearer to the river, those are the original settlers. The problem is the nearer to the river means, without them realising, they have encroached on river reserves. Therefore we have no choice but to demolish the settlements and they are relocated. So for the Government, first we are taking back state lands for income and second because most of the settlements are located on reserved lands which could not be given rights. So the focus of Zero Squatter is to rearrange and replan the urban areas in Selangor.”

The reasons that the location of the new settlements was maintained on the same site as their former *perkampungan setinggan* were twofold. One, it was easier to relocate these *kampung* communities within the same vicinity, and two, the location of the settlement itself is nearer to the community’s working places and major services:

“These low-cost flats are supplied for those working in services, factories, supermarkets and so on. If they live at the outskirts of town, it is hard for them to access the urban area where they are working. However, the cost of land in urban areas is expensive. That’s why we’ve developed low-cost flats, so that they have access to their work place. For instance Desa Mentari lah. It has direct access to KL, Bandar Sunway, factories in PJ, haaaa that are its access. There are other options of low-cost housings like one-storey terrace houses, but then they have to stay outside like in Rawang, Kuala Langat, outside the main urban area which is why they refuse to choose even though we’ve offered the same price”, MY.

As to why high-rises were chosen instead of one- or two-storey developments, it was due to limitations of space allocated for low-cost developments. As the State needed to cater for thousands of former *perkampungan setinggan* dwellers, it had no other choice but to develop vertical settlements. Nevertheless, one-storey developments were also provided for the community. However, these developments are located at the outskirts and further away from major towns, which resulted in the majority of the community choosing Desa Mentari instead. MY noted:

“Now we develop sky cities, not enough land. So we like it or not the settlements get higher. No options. We’ve asked them to live at the outskirts but they don’t want to.”

Finally, it was hoped that the relocation would alter the community’s attitude and that they would adapt to the urbane, modern environment and become more ‘civilised’. HT, the state assemblywoman, explained:

“Errr, the Selangor State Government, the previous one, they targeted Selangor a developed state by 2005. During that time there were many squatter settlements, so to achieve the target they removed all the squatters and put them in flats. But the fact is they are still squatters. Now they are just up in the air.”

9.6.2 Vote banks

A high-density low-income community is the best place for politicians to canvass for votes for elections. The residents of Desa Mentari were fooled by the then opposition party, which later won and is now ruling the state of Selangor, with promises of better provision of facilities and services and more opportunities if they were to vote them in. In reality, these political parties were more interested in winning the election through support from these communities and used the issues faced by them as material for their political campaigns. MY, the State Government officer, claimed:

“They (politicians) do not concern about the community there, their concern about pulling in votes. Malaysia’s politic is bad, and then the issues of conflicts between Indians and Malays, should not arise if the MPs are doing their jobs.”

Politicians’ main role should be to find means and provide solutions for disadvantaged and troubled communities; instead, they instilled hatred and mistrust of the Government:

“They (politicians) should be giving talks on how to improve life, not how to condemn the Government. Those living there they still have hatred, they (politicians) are not there to promote better living, they hatred. So they fire up

(the community), so how are they going to improve their lives”, SN, acquaintance of MY.

9.6.3 Development of Policies

Even within the Government agencies themselves, one agency would dominate any decision made regarding the development of policies. The Federal and State Governments are the agencies that produce and develop policies while the authorities are the implementers. Nonetheless, the development of policies depends on whether they are acceptable and implementable by the authorities, as explained by a Federal Government officer:

“If it is complicated, who wants to do it (when it comes to approving policy proposals). If you ask the council or authorities, they will start saying it’s too hard, so there is no need. So we tend to search for the easiest approach that they can do. Things that they can easily make decisions”, RY.

He then added that based on the Federal Government’s experience, the policies must be common sense-based and easy to adopt despite the availability of other better and more effective, but complicated, methods, which would be rejected. He elaborated:

“If you propose something that is mathematical or technical, they would not do it. Therefore, we have to come up with something that the people who makes the decision in the council/authorities, based on their capabilities. They are not capable of handling complicated, technical policies. Everything has to be common sense based, and then it would be easier to convince them (council/authorities). This common sense base is important and you have to make a good decision by using their common sense....If the guidelines are too detail they would complain. So when you’re asking too much, they start to reject. So right now I’m trying to balance everything out, which is hard.”

Another Federal Government’s officer, PR, stated that they have to be flexible and provide various choices of policies to allow the local authorities to be able to adapt to

what was suitable to their situation. They used to be strict and required the local authorities to follow specifically to their guidelines but it made them seem stringent:

“Our role, planning (Town and Country Planning Department) can only advise to help the optimum. So you (local authorities) adapt and adopt, adopt first then adapt to your, your local. You sew your dress on your own. But then you say this is good you use it, what’s good for you might not be good for somebody else. We are not specific. We give the optimum, we give ranges (policies). Right now, in fact we used to be very strict, we were very strict. And then they (local authorities) get confused, like they are binded. So now we make it simple, we are haaaaaa flexible.”

This again refers to how the local authorities worked and everything must conform to their preferences.

9.6.4 Clashing information

When both the household and professional data were compared, the author realised that there was conflicting information. Based on the household interviews, RM5000 worth of subsidies was awarded for the relocation and taken out from the price of the housing units, meaning that those who qualified could purchase the house for only RM35000 instead of RM40000 (please refer Chapter 8 (8.3.4.3)). However, according to MY, a State Government officer, the State Government had rewarded a subsidy of RM7000 for squatter dwellers and the money was distributed to the local authority:

“Considering the fact that they are the ones who explored or occupied the land, therefore the Government come up with initiative, we give you RM7000 cost for removal, it would be under the Government’s responsibility and errrr if they were to be placed in rented accommodation, the rent would be paid by the party who got the land. Subsidy of RM7000. If they don’t want the low-cost house, you take the RM7000 and find another house. Because the main concern is squatter dwellers have no rights over the land, it is state land, and the Government gives a token RM7000 as compensation because they were the occupiers of the kampungs.”

Even the cost of the low-cost housing unit differed among the respondents. One stated that the actual price was RM42000 and another said RM40000: *“But they were given an option whether they want to take the money or the low-cost house. Because the low-cost house costs RM40000 but are sold at RM35000 to squatter dwellers”*, MY. This raised the question of what happened to the RM2000 out of the RM7000 if only RM5000 were eventually subsidised?

Another matter that was explained by MY was that the residents of any low-cost accommodations under the Zero Squatter programme did not have to pay any maintenance fees for the maintenance of their buildings, and amendment has been made in the Strata Title Act for the low-cost housing:

“We know that Malaysian people, especially from lower income groups, are not ready to live in a development under the title strata because under this stratum they cannot share the costs. That’s why for low-cost houses we have issued low-cost certificates under strata act that low-cost houses (residents) do not need to pay for maintenance fees.”

This too conflicted with the household data collected in which the respondents claimed that they had to pay a certain amount of money for the maintenance of the flats or the management would not do anything.

9.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings for the professional data. Based on the professional data, it is proven that the local authority has no concern for the welfare of the Desa Mentari community. The people were not given any chance to participate or address any issues or their needs. This further makes them perceived as being not accountable to the community and gives the impression that the authority neglects or cares less about the poorer community, especially the former squatter dwellers. Providing for the former squatter dwellers is not their main priority and it seems that it is not their social responsibility to ensure that community are settled into their new homes and everything is provided for. This is proven by how this

community is subjected to ad hoc, uncoordinated, not well-planned strategies. Another issue that arises is the insensitivity towards the various culture and religious backgrounds within the community. According to the people, mainly the minority (Indians) and supported by the NGOs, the authority is selective in their development policies that target certain urban poor groups but neglect others, which has had a tremendous impact on and generated negative feelings among the urban poor living in this neighbourhood.

What is most important to the authorities is the value of the lands, which were expensive, and the economic returns on the lands which would benefit them. In reality, the issues faced by the squatter dwellers were used as a reason for them to eradicate or demolish these settlements. This is proven when similar problems of the community arise. In fact, the situation has gotten worse, but no action was taken. If it is true that their action of demolishing the settlements was to solve the issue of squatters, it begs the question of why the wait has been so long, in fact, up to more than 30 years, to finally demolish the squatters with the intention to solve their issues. The same applies to the development of the new settlements. It is stated in the housing policy and the Zero Squatter programme that every resident of the state is eligible or have the rights to a quality home complete with proper, adequate facilities and services for residents to lead a healthy and quality life. Hence, the question asked is: what has happened. Why have the Government and the authorities not delivered what they themselves promised? These questions will be answered in Chapter 10, where both the professional and household data will be analysed.

Chapter 10

Analysis of Findings and Recommendations

10.0 Introduction

This chapter will now analyse the household and professional data collected. The findings are analysed to attempt to answer the second part of the aim of the thesis, which is to **investigate the implications of these demolitions for their residents**. The chapter will review issues raised by the interviewees and the findings will be linked back to the Everyday Life framework. The chapter will end with some recommendations to policy makers in regards to the development of policies to improve the livelihoods of the poor communities residing in low-cost housing developments.

10.1 Issues Raised

This section lists the issues raised from both the household and professional data. The findings are grouped and analysed according to common issues.

10.1.1 Squatter Behaviour and Cleanliness

Cleanliness and the indiscriminating dumping of waste form the main concerns and are the most mentioned issues when discussing Desa Mentari. Based on the data, both the household and professional respondents believed that although the attitudes of the residents are the causes behind the problem, the design and management of the flats are partly to blame. Nevertheless, a few professional respondents placed more emphasis on the 'squatter behaviour' of the dwellers. They were blamed for bringing with them their squatters' habits which are their 'primitive level' of waste disposal and their 'improper' living condition, also known as '*kampung conduct*' (Bunnell, 2002: 1689). However, it can be argued that the design of the flats raised the problem to a higher level and since the authorities are aware of this 'squatter

behaviour' before they were relocated, it begs the question of why the new settlement was designed in such a way.

In reviewing the design of the settlement, it was found that the flats have 17 floors but no rubbish chutes were installed. The residents are expected to dispose of their household waste at the dumpsters located at the parking space, using either the elevators (for which only two are provided) or the staircases. This arrangement does not pose a problem for those living on the lower levels, but it is a major issue for those living on the fifth floor and above. They might cooperate for the first few months, but they would eventually no longer be bothered to do so and would resort to getting rid of their rubbish through the windows or by leaving them on the staircases to be collected by the custodians. The flats are badly maintained even though maintenance fees are collected every month. In addition, waste collections are irregular and inefficient. What was supposed to be a modern, quality residential development to improve the lives of former squatter dwellers eventually became a slum.

It is believed that one of the reasons for the relocation of squatter dwellers was the Government's idea that the relocation of squatter dwellers into 'planned', modern residential housing would modernise and change their attitudes and thus eventually solve the issues related to these communities. According to Bunnell (2002:1690), these low-cost high-rise structures were deemed "*the residential equivalent of the high-rise office; architectural technologies for modern practices of living standing alongside those for modern practices of working*". It was also suggested that the relocation would "*slowly change the attitudes in the flats*" (ibid). However, this was never the case as is proven by the tragic incident in 1997 along Jalan Bangsar, Kuala Lumpur, where a technical assistant was killed by a brick thrown from one of the low-cost flats, the settlements of relocated squatter dwellers (ibid:1685). This incident spotlighted the issues faced by the communities residing in low-cost high-rises and the Government's failure regarding their chosen solution. Not only has the Government failed to change the problematic attitude of the urban poor, the relocation has made matters worse. More than ten years later, the Government is still resorting to the same solution and the same problem has resurfaced.

There is no end when it comes to the many issues confronting low-cost high-rise settlements, especially in matters pertaining to indiscriminate dumping of waste. This behaviour does not occur only in Desa Mentari. Reports show that similar behaviour is seen in other low-cost flats in Malaysia. Apart from the 1997 'killer litter' incident in Bangsar, Kuala Lumpur, the latest was reported in Georgetown, Penang by Harian Metro Online (2010) where a taxi driver was killed at the Sungai Pinang public flats when a brick was thrown out from the upper floors of a flat. A few days later, a screwdriver was thrown out and it broke the windshield of a car. According to the residents, an unused aquarium was also once thrown out from one of the upper floors (ibid). This demonstrates how serious the issue of indiscriminate dumping of waste is, because these incidents in Desa Mentari are no longer isolated cases. These incidents are proof enough of the failure of the relocation of former squatter dwellers to high-rises. It is imperative that the Government and local authorities take drastic measures to curb the worrying practice of indiscriminate dumping of garbage. The issue is not that high-rises should be prohibited and never be constructed again; it is that those who are put in the high-rises become a problem, as explained by Nuttgens (1989:73):

“High buildings are suitable – and may even be the best kind of dwelling – for the well-to-do. Ideally, they need staff to control them and to ensure, at the very least, that the lifts work. The mistake was to apply this to housing for the ordinary working man – houses promoted and maintained by local authorities, always short of money, always trying to economise.”

However, the development of low-cost high-rises as a solution is undertaken due to the limited spaces in urban areas. Apart from that, the choice for this type of development is mainly determined by cost (Bunnell, 2002:1690) and private developers are known not to be keen as the economic returns are less lucrative (Ismail, 2005:80). Therefore, the designs are done to satisfy minimum standards and the social aspects of the neighbourhood are not taken into consideration; thus the flats do not conform to the most vital element of infrastructure for everyday life: **home and neighbourhood**. One professional interviewee even admitted that these lands are expensive and valuable to the Government. Therefore, allowing the *perkampungan setinggan* to remain there or developing low-cost housing on these

lands would not benefit the Government. The situation in Desa Mentari strengthens what Aiken (1981:170) has stated:

“Because squatters have generally been perceived by the Government to have no place in the well-ordered city of the future, they have been subject to ad hoc, largely uncoordinated, planning strategies.”

Nevertheless, the people should have at least had a say (**having a say**) in how the settlement should be designed and the services and facilities (**home and neighbourhood**) required by them. Apart from that, they needed to be prepared about the ethics and home management or maintenance of home spaces when living in high-rises. The absence of preparation and total exclusion from participating in the design and development process of their home resulted in them not feeling any pride in the settlement. Hence, they do not care and lack a sense of responsibility for their living environment. Public participation and preparing the people for a change in circumstances is poorly practised in Malaysia, or as in the case of Desa Mentari, nothing at all was carried out. All decisions were made without acknowledging and consulting the community and the residents were left to adapt to their new lives. At the state level, the relocation process was swiftly handled according to plan. Problems arose when the responsibility of the relocation was later handed over to the local authority where tasks were conducted for the sake of the local authority being seen as doing its job. The local authority acted as the main decision-maker in all aspects of the development without considering the needs and services that are suitable for this type of community. In reality, the community itself knew what was best for it as the residents were the ones faced with the problems and would later be living in the settlement. Not only must the needs of the people be identified, the historical, cultural and financial backgrounds of a community must also be studied and taken into consideration in any form of development. No one design can fit every community in Malaysia as different communities have different issues.

The combination of bad habits, bad design and no preparation spell disaster for relocated squatter dwellers. As mentioned in the first paragraph, although the residents are responsible for the unhygienic condition of the flats, the design of the flats also does not accommodate the nature of its dwellers, a fact that is a major contributor to the problem. When the main domain of the Everyday Life concept,

home and neighbourhood, has not been met, the other elements automatically could not be fulfilled. In addition, low-income communities need low maintenance housing because they do not have the resources and extra income to maintain their homes. Therefore, if these people are required to live in a different way (maintain the upkeep of the flats, pay for housing mortgage and maintenance fee), there is a need to first prepare and educate (**sources of support**) them on what to expect when living in high-rises, as well as to ensure that additional employment and training (**making ends meet**) are provided so they can earn enough to do so.

10.1.2 Racial Issues

Another major issue that was raised by both the household and professional respondents is the racial conflicts between the Malays and Indians. From the household data, both the Malays and Indians blamed each other for the problem. The Malays claimed that the Indians are uncooperative when it comes to matters concerning the neighbourhood such as their involvement in the community's neighbourhood watch and other communal activities. The Malays also claimed that the Indians are violent and are the main contributors to crimes in their neighbourhood. This second opinion however, has been discarded by one of the professionals who stated that outsiders mostly committed crimes in the neighbourhood, such as vehicle thefts and snatch thefts. In contrast, another professional whose research indicated that the way the Indians behave has long been an issue for the Malays and that it was one of the facilitating factors that caused the Kampung Medan incident, supported the first opinion. As for the Indians, conflicts occurred because they still hold grudges against the Malays (this will be discussed later in this chapter), and feel the unfairness in the different treatment by the authorities and the provision of facilities that are biased towards the Malays. The latter is supported by some of the professionals who claimed that the facilities, especially those related to religious beliefs and rituals, were only provided for one racial group. Others (professionals) believed that the community is not used to living in a heterogeneous neighbourhood.

This racial issue is not new as conflicts between them have long existed before they were relocated and these conflicts later erupted in March 2001 as the infamous Kampung Medan incident. The clash resulted in the death of six people and caused injuries to more than 200, mostly Indians. Although the demolition of squatter settlements in PJS was due to the Zero Squatter 2005 programme, many believe that the incident was one of the major factors that influenced the relocation. The root of the problem has never been resolved and now the victims and the people who assaulted them are forced to live together while the dispute escalates within the neighbourhood and brings other problems. This is due to the fact, among many reasons, that they still hold grudges against each other because of the Kampung Medan incident. Both groups were previously homogenous communities. Therefore, adapting to a totally different environment, and to cultural and religious backgrounds, is hard work for them, thus resulting in a disjointed community and lacking in **sources of support**. Compounding the disunity, one group is given priority to openly practise religious beliefs (lack in **enjoyment**) and to dictate spaces for that purpose, which inevitably creates conflicts. Jayasooria (2008: 118) highlighted this matter:

“Very often the battle is between the poor and the affluent as the latter controls the resources. However, when the poor receive differential treatment or have different experiences of access to resources or if their particular issues remain unresolved, they might turn against themselves causing social unrest within the bottom sections of the society.”

Nevertheless, it is not true that Malaysians are racists or cannot live with other racial groups, as other neighbourhoods in Selangor and even in Malaysia do not have this problem. The main problem is poverty (**making ends meet**), as claimed by Associate Professor Dr Mansor Mohd. Noor in a research that he conducted about the Kampung Medan incident. He stated that: *“If you are poor, you have the same problems. This is our problem, not a Malay or Indian problem”* (Damis, 2007). He then added that socio-economic issues materialise in the form of racial (terms):

“Even though the conflict seemed to be racially-based, issues of urban poverty, marginalisation and social neglect were the factors that caused the conflict” (ibid).

This too is supported by Nadarajah (2007(a):74) who asserted that the racial clash in 2001 was primarily triggered by frustration and outrage due to the living environment (**home and neighbourhood**) and marginalisation rather than by racial issues. Therefore, the only way to resolve the issue of racial conflicts in Desa Mentari is to first address the root problem, which is poverty, through strong economic policies (**making ends meet**) as well as education (**sources of support**). The community needs to be educated on the history and background of the various races in Malaysia and the importance of racial harmony must be instilled in the residents. As these people are lowly educated and have never lived in a heterogeneous neighbourhood, they should have been enlightened on the cultures, rituals and religious beliefs of the people who would later be their neighbours. However, these subjects are already being taught in school. Therefore, the Ministry of Education should review why certain population groups have not grasped the concept of racial unity and they remain homogenous communities, refusing to intermingle with other racial groups. Education is all the more important as these two communities have a bad history between them. Instead, they were left to confront their issues themselves.

The Government's solution of relocating squatter dwellers and developing low-cost flats did not alleviate their poverty. Instead, it made their lives harder as the 'solution' added more burdens to their already unstable financial state. As stated by Sufian and Mohamad (2009: 113):

“Resettlement of squatters may cause an increase of living expenses for majority of squatters. As a result, this may pressure them and make them feel unsecured. Previously, they were complacent with a no rental stay and sometimes they are free to rent out the house to anybody they like.”

In addition, they are now faced with other community issues related to high-rise developments. The authority and developer worsened the situation when they planned and designed the settlement without considering the differing natures of two very different and vibrant communities. The design should have embraced and taken into consideration the different religious and cultural practices and sensitivities and incorporated features that would help to merge the two disparate factions into one neighbourhood. The only way to do this is to first consult the community (**having a say**) before making any decisions. On top of that, they should also provide the

means for them to earn extra income and aid them in managing their incomes within the neighbourhood (**making ends meet**). Another recommendation by Datuk Azman Amin Hassan, Director-General of the National Unity and Integration Department, is to form neighbourhood watches, which did not exist before the Kampung Medan incident. These groups would help to monitor the situation in the neighbourhood and try to prevent rising tension or act as mediator if any conflicts arise (Damis, 2007). A neighbourhood watch (**sources of support**) has been set up in Desa Mentari although not many people volunteered to participate. However, they have somehow managed to decrease the number of property crimes and reduced the occurrence of fights, apart from major conflicts, in their neighbourhood, which is a good start.

The residents of the community, especially the Malays, were really cautious when discussing and addressing any issues faced by the community, especially matters pertaining to racial issues (lack in **having a say**). The Malaysian Government and the authorities are to be blamed for this cautious behaviour. In Malaysia, the Government is so concerned about maintaining a harmonious image of the country that it has refused to discuss or allow its citizens to discuss any issues relating to racial conflicts. A good example is the Kampung Medan incident where all publications about the incident were banned and Malaysian citizens are still left in the unknown. The Government's rationale is that they want to ensure that the 13th May incident will never be repeated. However, the Government should provide some means to allow its citizens to speak up about the matter and to find solutions, not to ignore and shield the truth. As for the local authorities, they should have known and are aware that racial conflict would be an issue in this community because of what has happened in the past. Putting victims and attackers together would definitely create problems even though the incident occurred years before they were relocated to Desa Mentari. The local authority should have been more sensitive regarding the conflicts and should have taken a more sensible approach in the placement and division of housing units among the community. If the community had been consulted and engaged (**having a say**) in the planning process, they might have prevented inappropriate mixing. As stated by Aiken (1981:171):

“Interracial tolerance is perhaps promoted in integrated low-rise and terraced-housing projects, but not in high-rise structures.”

This holds true in the situation that is currently faced by the community of Desa Mentari. The only difference in their circumstances is that the strain existed before the relocation, and the relocation that was supposed to resolve the issues of squatters has instead worsened the tension. The insensitivity of the local authority and developers has caused the inharmonious condition of this neighbourhood. It is unfortunate that rather than find solutions to the problem, they blame the community instead.

Overall, racial conflicts occurred not because the community is racist, they happened due to the lack of the five elements of the Infrastructure of Everyday Life. The first entails **making ends meet**. The people are poor and made poorer because of the location as they now have to pay for their home and services, which they cannot afford. There is no means and assistance given to them to earn extra income in their new settlement. This is the real reason behind conflicts although it is manifested in the form of racial conflicts. The second element is **enjoyment**. One racial group is unable to openly practise its religion and beliefs due to the non-provision of space, while the other group is able to do so. The third element is **having a say**. The community was not consulted in the planning of the settlement that could have prevented inappropriate mixing as well as helped to develop a settlement that is sensitive of the various religious and cultural backgrounds. The fourth element is **sources support**. When the dwellers do not have a place to practise their religion, they therefore lack religious support. Apart from that, they need to be prepared and educated on how to live in a multiracial community to prevent them from becoming a disjointed community, which they now are. The final element is **home and neighbourhood**. Unhygienic and unhealthy living environment triggers frustrations that lead to the community blaming each other for the problem. This inevitably causes disputes.

10.1.3 Breakdown of Community Structure

All the household respondents claimed that the community is no longer united since they were relocated. Although the flats are overcrowded with people, some of the residents do not know each other despite each housing unit being so close to the

next. Apart from that, former *kampung* members no longer socialise. They also said that the community is more self-centred, unaware of their surroundings and other people and civic consciousness is low. As for the professional respondents, one explained that they are not yet a settled community and is still in the process of rebuilding the integration of their community, while others believed that the community is not proud of their home and has no attachment (sense of belonging) to the settlement.

The relocation has fractured the community structure (**sources of support**) resulting in the lack of community spirit, no engagement and no cooperation between the community members in any communal activities, including the neighbourhood watch. This lack of cooperation then led to other problems faced by the community, such as cleanliness, social issues, crime and mainly, the breakdown of the community as described by Nadarajah ((b), 2007:124):

“For many, the neighbourhood was and is their community, a place which is familiar and supportive at times of great difficulties. In moving across to new complexes such as Desa Mentari, where a sense of neighborhood has to be re-established, there is for a period of time, a sense of loss of “community”. Such mobility presents the challenges of making new friends and sharing scant resources, especially in such a dense collective living environment. As one resident commented, “I feel alone now. I feel I have been left on my own – not even my children look after me. I feel abandoned. In the kampung, it was different then – we knew each other and had to rely on each other. I could talk to people and they would say hello”.

As mentioned in the previous sub-heading, the community previously lived in homogenous neighbourhoods. Although they are now residing in a multiracial settlement, they still operate as separate communities. The community failed to adapt to their new multi-cultural and multi-religious environment, therefore, there are areas of conflict and friction. Repeatedly stating how cooperation is the key to a harmonious community is the one thing that is absent in Desa Mentari and they do not know how to overcome the situation. This again goes back to preparing (**sources of support**) the community by conducting programmes that foster multi-religious understanding and tolerance before they are relocated. In addition, greater public

participation (**having a say**) beforehand is vital in the selection and distribution of communities that move together.

Apart from that, most of the squatter dwellers are no longer the original dwellers (and even illegal immigrants) but people who migrated from rural areas to work in Petaling Jaya and rented units there. As renters, they treat the settlement more as a place to sleep rather than as their home, which results in them not caring about their living conditions and the problems that they cause to their settlement. A solution must be formulated to handle and limit the number of renters in these types of development, and a stricter contract should be drafted that requires renters to care for and maintain the area as they would their own homes.

10.1.4 Physical Attributes

The condition of the flats is also a matter of concern for both the household and professional respondents. The flats are too small to accommodate the families of former squatter dwellers. These almost 7,000 squatter families were packed into eight 11-storey blocks and two 17-storey blocks in two neighbourhoods. The flats are crowded, the space on each floor is compact and there is no privacy from the neighbours. Recreational areas (for **enjoyment**) are non-existent apart from the lacklustre playgrounds and a basketball court in one of the neighbourhoods. Facilities (essential for **home and neighbourhood**) are insufficient and safety issues are not addressed. Apart from that, cultural and religious aspects (**enjoyment**) of the community are not taken into account in designing the flats. The Malays have to use one of the shop lots as a *surau* (small praying area) while the Indians have no place to conduct religious activities. In addition, the cleanliness of the flats is another major issue, as demonstrated earlier in this chapter. This unhealthy, squalid and deficient environment (**home and neighbourhood**) has had a big negative impact on the residents, frustrating them and impacting their everyday life. The lack of facilities and spaces leads to the lack of activities, which is the cause behind the social issues among the teens in these areas.

The average number of persons per household in this area is between five and seven people (Ismail, 2005:92); therefore, a 60-square meter three-bedroom flat unit is inadequate to fit a big family. The issue of inadequate size has been raised and written about by other researchers where these housing units were considered as smaller compared to their former squatter homes and pictured as 'pigeon holes' and 'chicken coops' by its dwellers (Ali, 1998; Yeoh, 2001; Bunnell, 2002; Suffian, 2009). The lack of fundamental facilities (**home and neighbourhood**) is also a common grumble in which recreational areas and open spaces are not provided for apart from playgrounds with basic playground structures. Even so, it seems as though these spaces were developed on leftover lands mainly to fulfil the requirement set by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government which states that every housing development must reserve a minimum of 10% for open spaces or recreational areas. These flats are densely populated and uncomfortable, and to make matters worse, there are no outdoor spaces, especially for the teens, adults and the elderly, to take a breather, rest, socialise and have an active, healthy life (**enjoyment**). Due to the lack of a proper community hall, the residents have resorted to conducting communal activities and festivities in ground floor shop lots that have been opened up to be used as a 'hall', which is certainly insufficient to support and fit in the thousands of residents residing there.

The physical condition of the settlement (**home and neighbourhood**) has no quality and does not promote a healthy living environment. This is in total contrast to what was envisioned by the Zero Squatter programme and the housing policy that states that all citizens are entitled to quality houses complete with sufficient facilities and services. The flats are badly constructed using cheap materials and are not safe to be inhabited, as reported in the Malay Mail (2009). It was also claimed that these buildings were given only temporary Certificates of Fitness (CF)²¹, which means that although residents are allowed to move into the housing units, the flats have not yet met the safety standards or other requirements required for a CF to be awarded, or they have not been fully cleared for occupation and use by the authorities. Another concern is that a temporary CF must not exceed six months, yet the residents have

²¹ The Certificate of Fitness (CF) is an official document that is issued by the city's authority to acknowledge that a building is safe to be occupied.

been living there since 2004. This regulation is clearly stated in the Building By-Laws 24 that reads:

"24. Subject to payment of the fees prescribed in the First Schedule to these By-laws, the Commissioner may in his discretion grant a Temporary Certificate for Occupation of a building for a period, not exceeding six months in cases where only minor deviations from the approved building plans have been made and pending full compliance with the requirements of the Commissioner before the issue of Certificate for Occupation."

Therefore, for more than five years, the residents' safety was put at risk by the developer and local authority. Apart from that, if anything were to happen to the residents' homes, they are not eligible for compensation, as buildings with no CFs are not insured. In addition, for a CF to be granted, the development should be fitted with sufficient fundamental facilities and services, as stated in Building By-Law 25 (1) (b):

"Certification of fitness for occupation shall be given when all essential services, including access roads, landscape, car parks, drains, sanitary, water and electricity installation, fire lifts, fire hydrant and others where required, sewerage and refuse disposal requirements have been provided."

This clearly demonstrates the Government's failure to provide a better quality of life for former squatter dwellers, as stated by Sufian and Mohamad (2009:123):

"The Malaysian government has provided various housing schemes for the poor and special group of people including squatters. Unfortunately, the elements of quality housing, sufficient facilities, comfortableness and affordable housing have not been addressed considerably resulting in the hesitation of squatters to move to houses provided for them."

The unhealthy living environment is also unsuitable for raising children, as indicated by a study on children who were relocated to low-cost settlements; they were found to perform poorly in school (Siti, 2006; as quoted in Suffian and Mohamad, 2009:113). The design of the development does not consider the various cultures

and religions practised by its dwellers, adding more friction to an already strained relationship between the Malays and the Indians due to the Kampung Medan incident. This is supported by Jayasooria (2008:122) who stated that the Government's often insensitive provision of facilities and designs in developments with multi-cultural and multi-religious communities have had a negative impact on community integration.

The physical condition of the settlement, which is the main element of the **home and neighbourhood** domain, is the most vital component in determining the development and the harmony of a community. However, the development of Desa Mentari only meets the minimum requirements or even less. The bad design and inadequate facilities and services lead to frustrations, which then contributes to the other problems previously mentioned. The community should have been given the right (**having a say**) to determine their needs in the development of the settlement, or at least to be allowed to participate or included in the process. It can be said that the unhealthy and insufficient living conditions is the main cause of all the problems faced by the community.

10.1.5 Crime and Social Issues

Apart from the mentioned above four issues, the household respondents also raised the issue of crime and social ills (lack of **enjoyment**) as contributing factors to problems in their settlement. They stated that motorcycle theft is the major crime that occurs in Desa Mentari, followed by occasional fights among its residents. The professionals supported this where one explained that based on a Crime Mapping System that they developed, Desa Mentari is one of the hotspots for vehicle thefts. Some of the residents even claimed that snatch thefts also occur here. As for fights and disputes, they transpired due to racial conflicts between its two racial groups (as discussed in 10.1.2 Racial Issues).

As mentioned in previous chapters, Desa Mentari is identified as a high-risk neighbourhood due to several factors. These are its socio-economic status: mainly low-income group neighbourhoods, lowly educated residents, fewer opportunities for

advancement and undeniably, the level of crime that occurs here. Motorcycle theft is the most common crime that occurs here, as the area is easily accessible and allowing for easy exit or escape. The lack of natural surveillance can be blamed for this occurrence as residents now live on higher levels, away from the ground floor, making it hard to monitor properties parked in the parking bays. The location of the settlement is also another reason that the neighbourhood is a target since it can easily be accessed from the highway, and also allows for easy escapes. As the settlement is overcrowded, controlling the occurrence of crime is made even harder.

According to some of the professional respondents, outsiders mostly committed the crimes in Desa Mentari, apart from the fights. As this area is blacklisted, it therefore attracts criminals to commit crimes there. A report in *Utusan Malaysia* (2008) claimed that Taman Medan and the whole of PJS is a target for kidnappers due to the physical and environmental factors of the area (**home and neighbourhood**). The police do not rule out the possibility that this is due to the position of the houses and the settlements that are close to one another, and the density of the population in the area exacerbates the situation. As mentioned above, the settlement is easily accessed, allowing for easy getaways and as it is overcrowded, and outsiders can also easily blend in with the community. The fact that neighbours do not recognise each other adds to the problem.

In addition to crime, both the household and professional data confirmed that the youths from this area are involved in social ills such as drug and alcohol abuse, immoral conduct and aimless loitering. The situation is no longer controllable and it has gotten to a point where other residents fear these troubled teens. This problem can be traced back to the support that these youths lack from their families (**sources of support**) back home and to their living environment (**home and neighbourhood**) itself. As the blocks are overcrowded as well as placed close together, the environment is very stuffy and suffocating. For youngsters, being in the outside is more preferable than being at home. Based on the author's observation, there was no space provided for the teenage group other than a run-down playground and badminton court. When there is no space and no facilities, there are therefore no activities and this justifies the respondents' claims that the youths are involved in social ills because of the lack of space for activities. A study conducted by Sufian and

Mohamad (2009: 113) also stated that lack of facilities and the overall living condition could contribute to social ills:

“Smaller sizes of land and smaller house at the temporary shelter or low-cost houses have agitated the squatters’ frustrations. Lack of facilities leads to lack of activities. To a certain extent, this has caused social problems, unhealthy environment, unsuitable for child bringing environment and according to a study conducted in Penang, the children from resettlement areas have poorly performed in school (Siti, 2006, 291)”.

Not only do they face problems at home, they also face problems in school. This issue undeniably lies in the hands of parents who fail to instil any form of discipline at an early age. Many are busy working day and night to provide for their families and some are too engrossed in their own problems to care about their children. The lack of space and activities as well as the shabby living environment add to the problem. As the issue of social ills in this area has escalated and reached a point where it is uncontrollable, there is a need for organised formal intervention and preventive programmes to be conducted by the Government or the local authority. This can be in the form of rehabilitative programmes, social ills awareness and mentoring programmes (**sources of support**) in addition to recreational and more fun activities (**enjoyment**); anything that would keep the youths occupied and out of trouble.

Safety is also part and partial of **enjoyment**. Although the crime rate has dramatically decreased due to the presence of a neighbourhood watch, social issues continue to be a concern and need to be looked into and resolved. Apart from that, some residents still feel unsafe. This may be due to the fact that because of their past experiences, some residents are so paranoid and overcome by fear that despite the decreased crime rate, they still believe otherwise. In reality, the people themselves are the ones who created the unsafe atmosphere within their settlement and no amount of patrolling can help to reduce the crime rate. Until all issues are resolved, the community will always be faced with the same problems, which may even escalate into bigger issues. However, the missing element of **home and neighbourhood**, which is the lack of facilities and the physical living condition of the flats – for example, its size, cleanliness and overall planning (accessibility) – also contributes to the level of security of the settlement as well as to social problems.

This again clearly demonstrates that no amount of policing in a neighbourhood can determine the level of safety, but how the settlement was designed and planned in the first place.

10.2 An Overview

Based on the analysis above, the findings are summarised in the table below:

Issues	Point raised by community	Point raised by professionals	The author's thoughts	Relationship to Everyday life
Cleanliness	Design and management of the settlement	Inappropriate behaviour in relation to rubbish, Design and management of settlement	Poor maintenance, the design of the settlement, no say in the design process, the lack of preparation of the people	Home and Neighbourhood Having a say Sources of support
Racial issues	Blaming each other, lack of involvement, holding grudges, differential treatments and provision of facilities.	Not used to heterogeneous neighbourhoods, differential treatments and provision of facilities, urban poverty.	Insensitive design and provision of space, overall living environment, frustrations, lack of preparation and education, not involved in the design process.	Making ends meet Enjoyment Having a say Sources of support Home and neighbourhood
Community breakdown	No longer united, self-centred, no	Unsettled community, no	Relocation fractures	Sources of support

	cooperation.	sense of belonging, lack of pride.	community, no cooperation, from homogenous neighbourhoods, no public participation, sub-letting.	Having a say Home and Neighbourhood
Physical attributes	Inadequate facilities, no privacy, cleanliness.	Too small, overcrowded, inadequate facilities, insensitive design, cleanliness.	Size of flats affecting the youths, design fulfilling only minimum requirements, no quality and does not promote healthy living, lack of space contributes to social problems, no participation in design process.	Home and neighbourhood Enjoyment Having a say
Crime and social ills	Contributing factors to other problems, property crime, fights, youths involved in social ills.	Hotspots for property crime, high-risk neighbourhood, youths involved in social ills.	High-risk therefore attracts criminals, the design contributes to problems (easy access and getaways), lack of family support, living environment, lack of space and activities contribute to social ills.	Home and neighbourhood Enjoyment Sources of support

Table 7 A summary of the analysis in relation to Everyday Life

Based on the table, all the five elements of the Infrastructure of Everyday Life are lacking in Desa Mentari and this caused to the deterioration of Desa Mentari, both physically and socially. As the community was relocated for political reasons and as a form of social engineering (relates back to governmentality), no thought therefore was given to what form of housing the residents needed. They now have been put into housing for which neither they nor the authorities can afford to pay and maintain, and are pushed into inappropriate racial and cultural mixes. The system is not working for them, resulting in Desa Mentari becoming a slum and the fracturing of the community's support system. Hence, the relocation has more negative implications than positive ones although the primary reason behind the relocation was to improve the quality of living of the former squatter dwellers. Thus, in the development of any housing development, especially for lower-income groups, all aspects of Everyday Life must be studied and included, as each element is interrelated and interdependent.

10.3 Recommendations to Policy Makers

As presented in both Chapters 8 and 9, the attitude of the local authorities is a major concern, not only towards the Desa Mentari community, but their commitment in serving a community in general and their understanding of the implementation of frameworks. This is well documented by Osman et al (2008:1-11) regarding the issues faced in the implementation of the community's participation process for the Local Agenda 21 in Malaysia in which the Petaling Jaya City Council (MBPJ) was involved. In the article, it is stated that the local authorities do not understand the framework despite having spent a significant amount of money in training the staff; awareness is low and they still prefer the top-down approach in decision-making (ibid). Therefore, introducing new frameworks would particularly be a challenge. However, in the context of the Infrastructure of Everyday Life, the everyday tasks of a community are at the centre of the concept as the aim is to reorganise "the basic tasks of daily life in neighbourhoods in a more integrated ways" (Horelli et al, 1998:13). This means that the component of the framework is already embedded in the community and it is a matter of identifying common everyday activities of the community and using those as a basis for the development of policies. Apart from

that, the problems and issues faced by the community should also be addressed and included in the policy development. The following are the issues raised and some recommendations based on the five elements of the Infrastructure of Everyday Life:

10.3.1 Home and Neighbourhood

There are two aspects in dealing with this element, the physical aspect and the social aspect (which overlaps with **sources of support**) of the neighbourhood. The physical aspect of the neighbourhood was the most criticised and grumbled about by the interviewees. It is well documented that most public housing projects developed between the 1950s and 1970s in both developing and western countries have turned into slums, although in the developing countries the issues have not been given much attention (UN-Habitat:1-265). This problem is still happening now. Ageing and deterioration is a natural process for every building. However, in the case of Desa Mentari, deterioration occurred less than five years after the community was relocated (refer to Chapter 8). The causes of the flats turning into slums in such a short period of time are threefold. Firstly, the buildings were built using cheap materials and the structure of the buildings was highlighted in the media about whether they were safe to be occupied as they were only awarded temporary Certificates of Fitness (CF). This is a common practice in Malaysia, not just in the development of Desa Mentari, where developers would use cheap materials to cut cost and thus make more profit. The buildings are not the only structures the safety of which is suspect. The surrounding areas or facilities could also be classified as unsafe, as reported in The Malay Mail (2010) where a monsoon drain located near a children's playground in Desa Mentari was not adequately fenced and that claimed the lives of two children in 2007 and 2009. As at the date of the report, proper fencing has yet to be built. The drain has only been secured with wire mesh that has since been vandalised.

Secondly, the design of the buildings only conformed to the minimum requirements set in the building guidelines and does not consider the nature of the people who were to reside there. The facilities provided are below par or not provided at all. Finally, the attitude of some of the residents themselves has resulted in their homes

being in poor condition. The relocation has proven that attitude cannot be moulded or changed simply by placing people into better accommodations. From the study, the sense of belonging to the settlement is low among the residents, which contribute to some of the residents treating the place simply as a place to sleep, not a home for which they care. Nevertheless, the combination of these three factors has led to the transformation of what was supposed to have been a better and improved accommodation into a vertical '*setinggalan*' or a slum.

It is anticipated and proven that if measures are not taken to improve the way these settlements are designed, developed and managed, the cycle of slums resurfacing will continue and even worsen, especially in an era of rapid urbanisation and economic development. Although *perkampungan setinggans* have been successfully eradicated in most states in Malaysia, the aim to eliminate slums will never be achieved. On top of that, it will have a higher toll on the country environmentally, socially and economically if slums were to be replaced or rehabilitated. Hence, it is essential for fundamental reforms to be undertaken in the provision of low-cost housing on both the micro and macro levels, which includes significant changes in political attitudes, from urban governance to custom-made building regulations. The community of *perkampungan setinggans* was problematized or was a targeted population since the dwellers lived in conditions that were deemed inhabitable and they were associated with social issues such as urban poverty, unacceptable 'rural' conduct and being the breeding ground for social ills and crimes. Therefore, the design and building requirements must be different from those of high-rise residential designs for other income groups. An in-depth research and understanding of the community and its issues must be conducted before any development is allowed. As disclosed in this chapter and the previous chapters, there is a need for the design to adapt to the nature of a community such as Desa Mentari in terms of its racial integration, that is, various cultures and religions; the different age groups; common three-generation household; economic status; and the *kampung*-style community living that is strong within this community. All these elements should be taken into consideration and incorporated into the design. The issue of housing units being too small to fit big households can be resolved by providing multi-size units per building. Instead of having the standard three-bedroom for all, developers should provide a range of two-bedroom to four-bedroom units to suit different households and also

incomes. A good example is that of high-rise public housing that cater for all levels of income groups in one building, is affordable to the lower income group and that does not compromise on the quality of its construction and living environment (please refer to Chapter 2).

10.3.2 Sources of Support

As mentioned above, the social aspect of the home and neighbourhood is also embedded under the sources of support element. One of the main issues that the community keeps pointing out is how their community structure has broken down. The community is not a settled community, therefore they have no sense of belonging as the settlement has no history, and has not grasped the idea of how a neighbourhood should be. The settlement has no identity to which the residents can relate and it takes time for this to develop. In contrast, life in the *perkampungan setinggans* resembled that in the *kampungs*. The dwellers were really close as a community where everybody knew each other and the locals' safety was everyone's concern. The social control system, both informal and formal, was strong in the *perkampungan setinggans* with local leaders and community associations, and the residents were more involved in their community. Moving into Desa Mentari, they no longer have familiar neighbours and friends on whom to fall back on in times of need.

As they were previously a homogenous community, adapting to a multi-racial neighbourhood was a new challenge for them. Couple that with a history of racial clashes between the two communities and the matter has gotten worse since they were relocated. On top of that, social ills have since increased in the new settlement and Desa Mentari has been labelled as a high-risk area. Since the neighbourhood has been blacklisted, criminals from other areas enter it to commit crimes, contributing to the rise in the crime rate. On the issue of crime, property crime is a major concern. Motorcycle theft is very common as well as snatch thefts. Due to the location of the neighbourhood, the community is an easy target because of the easy access that allows criminals to quickly escape. The lack of space for motorcycles and the safety factor also contribute to the rise in property crime in this area. On the issue of social ills, the community puts the blame on the youths. It is believed that the

involvement of youths in social issues is due to the lack of parental control, the fact that they have no place to go and the lack of activities. The adults claim that they are unable to control their children because their homes are no longer on the ground level, hence they cannot monitor their children's activities. This is the concept of 'eyes on the street' where natural surveillance is achieved by having one's home on the same level as the street.

There is a need for the local authority to organise activities and provide spaces that cater to and are sensitive of the various rituals of different religions and cultures. These activities should, at the same time, celebrate this diversity as well as promote good community interactions. The local authority must be fair in the provision of facilities and services that should be inclusive of all the members of the community. It should provide one common multi-functional space, such as the void deck in Singapore's public housing, to be used by the whole community for them to socialise, open bazaars and food stalls, conduct festivities and weddings and any other communal activities. For more sensitive, private events such as funerals, specific space for these purposes should be provided. Programmes that foster multi-religious understanding and tolerance should also be organised. Strong leadership is also essential in uniting the two communities; therefore someone outside the community whom they can trust and rely on should be appointed (this will be further discussed in the following element).

As for the youths, the authorities should create and organise activities and projects that can keep them occupied and prevent them from being involved in social ills. This can be accomplished by providing free after-school tuition classes, fun activities such as dancing or art classes, organising sport events and also mentoring programmes. The Government should organise formal intervention and preventive programmes, including rehabilitative programmes, for those who are already involved in social ills such as alcoholism and gangsterism. The local authority should establish partnerships with other agencies and NGOs in carrying out these projects and volunteers should also come from within the community itself. Running awareness programmes on social ills is not enough; social referral centres should be located in the neighbourhood as places for the residents to seek guidance and advice or to file complaints on social matters. To address the issue of the physical form of the

building that prevents parents from enabling them to monitor their children, the community should form a parents' association in the likes of the neighbourhood watch that specifically functions to monitor their children as well as to assist in creating activities for them. A nursery that is accessible to both the Malays and Indians (currently it is just for the Malays) should also be set up to assist working parents with small children.

10.3.3 Having a Say – Bottom-up

Whether the authorities like it or not, the participation of the community is a vital component in ensuring the success of the framework, or any other framework for that matter. There is a need for a change in the political priorities of the central government and a change in approach from centralisation to decentralisation, market driven to pro-poor and people centred, and restriction to enabling. The most essential change in policy is to give the voice back to the people, or simply known as public participation. This does not mean that the community has full power over all decisions regarding their neighbourhood, but developing collaboration and a professional relationship between communities and the local authorities by decentralising power in the decision-making process enables the community to assist in the planning or improvement process. As mentioned time and time again throughout this thesis, only the community truly knows its financial situation, the social aspects of their community, the issues faced and the needs of the residents in order to conduct their daily lives. Therefore, they should be involved in discussions, especially in identifying the problems and their strengths. This is to ensure and determine that *“the quality of life in a community should reflect the wishes of those who live there rather than represent purely technical solutions imposed from outside”* (Levent and Nijkamp, 2009:16). They should also be involved in the management and maintenance of their neighbourhood, unlike now where the buildings are wholly managed by the developer. By allowing the community to have some control in the management of their settlement, a sense of belonging to the place would eventually be promoted, which is something that is currently lacking, hence resulting in the breakdown of the community structure and also the existence of the other problems faced by the community. Charting a strategy for action and programmes with the community is the most critical. Decisions cannot be in the hands of the local authority

alone. Public participation should not just be on paper, but it is a vital process to enable the community to be part of a development and to have access to services. It is important that the authority is made more accountable and transparent in applying this approach.

As explained by Horelli et al. (1998:33) in regards to women in their everyday life experiences, “*building from the bottom involves a redistribution of power in the decision-making process to enable women to influence policy decisions*”. To relate this to Desa Mentari, redistribution of power can obviously be implemented by giving the community back its voice, but also by appointing an empowering professional, either from among the local authority’s officers or from other professionals, to act as a mediator between the two parties and who can establish dialogues with the community. This ‘mediator’ must be someone whom the community can trust and rely on and is a fixture in their neighbourhood. He or she can also be the person to unite the disputing communities. However, this officer must not simply be appointed without deliberation. He or she must have specific essential skills, including having extensive knowledge and understanding of the planning principles, and have knowledge on how the local authority’s bureaucracy works. Most importantly, he/she must have good people skills, with the ability to communicate well with different levels of people, especially from the lower income group. He/she must also have the ability to control situations, is not dominating but at the same time is influential, and understands the complex nature of the community with whom he/she is working. At this moment, there are NGOs that are working and have a strong connection with the community. However, as they are not from the Government agencies, there are no significant changes that they can make apart from voicing the community’s issues on their behalf, as the local authority is the only organisation that can carry out implementation.

10.3.4 Making Ends Meet

Although the community was living for free back in the *perkampungan setinggan*, they were leading a hard life, scarcely living off limited resources as the majority of the dwellers belong to the lowest income group in Malaysia. In moving to Desa

Mentari, although their physical environment improved, life is more difficult as they now need to pay for mortgages and bills. On top of that, they face extreme hardship due to the increasing cost of living in the city. This puts pressure on families as both parents have to work long hours and that affects the quality of family life, which leads to other issues in the community. There are efforts by some of the community members to earn extra income by selling homemade meals beside the main entrance to Desa Mentari and some even resorted to opening proper stalls along the road, but these were later demolished by the local authority. Some also built a car wash centre on land designated as river reserves but it too was threatened with demolition by the developer. The local authority should assist these people, instead of hindering their efforts, by educating them on strategies to earn extra income and assisting them in gaining legal permits, licences and loans to start up small domestic businesses. Back in the *perkampungan setinggal*, NGOs such as the Social Strategic Foundation (YSS) did assist the community by providing sewing machines for housewives to earn extra income by sewing clothes. However, this has been discontinued since the people were relocated. This type of project is a good example that should be maintained and carried out in Desa Mentari.

Desa Mentari should not only function as the home of the settlers, it should also be a place where they can generate income, which is common among low-income communities. Therefore, the design of the buildings must allow income generation activities to be conducted by providing proper spaces, as previously mentioned. As discussed in Chapter 2, home-based enterprises (HBEs) are known to have a significant effect on household incomes and the improvement of the livelihoods of the community, especially as they do not require many skills in which most of the community are lacking. However, for those who are interested in learning new skills, training programmes specifically for HBEs should be developed. The Government agencies need to provide a wider range of services to address the complex nature of this community. There is a need for assistance in the area of income generation through cross-sectional services, not just the assistance of one agency. Most importantly, these services must reach the target group and these agencies and services must be made accessible to the community, not just through the media or the web, of which some of the residents have no knowledge and to which they have no access.

10.3.5 Enjoyment

Life is not just about working and seeking income; it is important to strike a balance. Thus enjoyment is vital for the community to lead quality, healthy and spiritual lives. However, in the case of Desa Mentari, another common issue that was raised throughout this research is the lack of facilities provided for the community to conduct recreational, communal and religious activities. Those that were provided are insufficient, compromised or mono-cultural/religious and simply provided just to meet the minimum planning requirements. These facilities are built using leftover spaces or the community itself created spaces for its use with their own efforts, that is, they transformed shop lots into a hall and a *surau* (small mosque) and vacant lands were developed into small green spaces, parking lots and used for a car wash centre. As demonstrated, this lack of everything brought about the downfall of the community in the form of social ills and disputes. It is the result of having no activities, no space to conduct them and disputes over who gets to use them. There is no other way to put it and as stressed in the other above elements, sufficient and adequate spaces and facilities are vital and required. There are no acceptable reasons that can explain why the developer and the local authority failed to provide basic facilities such as communal halls and open spaces other than playgrounds for the community. Without these facilities, a community cannot function properly and will always feel neglected. This situation, inevitably builds feelings of hatred and mistrust of the local authority and the Government in general, thus further weakening the bond between the poor and the Government. The bad design of the settlement clearly demonstrates the uncommitted 'I do not care' attitude of the developers who designed and developed the settlements and the local authority that approved the development.

10.4 Conclusion

This chapter analysed and concluded the findings presented in Chapters 8 and 9, and also made some recommendations for policy makers in regards to the improvement of the livelihoods of poor communities residing in low-cost housing developments. To sum up, all the recommendations in this chapter stress on the need for the implementation of the bottom-up approach in governance, essentially

the participation of the households that puts the people and their needs at the heart of policy development. This chapter also suggests that any intervention to be implemented must first seek and understand the reality and the nature of a community, that is, what their real needs and priorities are. The insufficient provision of facilities and services should have never been an issue as these are basic amenities that are required in all developments and the provision of them should have not been compromised regardless of the status of its residents. Local authorities should be more stringent in the approval of any design of developments, especially for the lower income groups. Most importantly, the root of the issues faced by the community must first be resolved in order for any development or improvement to be a success. As proven in the Desa Mentari experience, physical improvement does not contribute to the betterment of the livelihoods of the residents.

In the case of the relocation, there are more negative implications than positive ones that arose. Although it was said that the relocation was to improve the quality of life of the former squatter dwellers, the real reason was to reap financial benefits. The issue of squatter settlements being breeding grounds of social ills was used as an excuse whereas there are many ways to solve these matters. The authorities could have just regenerated and redesigned the squatter settlements without relocating the dwellers, which would have been less costly. However, because the value of the land was high, the authorities that deemed it was best to confiscate the land and make way for more profitable developments. Their attitude is that whatever happens to the community after the relocation is no longer their concern as their job is done. The concept of 'governmentality' here is one of using issues or problems as a reason to benefit themselves, which was best described by Yeoh (2001:11):

“Squatter colonies’ allow a nationalist notion of ‘development’ to be charted and made more thinkable together with other marks of modernity like super highways, monumentalist structures, and sophisticated state-of-the-art communication networks.”

Chapter 11

A Reflection

11.0 Introduction

Chapter 10 presented a holistic analysis of the livelihoods and physical living conditions of the Desa Mentari community against the five elements of the Infrastructure of Everyday Life. It also provided some suggestions for policy makers in regards to the development of policies for the improvement of livelihoods of poor communities residing in low-cost housing areas. This chapter will now reflect on the study and sum up the research aims. It begins with a discussion on the initial research and how the data gathered assisted the author to formulate new questions, thus finalising the topic of study. This follows with drawing a conclusion on the factors that contribute to the demolition of *perkampungan setinggans* (squatter settlements) in Malaysia. The chapter ends with a summary of the contributions of this research and suggestions for future research. Before that, it is valuable to first revisit the research aims.

As stated in Chapter 1, this thesis set out to **seek the real reasons behind the demolition of *perkampungan setinggans* or squatter settlements in Malaysia and to investigate the implications of these demolitions for their residents.** This thesis also aims **to investigate the potential of implementing the Everyday Life concept in improving the lives of this community and to facilitate their everyday conduct and survival through policies and participation of the local authority.** The first part of the main aim has been discussed in Chapter 6 about governmentality and relocations. This will further be summarised in 11.2 Reflection on Problematizing the *perkampungan setinggans*. The analysis chapter (Chapter 10) have answered the second part of the aim, as well as providing suggestions to policy makers to support the second aim. The following will now demonstrate how adopting the Everyday Life approach is significant to this research.

11.1 Initial Research and Reflection on the Application of the Everyday Life

Initially, the author started the research with an entirely different focus of study that was crime prevention in areas identified as high-risk neighbourhoods. To recap, in January 2004, the Malaysian Ministry of Housing and Local Government have decided to create safe cities by appointing the Federal Department of Town and Country Planning, Malaysia (JPBD) to launch the Safe City Programme. Their definition of a safe city is 'a city that is free from all physical, social and mental threats, with an environment that is always in a preserved state and does not disrupt the harmony, health and happiness of its residents' (Department of Town and Country Planning, 2006). However, this programme is conducted only in urban city centres. Apart from that, recorded crimes have increased to an alarming rate in Malaysia. Statistics has shown an increase in numbers of crimes carried out from 157,459 in 2005, to 198,622 in 2006 respectively (Polis Diraja Malaysia, 2006). A study also shows that the majority of crimes were committed by people of Indian decent, especially violent crime, (Sidhu, 2005:18). Statistically, Indians only comprise 7.7% of the total population of Malaysia. Comparatively they represent a small minority group when compared with the Malays (65.1%) and Chinese (26%) (ibid:17) but Indian youths have earned a stereotyped reputation of being involved in criminal and gang related activities and also in other forms of social ills. A study carried out by the Social Strategic Strategic Foundation attributed that the main causal factor of violent crime and gang related activities are due to manifestations of urban poverty, where the community resides in squatters, flats and long houses and areas identified as high risk neighbourhoods (ibid:18). With that reason, the research was to study whether and how urban design can decrease or prevent the occurrence of crime in these neighbourhoods.

As the research progressed to the end of the data collection stage, the data collected began to reveal different sets of issues and three factors were brought into attention. Firstly, the Malays also populated the neighbourhoods that have been identified as high-risk, not just the Indians. Therefore, this was no longer just an Indian issue. Secondly, the high risk squatter and long house settlements have all been demolished and the dwellers have been relocated to low-cost high-rise flats within

the area. Nevertheless, the new settlements are still listed as high-risk. Finally, the main problems concerning the community are issues regarding the breakdown of the community and family structures, the loss of the sense of belonging to a community and neighbourhood, as well as social ills and racial issues due to the relocation. In addition, the inconsistency in attitudes and treatments of the local authority towards this community were also revealed. Crimes and safety are still an issue but was not the main concern. These were merely seen as the result of the community's breakdown due to relocation. For these reasons, the focus of the research was revised from crime prevention to the impact of squatter relocations. With the new focus and new research questions, the data collected was insufficient and it was not possible for the author to return to Malaysia to collect additional data. Therefore, a mechanism was needed to fill in the missing links.

Several approaches to understanding poverty were selected and studied as possible methods of understanding and analysing the causes of impoverished neighbourhoods (please refer Chapter 3). After much deliberation, the Everyday Life approach (EDL) was chosen as a mechanism for understanding on what went wrong in the chosen study site, Desa Mentari and understanding on housing needs. The author found that this concept or methodology best suits her research as it takes on a holistic approach to community and neighbourhood planning. The five component of Infrastructure of Everyday Life are already embedded within the neighbourhood, hence, the elements fits with the data that had been coded and organised according to themes. The themes were racial issues, community issues, authority's attitudes and physical attributes. Therefore, it was a matter of conducting more comprehensive study of the data to unearth additional information. For instance, no specific questions were set to uncover anything related to economic status as it was regarded as insignificant for the initial research. However, for EDL, making ends meet is vital for a community to work. Thankfully, as the questions were open ended, the majority of the respondents have discussed on the economic status of the community. Therefore, new aspect of the research was discovered. Subsequently, as the framework is flexible, it allows for different issues and contexts to be adapted and analysed accordingly, depending on the area and types of community. Most importantly, it does not set a specific guideline to be followed, as sometimes it could be restrictive, especially in cases where the data is already available. In the end, the

application of the Everyday Life approach in the analysis process had brought in new data to support the research, as well as brings to light other issues, such as control and governmentality.

11.2 Reflection on Problematizing the *Perkampungan Setinggalan*

This thesis does not try to dispute or condone the Government's initiatives of relocating former *perkampungan setinggalan* dwellers into better properly built accommodations. It is acknowledged that the land occupied by the dwellers was not theirs in the first place. Therefore, in some ways, the Government has full rights to reclaim the land. However, the author is critical of how the issue was handled and used as a reason, and the *perkampungan setinggalan* dwellers was projected as *targeted population* (please refer 2.4.3 Targeted Population and Policy), yet no in-depth solutions were formulated to prevent the same issues faced by the community from arising again. This is what has been termed as '*biopolitics*' where government seeks to manage and rationalise issues (Focult, 1994:73) despite whether or not much thoughts were put on the solutions. The ad-hoc like development and the design of the low-cost housing project do not take into consideration the complex social, physical and economic status of the *perkampungan setinggalan* community and most importantly, the community's problems that claimed to be the reason for the relocation. The proposed policies in Chapter 10 are merely suggestions to improve the way the Government and local authorities should handle the poor and underprivileged communities in relation to housing policies based on the Infrastructure of Everyday Life.

One of the main purposes of this thesis is to unravel the real reason behind the demolition of these many *perkampungan setinggalan*. This thesis has identified several factors behind the relocation of *perkampungan setinggalan* communities that can be listed as official and unofficial reasons. The official reason is the main basis used to justify the actions of the Government in the implementation of any policies. In the case of the relocation of Desa Mentari residents, the social issues and inhabitable living conditions were highlighted as the main factors for the people to be relocated into better accommodations. The State Government of Selangor stated that it is their

duty to ensure that all its residents have the right to and own better quality homes, which include former *perkampungan setinggan* dwellers. Nevertheless, it has to be noted that originally, this community was in fact faced with social problems, and was living in poor conditions. Therefore the reason was valid. Relocating the community to low-cost high-rise housing was assumed to automatically change the unacceptable behaviour of former *perkampungan setinggan* dwellers. However, the design and the insufficient provision of facilities and services do not address the issues of the community and no form of solutions is provided. Therefore, it is questioned how the Government can expect a change of attitude as these relocated communities still living in deplorable condition as before. Despite regular reports in mainstream newspapers, on the issues faced by the residents of low-cost high-rise flats throughout Malaysia, no action has yet been taken. The latest report, dated 16 June, in Berita Harian (2011) described the critical poor living condition of flat dwellers in Penang as a time bomb that is waiting to detonate. The newspaper also reported that the appalling condition has a psychological effect on its residents and is the reason behind the escalating events of social ills and crimes in the neighbourhood.

On the other hand, the unofficial reasons for their relocation are economic and modernisation factors. The economic reason given is that the lands that were once occupied by these former *perkampungan setinggan* dwellers are Government owned land, normally located close to city centres, therefore are expensive and valuable to the State Government. It is much more profitable for these lands to be developed rather than to upgrade the *perkampungan setinggan* and allow the community to remain on these lands. Another unofficial reason is modernisation and improving the image of the country. The once tolerated physical environment, living conditions and *kampung* lifestyle of these *perkampungan setinggan*s are no longer acceptable in the rapidly developing country, especially in the modern national city of Kuala Lumpur and its surrounding satellite cities. The *perkampungan setinggan* does not reflect the modern and clean image that the country tries to portray to the outside world. This is well demonstrated as one of the criteria for Selangor to be recognised as a developed state by 2006. This means that all *perkampungan setinggan* should no longer be existed within its territory (Zero Squatter Policy). It shows that *perkampungan setinggan* have no place in a developed country or state regardless

of its history and significance in urban development. These are sadly the real factors behind the demolition of poor impoverished neighbourhoods around the world.

Based on the findings of this research, it is clear that the real reasons have never been exposed and in fact, the situation has worsened. Social ills and property crime have risen, racial issues aggravated, the community become even poorer and the living conditions in these low-cost housing flats are still appalling. The economic and image goals, however, have been achieved because of the eradication of the squatter settlements. The diagram below illustrates the situation:

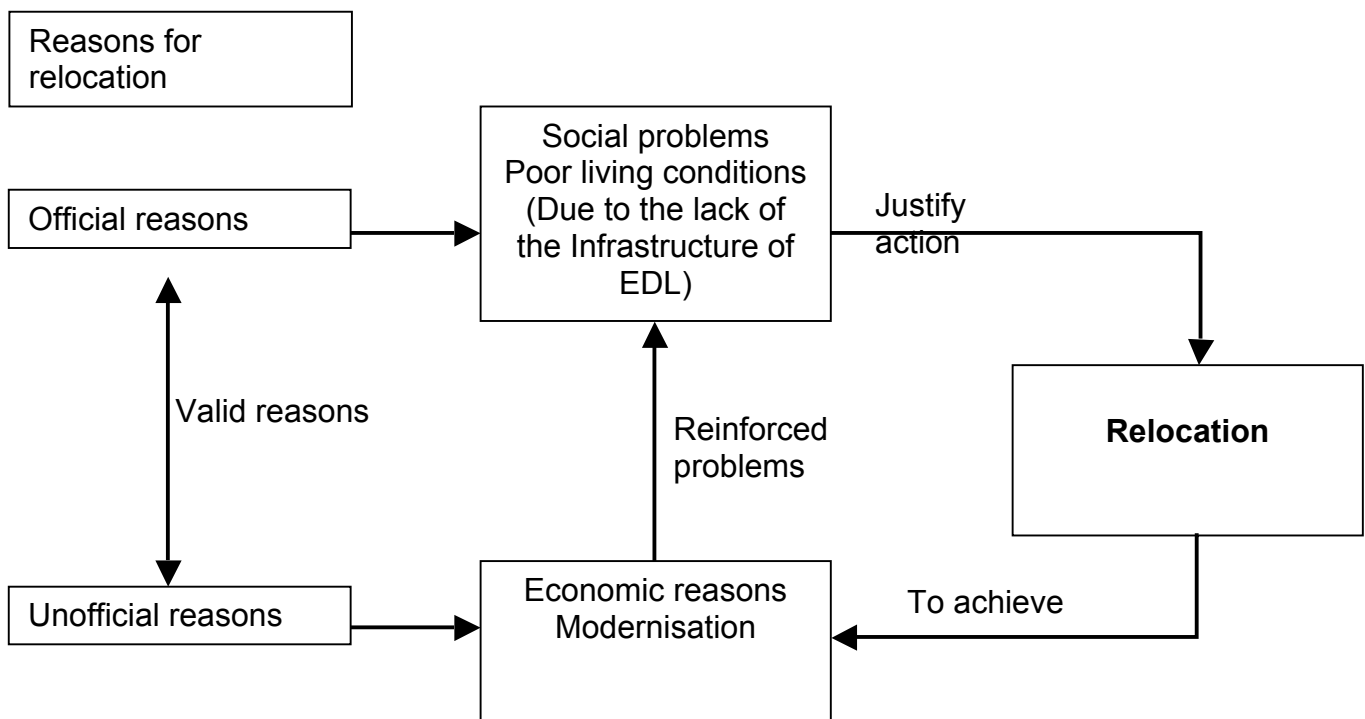


Figure 110 The vicious cycle behind the demolition of impoverished neighbourhoods.

The diagram above clearly demonstrates the vicious cycle and the reality behind the demolition of impoverished neighbourhoods in the name of ‘improving’ the lives of the poor community. In reality, it was never the main intention and most probably, it will never be. To relate this to the EDL approach, as previously mentioned, the five domain of EDL; home and neighbourhood, enjoyment, making ends meet, having a say and sources of support; are already embedded in every neighbourhoods without us even realising it. As designers and professionals, we are aware that these

domains are essential in ensuring a successful neighbourhood design. However, in the case of Desa Mentari, it was 'purposely' designed without considering any of these important elements, and therefore, these settlements would eventually become a slum. As the problems resurfaced and worsened in the new 'better' settlements, the community will again be blamed and negatively stigmatised for their uncivilised behaviour and this will someday be the 'official reason' for the current low-cost flat dwellers to be relocated further away from the cities, as what is currently happening now. At the time this final chapter was written, news broke that other rundown low-cost four storeys flats in Kuala Lumpur has become targets to make way for more beneficial development (Tsuchong, 2012). This cycle will continue and these communities will be pushed further away and one day be forgotten. The author strongly believes that in 10 to 15 years from now, the Desa Mentari community would again be the subject of problematisation and governmentality. It is well documented in this thesis how policies are manipulated and used to manoeuvre certain groups, mainly the poor, and how these communities are used as tools for the benefit of the Government and other agencies.

11.3 Contributions and Future Researches

This thesis has demonstrated how the Everyday Life framework can be utilised and a impoverished high-risk neighbourhood in Malaysia has been used as a case study. It is a first attempt to apply the framework to assist low-cost housing related studies in urban Malaysia and has paved the way for future research and references especially for related researches in the developing countries. The main contributions that this thesis has made are as follows:

1. It has demonstrated a method and framework to analyse low-cost housing and the livelihoods of its poor households in developing countries.

In Chapter 3 the author discussed several possible frameworks for use in this study as a way of exploring issue of poverty and justified her eventual choice of the Everyday Life framework. However, this thesis has, to some degree, been a testing of that justification. In the end the author now believes that her

choice was justified for several reasons.

Using the everyday life framework has allowed her to consider a combination of factors set within the context of the very specific and local neighborhood in a way that other frameworks would not have done so directly. For example, the framework allows for integration of separated elements of daily activities into a spatial and temporal sphere on the neighbourhood level, unlike the Sustainable Livelihood approach that focuses more on the livelihood and poverty of a community over other issues. As for the Sen's Capability Approach, the approach is considerably complex, not easy to understand and it vaguely explores and discusses the everyday lived experiences of the people.

As previously mentioned, the five domains of Infrastructure for Everyday Life are already embedded in neighbourhoods and relevant to all, thus allowing for evaluations to be easily implemented. As the framework is flexible, it allows for the triangulation of data between the five domains thus producing a rich and diverse outcome to the analysis. Another factor that has not been touched on in both the SL and Sen's approaches is the means of understanding how a community conduct their daily lives, how different cultures and religions live together and how they survive or cope. These are essential in developing or planning for a multi-racial community such as Desa Mentari and future residential planning for low incomes or relocated squatter community. All these however, are at the heart of the Everyday Life approach. Apart from offering solutions to develop a neighbourhood that caters to supportive infrastructure for everyday life, most importantly, the approach focuses on sensitive means of planning according to different natures of culture and religion within a community.

2. It has identified the negative implications of relocating former squatter dwellers into low-cost high-rise settlements.

The literature presents a growing concern about inappropriate housing types for different groups, especially the poorer communities, and specifically former

squatter dwellers (Aiken, 1981; Ali, 1998; Yeoh, 2001; Bunnell, 2002; Nadarajah, 2007(a & b); Sufian and Mohamad, 2009). This thesis has expanded on that by testing some of the arguments within the literature. The work has set what is already known about the physical and social problems of high-rise housing for low-income groups in a much more detailed and nuanced empirical context. Moreover, it has drawn from that exploration the conflicting voices of both low-income households and figures of authority in a way that is not evident in the literature. In doing so it highlights the conflicting rationales at play in decisions about housing.

3. It has explored that housing and neighbourhood, as the main element of Infrastructures of Everyday Life, contributes and impacts significantly to other aspects of everyday life.

The analysis chapter (Chapter 10) has advanced Gilroy's second iteration of the 'everyday life framework' (Gilroy, 2008:145-163), by testing it in a different context. Gilroy's framework was developed in, and for, the developed world. This thesis has used empirical data from a developing country to demonstrate that, in that context also, the **home and neighbourhood** domain is the core element to the whole approach as it mostly supports and accommodates to the other domains. In doing so, it confirms two points inferred by Gilroy (ibid):

1. That Home and Neighbourhood are central to the quality of everyday life;
2. That they both condition, and are conditioned by, the other domains of 'having a say', 'sources of support', 'making ends meet' and enjoyment'.

This transferability of a conceptual framework across cultural, economic and social context is valuable in an era of globalisation and shared planning and development discourse. This work has shown that, the Everyday Life framework can become a shared point of reference for planning scholars, policy makers and practitioners, in the same way as the sustainable livelihoods framework has become for the field of international development.

This therefore, justifies that the type of housing and its environment could impact the people negatively as previously stated in the second contribution.

4. It has uncovered how governmentality and control through policies and developments impact the livelihoods of the poor.

In Chapter 6 the thesis expands on current, and growing, work on 'governmentality' by highlighting how the Government used policies to control and manoeuvre the lowest income group through the Zero Squatter and low-cost housing policies. It furthers the arguments by, for example Adger et al (2001:683) who suggest that governments are guilty of 'cherry picking' dominant discourse and values within them to justify official actions:

'Since global discourses are often based on shared myths and blueprints of the world, the political prescriptions flowing from them are often inappropriate for local realities.'

This work has shown that the Malaysian government has selective discourse about housing and resettlement to control and manoeuvre the lowest income group for their own purposes, rather than for the support of the community. The author has shown how the community issues could be further problematized for financial rewards beneficial to the Government. The author would also like to highlight that, since most of the *perkampungan setinggan* in Kuala Lumpur and Selangor have been demolished, the Government are now targeting low-income community living in rundown low-cost flats. The latest was the Kampung Kerinchi four-storeys flats in Kuala Lumpur where the community were asked to move into other low-cost high-rises, similar to Desa Mentari, to make way for redevelopment (Tsuchong, 2012).

In conclusion, the author believes that this work has brought new clarity to several issues:

- The value of an 'everyday life framework' as a tool for understanding and planning for the housing and neighborhood needs of low income group

- That within that framework, housing and neighbourhood are the central elements and impact on all others
- The negative implications of relocating former squatter dwellers into low-cost high-rise settlements.
- The fact that the relocation and impact are the result of Malaysian governmentality

In addition, this thesis has demonstrated the way to use the Everyday Life framework as a means for analysis, as well as a guideline in developing policies and designs for low-cost housing related research in Malaysia. However, owing to the limitations in this research and the broad potential of the Everyday Life, there is more work to do and it is possible to develop it into a series of research. It is recommended that further research be undertaken in the following areas:

1. To further utilise the Everyday Life framework to middle-income neighbourhoods.
2. To study the impacts of relocation in other types of low-cost housing development (single- and double-storeys) and then compare with Desa Mentari.
3. To study on the types of housing that best suit relocated squatter community and low-income communities.
4. To study the impacts of control and governmentality on other income groups.

The suggestions made in this thesis can be summed up into several 'less and more' statements: less focus on costs and profits, more understanding of reality; less top-down but more bottom-up interventions; and less bureaucracy, more collaborative participations. All three statements relate back to participation in planning, which is a common topic of research. Although there are plenty of researches on community participations out there, however, it is still worth stressing that participations and allowing people to voice their issues and opinions is the key for any successful development. This thesis must end here, but surely have paved the way for other potential researches.

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Appendix A

Triangulation of Data

A.1 Authorities Attitude

Articles	Professionals	The People
<p>The desire to improve communication between the council and communities although was apparent but hindered by the lack of trust by both parties (<i>Osman; Syed A Rashid; Ahmad, 2008</i>).</p> <p>Awareness among the participations in LA21 were low not only among the general public, but also among officials in government (<i>Osman; Syed A Rashid; Ahmad, 2008</i>).</p> <p>Awareness among local council staffs and their communities remains an issue of concern, particularly of the language and framework of sustainability utilized by local authorities. Work is required on language and communication in order to facilitate a fuller sharing of concepts and values. The authoritative attitude</p>	<p>Dr. Jayassoria : So children have no facilities, there are facilities but the children don't utilise it, or the facilities are for children not for teenagers. So the concept of public space or whateverlah, because like now the other are like gated community, like the gated community you go through some way, then you know where people are coming from and going. So one is the design, the maintenance, the upkeep, I feel one of the weaknesses of our design and briefing of the authorities is helping people become flat dwellers. See we are ground people. So even people from the kampong are on stilts, but you are not living in 17 storeys block, so how do you live in a 17 storeys block, how do you take care of your environment, cleanliness, of the open space. How much of</p>	<p>Saravanan : Kalau tanya penduduk mostly akan kata polis berat sebelah, so dia taknak pergi lapor, so tak settle any problem. We don't like the red lights on kereta polis. Nak masuk kawasan kami masuk senyap-senyap, don't announce it to everyone. Jadi macam jakun bila diorang masuk pasang lampu merah. Close the lights, datang macam friendly, duduk sembang. Kami hormat sebab uniform, you hormat balik pada kami sebab kami yang bayar gaji you.</p> <p>(If you ask the residents, mostly would say that the police are bias. We don't like the red lights on the patrol cars. If you were to enter our area, do it quietly, do not announce to everyone. Close the light and be friendly. We respect you because of your uniform, you should respect us because we pay your salary).</p> <p>Saravanan : Kita ada 3</p>

<p>among the council staffs and their lack of confidence with their community sometimes create tension among both parties. This has lead to the lack of confidence and trust among the community and social partners with the local authorities (<i>Osman; Syed A Rashid; Ahmad, 2008</i>).</p> <p>Local authority officers have often found difficulty to engage and discuss with the local population. The officers still prefer to be the authority in decision making and planners are just technical experts giving professional inputs rather than planning for sustainable community (<i>Osman; Syed A Rashid; Ahmad, 2008</i>).</p> <p>First, it was recognized the existence of public mistrust and lack of confidence by the community to the local authority decision in development process (<i>Osman; Syed A Rashid; Ahmad, 2008</i>).</p>	<p>space is needed if you have 1000 people living for recreation. So most developers will allocate the minimum, so you look at the by laws for design what are minimum requirements and whether it's suitable or not lah. I would feel that design would play a key part but it is not given that kind of public priority for discussion, because the poor have no bargaining power in design.</p>	<p>pondok polis. Diorang ini tak pernah turun padang, yang turun pekerja dia je. Polis ada tapi diorang buat tempat itu seolah-olah dia boring kat rumah so diorang lepak situ. Kalau nak buat apa-apa aduan kat pondok itu dia tak terima. (There are three police posts here. The higher rank police officers never paid any visits here. The police sometimes do come to the police post but they treat the place for them to go if they are bored. If we were to make any reports there, they would not accept).</p> <p>Aranagiri : Under Kementerian Perumahan ada e-kasih, untuk membantu penduduk miskin tegar tapi bantuan itu tak sampai because information tidak pernah sampai kepada penduduk. (Under the Ministry of Housing they have setup e-kasih to help the poor community, however, helps never reaches the community as the community have no access to this kind of information).</p> <p>Encik Rosli : Orang dia ada turun tapi untuk menyamankan orang yang berniaga situ,</p>
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		<p>macam tulah. Turun menyaman je.</p> <p>(The authority does come to this neighbourhood but to give out fines).</p>
<p>In Malaysia, although role of local authorities is wide, being non-elected agency, the authorities are considered as not democratically accountable. While the government views LA21 as an avenue for community participation, it must be acknowledged that the participation in Malaysia is limited to the confines of a local government system that is not fully representative, and therefore not fully transparent and almost not accountable to the community (<i>Osman; Syed A Rashid; Ahmad, 2008</i>).</p> <p>In a majority of local authorities, there is the system of Residents' Associations as well as the Rukun Tetangga. Both these are not real formal groups that have enough clout to impact the decision making process of local authorities. In the</p>	<p>Jasmine : True, this kind happen only there is citizen involvement, when there is no citizen involvement then this is what going to be. People in government might say we are involving organization, but who are these people? Are they credible in the side of these people or not, the local community and all that. Credibility of the organization is also very important. So are we thinking because they are educated, they are scholars in their own thing, and they're developers, they are builders, they are architects so they should know? It's not. You see the actual and pulse of the community should be felt. So those are some of the issues lah.</p>	

<p>current system local authority administration is not accountable to the local residents (Jayasooria, 2008).</p>		
<p>In term of the stages in the LA21 process, the study showed that the proposition of councils that had undertaken the stages in the LA21 process varies, with only some authorities at the stages of the consultation with local community. Although some authorities have begun a LA21 process, there are signs that they have not integrated a full range of issues, with some council led certain initiatives or projects dominating the LA21 programme as compared to a true community based driven activities. Some council appeared to be adopting LA21 vision statements and action plan without following the six stages in the LA21 process and not involving extensive public participation process (Osman; Syed A Rashid;</p>	<p>Haniza Talha : I think they are doing, they want to do the work eerr macam mudahlah. They just want to do it easy kan. Jadi dia pun taknak actually tackle the problematic areas. (The authority wants to make their job easier, so they do not tackle the problematic areas).</p> <p>Dr. Jayassoria : I feel one of the weaknesses of our design and briefing of the authorities is helping people become flat dwellers. See we are ground people. So even people from the kampong are on stilts, but you are not living in 17 storeys block, so how do you live in a 17 storeys block, how do you take care of your environment, cleanliness, of the open space. How much of space is needed if you have 1000 people living for recreation. So most developers will allocate the minimum, so you look at the by laws for design what are minimum requirements and</p>	

<p><i>Ahmad, 2008</i>).</p> <p>The urban issues and concerns will be better addressed if ordinary people have a greater say on matters affecting the grassroots. The system will work more effectively when local government is held accountable to the people. The poor will have a voice and say on matters that affect their destiny. Now the poor are deprived of this, as politics at the state and parliamentary level is at a plane that is a much higher plane for them to assert their say and choice (<i>Jayasooria, 2008</i>).</p>	<p>whether it's suitable or not lah. I would feel that design would play a key part but it is not given that kind of public priority for discussion, because the poor have no bargaining power in design.</p>	
<p>Because squatters have generally been perceived by the government to have no place in the well-ordered city of the future, they have been subject to ad hoc, largely uncoordinated, planning strategies. For the most part, rigid landuse exercises and planning for physical structures take precedence over planning for people (<i>Aiken, 1981</i>). City kampungs have been</p>	<p>Haniza Talha : Okay, errr..okay ermm..Actually I'm glad you're doing this study, because we have been trying to aaaa tell the authorities especially the local authority. Maknanya these are the areas that are really in need of their attentions, because dia duduk tengah-tengah bandaraya, lepas tu you cannot ignore them, because if they are problematic it will also drag the whole of PJ tau. Tapi itu dia tak nampak tau</p>	<p>Encik Lan : Pandangan macam mana nak buat program. Diorang tak buat sendiri, dia suruh kitorang yang rancang buat apa-apa program. Macam mana nak handle, nak settle apa semua. (The police gives us opinion on any programs for the community, but we must come up with the programs first). Encik Lan : Polis pun ada, tapi MBPJ takdelah. (The police do come over, but not MBPJ (the local</p>

<p>rendered problematic by a diversity of ‘experts’ ranging from state policy-makers and international agencies to academics and religious authorities (Bunnell, 2002).</p> <p>Yet this ‘<i>kampung</i> values’ explanation of the block 94 incident runs against previous reports on Putra Ria in the state-owned press. Only six weeks earlier, for example, the <i>New Straits Times</i> had featured the ‘plight’ of squatters relocating from Kampung Haji Abdullah Hukum to Putra Ria (Hisham, 1997). This noted not only the crippling price of the ‘low–medium’ cost flats for poor squatter families, but also the flats’ inadequate ‘pigeon hole’ size, the lack of recreational space for children and the more general poor state of repair of the buildings (Bunnell, 2002).</p> <p>Often insensitivity of government provisions, does not consider the multi</p>	<p>masalahnya. Sebab dia ingat dia problematic area, tak payah touch. They always ermddd untkitkan isu orang ini susah nak diperbetulkan.</p> <p>(We have been trying to tell the authorities especially the local authority (MBPJ). These areas are in need of their attention as it sits in the middle of the city, therefore you could not ignore them as they are problematic and this will have an effect on the whole of Petaling Jaya. But they do not see the problem. To them, since these are problematic areas, therefore we do not need to do anything. They also like to raise the issue that these people could not be changed).</p> <p>Haniza Talha : So itu yang sebabnya, dia tak selesaikan masalah, dia menambah new problems. So sekarang ini walaupun dia duduk flats, flat satu buat yang segera, tak ikut guidelines itu satu. The mindset of the people are still squatter punya mindset.</p> <p>Diorang tak biasa duduk dalam flats, so sampah dia buang dari atas, you know. TV pun dia boleh buang dari</p>	<p>authority)).</p> <p>Encik Lan : Kalau jenayah banyak kicap.</p> <p>(Crimes here are mostly committed by the Indians).</p> <p>Encik Rosli : Kita ni itulah, remajalah.</p> <p>(The Malays social issue among the youths).</p> <p>Haji : Tapi kalau kita untkitkan perkara ini kepada pihak berkuasa diorang tak boleh terimakan. Jadi ada setengah boleh terima, setengah tak boleh terima jadi kita tak mahu, kalau boleh kita cakap mengenai perkara itu dia kata perkauman.</p> <p>(Whenever we brought up this issue (racial Issue) to the authority, they could not accept. Some does admit there is a problem, but some don’t. So we just keep quiet because we do not want to be labelled as racist).</p> <p>Encik Lan : Takde, kita dari setingan dia suruh pindah, kalau ada yang pampasan dia bagi pampasanlah. Lepas tu kita buat sendirilah, buat hal sendiri. Dia takde nak jumpa kita ke, apa ke takde. Sekarang ni makna kalau Lindungan kita</p>
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<p>cultural and religious nature of society. This impact upon community integration (Jayasooria, 2008).</p> <p>The perception of the squatter “problem” by architects and planners is not clear from the available evidence. Some clues, however, may be obtained from one of their major preoccupations in recent years – the planning of new towns and suburbs in the Klang Valley. The plans incorporate rigid landuse and zoning regulations and tend to emphasize the physical components of planning rather than the socioeconomic, environmental, and communal aspects of urban development. Residential areas are laid out largely in accordance with Western, especially British, planning practices. Low-income housing in the new towns and suburbs is invariably beyond the means of squatters, and no attempt is</p>	<p>atas. (The authority did not solve the problem; in fact they have created new problems. So even though they are now residing in flats, flats that are developed in a hurry and not conforming to guidelines. The mindsets of the people are still the mindset of squatter dwellers).</p> <p>Haniza Talha : Haaa, tapi that is, that is a lame excuse actually because I have been with the people. Walaupun I ni orang aaa bukan yang duduk di situ, tapi I have never come across people who come and attack me seperti mana yang disebutkan sentiasa disebutkan oleh pegawai-pegawai MBPJ atau pun pegawai-pegawai yang lainlah daripada agensi kerajaan seperti aaa JKM. Ermm I tak pernahlah hadapi masalah macam ini sebab I think what they are upset, the residents, is that all these whiles apa-apa buat pun they are not being consulted. Just because they are low income punya group, jadi you deny their rights to be heard, to say out what they want kan. Jadi</p>	<p>tengok kosong, ada yang kata nak buat padang bolalah, nak buat suraulah. Dia nak buat surau dia kata bawak cable electric tak boleh. Alasan dia lah. Sampai sekarang dah berapa tahun dah kosong aje tanah tu. Tak tahu nak buat apa. (We were asked to move out from the squatters, those eligible for compensation will be compensated. After that, we are on our own.</p> <p>Encik Lan : Ha’ah, tapi itulah tengok bila ada kerosakan, itulah macam pihak yang wajib MBPJ kan, diorang tak ada datang nak bagi selesaikan benda itu. Tiang lampu dah tak ada lampu diorang bukan nak datang tengok, tak ada. (If there is any damages or faulty facilities in this area, MBPJ does not come down to solve the problems. If the lamp post is no longer functioning, they don’t bother to come and see).</p> <p>Encik Rosli : Haaa nak ambil tanah ni, kemudian dia kata macam, MBPJ kata pindah dia nak bagi seribu. Perjanjian dia...untuk transport... Kita pindah dulu bila dah claim,</p>
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<p>made in these areas or in squatter resettlement housing to incorporate indigenous architectural styles and arrangements of interior spaces in the planning process. There may be some truth in the charge that architects and planners perceive squatting as a “wasteful and costly use of urban land ‘grabbed’ by the squatters which could be used for alternative and more profitable purposes” (Aiken, 1981).</p> <p>Planning in Kuala Lumpur has been haphazard, desultory, and primarily confined to paper. Planning was introduced in 1921 with the “objective of controlling, guiding and determining the proper planning of all land in the town”. The controls imposed, however, tended to be negative rather than positive because they emphasized the avoidance of problems rather than the encouragement of the best possible development of</p>	<p>all these whiles, dia buatkan untuk dia, dia bagi. Diarahkan untuk keluar, diarahkan untuk pindah, diarahkan masuk kat flat ini, that kind of treatments jadi diorang pun naik fed up lah... Jadi tanah kat PJ mahal, so that area tempat dia datang are being taken over by developers. State government for this have already given the land to the developers and in return they have to place these squatters into flats lah. So, these things happen without consulting the people.</p> <p>(The people are upset because they are not being consulted. Because they are from the low income group, their rights to be heard are denied. All these whiles they take whatever that has been given to them. When asked to be relocated, they relocate to the flats, those kinds of treatments, so now the people are fed-up. The lands in Petaling Jaya are expensive and it has been taken over by developers).</p> <p>Haniza Talha : Hey what are you talking about I said, kalau development, they don't have</p>	<p>sampai sekarang tak dapat-dapat.</p> <p>(MBPJ promised us money for transportation to move out of the squatters. Until now we have not received that money).</p> <p>Encik Lan : Tapi macam saya tak dapat, pasal apa alasannya kawasan setinggan saya dulu bawah TNB makna bukan MBPJ punya kuasa, TNB punya kuasa. Haaa itu kuasa besar MBPJ lah, kuasa dia. Kita ni penghuni kita ikut jelah. Daripada kita disaman, daripada kita kena halau tempat lain...Tapi kita lawan, kita lawan jugalah. Kita cari kita punya kebenaran.</p> <p>(As for me, I'm not eligible to receive the money, because I was told by MBPJ that the land we used to occupy is not under MBPJ, but under TNB. See, that is the power that MBPJ have. We us the residents just follow instruction).</p>
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<p>land in the city (<i>Aiken</i>, 1981).</p> <p>Crime is not reduced by rehousing, and electricity, water and rent must be paid from often meagre incomes. Interracial tolerance is perhaps promoted in integrated low-rise and terraced-housing projects, but not in high-rise structures (<i>Aiken</i>, 1981).</p>	<p>to ask. You know you are the authority, you know where to develop and where not to kan. Takkan orang tak mintak you tak bagi. You bina satu-satu kawasan mesti dia ada dia punya specification. Dia kena ada recreational park, space, dia ada public spaces, semua semua kan. Itu apa dia, all those guidelines are for what kan? So ini yang I, I think they just give the answer lah, because they are irresponsible.</p> <p>(For development purposes, the people do not need to ask. As an authority, they should know where and where not to develop. If the people does not request does not mean that you do not need to provide. When you develop an area, there must be some specifications. The area should have recreational park, spaces, public spaces etc. What are all those guidelines for? They are just giving reasons, in reality they are irresponsible).</p> <p>Dr. Jayasooria : Yes, because this are low income that's it. So they, the developers fulfil very minimum.</p>	
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	<p>Dr. Kumaran : Sebab ini pun, kes Kampung Medan pun dah berapa lama. 8 years, 8 years kerajaan belum buat apa lagi. So we're talking about society and kerajaan. Kerajaan belum ada...haven't take any initiatives to change, no change.</p> <p>(It has been 8 years since the Kampung Medan incident but the government has not done anything. So we're talking about society and the government. The government have not taken any initiatives to change, no changes).</p> <p>Dr. Kumaran : Haaa, tu. Apa masalah sekarang ini, you see. When, when, this is clearly shows that they are neglecting. Neglecting in the sense tak pedulikan, atau pun, orang kata tak apalah, itu tak serius sangat.</p>	
<p>Low-cost housing provision has consistently failed to keep pace with demand with the result that many squatters have been forced to live in <i>rumah panjang</i> ('longhouses') while waiting for flats to be made available. Delays and much of the shortfall</p>	<p>Jasmine Adaickalam : You go to Jinjang Utara, there is another, this is a longhouse. That is also a crime prone and things like that, it is a high-risk area. Here it is all longhouses. These people, I think about 15 years ago or something like that, they said it's a transit shelter, 6</p>	<p>Rajendran : Okay, bila kena keluar rumah panjang, memang dah kena ada rumah, tapi sekarang ini masih ada yang tak ada rumah sebab rumah tak cukup, salah kira. Jadi terpaksa menyewa kat luar, yang memang mahal. Then bila dah dapat developer minta pula duit time itu juga</p>

<p>are routinely attributed to private companies who fail to realise housing quotas set in return for ‘development’ of squatter <i>kampung</i> land. In the 1980s, the failure to realise low-cost housing targets was attributed to public-sector inefficiency thus prompting a shift to private-sector provision. By the <i>Seventh Malaysia Plan</i> period (starting in 1996), the entire burden of building low-cost housing had been shifted to the private sector (Malaysia, 1996) (<i>Bunnell</i>, 2002).</p> <p>The squatters are often told that they would be in the long houses for only up to two years, after which they could buy the low-cost flats being built. Some of the long house dwellers have ended up living there for more than 10 years because either they were not selected or they could not afford to buy a flat. Some of the long houses have, after some time, been demolished to make way</p>	<p>months’ time we will give you new houses. But even after 15 years they’re still staying there.</p> <p>Jasmine Adaickalam : Haven’t got. So in the mean time, 6 months mean there’s a not so much change that I will, my family will enlarge. Okay, I’ll be there with my daughter and all those things and all that. But 15 years time my daughter would have married, and then another children, grandchildren and all that. So the next time you give me I will ask for 2 houses, 3 houses only. Then the government doesn’t want to give also issue. The practicality and all that. This is when, sometimes I think we always do things without a proper planning. It’s also a Urban Governance issue, the local authorities and all that. How they look into it and all that kind of things.</p>	<p>RM5000, so diorang mana ada duit. Bila ke MBPJ pula, diorang cakap dah tak ada projek lagi dah in the future, yang ini aje, dan sekarang susah sangat nak minta tolong. Setinggalan itu dah tak ada dah dan MBPJ janji semua dapat rumah, tapi ada juga yang kena pindah ke Lembah Subang, tapi tempat ini jauh dari sekolah, tempat kerja, jadi inconvenient sebab kena keluar cost lagi. Dah janji bagi rumah tapi tak dapat juga.</p> <p>(When we were to move out from the longhouses (transit settlements), our new home should be ready to be relocated into, but up to now some people still have no homes as not enough have been provided, they have miscalculated).</p> <p>(And when the flats are finally completed, the developer would ask for money there and then, RM5000, the residents do not have that much money. When we went to MBPJ, we were told that they are no plans to develop anymore low cost flats in the future. It’s so hard to ask for their help).</p> <p>(MBPJ promised that everyone</p>
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<p>for new development projects, and dwellers have to move to other areas only to become squatters all over again (<i>Ali, 1998</i>).</p> <p>Meanwhile, the number of low-cost houses that have been built in the past has been short of the target. Even the targeted number is much lower than the actual number of low cost houses needed to solve the housing problem of the poor. On the other hand, the number of medium cost and especially high cost houses built is more than that targeted (<i>Ali, 1998</i>).</p> <p>Housing for the poor is still insufficient and inadequate. Housing development continues to be a business for profit, and the housing for squatters is seldom seen as part of the government's social responsibility to provide shelter and to protect the welfare of the lower income groups (<i>Ali, 1998</i>).</p>		<p>would get a flat, but some have to permanently stay at the transit flats in Lembah Subang which is far from work, school, which is inconvenient and more costs needed. You promised to give us new homes but it has not been delivered).</p> <p>Encik Mad : Kadangkadangkang orang yang ada duit, bayar premium, misalan saya duduk kat tempat yang Hulu Kelang punya setinggalan, orang tu bayar premium kat MBAJ, bila dia nakkan tanah tu untuk cagaran kat bank, MBAJ datang, ini tanah orang dah bayar premium. Orang buat pilihan, orang punya tanah ni dia nak buat rumah korang, korang dipindahkan sementara. Sampai sekarang. Macam saya, saya ambik duit RM500 sebulan, saya sewa kat sini. Sampai sekarang rumah saya tak siap under pemaju. Dekat 4 tahun lah.</p> <p>(Up to now, my flat is yet to be completed by the developer. It's almost 4 years now).</p> <p>Encik Rosli : Dia janji 2 hingga 3 tahun je.</p> <p>(They promise us 2 to 3 years).</p> <p>Haji : Tu yang ada blok Desaria tu, bangunan</p>
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		<p>tinggi tu. Dekat 20 tahun baru siap, terbengkalai. Pemaju dia amik sini sikit, sini sikit siapa nak offer bayar 300 pindah. Last-last pemaju tak bayar lagi. Habis, sendiri. Hah, sendiri bayarlah. Itu yang diorang dapat balik rumah diorang lawan-lawan, bayar sikit jelah. Barulah siap tu, tukar pemaju, ini condo ni nasib yang samalah.</p> <p>(That high-rise Desaria block. For almost 20 years it has not been completed and abandoned. The people paid the loans for the flat but they don't know what happened to that money. They fought for compensation and won, but the money paid does not cover the amount they've paid for the house loan. The block was finally completed after it was taken over by another developer).</p> <p>Encik Mad : Kalau nak difikirkan apa salahnya buat rumah dulu. Kerajaan mana? Buat rumah dulu baru pindahkan. Kadang-kadang orang merempat. Yang tak setuju tulah, kalau robohkan setinggalan ni, buatlah rumah dulu. Jadi orang pun nampak,</p>
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		<p>orang pun puas hati. Ini macam ini, roboh rumah tak siap. Pinjam dengan bank RM250 sebulan. Bank tahu duit dia bunga.</p> <p>(Why can't they develop the flats first then relocate us. Where is the government when we need them? In some cases, people become homeless).</p>
<p>Within local authorities it appears to be a lack of interest and dedication in implementing LA21. This was due to the lacks of integration within the range of council activities, which encourages a reliance on enthusiastic individuals to take forward the sustainability agenda....From the study, it was found that the local authority staffs did not understand their functions in LA21 and saw themselves as public servant with limited functions, rather than as advocacy with lobbying role of sustainable development (<i>Osman; Syed A Rashid; Ahmad, 2008</i>).</p> <p>In relation to the level of</p>	<p>Rahim Yusuf : Complicated.</p> <p>So siapa nak buat. Kalau you nak suruh council, majlis buat, alamak, haaa mulalah, tak usahlah. So find the easiest thing that they can do.</p> <p>Haaa benda-benda yang boleh membuat keputusan. CPTED is also decision based and bila you nak buat decision you have some, yang boleh tengoklah, oh design ini. Kalau to the extent that kalau proposal only in 2 dimension, kalau dia nak nilai CPTED he may request a 3 dimensional proposal. Kalau dia tengokkan, he may design come out with okay you bawak simulation design something like that kan, to simulate your design kita kena tengok to fulfil ke tak. Kalau dia betul-betul nak kan.</p> <p>Kalau you sebut benda-benda</p>	

<p>knowledge and awareness of the respondents, from the analysis it was found that there was no relationship between the knowledge on LA21 and the experience being involved in LA21 process. The study also found that even though the council staffs attended trainings and talks on LA21, this did not guaranteed their knowledge and understanding on the topic area....the findings are very worrying because based on interviews with the LA21 desk officer MHLG and LA21 officer in Petaling Jaya and Kuantan Municipal Council, the percentage of expenditure spend for trainings and knowledge enhancement of local authorities staffs were highest compared to other activities (<i>Osman; Syed A Rashid; Ahmad, 2008</i>).</p>	<p>yang mathematical ini...mana nak buatlah, dia sendiri nak kena buat, matilah dia kan. Jadi, we have to put at place where the decision people down there, dia punya capabilities yang ada kan. Diorang tak mampu nak buat semua all those type teknik-teknik punya kan.</p> <p>(If it is complicated. Who wants to do it (when it comes to approving policy proposals). If you ask the council or authorities, they will start saying it's too hard, so there is no need. So we tend to search for the easiest approach that they can do. Things that they can easily make decisions).</p> <p>(If you propose something that is mathematical or technical, they would not do it. Therefore, we have to come up with something that the people who makes the decision in the council/authorities, based on their capabilities. They are not capable of handling complicated, technical policies).</p> <p>Rahim Yusuf : Haaaa, common sense, common</p>	
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sense base kan, senang orang inikan, I mean nak convince. This common sense base is important and you have to make a good decision by using their commom sense kan. Jangan dengan common sense itu ke arah kepentingan peribadi, kepentingan kepada bias kepada the developers interest, haaa tak mahu. It should be of commom interest lah kan, yang itu yang kita nak buat, kalau taknak kita bagi general guides je, yang general guides nak buat ini, how general should be, how detail it can be kan. Haaa inilah yang balance ini. Kalau kita buat detail sangat dia kata macam-macamlah pula. So when you're asking too much, they start to reject. So, i nak balance macam inilah, yang ini yang susah sikit itu, tengah fikirlah ini.

(Everything has to be common sense based, and then it would be easier to convince them (council/authorities). This common sense base is important and you have to make a good decision by using their common sense.

	<p>Just don't use it for personal interest or bias to the developer's interest. It should be of common interest, if the refuse then we would develop general guidelines, how general should it be, how detail should it be. This is what we are trying to balance out. If the guidelines are too detail they would complain. So when you're asking too much, they start to reject. So right now I'm trying to balance everything out, which is hard).</p>	
<p>The choice of high-rise flats as the appropriate solution to the squatter problem in Kuala Lumpur, as elsewhere, of course, is to large extent determined by cost (<i>Morshidi et al.</i>, 1999) (as quote in <i>Bunnell</i>, 2002).</p>	<p>Faiwos : Oooo, cost tanah MBPJ tinggi, pastu rumah yang dijual kepada diorang tu harga yang low-cost. Tu jumlah yang boleh buat. Diorang tak mampu nak beli, diorang mampu beli tapi diorang nak easy life. (MBPJ's lands are expensive and the accommodation provided and sold on low-cost prices. That's all we can do. They can't afford to purchase, well they actually can afford to purchase but they want an easy life).</p> <p>Haniza Talha : Jadi tanah kat PJ mahal, so that area tempat dia datang are being taken over by developers. State government</p>	

	<p>for this have already given the land to the developers and in return they have to place these squatters into flats lah.</p> <p>(The lands in Petaling Jaya are expensive, so that area that they've squattered on have been taken over by developers).</p>	
<p>Petempatan setinggan (squatter settlements) are still frequently referred to simply as <i>kampung</i> (villages) (Mohd. Razali, 1993). Azizah Kassim (1982) traces the first official reference to 'Malay squatters' back 1966 but notes that, by the early 1980s, squatting in Kuala Lumpur had become a predominantly 'Malay problem'. It was the city <i>kampung</i> or, more accurately, the squatter city <i>kampung</i> which came to known as the site of a new urban problematic of Malayness (Bunnell, 2002).</p> <p>On the one hand, for city officials, the problem was precisely the lack of discipline and civic consciousness among inhabitants of low- and</p>	<p>Haniza Talha : Haaa, tapi that is, that is a lame excuse actually because I have been with the people. Walaupun I ni orang aaa bukan yang duduk di situ, tapi I have never come across people who come and attack me seperti mana yang disebutkan sentiasa disebutkan oleh pegawai-pegawai MBPJ ataupun pegawai-pegawai yang lainlah daripada agensi kerajaan seperti aaa JKM.</p> <p>(The authority is giving lame excuses because I have been with the people. Even though I am an outsider, but I have never come across people who come and attack me as mentioned my MBPJ's officers or officer from other government agencies such as JKM).</p>	<p>Saravanan : Yes I know, and I've been to that meeting, Majlis meeting, with Haji Junaidi, in front of me they told me tempat kamu blacklist. Saya tak boleh nak kata apa, saya mengaku dan saya nak mereka faham. So saya tanya balik, what have they and police have done sampai kami kena blacklist? It became blacklist because you categorise us, bukan kami sendiri. Kamu sebagai penjaga keselamatan kami tapi kamu yang kategorisekan so apa kerja kamu? So they cannot answer me.</p> <p>(The area was blacklisted because you (government/authority) categorise us, not us. You are our guardian of our safety but yet you are the ones who categorise us, so what is your function?).</p> <p>Saravanan : Hah, he was</p>

<p>low-medium cost dwellings. Acknowledging the failure of high-rise flats as technologies of Malay modernisation, the Deputy-Director of City Hall's Planning and Social Amenity Department complained of "problems caused by undisciplined people who still live like they did in the <i>kampungs</i>" (Bunnell, 2002).</p>		<p>involved in proses perpindahan. Dulu kat squatters itu, masa early stage ada problem dengan drugs kat area itu, but somehow they managed to control drugs dari masuk kawasan diorang. Even though kampung diorang itu dulu pun dilabel sebagai high-risk tapi diorang dapat mencegah dadah masuk ke kawasan itu. So macam mana diorang boleh label mereka. The Indians dilabel sebagai violent but the same people juga yang buat neighbourhood diorang safe. Kampong KTM itu boleh cegah dadah, something yang kerajaan pun tak boleh buat. Tapi mereka tak appreciate, instead label lagi. (Even though their kampong (squatter) was labelled as high-risk but they have managed to prevent drug pushers from penetrating their area. So why are they labelled as such. The Indians are labelled as violent but they are same people who are keeping their neighbourhood safe).</p> <p>Hassan : Tak setuju, gembar-gembar orang je, diskriminasi, politik je semua, sini tak ada apa, aman je. Yang label itu semua cakap je</p>
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		<p>sebenarnya. Tak ada apa-apa pun kat sini.</p> <p>(I don't agree, these are all rumours, discrimination, politics, everything is fine here, harmonious).</p>
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A.2 Community Issues

Articles	Professionals	The People
<p>In May 1997, a 27-year-old technical assistant was killed by a brick thrown from block 94 of the Putra Ria apartments on Jalan Bangsar, Kuala Lumpur. The front cover of the English language daily <i>Malay Mail</i> on 30 May featured this 'murder' and called for an awareness campaign to 'educate' flat dwellers on appropriate means of garbage disposal (Malay Mail, 1997a).... The incident was interpreted in both the Malay- and English-language press in terms of the maladaptation of former squatters to life in modern high-rise blocks: on 31 May, another front-page report included the sub-heading, 'kampung habits die hard' and noted that although</p>	<p>Haniza Talha : Errr, kerajaan Selangor, yang previous one lah, dia nak, dia target Selangor Maju 2005 okay, 2005 dia target Selangor maju. Jadi at that time memang banyak squatters, so sekarang ni untuk achieve that Selangor Maju tu dia nak remove all the squatters and put them in flats. Tapi the fact that they are still squatters. Now they are up in the air.</p> <p>Haniza Talha : So itu yang sebabnya, dia tak selesaikan masalah, dia menambah new problems. So sekarang ini walaupun dia duduk flats, flat satu buat yang segera, tak ikut guidelines itu satu. The mindset of the people are still squatter punya mindset. Diorang tak biasa duduk</p>	<p>Encik Lan : Haaaa, bab sampah memang tak boleh dah.</p> <p>(When it comes to garbage wastes we cannot do anything)</p> <p>Encik Khalid : Kita tak boleh nak control. Pagi cuci bersih kul 8, 9 kang, petang, tengah hari dah bersepah.</p> <p>(We cannot control. Around 8am to 9am the workers will clean the flats, by noon it is dirty again.)</p> <p>Encik Razak : Pasal sampah ni, diorang dah biasalah dari dulu, dari rumah setingan.</p> <p>(When it comes the issue of rubbish dumping, these people are used to it, the habit is from the squatters).</p> <p>Haji : Kejap lagi ada yg terjun dari atas tu,</p>

<p>it has been nearly a year since they were relocated from Kampung Abdullah Hukom to the new flats, the residents never really discarded their habit of indiscriminate rubbish dumping (<i>Malay Mail</i>, 1997b) (quoted in <i>Bunnell</i>, 2002).</p> <p>Malay squatters are, at best, perceived to have brought the village into the city. One academic report in the mid 1970s, for example, noted the “primitive level” of rubbish disposal at Kampung Haji Abdullah Hukom and other predominantly Malay squatter <i>kampungs</i> (Pirie, 1976, p. 56). What Nooi <i>et al.</i> (1996, p. 133) have more recently termed the “dark side” of the <i>kampung</i> refers to a wide range of supposedly ‘inadequate’ or ‘improper’ living conditions and issues of urban poverty (<i>Bunnell</i>, 2002).</p>	<p>dalam flats, so sampah dia buang dari atas, you know. TV pun dia boleh buang dari atas.</p> <p>(The mindset of the people is still squatters’ mindset. They are not used to living in flats so they would dispose garbage by throwing it out from the upper floors. In some cases, television was thrown from the upper floors).</p> <p>Haniza Talha : And satu lagi, diorang sebab ni walaupun duduk bandar, dia punya mentality masih kampung.</p> <p>(The problem is even though they are residing in urban areas, but their mentality is still rural).</p> <p>Haniza Talha : Sampah tinggal dalam lif. Lepas tu lif rosak selalu. Pastu complain, management company complain macam mana boleh, dia tak boleh tanggunglah kan. Lif satu kalau rosak berapa ribu kena spend. Lepas tu these people tak pay maintenance, sebab mentality squatters. Dia duduk free, semua free tak payah bayar sewa, sekarang dia kena bayar duit rumah, semua kena beli rumah tu. So maintenace tak bayar, so bila</p>	<p>pang kena kereta orang, nasiblah kalau kena orang kena oranglah. Hari tu kena polis kena kaki. Sebulan tak kerja kawan tu, Stapa kan.</p> <p>(You will see soon somebody would be throwing out rubbishes from any of these windows and hit the cars. If someone is unlucky, it will hit that person. A few months back, a police officer was hit on his leg by waste thrown from the flat. He was unable to work for a month).</p> <p>Encik Lan : Ha’ah, bateri dia baling, bateri dari atas. Bateri kereta. Kacalah dia baling, kena kawan kerja polis. Dah tak kerja ibu jari dia kena.</p> <p>(Car batteries were thrown out from above. Glasses were also thrown out and hit the police officer).</p> <p>Encik Lan : Dia baling kat lorong angin, tingkat 5. Tingkat 5 tu banyak. Takkan nak tuduh orang sebelah baling. Bukti tak ada.</p> <p>(They dispose at the air well on level 5. But we could not blame anyone because we do not have any proofs).</p>
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	<p>maintenance tak bayar, company tak bersihkanlah. Bila tak bersihkan, penduduk complain. So it's like chicken and egg.</p> <p>(Garbage are left in the elevators. And the elevators cannot be used most of the time. When complaints are made to the management, they would say that they cannot do anything as the residence does not pay maintenance fees, therefore they could not afford to fix the elevators. The residence does not pay because while they were still living in squatters, everything is free, but now they have to pay for the house, rents, bills etc. so since maintenance fees are not paid, they do not clean the flats. When the flats are dirty, the residence would file complaints. So it's like chicken and egg).</p>	<p>Haji : Saya 15, dah tak ada lagi dah, saya cat lif semua dah tak ada ldah. Adalah seorang dua India ada beritahu dengan saya jugak, kalau dia buang saya hantar ke rumah dia. Tapi tak adalah marah apa, jangan buat macam ini, kita sama-sama jaga. Kadang-kadang dia tinggal kat lif dia sambil nak pergi kerja dia tinggal pastu dia keluar tinggal dalam lif.</p> <p>(Sometimes residences who are on their way to work would bring with them on the elevators their garbage, and then leaves it there when they get to the ground floor).</p> <p>Haji : Haaa tapi banyak tak pergi buang, semua buang tepi tangga. Banyak yang buang tepi tangga. Tak tahan. Semua longgok tepi tangga je.</p> <p>(But most of them does not dispose their garbage at the garbage centre outside, they would leave them on the staircases).</p> <p>Ashikin : Aaaa kebersihan tu biasalah kot, kalau macam selalu diorang buang sampahkan.</p>
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		<p>(The place is dirty, garbage strewn everywhere).</p> <p>Azrean : A'ah.</p> <p>Kadang-kadang diorang dari atas campak je ke bawah, diorang tak kisah buang sampah ke bawah. Itu macam orang marah sikit.</p> <p>(Sometimes they would throw out garbage from the upper floor. They do not care really).</p> <p>Sutha : Tak, orang maintenance tu tak tahu apa diorang buat. Sini gotong royong pun sendiri buat. Ada beberapa orang je angkat sampah dan sapu corridor tapi tangga kotor, lift tak okay, slow, especially kalau pagi orang nak pergi kerja kena berebut, sebab ada 2 lifts sahaja.</p> <p>(I don't know what the maintenance people do....Only a few people were employed to collect garbage and sweep the corridors. But the staircases are dirty, the lifts are not okay, slow, especially during peak hours we have to scramble our way in because there are only two lifts.)</p> <p>Sutha : Persekitaran</p>
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		<p>yang bersih, dewan yang selesa dan semua orang boleh guna, keselamatan dan security, safety first dan kebersihan. Kadang-kadang kat tangga diorang letak sampah begitu sahaja.</p> <p>(Sometimes they would leave the garbage at the staircases).</p> <p>Ravendran : Ada orang sapulah sikit, tapi sekarang ini banyak sampah longgok tepi tangga, baling dari atas ke bawah, lift lambat, satu blok besar ada 2 lift je.</p> <p>“Sometimes there are people sweeping (the corridor), but now the staircases are strewn with garbage, from the upper to lower floors. The lifts are slow, one block just two lifts”.</p>
<p>As press coverage of the block 94 incident demonstrates, squatters who have been relocated to modern public flats are said to have taken their ‘<i>kampung</i> values’ with them. <i>Kampung</i> has long been more than merely an undesirable space in, or feature of, the Malaysian urban landscape; it</p>	<p>Haniza Talha : Yes, and takde rasa bangga, proud kan. Yelah, biasalah, I think I believe lah yang orang kata you are what you eat as well as you are what the surrounding is.</p> <p>(They don’t feel proud. I believe it when people say that you are what you eat as well as you are what the</p>	

<p>denotes those attributes, attitudes and modes of conduct deemed unsuitable for urban(e) life and for citizens of a would-be ‘fully developed’ nation (Bunnell, 2002).</p>	<p>surrounding is).</p>	
<p>For the aristocratic, British-educated first Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tunjku Abdul Rahman, rural Malays were poor, but nonetheless happy and contented. Development, he argued, might actually make the rural poor disgruntled: “My experience tells me that everybody wants to continue to live the life they have been living” (quoted in Sardar, 2000,p. 163) (Bunnell, 2002).</p> <p>Mahathir, the archetypal proponent of Malay modernisation through urbanisation, is credited with the following characterisation: “The kampong lifestyle is founded on mutual help whereas in the urban areas even immediate neighbours do not know each other” (quoted in Shukor Rahman, 1996) (as quoted in Bunnell, 2002).</p>	<p>Dr. Jayasooria : The notion of a settled community takes time, so if people are shifted only 2 years ago or 5 years ago, you are not a settled community, you don’t have an idea of a neighbourhood, a kampong, this kind of issue you know. And the impact of it is also the type of work that people do. Because people are in shift jobs, they are not going to one factory to work, so the sense of cohesion, family supports, history together, so there’s no history you know. The flats have no history.</p> <p>Dr. Jayasooria : No, they will have, they have some social functions, Rukun Tetangga might do some activities, but it does not build a sense of belonging, you know from this kampong. You know I grew up, I’m proud of my kampong.</p> <p>Dr. Kumaran : Betullah</p>	<p>Encik Lan : Saya rasa lebih suka duduk setinggan lagi. Lagi suka duduk setinggan. Masa setinggan semua kerjasama ada. Apa-apa buat sekali semua. Tapi bila semua dah pindah sini, semua dulu yang kerjasama dah hilang dah. Makna masa kita duduk setinggan kita duduk jiran-jiran kita boleh tegur sapa, sekarang dah duduk rumah batu, jumpa pun... dari setinggan ke sini semua dah berubah.</p> <p>(I prefer living in the squatter. The community cooperates with each other. Since moving here, the cooperation among the community has disappeared. Back then, everybody talks to each other, everything changes when we moved here).</p> <p>Sutha : Not satisfied because kecurian, pergaduhan, jadi takut.</p>

<p>Significantly, the commonly cited aversion to resettlement into flats is expressed in terms of fears of the demise of a kampong spirit, and of being separated from kin, friends, and neighbours. Politicians, in turn, have been prone to say that squatters must be willing to adjust to the realities of urban life and to make way for “development” and “progress” (Yeoh, 2001).</p> <p>For the majority of squatters, satisfaction with life in the city is measured not only in terms of individual economic betterment but also in relation to the presence or the absence of community life and values. In Kuala Lumpur, as in other Third World cities, less attention is given to the quality of housing than to employment opportunities, to proximity to work and schools, and to available utilities and services (Aiken, 1981).</p>	<p>macam taman, taman apa, orang sebelah pun kita tak tahu. Walaupun orang Melayu pun tak tahu, tak kenal, orang India pun tak kenal, tak kenal. Apa lagi dengan India pula.</p> <p>(They don't even know their next door neighbour, even among the Malays, let alone the Indians).</p> <p>Dr. Kumaran : Kat Kampung Medan, masa dulu dia tahu ini rumah siapa, ini rumah siapa, alah rumah si dia itu walaupun tak tahu nama pun, mungkin dari sana selalu tengok dia main-main kat depan. Macam sekarang tak ada macam ini.</p> <p>(In Kampung Medan back then, everyday knew whose house this was even though they don't know the person personally. It is not like that here).</p> <p>Dr. Kumaran : Dekat kampong ini kan, jalan masuk mana, jadi tahu orang-orang jangan pergi kawasan itu, pergi kat sana. Tapi, sekarang more open, kalau orang pecah pintu rumah pun, orang sekeliling tak kisah, itu dia punya hal lah, mungkin</p>	<p>Facilities tak cukup, di Kampung Medan walaupun dia kampong dan squatters tapi dia selesa, rumah besar. Sekarang 3 bilik untuk keluarga kecil dia boleh manage, my family ada 6 so cramped sikitlah.</p> <p>(In Kampung Medan, even though it's a village and squatter, but it is comfortable and the houses are bigger. Now 3 rooms for a small family they could manage, my family consists of 6 people so it's cramped).</p> <p>Sutha : Dulu jiran ramai Melayu dan baik, tak ada masalah, kenal semua. Semua yang pindah sini campur-campur so tak kenal. Dah 3 tahun kat sini tak kenal, in fact jiran sebelah tak pernah tengok muka dia. Dulu apa-apa perayaan pun semua datang, sini tak adalah, kalau kita jemput pun tak datang.</p> <p>(Back then, many of my neighbours are Malays and we didn't have any problem, we knew each other. I've been here for 3 years but I still don't know my next door neighbour. Back then,</p>
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	<p>pulang lambat, selalu mabuk, selalu, jadi mungkin itulah.</p> <p>(Here the flats are open, easily accessed. If a house is broken into, the neighbours wouldn't care, it's not their problem).</p>	<p>any festivities are celebrated together, here, even if we invite them they would not come).</p>
<p>Smaller sizes of land and smaller houses at the temporary shelter or low-cost houses have agitated the squatters' frustration. Lack of facilities leads to lack of activities. To a certain extent, this has caused social problems, unhealthy environment, unsuitable for child bringing environment and according to a study conducted in Penang, the children from resettlement areas have poorly performed in school (Siti, 2006) (as quoted in <i>Sufian; Mohamad</i>, 2009).</p> <p>There are many reasons that can be associated with squatters' reluctance or even refuse to move out from their settlements. Part of it may be linked to lack of job opportunities in the resettlement areas, distance to working place, family rearrangement (for instance to</p>	<p>Dr. Jayasooria : Now if you look at the construction of the flats, the design, the space, the close congestion, high density, it doesn't contribute towards healthy living. So these are factors, so then you have other problems like access to dewan, access to prayer place, access to places where you have a funeral, so people have conflicts over that...</p> <p>Dr. Jayasooria : I think, I think if the neighbourhood is more conducive, for example to neighbourhood cohesion, if you take into account community needs, where community can gather. If the community more compactly designed rather than all open, then people come and go as they like, if not you have the, the design should be where people can interact, the space and other facilities, so I would think so. And then also</p>	<p>Encik Lan : Yang Melayu sosial lah, yang Melayu sosial. Dia sama je cuma jenayah India, Melayu sosial. Contohnya macam rumah kosong ada budak sekolah dia tak pergi sekolah, dia nak rumah kosong dia buat projek kat atas, hisap ganjalah, hidu gamlah.</p> <p>(The Malays are faced with social issues among the youths such as drug issues while the Indians are involved in crimes).</p> <p>Sutha : Sini remaja selalu bergaduh mungkin sebab nowhere to go, no work, dropped out of school, minum. Diorang selalu kumpul kat depan itu malam, buat bising, minum, kacau-kacau orang, tak berani nak lalu situ. Diorang orang duduk sini, jiran sendiri.</p> <p>(The youths are always in a fight maybe because they</p>

<p>send children to new schools), accessibility of public transports and also new environment in the new areas...Moreover there are a few squatters who feel that there is no surety of fulfilment of the promises made by the government, thus hampering them from giving their trust to the promises (Sufian; Mohamad, 2009).</p> <p>The quality of building materials, compact floor space (typically 550 to 600 square feet), and the prospect of climbing stairs are often areas of complaints, especially for bigger families. In everyday conversations, “pigeon-holes” and “chicken-coops” are popular epithets used to describe these dwelling structures. Of late, various local authorities have themselves begun to acknowledge how confined domestic spaces have inclined youths from large families to spend more a substantial part of their time “loafing around” (lepak) in supermarkets and other public spaces (Yeoh, 2001).</p>	<p>lighting, the type of alleys you create, all these make an impact. Now some of the flats I’ve seen the balcony is inside, there will be air-well going up and staircases on the edge. So the ventilation is not good you know. So the only air-well is here it will be gelap you know. If you look at some of the DBKL’s, the others worth looking at, should go is DBKL’s public housing, some are well designed some are bad. Because the problem would be 2 bedrooms, 1 bedroom house, you got 10 children, so all these contribute to other kinds of social problems.</p> <p>(gelap = dark)</p> <p>Jasmine : True, so that is where the structural issues are very key. We always make it like a value issue you know, the value system is wrong, people are not trained very well and things like that.</p> <p>The culprit is the structural issues. So they are not prepared, see now Kampung Muniandy. Kampung Muniandy was a squatter area, okay, squatter area you</p>	<p>ahve nowhere to go, no work, dropped out of school, drinking. They would gather at the playground at night, drinking and causing trouble).</p> <p>Sutha : Bertambah, kat sini banyak kecurian dan pergaduhan antara youngsters macam itu. Saya tak pasti sama ada gangsterism tapi orang kata ada. Jenayah yang selalu berlaku macam curi motor, pecah rumah dan ragut, selalu berlaku.</p> <p>(The main problems here are thefts and fights among youngsters. I’m not sure about gangs, but people say there are gangs here).</p> <p>Rajendran : Parents duduk kat level atas, anak buat apa kat bawah tak tahu, buat hal pun tak tahu. Bila orang cakap baru tahu. And bila dah beritahu parents dah tak boleh buat apa-apa sebab anak dah tak boleh control.</p> <p>(Parents are upstairs and are not aware of their children’s activities downstairs. When they are told about their children, by then it is too late as the children can no longer</p>
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	<p>know the background, historically how they would have come to the area and all that kind of thing, and they were staying there, they were going you know walking distance, they would cycle to their work like that and all that. Then these people were given, okay you will have a 3 room bed all this and that, and you can take a loan and all that kind of thing. But these people are not prepared to take a loan. They want to take a loan but they don't know how to take a loan, how to and then afterwards pay. And then, all this while it is like no water, no electricity, just curi from somewhere or have to make arrangement with somebody and they get it, no money for that. Now maintenance and so many things. Then there were new issues in Petaling Utama flats, there was problems with the developer. It's a private company, so then people didn't pay water, electricity bills, what he did was, because 80% of them didn't pay, he totally closed everybody's.</p>	<p>be controlled). Rajendran : Tak boleh nak control. Yang buat ini orang muda 18-19 tahun. Suspect ambil dadah. Vandalism, public phone rosak, vending machine pecahkan, and diorang buat depan orang ramai, tak kisah, tak takut. (Cannot be controlled. The people who are causing troubles are youths between the ages of 18-19. I suspect that they take drugs. Vandalism, they vandalise the public phones, vending machines, and they do it in public, they don't care and they're not afraid). Saravanan : Kehilangan motor because tak ada proper parking space untuk motor dan saya sendiri pernah kehilangan motor. Memang kemudahan-kemudahan yang ada kat sini memang tidak mencukupi untuk community menjalankan kehidupan yang selesa. (Motorcycle theft is common as there are no proper parking spaces provided. Facilities provided are not</p>
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		<p>enough for the community to live comfortably).</p> <p>Saravanan : Di dewan itu boleh letak semua, tadika kemas, perpaduan, puspanita. Kalau kita tak ada tempat untuk buat aktiviti, so macam mana Kementerian nak harapkan perpecahan antara penduduk tak akan berlaku. You must gather all people into one place, dalam satu bumbung.</p> <p>(If we do not have a place to conduct activities, how does the government expect us not to be divided as a community).</p> <p>Saravanan : Adalah dadah, penglibatan dadah oleh pemuda-pemuda, juvenile crimes oleh students, pergaduhan kecil yang akibatkan jadi pergaduhan besar oleh adults, parents masuk campur jadi perkaumanlah akhirnya. Then ada ragut, curi motor lagi so still meluas, tak ada perubahan pun. Die meluas because keadaan pesat. Dulu kurang penduduk, kurang, sekarang dua-dua flats ini penuh dengan penghuni daripada</p>
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		<p>beberapa kampung so kadar jenayah meningkat.</p> <p>(There are drug issue and juvenile crimes among the youths, small fights that became big ones when adults interfere, to a point that causes racial tensions between the Malays and Indians. The crime rate has reason due to fact there are too many people occupying the flats from different villages).</p> <p>Kavirasya : Playground tu...</p> <p>Nanthiny : Banyak orang, banyak lelaki duduk-duduk. Minum arak. Dadah.</p> <p>(At the playground there are many boys loafing around. Drinking. Taking drugs).</p> <p>Fazira : Hisap gam adalah.</p> <p>(Taking drugs).</p> <p>Ashikin :</p> <p>Kadang-kadang orang lepak hisap gam..</p> <p>(Sometimes there are boys loafing around taking drugs).</p> <p>Rajendran : Kadar jenayah sama je, tak ada apa-apa perubahan. Petang dan malam boleh tengok, tak boleh tidur pun, orang lalu-</p>
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		<p>lalang kat depan kedai, banyak gaduh-gaduh. Budak kecil still sekolah pun mabuk, gaduh, yang Melayu pun serupa juga. Especially kalau weekends and public holidays, mesti ada yang buat hal. Kumpul ramai-ramai, mabuk-mabuk dan gaduh.</p> <p>(Children still in school has started drinking and getting drunk, including the Malays. Especially during the weekends and public holidays, somebody would bound to cause trouble. They would gather together, get drunk and start fights).</p>
<p>Each of the low cost flats costs RM25,000 (USD412.5). although developers have complained that the price is too cheap, many evicted squatters still cannot afford to buy them. Normally the developers arrange for bank loans, which have to be paid monthly for a period of 15 to 25 years. The actual price of the flats thus becomes much more, sometimes almost double. Many squatters, owing to their low income, cannot afford it. Others, who</p>	<p>Haniza Talha : Lepas tu these people tak pay maintenance, sebab mentality squatters. Dia duduk free, semua free tak payah bayar sewa, sekarang dia kena bayar duit rumah, semua kena beli rumah tu. So maintenace tak bayar, so bila maintenance tak bayar, company tak bersihkanlah. Bila tak bersihkan, penduduk complain. So it's like chicken and egg.</p> <p>(The resident does not pay the maintenance fees,</p>	<p>Hassan : Lagi suka kat sana, walaupun setingan tapi kat sana free jadi sesuai dengan kami yang berpendapatan rendah. Sini semua berbayar dan ramai yang rumah diorang dah kena lelong sebab tak mampu.</p> <p>(Many houses have been auctioned as the residents could not afford to pay).</p> <p>Hassan : Kat sana hanya perlu bayar air dan elektrik je, lepas itu kat sini pula elektrik mahal, tak</p>

<p>can afford, may already have passed 40 years and do not qualify to take bank loans. In order to raise enough income, they have to do more than one job and this affects their health. There have been many cases where squatters are unable to repay their loans and are thus forced to sell or give up their flats. Some of them go back to squatter areas (Ali, 1998).</p>	<p>because of their ‘squatters mentality’. They are used to living for free, everything is free, no rent to pay, now they have to pay for the flat. So they don’t pay the maintenance fee, therefore the management refuses to clean up the flats. When the flats are dirty, the residents file for complaint).</p>	<p>pakai aircond pun, dan siang kebanyakan orang kat luar tak ada kat rumah tapi kena bayar sampai RM200, sama macam bill rumah bungalow.</p>
<p>Resettlement of squatters may cause an increase of living expenses for majority of squatters. As a result, this may pressure them and make them feel unsecured (Suffian; Mohamad, 2009).</p>	<p>Haniza Talha : Because they are poor, they cannot rent houses dekat sini, dia duduk dengan parents. Lepas tu dia dekat sini dia dekat, easy access to many things, dia dekat dengan bandar, dia dekat dengan sekolah, dengan hospital jadi dia don’t want to move.</p>	<p>(Here electricity is expensive, we don’t use air-conditioner, and during the day most of the residents are not at home but the bill reaches up to RM200, the same amount for a bungalow house).</p>
<p>Due to their unstable income and low salary, they find it very difficult to obtain financial assistance especially from the financial institutions. Thus, they loss hope of getting new settlements and decided to remain in the squatter settlements (Suffian; Mohamad, 2009).</p>	<p>(Because they are poor, they can’t afford to rent for houses in the area so they live with their parents. This area has easy access to many things, near to the town centre, school, hospital etc, so they do not want to move).</p> <p>Jasmine : Kampung Muniandy was a squatter area, okay, squatter area you know the background, historically how they would have come to the area and all</p>	<p>Hassan : Kami hidup sini sentiasa dalam ugutan. Asyik dapat surat ugutan je beritahu kalau tak bayar dalam 2 minggu akan dibawa ke mahkamah. Tiap-tiap bulan. Orang kat sini dengar je perkataan mahkamah takutlah, jadi hidup dalam ketakutan pula. (We keep receiving letters reminding us to pay the house loans or else we would be brought to court. Every month. Resident get scared hearing the word court).</p>

	<p>that kind of thing, and they were staying there, they were going you know walking distance, they would cycle to their work like that and all that. Then these people were given, okay you will have a 3 room bed all this and that, and you can take a loan and all that kind of thing. But these people are not prepared to take a loan. They want to take a loan but they don't know how to take a loan, how to and then afterwards pay. And then, all this while it is like no water, no electricity, just curi from somewhere or have to make arrangement with somebody and they get it, no money for that. Now maintenance and so many things. Then there were new issues in Petaling Utama flats, there was problems with the developer. It's a private company, so then people didn't pay water, electricity bills, what he did was, because 80% of them didn't pay, he totally closed everybody's. Then it became an issues, that it has been politicised and this and that and then they had to come</p>	
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	and all. So these are the other sides of development as well.	
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A.3 Physical Attributes

Articles	Professionals	The People
<p>Yet this ‘<i>kampung</i> values’ explanation of the block 94 incident runs against previous reports on Putra Ria in the state-owned press. Only six weeks earlier, for example, the <i>New Straits Times</i> had featured the ‘plight’ of squatters relocating from Kampung Haji Abdullah Hukum to Putra Ria (Hisham, 1997). This noted not only the crippling price of the ‘low–medium’ cost flats for poor squatter families, but also the flats’ inadequate ‘pigeon hole’ size, the lack of recreational space for children and the more general poor state of repair of the buildings (Bunnell, 2002).</p> <p>The place is in a sorry state. There are no rubbish chutes and those living on the 22 floor have to come all the way down and go up again, and then when the lifts are jammed it’s such a problem. And the lifts are always</p>	<p>Haniza Talha : Sebab, dengan orangnya begitu ramai, dengan flat, udahlah dia punya tempat kecik, pastu high-rise pulak tau. Paling minimum 12 belas tingkat..</p> <p>(There are too many people, the size of the flats is small and the buildings are high-rises with the minimum being 12 storeys...)</p> <p>Haniza Talha : Haa, 17, 18, 19, semua ada. So, that is the situation, and they compromise everything tau. They have no recreational area, parking spaces are limited, aaaa lepas tu dia tak, kalau you tengok roads getting into the access roads pun narrow, tak ikut specification. Itu belum masuk dalam rumah dia lagi. Ada flats kan you cannot even dry your clothes. Tak boleh sidai kat luar. Pastu koridor dia kalau you bukak pintu dua macam</p>	<p>Encik Lan : Kalau bangunan tinggi macam ni itulah masalahnya. Memang sampah ada mana-mana jelah. Pergilah mana-mana flat masalah yang sama.</p> <p>(That is the problem with high-rises. Garbage wastes are all over the place. Go to any high-rises, it is the same problem.)</p> <p>Encik Lan : Ada, tu ada macam dewan ada dia buat dia bagi, semua adalah kalau ikutkan semua ada. Cuma untuk sistem keselamatan lainlah macam pili bomba. Pili bomba sekarang memang takdelah.</p> <p>(They do provide halls and everything else, except for items related to safety issues such as fire hydrant. Fire hydrant are not provided for.)</p> <p>Encik Lan : Pili tu ada tapi dia punya kepala dah takde, dah berapa tahun dah 3 tahun, takde.</p> <p>(There are fire hydrants but</p>

<p> jammed. Then you get people throwing their rubbish from the top floor and you see cars with their windscreens smashed. You see rubbish strewn all over and we have to pay maintenance costs (quoted in Hisham, 1997) (Bunnell, 2002). </p> <p> Urban pioneer NGOs also point to inadequate conditions in the public housing estates. As Syed Husin Ali, JSPB adviser, puts it, such housing usually consists of two or two and a half room flats in high rise buildings between 18 and 22 stories, and built close to one another with poor workmanship. More often than not there is no playground for children. Garbage collection is irregular and inefficient and soon the environment becomes polluted. These low cost housing areas also turn into a new slum (Bunnell, 2002). </p> <p> <i>Kampung</i> housing is thus understood literally to accommodate culture, allowing it to develop and flourish. High-rise flats, in contrast, are said to consist of an inappropriate, standardised </p>	<p> itu memang berlanggar pintu. So that is how bad it is, you know. So ermm so I think because of that the people are very angry. </p> <p> (They have no recreational area, parking spaces are limited, the roads getting into the areas; access roads; are narrow, not following specification. As for the flats, there are flats that you cannot even have space to dry your clothes outside. The corridors are narrow that if a resident leaves the door open, it will take up space.) </p> <p> Haniza Talha : Haaa, dia taknak turun. So I, lepas tu dengan longkang tersumbat, sekarang ni dia I think the life span of the buildings pun dah kira dah sampai ke mungkin dah sampai ke maksimum. And yesterday in fact there was a fire because of ini short circuit. That shows actually the houses kat situ memang dah lama, they have to rewire, jadi it is actually a good time to ini balik, laksanakan.. </p> <p> (the drainges are blocked, </p>	<p> they could not be used because some parts of it are missing.) </p> <p> Haji : Hantar ke tong sampah tulah. Haaa tapi banyak tak pergi buang, semua buang tepi tangga. </p> <p> (We have to go all the way down to the waste disposal centre. But most don't dispose it there, they just leave it at the staircases) </p> <p> Encik Lan : Tak kadang-kadang masalah jugak. Yalah sepatutnya dia buat corong macam itu, kalau diorang dari atas bawak turun sampah pun, bawak masuk lif, pastu lif itu berbau dua, tiga hari. Berbau. </p> <p> (They should have provided those garbage disposal chutes, if the residents were to take down with them their garbage wastes and used the elevators, the elevators would smell of garbage wastes for up to 3 days.) </p> <p> Sidek : Tak tahulah. </p> <p> Pandangan saya ada yang cukup, ada yang tak cukup. Macam lampu, lampu lift, lampu dekat tangga takde. </p> <p> (In my opinion, some facilities are provided for, and some are not. For instance, </p>
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<p>design imposed ‘from above’. This provides inadequate public space for cultural festivities essential for community well-being (Bunnell, 2002).</p> <p>In most cases, new accommodations are smaller and cannot accommodate their families. Some of them used to live in a single storey wooden bungalow with proper ventilation though lack of other facilities or amenities and after resettlement programme, they have to stay in public houses or low-cost houses which are comparatively smaller (Suffian; Mohammad, 2009).</p> <p>The quality of building materials, compact floor space (typically 550 to 600 square feet), and the prospect of climbing stairs are often areas of complaints, especially for bigger families. In everyday conversations, “pigeon-holes” and “chicken-coops” are popular epithets used to describe these dwelling structures (Yeoh, 2001).</p>	<p>and now I believe that the life span of the buildings has come to its maximum span.) Haniza Talha : Haa yelah buang sampah merata, pastu space pun tak cukup kan. (Garbage is disposed off all over the place, and there is not enough space.) Haniza Talha : You know what, most of the playgrounds are kawasan-kawasan yang lebih-lebih. (most of the playgrounds are leftover spaces.) Dr. Jayasooria : So Petaling Utama flats we did a lot of works, so that was my first area of study, Petaling Utama, when they were squatters, Kampong Muniandy, and then they became, they are some articles in our website of the shift from Kampung Muniandy to Petaling Utama flats. Now if you look at the construction of the flats, the design, the space, the close congestion, high density, it doesn't contribute towards healthy living. So these are factors, so then you have other problems like access to</p>	<p>they are no lights provided at the staircases). Sidek : Tak cukup. Padang, padang takde. Lepas tu, orang cakap, haaa budak-budak kat sini memang bawak motor laju sangat. Haaa macam tulah. (Not enough. Field is not provided) Ashikin : Padang. Padang bola ke. (We would like it if a football field is provided). Azrean : Kitorang pergi...terpaksa pergi jalan kakilah praktis kat sekolah. (We have to walk all the way to school if we need to practice). Sutha : Not satisfied because kecurian, pergaduhan, jadi takut. Facilities tak cukup, di Kampung Medan walaupun dia kampong dan squatters tapi dia selelsa, rumah besar. Sekarang 3 bilik untuk keluarga kecil dia boleh manage, my family ada 6 so cramped sikitlah. (The facilities are not enough. 3 rooms for a small family is fine, my family consists of 6 members therefore the flat are</p>
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<p>There have been a lot of housing developments in areas that were once occupied by squatters. Many of them are high or medium cost bungalows or apartments because they can bring bigger profits to the developers. Only a small number are low cost houses, mostly two- or two-and-a-half room flats in high-rise buildings between 18 and 22 storeys, and built close to one another with poor workmanship. More often than not there is no playground for children. Garbage collection is irregular and inefficient, and soon the environment becomes polluted. These low cost housing areas also turn into a new slum (<i>Ali</i>, 1998).</p> <p>In the case of both Malays and Indians who left the rural areas their only option for housing was the squatters that automatically emerged due to lack of affordable and accessible housing in urban areas. With increased public provisions more flats were available for rent and more</p>	<p>dewan, access to prayer place, access to places where you have a funeral, so people have conflicts over that, parking...</p> <p>(dewan = hall)</p> <p>Dr. Jayasooria : Yes, see Singapore it creates open space on the bottom you know, so it takes into accounts, some are commercial lots, some are for communities. You see the difficulties we have found in the Klang Valley in all the works I've done in the past phase that the Muslims want a surau or if there is a dewan and also Muslims are sharing they do not want a mayat to come into that thing. So a funeral arrangements is a problem. Because to take a body up 17 storeys, where do the people meet? So you got to tap now, so where do you put the body? Or you might have a surau and a dewan, so the Muslim groups are always taken care of in terms of its provision, but what about other religious groups? All then make it neutral dewan you know, or</p>	<p>a bit cramped.)</p> <p>Sutha : Ada dewan, boleh guna tapi tak selesa because kecil je, saiz kedai kat bawah and then ada banyak columns in between. Kalau let say nak buat wedding memang tak sesuai. And then kalau nak dapatkan kebenaran guna dewan pun susah.</p> <p>(There is a hall and it can be used, however, it is not comfortable as the size is small and there are rows of columns in between. If I were to hold a wedding, it is not suitable. It is also hard to gain permission to use the hall.)</p> <p>Sutha : Tak, orang maintenance tu tak tahu apa diorang buat. Sini gotong royong pun sendiri buat. Ada beberapa orang je angkat sampah dan sapu corridor tapi tangga kotor, lift tak okay, slow, especially kalau pagi orang nak pergi kerja kena berebut, sebab ada 2 lifts sahaja.</p> <p>(I do not know what the maintenance workers do. Only a few of them collect the garbage wastes and sweep the corridors, but the staircases</p>
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<p>affordable schemes either private or public sectors were developed. This provided the options for families to purchase low cost flats. What emerged were the new housing areas especially in the Klang Valley with inadequate public facilities. In a majority of cases these are densely populated neighbourhoods (<i>Jayasooria</i>, 2008).</p> <p>Often insensitivity of government provisions, does not consider the multi cultural and religious nature of society. This impact upon community integration (<i>Jayasooria</i>, 2008).</p> <p>The Malaysian government has provided various housing schemes for the poor and special group of people including squatters. Unfortunately, the elements of quality housing, sufficient facilities, comfortableness and affordable housing have not been addressed considerably resulting in the hesitation of squatters to move to houses provided for them (<i>Suffian</i>;</p>	<p>have more than one dewan within the vicinity. So even if you have 1000 or 2000 people living, the dewan only can accommodate 100 people or 50 people, so it's totally inadequate, and the public space is very small. So that not taking into effect the quality of life and you want now to try and prevent crime? So have other problems which are structural. (surau = small mosque; dewan = hall)</p>	<p>are always dirty, the elevators are not okay; slow, especially in the morning during peak hours and everyone are rushing to work, because there are only 2 elevators.)</p> <p>Sutha : Sistem bawak sampah, kena bawak turun sampah sendiri ke tempat buang sampah. Sini tak ada shoot itu.</p> <p>(Residents have to bring down their garbage wastes themselves because the garbage disposal chutes are not provided.)</p> <p>Sutha : Pembinaan flat tidak dirancang so let say orang tingkat atas basuh lantai guna air, habis kena rumah bawah. Patutnya ada gutter ke, gelong untuk salur air.</p> <p>(The development of the flats are not well planned, so let say the residents from the upper floors were cleaning the floors of the corridors, the water will then flow to the lower flats. There should be gutters to drained out the water.)</p> <p>Ravendran : Kalau ada India meninggal kan, tak ada tempat untuk buat upacara. Hari itu ada kematian terpaksa</p>
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Mohamad, 2009).

buat tepi jalan je, diorang tak bagi guna dewan. Kat sini dulu ada beberapa dewan tapi Melayu dah ambil jadi surau dan tadika kemas. Ada satu lagi dewan tapi selalu guna untuk perkahwinan Melayu jadi diorang tak kasi buat upacara kematian kat situ.

(We have no place to conduct a funeral. They used to be more halls but the Malays have taken it and turn it into a surau and nursery. The other halls are normally used for Malay weddings, therefore they would not allow a funeral to held there).

Ravendran : Hari itu ada jiran buat majlis perkahwinan tapi terpaksa memasak dekat koridor depan rumah kat tingkat ini. Dulu kat kampong boleh masak kat kawasan kediaman masing-masing.

(One of my neighbours had a wedding but we had to cook along the corridor in front of their house).

Hassan : Minta maintenance turunkan sikit fees pun taknak. Tapi maintenance tak buat apa pun, lift ada 2 tapi satu je boleh guna, yang rosak tu pun tak

		<p>baiki-baiki. Flat kotor tapi suruh bayar. Kalau ada pilihan memang pakcik taknak duduk, kalau pakcik ada duit pakcik takkan pilih duduk kat flat.</p> <p>(The management refuses to reduce the maintenance fees. But they are not doing anything, only 2 elevators can be used, they have not repaired the elevator that is not in service. The flats are dirty but yet we have to pay the fees).</p> <p>Hassan : Tak pakai steamroll pun, pinjam lori orang kat sini dan kami gelek sampai rata. Taman ini pun kami buat sendiri sebab diorang tak ada sediakan. Yang ada playground dengan padang bola. Jadi orang tua yang nak lepak-lepak tak ada tempat. Tapi bila dah bersihkan, guna dengan sebaiknya diorang halau pula jadi rasa kecewalah.</p> <p>(We developed this small garden because they did not provide any for us. A playground and a football field are provided for but there no place for us elderly to hang out.)</p>
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		<p>Saravanan : I need a proper dewan yang dapat kumpulkan semua orang. Diorang bagi dewan yang macam kedai kat block 10. Because pemahaman penuduk itu a dewan is a stand alone building, not kedai. Parking spaces not enough. Charging fees tak berbaloi untuk maintenance. (I need a proper hall. The shop lots were used as a hall. A hall must be a stand alone building, not a shop building. Parking spaces are not enough. The charging fees are not worth it for maintenance purposes.)</p> <p>Saravanan : Masa beli flat diorang cakap telephone wiring included, tapi bila masuk and check the sockets there are no cables. The suddenly company lain datang kata boleh pasang and the charges mengikut tingkat so mahal dan tak berbaloi. Saya beli rumah ini RM35,000 termasuk dengan pendawaian telekom, so rasa tertipu pula. Saya rasa system pembinaan dari segi keselamatan juga tak sesuai.</p> <p>(When I bought the flat they</p>
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		<p>told me that telephone wirings are included, but when I moved in and check the sockets, there are no cables...I believe that the safety system of the buildings are not suitable.)</p> <p>Saravanan : Kehilangan motor because tak ada proper parking space untuk motor dan saya sendiri pernah kehilangan motor. Memang kemudahan-kemudahan yang ada kat sini memang tidak mencukupi untuk community menjalankan kehidupan yang selesa.</p> <p>(Motorcycle thefts are common because there are no proper parking spaces for motorcycles...the facilities here are not enough for the community to live a comfortable life.)</p> <p>Saravanan : Di dewan itu boleh letak semua, tadika kemas, perpaduan, puspanita. Kalau kita tak ada tempat untuk buat aktiviti, so macam mana Kementerian nak harapkan perpecahan antara penduduk tak akan berlaku. You must gather all people into one place, dalam satu bumbung.</p>
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		<p>(We do not have space to conduct activities so how does the government expect us to be united.)</p> <p>Saravanan : Padang, facilities semua cukup cuma tak selesalah. Diorang kasi yang minimum je. Kalau nak pergi main bola kami terpaksa pergi main tempat lain, sebab kat nearby areas ada padang bola so tumpang main sekali.</p> <p>(Field, facilities are enough but not comfortable. They provide only the minimum. If we want to play football, we have to use neighbouring football fields.)</p> <p>Maran : Dulu ada tempat untuk kumpul, sekarang tak ada dan budak-budak pula dapat untung, diorang dapat tuition percuma, 100 orang dalam dewan sampai pindah ke dewan lagi besar. Tapi sekarang ada juga tapi penglibatan community itu dah kurang, and then tak ada tempat yang sesuai kat sini.</p> <p>(There are no suitable places for the community to gather.)</p> <p>Maran : Sebagai OKU, sini susah sikit nak bergerak, kemudahan untuk</p>
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		<p>OKU tak diberi, langsung tak dipedulikan. Masyarakat sendiri pun tak peduli nak bagi keutamaan contoh bila nak masuk lift. Kesedaran itu kurang.</p> <p>(It is hard for the disabled to move around, and facilities for the disabled are not provided for.)</p> <p>Maran : Lagi suka kat sana, kat sana India majority, Melayu kurang. Saya tak ada masalah campur dengan Melayu semua cuma sini saya susah nak bergerak, turun naik lift semua. Sini orang buat hal sendiri, dulu boleh control tapi sini susah sikit, but still boleh lagi.</p> <p>(It is hard for me to move around and use the elevators.)</p> <p>Maran : Sini masih kelam-kabut sebab baru 3 tahun kat sini, tak stable lagi, tak kenal lagi semua orang, baru nak start bersatu. Sana lagi selesa, sini semua tak ada, padang tak ada, kuil tak ada, dewan pun tak ada. Bila minta tak dapat-dapat, dah 2 tahun minta.</p> <p>(There is nothing here, no field, no temple, and even no hall.)</p>
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		<p>Maran : Sini ramai juga orang tua, pun susah nak bergerak, saya harapkan kemudahan untuk OKU disediakan.</p> <p>(There are many elderly living here and it is hard for them to move around too.)</p>
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A.4 Racial Issues

Articles	Professionals	The People
<p>On March 9, 2001, a social disagreement between two groups, Malay and Indian, led to racial clashes that took three weeks to calm down. The final tally of that incident: Six dead and more than 400 detained. For Malaysians, who pride themselves on being multiethnic, tolerant and more than happy to celebrate the festivities of other races, the flare-up in Kampung Medan was a blip that marred the country's harmony. To the outsider, the incident at Kampung Medan is but an example of the "undercurrents" that run beneath the country's multiethnic makeup, ready to be let loose by those who</p>	<p>Dr. Jayasooria : But the root issue is urban poverty. I was quite badly criticise because of my findings, because I said they were from my inquiry during that time, there were more than 5 issues that emerged. So it's like urban poverty, lack of opportunities, these kind of issues. But one of the issues was that the behaviour of the Indian youths in terms of how Malays saw it. So that was something the Indians felt I shouldn't have said because I was blaming Indians for the problems. So what basically I was trying to say was in a community where you live, some of the Malays were not happy with the behaviour of a number of Indian youths and that doesn't</p>	<p>Aranagiri : Kejadian yang tidak terkawal tu berlaku less than a week but the impact tu still sampai sekarang. If asked suka tak Melayu? Diorang cakap tak suka. And kadar pendaftaran pelajar India di Sekolah Kampung Medan, dominated by Malays, merosot. Diorang sanggup pergi Bandar Sunway because situ dominated by Chinese. Impact tu mengikut kajian diorang still ada.</p> <p>(The incident happened less than a week but the impact can be felt until now. If the Indians were asked do you like the Malays? They would answer no. Registration rate of Indians in Kamung Medan School, which is</p>

<p>would let go of their self-control and revert to the laws of the jungle (<i>New Straits Time</i>, 2007).</p> <p>It is generally accepted that the poor find solidarity among them. Very often the battle is between the poor and the affluent as the latter controls the resources. However, when the poor receive differential treatment or have different experiences of access to resources or if their particular issues remain unresolved, they might turn against themselves causing social unrest within the bottom sections of the society. This is the dimension this paper seeks to explore. This is because after May 13, 1969, which was the major racial clash largely among the Chinese and Malays, the subsequent smaller incidences are among the Malays and the Indians as indicated in the March 1998 clash at Kampung Rawa, Penang and the kampong Medan, Petaling Jaya incident in March 2001 (<i>Jayasooria</i>, 2008).</p>	<p>justify the killing or whatever or the injury, they felt it was a contributing factor that justified them taking action.</p> <p>Dr. Kumaran : Tapi di sini pula, ajak pun dia taknak, dia taknak, sebab berasingan. Kalau pergi India, India sini, Melayu, Melayu je. Sekolah pun macam itu. (Here they refuse to attend any events even if invited, the Indians and Malays live separately. The Indians would join the Indians, and the Malays stick to themselves. It is the same when it comes to schools).</p> <p>Ravi Prumal : Maybe, maybe aaa...the Indians and the Malays there are very sensitive people lah. The Indians and Malays. It's only waiting for the spark you know, with just one spark they will burst.</p> <p>Ravi Prumal : Yes. No you see aaa, they park they cars you see aaa because so many blocks, everyone having cars, they park anyway they like. Motorbike aaa when I go for petrol I see you know. These things can cause racial tension you know. Kereta tak boleh</p>	<p>dominated by Malays, has decreased. They parents would rather send their children as far as Bandar Sunway where the school is dominated by Chinese).</p> <p>Aranagiri : Before that takde problem. How started tak sure tapi dengar cerita dekat Sri Manja ada wedding Melayu and Indian funeral, and it sparked from there. The tension started earlier for years, the incident was the climax.</p> <p>(Before the incident there were no problems. We're not sure how it started, but from what we've heard that there was a Malay wedding and Indian funeral near Sri Manja, and it sparked from there).</p> <p>Ravendran : Sana dulu ramai India boleh tegur, kat sini yang buat bising anak Melayu tak boleh tegur.</p> <p>(Back at the squatters where I'm from the majority was Indians, so if their children were making too much noise, I could just simply scold them. But here, the noises are caused by Malay children, so I can't scold</p>
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<p>Crime is not reduced by rehousing, and electricity, water and rent must be paid from often meagre incomes. Interracial tolerance is perhaps promoted in integrated low-rise and terraced-housing projects, but not in high-rise structures (Aiken, 1981).</p>	<p>keluar tak boleh masuk.</p> <p>Ravi Prumal : Normally I go around 2 pagi, 3 pagi I should go out lah. Because I like aaa 5 o'clock, 5.30, 6 o'clock itu snatch thieves banyaklah. Dia target perempuan. Even school girls pun dia mahu samun, apa ada pada dia. Aiyooo. Sometimes some guys I think apalah bodoh sangat budak sekolah pun mahu ragut. But these places the main problem is racism lah. Saya from Melaka duduk kampung campur dengan Melayu tidak pernah ada problem macam ini. Bile saya kerja di sini baru first time saya tengok masalah ini. Tempat lain tak ada, sini sahaja. Benda kecil pun jadi masalah besar, gaduh besar.</p> <p>(But the main problem in these areas is racism. I come from Malacca and live in a mixed community village; I never had any problems with the Malays. When I first came here, I noticed that there is a big problem here. The problem is site specific, doesn't happen anywhere else. The smallest thing can cause a big fight).</p>	<p>them).</p> <p>Saravanan : Kadar jenayah within 3 years ini masih meluas, contohnya pergaduhan perkauman berlaku, di mana pendirian masing-masing ada indifference.</p> <p>(Racial clashes happen here because they have indifference stance).</p> <p>Saravanan : Adalah dadah, penglibatan dadah oleh pemuda-pemuda, juvenile crimes oleh students, pergaduhan kecil yang akibatkan jadi pergaduhan besar oleh adults, parents masuk campur jadi perkaumanlah akhirnya.</p> <p>(Small quarrels become big fights because the parents intervene, which later causes racial clashes).</p> <p>Saravanan : So macam kami RT, NGOs dan polis kawasan ini, diorang tak ada rasa takut, rasa selamat. Tapi bagi penduduk memang diorang rasa tak selamat duduk sini. Di mana pergaduhan itu berlaku, baru-baru ini berlaku satu pergaduhan perkauman, di</p>
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	<p>Haniza Talha : Memang, memang banyak problems. Racial clash ada kat situ.</p> <p>(There are so many problems here. Racial clashes happen here).</p> <p>Haniza Talha : Lepas tu kan dia pun memang dua kaum ni orang Melayu sama, orang Indian sama. Dia macam ada perasaan curiga tau. Walaupun kan ada setengah persatuan itu dia cuba nak reach out jugaklah, kalau dia buat program dia panggilkan, tapi dia tak datang. Ada orang, persatuan penduduk tu dia kata kalau YB datang baru saya datang, kalau YB tak datang saya tak datang.</p> <p>(Both the Indians and Malays here are the same. They are very suspicious of each other. There are attempts from community groups to reach out by conducting programs for both races to participate, but it has not been successful).</p> <p>Haniza Talha : Bahaya sebab kita takde kawal dia ada certain people yang push the button tau. Dia bila ada dia ada somebody yang call and these people will come over the place dari mana-mana ntah</p>	<p>bulan lepas, dimana yang menjadi mangsa itu yang tak masuk campur. Dimana pergaduhan berlaku antara 3 orang, lepas setengah jam ia jadi involved orang Desa, semua Melayu, semua India dan polis, FRU semua datang and got a call from Bukit Aman diorang turun. Masa Tahun Baru Cina sekali dan masa Deepavali sekali, very serious.</p> <p>(Last month there was another racial clash...the fight started between 3 people, then half an hour later, it involved the whole of Desa Mentari, all the Malays and Indians, the police and FRU came. It happened during the Chinese New Year and Deepavali).</p> <p>Saravanan : Impact dari kejadian Kampung Medan memang still ada. Still ada grudge between them. Tapi ada pembaharuan sikit. Mungkin mula-mula diorang tak campur. Masa saya buat pemantauan, saya dapat tahu bahawa keadaan dulu, 10 years back keadaan berlainan, di mana satu puak India duduk satu kampung</p>
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	<p>datang buat kerja tu.</p>	<p>semua India, and Melayu duduk satu kampung. Then jadi incident Kampung Medan. Once the kampongs kena demolished and then bawa semua ke Desa Mentari, so yang bapa kena bunuh dengan yang tukang bunuh duduk sekali.</p> <p>(The impact from the Kampung Medan incident is still there. They still hold grudges between them).</p> <p>Saravanan : Tapi still ada gaduh antara kaum dan itu memang tak boleh stop. And then ada 2, 3 orang dalam community akan provoke, cucuk-cucuk orang lain, so sebab orang-orang inilah pergaduhan berlaku, sampai sekarang and masa incident dulu.</p> <p>(There are still fights between the 2 races and it couldn't be stopped. And there are 2 or 3 individuals in the community who likes to provoke other people).</p> <p>Saravanan : Masa pergaduhan perkauman dulu saya pernah dipukul, tapi orang itu tersilap pukul, oleh budak-budak Melayu yang merupakan anak-anak murid</p>
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		<p>saya sendiri. So they felt hurt and guilty so the next day the parents both Indian and Malays came to see me and apologize. If I don't accept the Indians akan terus berdendam, tapi sebab saya accept so the Indians pun accept yang mereka tersilap.</p> <p>As a leader I must play a good role.</p> <p>(During those racial clashes, I was once accidentally attacked by Malay youths who I realized are my students. They later felt guilty and their parents came to see me and apologized. If I don't accept their apologies, the Indian will hold grudges against them, but since I forgave them, the Indians accepted that they have made a mistake).</p> <p>Saravanan : Let say sini Indian dan Melayu bergaduh dengan parang, sepatutnya polis datang leraikan, tapi tidak, diorang datang parking tepi then halau the Indians, and then gari the Indians some more, depan saya. I told I don't any harassment happening here, I ask macam mana you tahu</p>
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		<p>dia yang salah, you datang dari kereta terus parking, keluar-keluar gari orang India. Apa yang you tahu? You patut buat kerja, you datang suruh semua orang bersurai, bukan kaum India bersurai.</p> <p>(Let say there was a fight between the Indians and the Malays, the police was suppose to ask the crowds to disperse, but no, they would park their patrol cars and ask the Indians to disperse and then arrest the Indians. They should have come and asked everyone to leave not just the Indians).</p> <p>Maran : Sekarang jiran Melayu dah start campur so dah okay sikit, so nak cari space je. Sebelum incident itu Melayu dan India okay je, tak ada masalah. Sekarang banyak kesan. Blok sini majority India so ada gaduh-gaduh. Tapi kadang-kadang ada orang luar datang provoke jadi gaduh.</p> <p>(Before the incident, the Malays and Indians had no problem. But since then, it has a big impact. The</p>
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		<p>majority living in this block is Indians so there are a lot of fights here. But sometimes, outsiders come here to provoke and start fights).</p> <p>Encik Lan : Tapi saya rasa masalah perkauman ada, cuma kita tak tahu perkauman yang jenis macam mana. Diorang ni taknak cakap, contonlah ya. Kita buat skim rondaan ni kita letakkan India dan Melayu. Tapi sekarang yang takde kerjasama India. Kita tak tahu puncanya apa, sama ada dia tak berminat ke, atau dia rasa diri dia terasing ke itu kita tak tahu. Sebab ketua dia tadi taknak bincang dengan ketua orang Melayu, jadi kita tak dapat satu kata putus.</p> <p>(In my opinion there is issue regarding racism here, but what type of racism I'm not sure...but now, the Indians are the one who does not cooperate in this community).</p> <p>Haji : Tapi kalau kita cakap secara terbuka, makna kita ni orang kata</p>
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		<p>perkaumanlah kan, kita tak mahu benda inilah jadi sendiri fikirlah.</p> <p>(If we talk about this racial issue openly, we would be branded as racist, so we just keep quiet).</p> <p>Haji : Tapi kalau kita ungkitkan perkara ini kepada pihak berkuasa diorang tak boleh terimakan. Jadi ada setengah boleh terima, setengah tak boleh terima jadi kita tak mahu, kalau boleh kita cakap mengenai perkara itu dia kata perkauman.</p> <p>(But when we brought this issue to the authority, they could not accept it. Some would listen but most of them could not accept it, therefore we could not talk about it because they branded us as racist).</p>
<p>Social control systems are weak in urban neighbourhoods. Both Malays and Indians share both the same situation. However, Malay community leaders are very active in Residents associations, RT,</p>	<p>Dr. Jayasooria : But the root issue is urban poverty. I was quite badly criticise because of my findings, because I said they were from my inquiry during that time, there were more than 5 issues that emerged. So it's like urban</p>	<p>Encik Khalid : Macam yang selalu masuk jaga ni bangsa kita je. Bangsa diorang ni kuranglah.</p> <p>(Those who normally come down to do safety rounds are the Malays. The Indians not so much).</p> <p>Encik Lan : Tapi saya</p>

<p>PIBG and political parties. In contrast Indian leaders tend to be connected to places of worship and political parties (Jayasooria, 2008).</p> <p>Malay communities have better access to the formal support from those special agencies. Indians have a perceived sense of neglect and being abandoned (Jayasooria, 2008).</p>	<p>poverty, lack of opportunities, these kinds of issues. But one of the issues was that the behaviour of the Indian youths in terms of how Malays saw it. So that was something the Indians felt I shouldn't have said because I was blaming Indians for the problems. So what basically I was trying to say was in a community where you live, some of the Malays were not happy with the behaviour of a number of Indian youths and that doesn't justify the killing or whatever or the injury, they felt it was a contributing factor that justified them taking action.</p> <p>Dr. Jayasooria : So the Indian community overall with the last election and all feel that the federal government and state government with the Barisan, has not done enough to address their issue. And this is part of urbanization, resettlement, opportunities and they feel that lah. So part of the Malay community and others because of the NEP, Bumiputra policy, so they become defensive of the issue. I still hold that there is no problem in my own</p>	<p>rasa masalah perkauman ada, cuma kita tak tahu perkauman yang jenis macam mana. Diorang ni taknak cakap, contonlah ya. Kita buat skim rondaan ni kita letakkan India dan Melayu. Tapi sekarang yang takde kerjasama India. Kita tak tahu puncanya apa, sama ada dia tak berminat ke, atau dia rasa diri dia terasing ke itu kita tak tahu. Sebab ketua dia tadi taknak bincang dengan ketua orang Melayu, jadi kita tak dapat satu kata putus. Tapi Melayu memang tak puas hati dengan kicap-kicap ni. Kita bahasakan kicaplah. Memang tak puas hatilah.</p> <p>(Right now we do not get any cooperation from the Indians. We do not know the reason, whether they are not interested, or if they feel isolated. Because their leader does not communicate with the Malays' leader so we do not know what is going on. But the Malays are not satisfied with the Indians).</p> <p>Encik Khalid : Orang kita nampaknya lebihlah. Ini terus teranglah, bukan kita</p>
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	<p>understanding the government can continue to assist the Bumiputra community with whatever assistant, but don't neglect these kind of group. Because if the guy is committing crime then you need to find out why.</p> <p>Dr. Jayasooria : You see the difficulties we have found in the Klang Valley in all the works I've done in the past phase that the Muslims want a surau or if there is a <i>dewan</i> and also Muslims are sharing they do not want a mayat to come into that thing. So a funeral arrangement is a problem. Because to take a body up 17 storeys, where do the people meet? So you got to tap now, so where do you put the body? Or you might have a <i>surau</i> and a <i>dewan</i>, so the Muslim groups are always taken care of in terms of its provision, but what about other religious groups? All then make it neutral <i>dewan</i> you know, or have more than one <i>dewan</i> within the vicinity. So even if you have 1000 or 2000 people living, the <i>dewan</i> only can accommodate 100 people or 50 people, so it's</p>	<p>nak buruk-burukkan bangsa ini, kalau dia misalnya ada 2, 3 orang yang mahu bercampur tapi selebihnya tak ada. Itu yang masalahnya.</p> <p>(We are not trying to make the Indians look bad, but if only 2 or 3 Indians that would cooperate, then that is a problem).</p> <p>Saravanan : Oleh itu bila saya tubuhkan Pertubuhan Kebajikan Kaum-kaum India, tujuan saya untuk menyedarkan kaum India mengenai aspek perpaduan. I encourage then don't sit in the same group. Saya buat banyak program yang involve dua-dua kaum, mungkin melalui sports, gabungkan anak-anak Melayu dan India dan tubuhkan satu team. Then bawa pergi lawan dengan team dari tempat lain. Mula-mula itu pun susah juga bila parents Melayu nak hantar anak pergi main then nampak coach India, diorang fikir selamat ke main. So sekarang ini ada sedikit improvement dan diorang ini ajaklah yang dulu</p>
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	<p>totally inadequate, and the public space is very small. So that not taking into effect the quality of life and you want now to try and prevent crime? So have other problems which are structural.</p> <p>(surau = prayer area; mayat = deceased; dewan = hall)</p> <p>Dr. Kumaran : Sebab ini pun, kes Kampung Medan pun dah berapa lama. 8 years, 8 years kerajaan belum buat apa lagi. So we're talking about society and kerajaan. Kerajaan belum ada...haven't take any initiatives to change, no change.</p> <p>(It has been 8 years since the Kampung Medan incident but still the government has done nothing. So we're talking about society and the government. The government has not done anything...haven't taken any initiatives to change, no change).</p>	<p>bergaduh.</p> <p>(I have founded the Indian Association here to make the Indians realize the importance of being united as a community).</p> <p>(It was hard at first when Malay parents refuse to allow their children to be part of a team led by an Indian coach. However, we now see some improvements).</p> <p>Sutha : Ada dewan, boleh guna tapi tak selesa because kecil je, saiz kedai kat bawah and then ada banyak columns in between. Kalau let say nak buat wedding memang tak sesuai. And then kalau nak dapatkan kebenaran guna dewan pun susah. Mak saya cakap, keutamaan diberikan kepada orang Melayu and susah kami nak buat booking. And then kalau dapat pulak everything kena arrange sendiri, kerusi meja kena cari sendiri. Dewan itu owned by management and management pulak Malays.</p> <p>(It is hard for us to gain permission to use the hall. My mother said that</p>
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		<p>priorities are given to the Malays).</p> <p>(The hall is owned by the management, and the management are the Malays).</p> <p>Ravendran : Kalau ada India meninggal kan, tak ada tempat untuk buat upacara.</p> <p>Hari itu ada kematian terpaksa buat tepi jalan je, diorang tak bagi guna dewan. Kat sini dulu ada beberapa dewan tapi Melayu dah ambil jadi surau dan tadika kemas. Ada satu lagi dewan tapi selalu guna untuk perkahwinan Melayu jadi diorang tak kasi buat upacara kematian kat situ. Tapi bila Melayu kahwin habis semua dewan diorang conquer. Aunty tak kisah pasal itu tapi kena adillah.</p> <p>(There was a (Indian) funeral here once but we had to organize it on the side of the road because they would not allow us to use the hall. Previously there were a few halls here but Malays has taken over and used then as a <i>surau</i> and a nursery. There is another hall but it is normally used for Malay</p>
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		<p>weddings therefore they do not want a funeral to be held there. But when there is a Malay wedding, they would conquer all halls. I do not mind about that, but you must be fair).</p> <p>Rajendran : Kemudahan sini kalau kebakaran ke, banjir ke tak perlu risau, tapi dulu risau, tapi itu jelah. Dewan tak cukup, dewan punya masalah memang banyak. Sini dewan itu 6 pintu, so dulu jumpa Datuk Sivalingam, perwakilan Kelana Jaya, complain. Lepas itu dia datang cakap okay, 3 pintu Melayu, 3 pintu India. Lepas itu lepas election kalah, now 3 pintu Melayu ambil, lepas itu 1 jadi stor, 1 jadi surau dan 1 jadi tadika. India tak dapat apa-apa. Dulu banyak kali minta, tulis surat, tak ada apa.</p> <p>(There is not enough halls, and there are so many issues surrounding it. There were 6 rooms that could be use as a hall but all of them have been taken over by the Malays, 3 as a hall, 1 as a store, 1 as a <i>surau</i> and 1 as a</p>
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		<p>nursery. The Indians get nothing. We have made complaints but nothing have been done).</p> <p>Rajendran : Dulu tadika semua ada, sekarang nak buka tak boleh, dulu dua ada India dan Melayu, sekarang Melayu je.</p> <p>(Back in the squatters, there was a nursery for Indian children, but now we do not have any. Back then we have nurseries both for the Malays and Indians).</p> <p>Rajendran : Cuma sekarang ini kerajaan ada bagi for orang miskin kalau ada yang meninggal dapat RM2500. Tapi masih tak ada tempat nak buat upacara. Kat sini bila berkenaan agama memang banyak problem dan tak adil.</p> <p>(Here when it comes to religion, there are a lot of issues and unfairness).</p>
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A.5 Reasons to Issues

Articles	Professionals	The People
Urban pioneer organisations valorise squatter housing and community in opposition to the ‘pigeon holes’ and	Dr. Jayasooria : So they are also issues in my articles have highlighted between these sort of social control and social	Sutha : Sini remaja selalu bergaduh mungkin sebab nowhere to go, no work, dropped out of

<p>‘artificial society’ of public housing. JSPB volunteers point to the fact that in the kampong – even in the squatter kampong – house may be built and rebuilt according to specific and changing needs. Kampong housing is thus understood literally to accommodate culture, allowing it to develop and flourish. High-rise flats, in contrast, are said to consist of an inappropriate, standardised design imposed ‘from above’. This provides inadequate public space for cultural festivities essential for community well-being. Kampong community, indeed, is said to be dismantled once its members are ‘put away’ in the flats. Connotations of criminality are more than coincidental here, the lived consequences are said to be confinement, isolation (Bunnell, 2002).</p> <p>Kampung Malays’ supposed maladaptation to modern, urban life is manifested in new ‘social ills’ such as <i>dadah</i> (drug abuse) and <i>lepak</i> (loafing) (see Malaysia, 1996)</p>	<p>support systems. So the rural area had much stronger social support system and control, whereas in urban areas they were displaced, they came to squatters. Then the resettlement into flats, brings cross section of communities, Malay, Chinese, Indians, and Indians from many different parts.</p> <p>Dr. Jayasooria : So there is a section compared to before, because earlier they use to be in the plantation, they were away from the main public, they were all employable, there were just a cycle that were moving. So now when you come to the urban area you are in the open, you’re interacting with other racial groups. The notion of a settled community takes time, so if people are shifted only 2 years ago or 5 years ago, you are not a settled community, you don’t have an idea of a neighbourhood, a kampong, this kind of issue you know. And the impact of it is also the type of work that people do. Because people are in shift jobs, they are not going to one factory to work, so the sense</p>	<p>school, minum. Diorang selalu kumpul kat depan itu malam, buat bising, minum, kacau-kacau orang, tak berani nak lalu situ. Diorang orang duduk sini, jiran sendiri.</p> <p>(Here the youths are always in a fight maybe because they have nowhere to go, no work, dropped out of school, drinking. They would gather at the playground at night and cause troubles).</p> <p>Saravanan : Then ada ragut, curi motor lagi so still meluas, tak ada perubahan pun. Dia meluas because keadaan pesat. Dulu kurang penduduk, kurang, sekarang dua-dua flats ini penuh dengan penghuni daripada beberapa kampong so kadar jenayah meningkat.</p> <p>(Crime is on a rise because the area is congested. Before there were not so many people in an area, but these flats are cramped with residents from different kampongs so the crime rate is on a rise).</p> <p>Saravanan : Kehilangan motor because tak ada</p>
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<p>(as quoted in <i>Bunnell</i>, 2002).</p> <p>With the displacement faced by plantation workers due to the estates being developed into industrial areas, housing or due to crop changes from rubber to oil palm, large numbers of Indians migrated to urban centres. Due to the lack of affordable housing a majority of them found houses in squatter areas and low-cost flats near industrial locations in the Klang Valley and other urban centres...The new urban environment poses, many new challenges. Urban communities are more diverse in comparison with the rural plantation. The absence of elders and control structures in the new neighbourhoods create new power struggle issues (<i>Jayassoria</i>, 2008).</p>	<p>of cohesion, family supports, history together, so there's no history you know. The flats have no history.</p> <p>Dr. Jayasooria : So like the estates, like Putrajaya was estates, all is gone. All of KL, most of KL was estates, there's no estate, most of Selangor had estates, all are going you know. Only in the fringes or certain other scheme, so people have no history of a place. And this is part of crime you know. Because there is no experience of a community, people are coming and going, people are renting places, the mobility of people. So social support system, social control systems had broken down in urban areas and this is coupled with other problems related to low income, family's lifestyles, smaller houses, all these become major issues.</p> <p>Dr. Jayasooria : One of the major problem on the ground is that the community grouping is not well organised. You got Rukun Tetangga, you got Persatuan Penduduk, then you will have</p>	<p>proper parking space untuk motor dan saya sendiri pernah kehilangan motor. Memang kemudahan-kemudahan yang ada kat sini memang tidak mencukupi untuk community menjalankan kehidupan yang selesa.</p> <p>(Motorcycle theft is common as there are no proper parking spaces provided).</p> <p>(The facilities provided here are not enough for the community to live a comfortable life).</p> <p>Saravanan : Di dewan itu boleh letak semua, tadika kemas, perpaduan, puspanita. Kalau kita tak ada tempat untuk buat aktiviti, so macam mana Kementerian nak harapkan perpecahan antara penduduk tak akan berlaku. You must gather all people into one place, dalam satu bumbung. (We do not have space to conduct activities, so how does the government expect us to be united).</p> <p>Saravanan : Kalau flat-flat ini langsung tak ada apa-apa, tak ada padang, tak</p>
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	<p>religious groups for the Muslims, for the Hindus, then you will also have political parties, so there isn't a well coordinated neighbourhood tau. It's not like a Ketua Kampung and the person has some moral or fatherly authority in the kawasan, it won't be. So local neighbourhood leadership will be lacking, and in that context the informal leaders control. Informal leaders being gangs, someone who is from the underworld, or so Malay community might have theirs from the masjid, the surau, then the Indians would have others. So it is not, you know people have not found the sense of belonging in the neighbourhood. So the neighbourhood becomes just a place to stay, go to work, come back, that kind. It doesn't foster...</p> <p>Dr. Jayasooria : No, they will have, they have some social functions, Rukun Tetangga might do some activities, but it does not build a sense of belonging, you know from this kampong. You know I grew up, I'm proud of my</p>	<p>ada public phone, tak ada persatuan then yes. If diorang tak ada tempat nak buat apa, nak focus then dia pergi ke tempat lain focus ke benda lain nak buat. Focusing kena ada. (If the people have no place to conduct activities, then they will start to focus on other activities, negative activities).</p> <p>Encik Lan : Aaa sekarang, berbezalah. Mungkin sebab, tak tahulah, faktor kerja ke, sibuk ke, penat ke, makin tinggi ke kita tak tahu.. (Everything is different here. I don't know why, maybe because of work, everyone's busy, the home is higher, I don't know).</p>
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	<p>kampong.</p> <p>Haniza Talha : And satu lagi, diorang sebab ni walaupun duduk bandar, dia punya mentality masih kampung. Sebab dia tak sempat, sebab these people dia most of them are from Perak, errr Datuk Harun bawak diorang as peneroka bandar untuk apa, kira this is the Malay enclave lah kiranya, macam Kampung Baru tu di KL kan. This is kira one of the area, early areas for Malays lah. Tapi somehow, Datuk Harun bawak diorang ni, dia tak pikir generasi kedua, ketiga dan seterusnya. They just bring these people here lepas tu, lepas tu depa hidup macam itu lah. Jadikan, bapak dia mungkin datang sini kerja sebagai pegawai keselamatan, security guard macam tu kan, anak dia pun macam itu jugak. Macam tak berkembang tau.</p> <p>(The people's mentality are still kampong, because they did not have the time to develop. These people were brought here from Perak by Datuk Harun as urban settlers to develop a Malay enclave here, in the likes of Kampung</p>	
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	<p>Bharu in Kuala Lumpur. This is one of the earliest Malay areas. But somehow, when Datuk Harun brought them here, he did not think about the future generations of these settlers).</p> <p>Haniza Talha : So itu yang sebabnya, dia tak selesaikan masalah, dia menambah new problems. So sekarang ini walaupun dia duduk flats, flat satu buat yang segera, tak ikut guidelines itu satu. The mindset of the people are still squatter punya mindset.</p> <p>Diorang tak biasa duduk dalam flats, so sampah dia buang dari atas, you know. TV pun dia boleh buang dari atas.</p> <p>(The authority did not solve the problem, in fact they have created new problems. So even though they are now residing in flats, flats that are developed in a hurry and not conforming to guidelines. The mindsets of the people are still the mindset of squatter dwellers).</p> <p>Haniza Talha : Facilities, dari segi kualiti of the bangunan. Sebab you must look dari segi the cost of having to solve the</p>	
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	<p>problems you kasi rumah yang tidak sesuai. It's actually better you give them a good house you see, facilities cukup then dia sendiri, dia yang akan rasa terpanggil untuk jaga kawasan itu.</p> <p>(It's actually better that you give them a good house you see, enough facilities and then they themselves would want to care for their neighbourhood).</p> <p>Haniza Talha : Yes, and takde rasa bangga, proud kan.</p> <p>Yelah, biasalah, I think I believe lah yang orang kata you are what you eat as well as you are what the surrounding is. Haaa, kata you duduk kawasan sampah you pun behave like sampah tau.</p> <p>(They are not proud of their neighbourhood. I think I believe when people say that you are what you eat as well as your surroundings. So if you live in an area strewn with rubbishes, then it will be reflected in your behaviour).</p>	
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Appendix B

Interview Questions

B.1 Interview Structure for Professionals

Federal Department of Town and Country Planning

1. Current safe city programme
 - Scope – area and why
 - Based on what?
 - Achievement and effectiveness
 - Future plan
 - Any involvement with the police when designing the programme? – How involved are they?
 - Does new housing developments in Malaysia include crime prevention methods in the planning process?
2. High-risk neighbourhoods
 - Opinion about these neighbourhoods – What do they know?
 - Any plans in covering these areas?
 - What is applicable to these areas?
 - How involved?
 - Their take on the living condition/physical environment of these areas?
 - Who manages these areas?
 - The future of these areas?

Criminal Investigation Division

1. Compilation of crime statistics
 - How?
 - Sources?
 - Reliability?
 - How are they analyzed?
 - Who collects them?
 - Other form of statistics?
 - What about unreported crime?
2. The safe city programme
 - Do they know about it?
 - How involved are they?
 - Opinion on this programme – Does it work?
 - Is it enough?
 - Have they heard of Secured By Design or other collaborative method of crime prevention?
 - Architectural Liaison Officer – Do they have such post in Malaysia?
3. High-risk neighbourhoods
 - Opinion on these areas
 - How to go about it?

- What measures?
- What method of crime prevention?
- is CPTED enough? – Does it work?

OCPD

1. High-risk neighbourhoods

- Why is the area classified as high-risk neighbourhood? – characteristics
- The extend of crime happening there? – How bad?
 - How often?
 - Who commits the crime?
 - Victims?
- Happens within or outside the neighbourhoods?
- How do they control or prevent crimes from happening?
- Is there any form of crime prevention method applied in these areas?
- What can be done?
- Main factors of the causes of crime within these areas?
- What about the living condition/physical environment? - The effect?
- What are the roles of the police in crime prevention programmes?

Local Community

1. Their opinion on the perception of outsiders of their community
2. Indians being 1 of the factors of the rise of crime in Malaysia
 - What do they think about this?
 - Do they believe it's true? Why?
3. Have they ever experience any crime?
4. Who commits the crime? – Why?
5. Where and when do these crime normally happens?
6. Do they feel safe where they live? – why stay here?
7. Living condition/physical environment – Good/bad?
 - Maintained?
8. Facilities provided? – Enough?
 - Good condition?
 - Maintained?
9. Who represent the community? – Have you met them?
 - Come often?
 - Know your problems?
 - Taken any actions?
10. What changes do they want?
11. Have they heard of crime prevention?
 - Do they think it would work?
 - Would it help in improving the existing condition?

Outsiders

1. Their opinion on the issue of the Indian community
2. Indians being 1 of the factors of the rise of crime in Malaysia
 - What do they think about this?

- Do they believe it's true? Why?
- What do they think is the cause of the issue?
- 3. High-risk neighbourhoods
 - Do they know these areas?
 - Know anyone there?
 - Have they been there? – what do they think the area?
 - If no, would they go there?
 - Had any bad experiences?
 - Do they feel safe walking around these areas? – why?
 - What about the condition of the physical environment?
 - describe
 - impression

ACP Amar Singh Sidhu

1. Crime statistics
 - How reliable? – valid?
 - Sources
 - Who collects them?
 - Other reliable statistics
 - What about unreported crimes?
2. The Indian community
 - How serious is the Indians involvement with crime?
 - For how long?
 - Why there is such a big difference in crimes committed compared to other races?
 - The publics' perception of the Indian community?
 - The fear of crime – how to go about this issue?

Urban Designers/Planners

1. Opinion on crime prevention concept
 - Current Safe City Programme – Does it work?
 - In terms of design?
 - Best solution?
 - What should have been done?

risk neighbourhood

- Can good urban design improve the quality of life of these communities?
- Cost?
- How? Possible?
- Social issue? Can design solve social issues?
- 2. Can good urban design alone prevent or reduce crime?
 - Why and how?
- 3. What about combining both principles and concept?
 - Will it work?
 - What about the differences?

MBPJ

1. High-risk Neighbourhoods
 - Why not included in the Local Plans?

- What have done so far in addressing the issue of crime in these areas?
 - Why is it classified as such?
 - How bad is it?
 - Future development/plans?
 - Done any groundworks with the people?
2. Kampung Medan
- What have been done to prevent the incident from happening again?
 - Why recently the squatters and longhouses are demolished?
 - The longhouses are temporary so what happened?
 - Did you go and see the people before demolishing?
 - Did you consider the local people's needs when designing?
 - Why highrises? Is this really the best solution?
3. Safe City Programme
- How involved?
 - Know anything about it? What do you know? Understanding?
 - Does it really work?
 - Do they apply as directed by JPBD?

B.2 Interview questions for household

Part 1

Gender : Male Female

Occupation : -----

Age : 16 - 21 21 - 30 31 - 40
 41 - 50 51 and above

1. How many people per household?

2. How many adults and children?

3. How many years have you lived here?

4. How much would you say the crime rate in your local area has changed in the past two years?

More

About the same

Less

5. How safe is your neighbourhood?

Very safe

Fairly safe

A bit safe

Very unsafe

6. Please discuss your answer for question 5.

7. How worried are you about the crimes in your neighbourhood? Why?

8. From the list below, please tick the crimes that normally occur in this neighbourhood.

Violent crime

Domestic violent

Burglary

Drug abuse

Alcohol abuse

Gangsterisme

Anti-social behaviour

Others (please state) : -----

9. How safe do you feel walking alone in this neighbourhood after dark?

Very safe

Fairly safe

A bit safe

Very unsafe

10. Have you ever or know anyone who has been a victim of crime here?

Yes

No

11. If yes, what type of crime and committed by whom?

12. Do you know anyone who has committed any crime here?

Yes

No

13. If yes, in your opinion why did they commit the crime?

14. Do you know that your neighbourhood have been listed as a 'high-risk neighbourhood'?

Yes

No

15. If yes, why do you think it is so?

16. If no, do you agree with it and what's your opinion?

Part 2

17. How satisfied are you with the living environment of your neighbourhood?

- Very satisfied Fairly satisfied A bit unsatisfied Not satisfied

18. How would you rate the living environment of your neighbourhood?

- Excellent condition Good condition
- Slightly poor condition Very poor condition

19. Please discuss your answer for question 18.

20. How would you rate the standard of housing in your neighbourhood?

- Very habitable Fairly habitable
- Slightly inhabitable Inhabitable

21. Please discuss your answer for question 20.

22. Are all facilities, amenities and services provided for your neighbourhood?

- Yes No

23. If no, please list what has not been provided for your neighbourhood.

24. Which organisation manages your neighbourhood?

25. Has regular maintenance been carried out in this neighbourhood?

Yes No

26. If yes, how regular?

27. Who represents the Indian community in this neighbourhood?

28. What contribution/improvement/changes have been done to this neighbourhood by him/her/them?

29. What changes/improvement do you want for your neighbourhood?

Part 3

30. What is your opinion on the association of crime with the Indian community?

31. Why is it that the Indians are always associated with crime and social ills?

32. Do you believe that the association of crime with the Indians as fact or racial discrimination? Why?

33. In one study, it is stated that the Indians is one of the facilitating factors in the rise of crime in Malaysia. Do you believe it's true and why?

34. In your opinion, what causes this problem?

35. In your opinion, what could help solve the issue faced by the Indian community?

36. Could the improvement of the living environment and housing in your neighbourhood help improve the quality of life, therefore reduce crime? Why?

37. Have you ever heard the concept of crime prevention through design?

Yes

No

38. Would the inclusion of crime prevention methods deter anyone from committing crime in your neighbourhood? Why?
