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COMMUNICATION AND CHANGE: A COMPARISON OF MALAY WOMEN IN  
THREE SQUATTER VILLAGES

*University of Washington*

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Communication and Change: A Comparison of  
Malay Women in Three Squatter Villages

by

Hamima Dona Mustafa

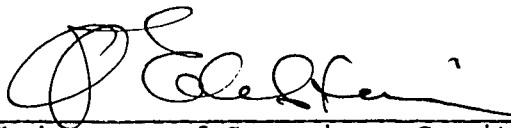
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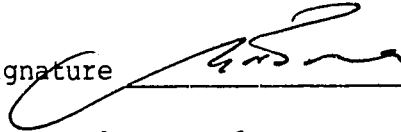
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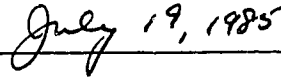
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University of Washington

Abstract

COMMUNICATION AND CHANGE: A COMPARISON OF  
MALAY WOMEN IN THREE SQUATTER VILLAGES

by Hamima Dona Mustafa

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee: Professor Alex S. Edelstein  
School of Communications

Early scholars in mass communication research viewed the media as indicators of change. Mass media were credited with the power of mobilizing people to modernization due to their multiplier effect.

This approach was later reevaluated in the wake of criticisms from scholars such as Grunig and Beltran, who advocated that social change should be the basis for studying communication in the development process.

Some changes result in problems. Edelstein suggested that these problems could be classified into seven "problematic situations": (1) lack of value, (2) loss of value, (3) institutional dysfunction, (4) actor dysfunction, (5) indeterminate situation, (6) creating alternatives, and (7) social conflict.

Each problematic situation may be hypothesized to produce communication behavior.

Malaysia provided a suitable research setting because major policy changes have taken place to restructure the distribution of resources in the country.

This dissertation focuses upon the changes and problems faced by women who had left their kampung for the city in order to partake in the new opportunities offered.

Three squatter villages, each established at different points in time and with different degrees of changes, were selected.

The respondents described their perceptions of changes and problems in their own words.

Certain problematic situations seemed to require more use of communication than others. Interpersonal sources of communication were turned to for discussion of the problematic situations. Mass media were not perceived to be useful in this regard.



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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

As one travels through the cities of Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, and Malaysia, to name a few I am familiar with, one cannot help but see the clusters of makeshift dwellings that usually line the railway tracks or are huddled together on the waterfront or in the middle of the city, sometimes behind a cement enclosure or oftentimes in full view of those who care to notice.

Usually the ones located right in the middle of the city suffer most from overcrowding. In Kuala Lumpur, most of the "squatter" villages are on the fringes of the city proper and thus have more space than the usual "slums."

Most of these villages, wherever they may be, suffer from a lack of basic amenities such as water and electricity.

When the rural people make their way to the urban setting they are faced with a multitude of problems. These include lack of housing, high cost of living, lack of friends, and anxiety caused by unfamiliar surroundings. The critical problem is that of housing. As a result, they "squat" on vacant land. In a newly-established village, squatters most likely would be faced with a lack of basic facilities such as water, electricity and good roads. There would be other problems as well, such as a

sense of loss in a new physical environment and the process of getting along with the neighbors. They might also perceive disunity among the people.

However, problems are not confined only to those who have settled in newly-established villages.

In the longer-established village there would be more amenities. However, other problems might crop up. For instance, the villagers might be faced with the uncertainty of the eventual takeover by land developers. Since the villagers had settled on the land for some time and expanded their houses the possibility that they might be evicted poses a large threat.

Some might perceive the environment as chaotic or dysfunctional for them. They might feel themselves unable to resolve internal conflicts of values or to create new paths or alternatives for themselves, or they might perceive that they were being prevented from achieving their goals.

McGee (1967) and Othman (1982) say that national policy is one of the factors responsible for the migration of villagers to the urban areas. As the main centers of social and political change the cities appeared attractive to the eyes of the rural dwellers (McGee, 1967:83). According to McGee:

. . . postwar assumption of political independence . . . created a situation where the psychological, political, and employment patterns existing in the city [were] more favorable for the indigenous inhabitants. This situation, when it is associated with the problem of rural society, in which the indigenous inhabitants have been concentrated in the

colonial era, has been one fact encouraging the indigenes to move to the city in much greater numbers.

Clearly, urban overpopulation is a problem from a policy standpoint; it is problematic, so to speak, for those administrators who are responsible for the urban environment. But it is even more problematic for those indigenes who are experiencing urban slum-dwelling. What are their problems? How do they cope with those problems? With whom do they communicate their thoughts and opinions about their problems?

This dissertation attempts to answer questions of this kind. It views the situations of the squatters as problematic and thus requiring thought, behavior, and communication.

I will be attempting to make a contribution to the literature in communication in this and several other ways. I will be testing a concept of problematic situations. This concept, as it relates to communication, has been tested only in relation to public opinion and the uses of communication. It is being tested in African countries, utilizing content analysis to define "developmental news."

This would be the first application of the concept to Southeast Asia. I am trying to determine the extent to which certain problematic situations in urban squatter villages may be correlated with and thus help to explain communication behaviors.

One of the recurring themes of development communication research has been that mass media produce rising expectations that cannot be met by the resources of the developing country.

The implication is that mass media are powerful and that Third World audiences are highly susceptible to media messages. This dissertation tests this assumption to some extent, but it recognizes that alternative explanations are possible from the data.

To substitute for a longitudinal study, I have taken a comparative approach. This permits me to take villages that were established at different points in time and examine the uses of observation, experience, interpersonal and mass communication. Which of these variables appears to explain best the aspirations of individuals in the squatter villages? Their aspirations are defined by their perception of problematic situations, such as need, and creating alternatives. Are these aspirations correlated with the uses of the various sources of information?

Another important concern is that of women. Owing to my interest in the emergence of the role of women, this dissertation will focus upon their behavior. At this point in time Malay women are going through the "novelty" of urban poverty as opposed to the Chinese and Indian women who have always resided in the urban centers. These Malay women accompanied their menfolk, leaving behind familiar village surroundings, into the urban areas seeking a better way of life.

These rural Malay women were used to working with their menfolk in the fields and plantations. When they made their way into the cities, it was unlikely that they would change their

familiar ways. Since in the interim of settling down in new surroundings a myriad of problems would arise, chances were that the women would pitch in to alleviate some of the problems. For instance, they would find ways to augment their husbands' earnings (should the husbands have jobs). There is a dearth of material on the struggles of women, especially poor urban women.

Methodologically, I will identify the problems of the urban poor as perceived by the people, themselves. I will ask how they go about solving their problems. The identification of the problems would indicate whether or not the government programs are reaching the appropriate sectors of the population. It would also point out the unintended shortcomings of the various programs, should any exist.

Another major concern is methodology/ethnography. Asking individuals to define their own perceptions regarding the problems they face is part of the ethnographic approach in its intent and procedure. It is a problem definition and problem-solving model which permits the interviewer to work within the structure of the questioning process without imposing any written materials upon the respondent. The approach has been used in other Third World settings (such as with peasants in Yugoslavia) in its formal character, but it has not been used as an informal and guiding instrument in the way that I have used it in this dissertation. In this respect I have been guided by research done in Indian villages.



Toward this end, I am, as a participant observer, looking at the role and activities of the village leader within the social structure.

Finally, since the mass media, especially radio and television, are readily accessible to the squatter women, this dissertation will give particular attention to the usefulness of radio and television in the process of helping the women with their problems.

The organization of this dissertation is as follows:

**Chapter II: Discussion of the conceptualization of the problem,** locating the pertinence of the problem within the context of the changing views regarding the role of communication. The research design will be presented in this chapter. Also, definitions of categories of problematic situations to be employed and the types of sources of information used in conjunction with the problematic situations will be discussed.

**Chapter III: Discussion of methodological approaches used to gather the data.** A case will be made for the use of participant observation as well as a questionnaire where the participants defined their own perceptions of changes and problems. The procedure for coding the data as well as the problems encountered will also be discussed.

**Chapter IV: Description of the research setting.** Through participant observation and the use of informants I will be able to present the daily social environment of the respondents and

the intricacies of squatter village life with its intrigues, joys, and frustrations.

**Chapter V: Description of the demographic features of the respondents.**

**Chapter VI: Discussion of the first part of the analysis and findings; the changes perceived by the respondents will be presented.**

**Chapter VII: Discussion of the problematic situations related to the changes as perceived by the respondents. A combination of ethnographic and aggregate analysis will help explain the relationships of the perceived changes with their accompanying problems. We will be able to see how improvements brought about by village cooperation with the village leader or ketua kampung created village factions.**

**Chapter VIII: Presentation of the uses of interpersonal communication connected with the problematic situations encountered. Past communication networks established in a different social and environmental settings were evoked where these were readily available. Husband and immediate family members were sought when the respondents had not established any relationships with the neighbors.**

**Chapter IX: Description of the mass media environment. It will provide some indication as to the potentialities and limitations of the mass media regarding their role in the "revolution of rising expectations."**

Chapter X: Conclusions. Suggestions for further research will also be made.

## CHAPTER II

### CONCEPTUALIZATION

This chapter will discuss the conceptualization of the problem, locating the pertinence of the problem within the context of the changing views regarding the role of communication in village settings.

It will indicate that instead of viewing communication as the starting point of change we will study communication in conjunction with problematic situations brought forth by change. This will be studied within the context of Malaysia, a country that is rapidly undergoing a number of political, social, economic, and cultural changes. In this particular instance we are looking at the changes brought about by rural-urban migration.

#### Conceptualization of the Problem

The pertinence of this study may be understood in the context of changing views regarding the role of communication in development. Rather than viewing communication as an initiator of change this dissertation will look at communication in relation to problematic situations resulting from change.

The role of communication in development was first brought to the fore with the publication of such works as Lerner's The Passing of Traditional Society (1958), Pye's Communication and

Political Development (1964), and Schramm's Mass Media and National Development (1964). The mass media were believed to be the initiators of the process of development that was synonymous with modernization and westernization. The criterion used for defining development was the rate of economic growth. Other elements included in the then dominant paradigm were capital intensive technology and centralized planning (Rogers, 1976:132).

Rogers' diffusion of innovation model was the prevalent model of development. According to him, "Development is a type of social change in which new ideas are introduced into a social system in order to produce higher per capita incomes and levels of living through more modern production methods and improved social organization." (Rogers and Shoemaker: 1971:11). Lerner credited the media for making people aware of "the good things in life" (1963:340).

However, the model underwent social criticism for appearing to increase socio-economic inequity. Beltran (1976) and Diaz-Bordenave (1976) pointed out that the model ignored the nature of the social system in which the innovations were introduced. It was contended that the socio-economic structure had considerable effect on the farmer's adoption behavior and the people who benefited from the innovations were farmers who were relatively well-off and thus had the means to do so. This widened the socio-economic benefits gap (Diaz-Bordenave, 1976:47).

In reformulating his model, Rogers addressed new considerations: equality of distribution of information and socio-economic benefits; concern with the quality of life; integration of "traditional" and "modern" systems in a country; greater emphasis of intermediate-level and labor-intensive technology; self-reliance in development; popular participation in decentralized self-development planning and execution; and internal and external causes of underdevelopment (Rogers, 1976:132).

Rogers concluded that under these conditions the role of communication in development was indirect and only contributory rather than direct and powerful (Rogers, 1976:135). He then summarized the main roles of mass communication in self-development as: (1) providing technical information about development problems and possibilities, and about appropriate innovations in answer to local requests, and (2) circulating information about the self-development accomplishments of local groups so that other such groups might profit from other's experience and perhaps be challenged to achieve a similar performance (Rogers, 1976:140).

These main roles were seen against the background of prior structural changes as advocated by Grunig. From his studies of the Colombian peasants, Grunig concluded that communication did not bring about change. It was the other way around; i.e., change created the need to communicate (Grunig, 1973:4). According to his paradigm, "Structural change must come first . . .

communication then enlarges and supports the consequences of that change by making more and more individuals aware of new opportunities."

In his studies, Grunig used "a set of decision concepts to predict information seeking." The concepts were based on the openness of the individual and the openness of the structure. According to Grunig (1973:5):

The model predicts that individuals will seek information when they perceive a problem (the individual is open). To have a problem simply means that the individual recognizes that he has a choice between alternatives which were testable within their situation or environment.

Four types of decision situations were established: (1) problem solving; (2) constrained decision; (3) routine habit; and (4) fatalism.

In his latifundista study (1973:8), Grunig concluded:

Information seeking was negatively related to routine and ignorant habit and had little function for the traditional types discovered in the study. But information seeking was strongly related to problem solving; information was important to and sought by already entrepreneurial types . . . exposure to the mass media was not related to entrepreneurial development. In contrast, the most traditional type was the most noted for its newspaper exposure. All of the latifundistas interviewed possessed the minimum educational and literacy requirements for media exposure. But the media normally carry little situationally relevant information and this are of little functional use to them. Media use instead seemed to serve more of a diversionary or entertainment role.

In his minifundista study (1973:8), he came up with similar conclusions:

For the typologies with available opportunities communication behavior was an important determinant of the typology; for those without opportunities it was nonexistent. Communication behavior and its concomitant socio-psychological variables are a function of the situation in which an individual performs. Communication can have little effect in modernizing peasants unless situational changes first make modernization possible . . . structural rigidities exist in Colombia and similar underdeveloped countries because of elite control of political processes, the mass media, and other communication channels--a control accompanied by elite desire to preserve the status quo. In a country like Colombia, real peasant progress will never occur given the present social and political structure of the society. Under the present structure, the potential role of communication in development seems extremely limited.

Rogers, in his work in Korea (Rogers and Kincaid, 1981:27), nonetheless, concluded that communication, especially interpersonal communication, was important in the process of change, but communication would be better understood if it were studied from a situational approach and in the context of the social network. Among the findings were: The role of communication in the development of the community was not a one-way flow of information but rather a convergence process whereby the people "created and shaped information with one another" to reach solutions to problems; and that self-development used interpersonal communication networks more than mass media communication.

Our study follows from Schramm's concern for the role of communication in national development but it adopts the point of view of the individual rather than the institutional or governmental perspective (taken by Schramm). It stems more directly from Rogers' view that development communication should be looked at as a process that includes understanding the audience and its



needs (Rogers, 1976:13), and it is consistent with Rogers' view that the situation should be the context of research and that interpersonal communication should be viewed as a dependent variable. However, it differs from Rogers' approach in that it does not conceptualize a network as the major influencing variable but rather it focuses upon the choices among alternatives of an individual in the social setting.

This study looks at the way the people use communication in the context of the occurrence of structural changes with its accompanying problems in Malaysia.

McGee (1971:157) traces some of the changes that had taken place:

The ten years, 1947-57, following the defeat of the Japanese and the reassertion of British control saw a rapid increase in the number of Malays in the city as well as an increase in their proportion of the total Kuala Lumpur population . . . This had a considerable effect on the location of the Malays throughout the city for a shortage of housing, particularly in Kampung Bahru, forced many into squatter settlements within the city or on the fringes. . . . The occupational structure changed little, however, for the Malays continued to concentrate in those sectors which they had occupied during the colonial period. The immigrant groups continued to dominate the manufacturing and commercial sectors. Politically this was a period of rapid devolution towards independence, which was characterized by the growing Malay ascendancy of political power within the structures of the multi-racial Alliance party. Despite this increase in national political power and its manipulation from Kuala Lumpur the Malays still remained a minority, numerically and economically, in the capital city.

Post-independence years saw the most rapid change in the position of the Malays in the city in the sense that there was a substantial in-movement. According to McGee (1971:158):

This population increase led to some changes in the distribution of the Malay community throughout the city particularly in squatter areas adjacent to the peri-urban legal settlements. Some of the inner-city squatters have been transferred to new housing areas such as Kampung Pandan. Many of the most recent migrants have moved into areas of government housing, but so rapid has been the increase in government employment that there has been a severe housing shortage of this type of housing.

Although Malay political power continued to increase during the post-independence period, their economic position changed little. Heavy concentration of Malay male employment was in the service sector. This was a continuation of the pattern prevalent during the colonial days. The Malays were absent from the industrial and commercial sector of the labor force which was dominated by the immigrant groups.

McGee concludes (1971:171):

It would appear that in the first five years of independence the Malays were effectively absorbed into the occupational structure of Kuala Lumpur City without greatly disturbing the pattern of ethnic concentration in the various occupational niches which had grown up during the colonial period, but by the end of 1962 certain danger signs were beginning to emerge. A 1962 survey of unemployment reported that rates of unemployment among Malays in the 15-24 age group living in urban areas were high. It was becoming clear that employment opportunities in Kuala Lumpur city were not expanding at a fast enough rate (despite a considerable growth in industry) to absorb the younger and largely unskilled population which was entering the city. Thus ethnic competition over occupational opportunities which had been avoided amongst the older working groups was beginning to emerge in the younger unemployed groups. What is more, this pattern seems likely to continue for the major part of rural-urban migration will have to be made up of Malays in the future. The danger of such an influx of Malays (not always adequately prepared for urban occupations) into cities where employment opportunities are not enough to absorb the migrant population is obvious. The confrontation between the immigrant group and the indigenous group for the economic power of the city cannot be postponed for long.

McGee's fears were confirmed, for on May 13, 1969, the competition for a piece of the economic pie culminated in a blood bath. As a result of this a state of emergency was declared throughout the country. A new administration took over and new policies were established. The New Economic Policy had two major objectives:

(1) To reduce and ultimately eliminate poverty by raising income levels and increasing employment opportunities for all Malaysians irrespective of race, and

(2) To accelerate the process of restructuring Malaysian society to reduce and ultimately eliminate identification of race with economic function. This involves the modernization of rural life, a rapid and balanced growth of urban activities and the creation of a Malay commercial and industrial community.

The government proposed that within twenty years the Malays and other indigenous people should manage and own at least 30 percent of the commercial and industrial activities which meant that more and more Malays would be drawn to the urban centers where these activities are to be found.

The movement from an old situation to a new one could be operationalized as change.

Edelstein's concept of problematic situations implies that they would be a consequence of such change. Any redefinition of an existing situation or the encounter of a new one for which

there is no learned behavior implies that the individual is facing a problematic situation.

Grunig skips the stage of problematic situation to have communication as a direct consequence of change. Incorporating Edelstein's definition of the situation enlarges the Grunig model--Edelstein would say that change leads to a problematic situation which leads to communication.

### Problematic Situations

The problems faced by the squatters can be seen as problematic situations, as formally defined by Edelstein (1981) and Deis (1982):

(1) Lack of value: Present-future temporal dimension. There is a lack, need, want, wish, desire for some action, service, or entity that does not exist.

Lack of value implies that the individual is attempting to do something about the discrepancy situation. This implies a problem-solving orientation; goal directedness.

(2) Loss of value: Past-present temporal dimension. Something once possessed is now no longer in existence or has been reduced in value.

Loss of value differs from lack of value in that it implies loss of control rather than goal directedness. Therefore, there are fewer implications for problem solving.

(3) Institutional dysfunction: Past-present temporal dimension. Something is not right; the system has broken down.

(4) Actor dysfunction: Past-present temporal dimension. Someone is blamed for something that has gone wrong.

(5) Indeterminate situation: Present temporal situation. Inability to define or discover direction for some sort of action. There is uncertainty, confusion, lack of specifications.

(6) Creating alternatives: Future temporal dimension. Attempts at accomplishing tasks, adaptations to new situation.

(7) Conflict: All temporal conditions. Tension among and between entities. Acts of aggression, unfriendliness and competition to be included in this category.

#### Types of Information and Communication Sources

Preliminary research with the above concepts has shown that high levels of information use were associated with lack of value, a goal-oriented situation.

According to Deis (1982) a high incidence of "lack of value" was associated with a greater use of sources of information while loss of value was associated with fewer sources.

Deis inferred that loss of value required less directed behavior and thus less use of multiple sources of information.

High levels of education also correlated with the use of multiple sources of information.

Lim (1982:179) indicated that in the context of communication as a consequence of task-related problems in an organization, those who have experienced many successes have less use for

information because they already know how to deal with the task-related problems.

### Research Design

Four major sets of variables will be incorporated into the research design:

- (1) Perceptions of the occurrence of change in villages;
- (2) Nature of perceived problems arising from the changes;
- (3) Types of information and communication sources, and
- (4) Their perceived efficacy.

Each problematic situation will be hypothesized to produce certain kinds of communication behaviors. These expectations will be modified by certain conditions; one of these is an implication that an individual is seeking to escape poverty as contrasted with acceptance of it. Acceptance does not reflect a problematic situation.

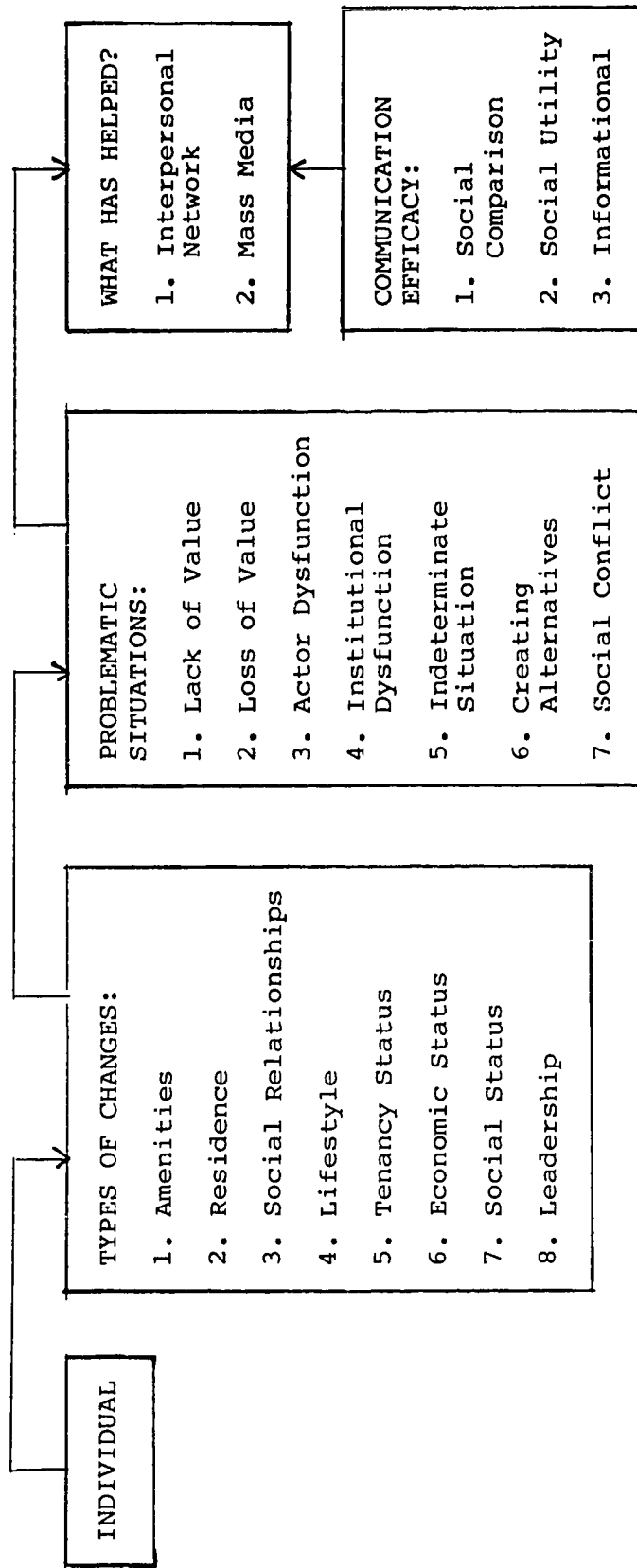


Figure 1. Research Design.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

This study utilized an approach proposed by Edelstein (1973, 1974), that permitted the respondents to describe the problematic situations in which they found themselves. The methodology was first suggested by Edelstein in 1969 and was based upon a model of affective relations proposed by Carter (1965).

Edelstein (1969) cites Thurstone as to the need to get away from conventional question constructions. Citing Thurstone, Edelstein states:

When E. L. Thurstone (1929:6-7) first developed methods of opinion measurement, he warned that the presentation to respondents of statements formulated by researchers might not describe the real behavior of the respondents, but might only describe their responses to questions propounded by the pollsters. Thurstone pointed out that at least two different behaviors might be involved.

Edelstein thus proposes that there would be situations in which the pollster was presenting to a respondent decisional alternatives which the pollster had formulated. The respondent would do his best to bring his own resources to bear upon the new situation.

What was required was a method which more closely reflected the everyday world of the respondent, in which the respondent faced neither a great number of alternatives nor felt called upon to make a decision of any kind.



In a 1973 study, Edelstein employed and developed a methodology that permitted the respondent to define the nature of alternatives available based on his or her own resources.

The instrument was described as open-ended in form but systematic in order and structure; e.g., a problem-solving decision-making model. This was an attempt to avoid the pitfalls of imposing on the respondents problems whether or not they were familiar with the criteria upon which the judgment was made. Therefore, rather than impose the content on the respondents, Edelstein's questionnaire asked the respondent to talk about any problem that was important to him or her, personally, at that time. Thus, the problem was as specific and situational as possible. Equivalence across subjects and across samples of subjects was based on the equivalent importance of the objects to the respondents.

According to Edelstein (1974), a methodological approach that permits the respondent to inform the researcher of his or her definition of the situation rather than reacting to the researcher's definition of the situation has several implications for development studies. These include: easier for less literate people; it permits comparison across cultures on the basis of salience.

This approach was not opposed to the methods used in ethnography, whose goal, as stated by Malinowski (1922:25), was "to

grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world."

According to Spradley (1980:3) ethnography means learning from people.

Feliciano and Lozare (1976) indicated the necessity of value-free questionnaire approaches. The open-ended questionnaire imposes some structure but less content and hence is more value-free. Furthermore, as the authors themselves noted, since the respondents in the developing countries were more adept at using "roundabout styles" and "flowery expressions," the open-ended questionnaire would be a more satisfying experience for the respondents and would tend, therefore, to be more productive.

Rao (1966:119) discussed similar notions in his study, Communication and Development: A Study of Two Indian Villages. According to him, his questionnaire contained mostly open-ended questions to enable the respondent to express himself or herself freely in terms which came easily to him or her. He stated:

The aim was to get as much information as possible from each respondent. Knowing the kind of communities we were entering, we could foresee that any fully structured questionnaire, administered directly, would be ineffective in eliciting opinions. . . . The idea was to make conversation starting from the respondent's family (an important--and effective--opening device in rural India where personal questions are the easiest to get answers to) and gradually moving on to more abstract concepts.

His questionnaire was designed to enable the interview to be conducted in more than one sitting. According to Rao:

The questions were fitted into the pattern of conversation and terminated with the conversation, only to be taken up again at a later "chance meeting" which was "a friendship being continued and kept alive" for in the intercourse between respondent and interviewer each was a giver as well as a receiver. It was under such conditions that the questionnaire was to be administered and not in the formal and direct confrontation which would have thrown the whole effort into the waste-paper basket, for the Indian villager will refuse to be rushed, or if rushed, will refuse to open his mouth. (p. 119).

In Malay society where oral tradition has been adhered to for ages, where conversation plays a major part in one's day-to-day living (where to be an introvert is to be sombong or aloof, or, worse, to be proud or to look down on others) it was inconceivable for me, a native, to just enter a village and knock on people's doors and proceed to ask them to answer my questionnaire after a brief introduction and then leave when my task was over. This might be done but there would be no guarantee as to how valid the responses would be. The respondents would answer the questions only out of politeness. Worse, perhaps, I might be the one who would be answering the questions because curiosity and inquisitiveness seem to be part of the Malays' cultural traits so much so that we have a saying, Suka jaga tepi kain orang, which translates literally as "(he or she) likes to take care of the edge of someone's sarong." In other words, they would be interviewing me and I would be answering for them.

Given such a likelihood it seemed appropriate to carry out participant-observation as part of my effort to study the problematic situations faced by squatter women. If I were to study the

buying habits of the squatter women it would have been feasible to administer a questionnaire. However, since I was concerned with the problems faced by the women it would be more appropriate to give them time to get used to my presence in the village and to gain their trust before demanding evidence as to their thoughts. By living with them I would not only be able to establish rapport and let the people get to know and trust me but I would also be able to learn first-hand some of the daily goings-on in the lives of my respondents. As Becker and Geer (1957:28) note:

The most complete form of the sociological datum, after all, is the form in which the participant observer gathers it: An observation of some social event, the events which precede and follow it, and explanations of its meaning by participants and spectators, before, during, and after its occurrence.

Although I agree with Trow (1957:33) and some others who maintain that no one method for the collection of data is superior to the other, Becker and Geer's description of this particular process of collection is quite clear.

Some debate has been generated regarding the appropriateness of using one tool over another.

Bennett and Thaiss (1973), Sofer and Sofer (1955), and Dores (1958), advocate utilizing whatever technique or combination of techniques that might do the job best.

Sofer and Sofer, as cited by Bennett and Thaiss (1973:326) state:

If in-depth insight is to be obtained into the problem situations and processes of urban life, survey methods need to be supplemented by . . . intensive fieldwork . . . It is possible through survey methods to ascertain such facts as the tribes, religions, age and sex composition, geographical origins, standard of living and occupation of the immigrant population but less easy to discover significant material relating to the immigrant's transfer to urban life. . . .

For my purposes I used both participant observation and a questionnaire which was structured but contained open-ended questions.

Since Malaysians are somewhat familiar with interview situations it was not difficult to administer the questionnaire. Therefore, it seemed appropriate for me to use both participant observation and a structured questionnaire to study the problematic situations faced by the squatter women especially when very little is known about them.

There have been studies done on squatter settlements, the most comprehensive one by Othman (1982). Others were "academic exercises," case studies, carried out by university students as partial fulfillment of the requirement for their B. A. degrees.

One common thread that runs through most of these studies is that the focus is on the squatters as a problem to the authorities and the nation's development, not about problems faced by squatters.

Given the appropriateness of a structured but open-ended questionnaire, in which respondents could answer in their own words, and the establishment of rapport, the remaining problem was one of analysis of the data.

The data from the questionnaire was quantified and has been aggregated within villages and compared, as aggregates, between and among villages.

We chose to contrast the data using both the participant-observation approach and the aggregate analysis approach. As suggested by Bennett and Thaiss, and Sieber (in Burgess:1982) both approaches should be used.

An example of the appropriateness of the two approaches is seen in our data describing communication with the head of the village. If only aggregate analysis were used, one village would be portrayed as a setting where the village head was the focus of most communication activity dealing with amenities. Another village would portray little communication behavior associated with the role of the head of the village. The answer could not be found in structural analysis; that is, relative number of amenities in each village. The answer could be found only in the personalities and the roles assumed by each of the heads; in the one case, the head had established strong political connections; in the other case, the head had no such connections. The villagers could observe this and act according to this knowledge of the effectiveness of individuals.

We will therefore present the data and describe them in the following sets of terms: (1) ethnographic, in the sense of participant-observation; (2) structural, in the sense of the rela-

tive possession of amenities on the part of villagers in each of the three settings; and interaction between the two.

I will then reconcile these findings--showing where the ethnographic approach presents (a) distinct and or (b) supportive findings for that provided by structural analysis. Similarly, structural analysis may provide explanation or support for ethnographic analysis.

#### Questionnaire Design

As mentioned earlier the questionnaire used open-ended questions but they were systematic in form and structure.

The first question, "What kinds of changes have you observed around you?" sought to establish the changes perceived by the respondents. A probe was attached in case the respondents wanted to add some more material which they might have left out. The purpose of establishing a time line was to identify if the changes caused any problems and if communication behavior took place as a result of the problem. We would expect the person in a "change" state to be more active in related respects.

The second question, "What has been responsible for these changes?" was asked to find out what the respondents perceived to be the cause or causes of the changes. I was curious to see if the respondents would name the government as one of the agents responsible for the changes that they perceived since they have heard often enough about the work done by the government through the media.

In order to find out if changes caused problems the third question was asked. The respondent was then required to name the problems they or others faced as a result of the changes they have experienced or observed.

Question 3B sought to establish the one single problem which affected the respondent the most. High salience would determine equivalence and hence would lead to comparability.

Question 3C was intended to deal with the problem in more detail.

Question 4 was designed to establish where the respondent was at in trying to solve the problem: whether she was waiting for something to happen; whether she was stopped from doing something; or whether she had left the field.

If the respondent was in a "waiting" situation she would probably be preparing to act, in which case, she would find information to be useful. If, on the other hand, she was in a "stopped" position or if she had left the field, we would expect lesser or different use of information.

Questions 5 and 5A attempted to determine if the respondents talked about their problems to anyone, and if so, who were the people they talked to.

The respondents were asked to identify their sources because I wished to find out who the respondents turned to the most for information.



Questions 5B and 5C were designed to see if there was congruency in the topic discussed between the communicators. This would determine the usefulness or effectiveness of the communication act regarding the particular problematic situation that the respondent faced.

Question 6 was intended to deal with the respondents' perception of the changes that their friends had undergone. If the respondent indicated that their friends had undergone changes, we would then ask if this had caused them any problem. This would enable us to identify if change leads to problematic situation.

Question 7 was intended to ascertain if the changes had caused problems among their friends. Question 7A, 7B, and 7C were aimed at seeing if the problems differed from the problems that the respondents themselves were experiencing or if they were similar.

Questions regarding the respondents' attention to the various media were also included with the objective of finding out what programs were attended to and if the respondents perceived the media to be of help in solving their problems. Questions regarding changes in their attention to the media were also asked.

Other questions included those pertaining to demography.

#### Selection of Villages

The three villages were selected on the basis of the availability of amenities under the assumption that the more the

amenities the greater the need that would be perceived by the villagers. What "exists" is coveted.

Othman (1980:74), arrayed village development in terms of facilities, thus, squatter settlements could be divided into four categories:

- A. Those without basic facilities: this means that there is no source of drinking water, or that it is grossly inadequate, which means that the squatters have to obtain it from other areas.
- B. Those with an almost sufficient water supply from stand pipes, complemented by water from rivers and wells.
- C. Those with water and electricity supplied to individual homes, but lacking in other facilities.
- D. Those with satisfactory facilities.

However, for the purpose of this dissertation, the villages were categorized into three entities, based chiefly on the availability of amenities: first-stage, second-stage, and third-stage.

The first-stage village was included in the study because it had an almost sufficient water supply but no electricity supply whatsoever. It lacked facilities such as a clinic and a Sang Kancil kindergarten. It was only very recently that a dirt access road was built with the help of City Hall. There were two small neighborhood stores, managed by two women squatters from their respective houses.

The second-stage village was selected because it had semi-adequate amenities whereby some of the villagers enjoyed an ample supply of water and electricity while others had some difficul-

ties with their water supply and had to do without electricity altogether. There was a surau (a small mosque), a muqaddam (Quran reading) class, a Kemas (an acronym for "Kemajuan Masyarakat" or "Community Progress") class for pre-schoolers, a civic hall which also served as a clinic, and a kindergarten provided by City Hall under its Sang Kancil program. About five small neighborhood grocery stores were available, run by some of the squatter women in their own homes, to provide emergency supplies to the other residents. It had a red clay road that led to the top of the hill where most of the people were.

Lastly, the third-stage village was selected because, in comparison to the other two villages, it had the most facilities such as water and electricity supplies, a Sang Kancil building housing a kindergarten as well as a clinic for mothers and children, a civic hall which doubled as a preschool run by Kemas, a ceramic workshop, a public telephone, a road accessible by cars and lorries, two coffee shops, a surau and a small sundry store.

#### Selection of Respondents

In the first-stage village all female heads of households were interviewed except those who were absent from the village during my stay because they had returned to their original village to deliver their babies. Altogether 44 women were interviewed and three were absent.

In the second-stage village 51 women were interviewed. Since this village had been divided into five zones which were

spread out over one square mile with a population of around 2,000 I decided to select ten women from each zone. The extra respondent was due to a politeness factor because she was with my last respondent and I promised to include her.

The selection was not done at random. I explained to the "older sister" with whom I was staying the purpose of my study, i.e., to learn more about problems faced by squatter women and that I would like to interview ten women from each zone. Since she was the vice-president of the women's section in the village she knew almost everybody. She introduced me to one of her neighbors who was a committee member. This neighbor then told me who was available to be interviewed next.

My "older sister" would introduce me to the next committee member in another zone and this respondent would then introduce me to the other women in that zone. Therefore, the selection of the respondents depended mostly on the committee members' discretion. Fortunately, I was briefed enough on the village politics to know who was popular and in whose clique and who was not. Fortunately also, whatever animosity there was was always among the men. The impression I obtained from almost all of the women I interviewed was that they did not harbor ill-feeling among themselves except when they talked about the inadequacies of the village and blamed the headperson for them. In fact, the reluctance to talk about their neighbors was one of the problems I faced in administering the questionnaire.

In the third-stage village all the female head of households who were present during my stay were interviewed. There were altogether 102 women.

The study was carried out from September 5th to the end of October, 1983.

#### Questionnaire Administration

Owing mainly to the low literacy rate and the unfamiliarity with a self-administered questionnaire the respondents were interviewed and their answers were recorded on the questionnaire. The interview lasted between half an hour to two hours depending on the situation encountered.

As reminded by Rao earlier in the chapter, the questionnaire was to be administered under the atmosphere of friendly relations rather than in a direct and formal confrontation. Rao indicated that the villagers could not be rushed because if rushed they would not cooperate.

In Malay society to initiate friendly intercourse I had to perform the salam when I introduced myself to the respondent. If there was no one about outside the house I had to call out the Arabic greeting. Then the preliminaries had to be carried out. I had to explain where I was from and why I wanted to interview the villager. An apology was also extended should my visit prove to be an inconvenience. Usually, when the respondent heard that I was from Pulau Pinang they would talk about some of their relatives who stayed there. This small talk would take up some

time. Sometimes the respondent was in the middle of her household chores and I would then have to wait till she could finish whatever she was doing.

The interview was seldom carried out when the respondent was alone. Oftentimes there would be children for us to contend with. When there were children about I had to be polite and inquire about them. However, sometimes this would take up quite a bit of time. At times the man of the house would be around, but fortunately, he would leave the respondent and me alone after inquiring about what I was doing and exchanging a few pleasantries. Sometimes the respondent had some friends with her but this problem was easily overcome when I explained that I had to talk to the respondent first and that I would interview them at their house later. However, I had to spend time to converse with them for a while before they took their leave.

After the interview usually I had to stay for a little bit longer while the respondent made some refreshments. Usually it was easier to explain to the younger respondents that I had to be on my way without offending them. Usually the children were too distracting, clamoring for the mother's attention, and I used that as an excuse not to burden her with the effort of preparing drinks. However, with older respondents I had to oblige because I did not want to be perceived as being too proud to accept their hospitality. It would not do to have word spread around that I

was proud, as this would make it difficult for me to establish rapport with the rest of the respondents.

#### Data Coding

Content analysis was used to code the data. According to Berelson (1952:18): "Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."

Discussing the need for objectivity, Berelson (1952:16) states that the categories of analysis should be defined so precisely that different analysts could apply them to the same body of content and obtain the same results.

On the question of being systematic Berelson (1952:17) writes:

The requirement of a system contains two different meanings. In the first place, it states that all of the relevant content is to be analyzed in terms of all the relevant categories for the problem at hand. The second meaning of "system" is that analyses must be designed to secure data relevant to a scientific problem or hypothesis. The results of a content analysis must have a measure of general application. . . .

As for quantification, Berelson (1952:17) discusses the importance of the "extent to which the analytic categories appear in the content, that is, the relative emphases and omissions." He added that the requirement of quantification did not necessarily require the assignment of numerical values to the analytic categories. According to him, "Sometimes it takes the form of

quantitative words like "more" or "always" or "increases" or "often."

Krippendorff (1980:21) defines content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context."

Krippendorff suggests a "conceptual framework within which the researcher's role can be represented" (1980:25). The framework includes the following: (1) the data as communicated to the analyst; (2) the context of the data; (3) how the analyst's knowledge partitions his reality; (4) the target of a content analysis; (5) inference as the basic intellectual task; and (6) validity as ultimate criterion of success.

#### Units of Analysis

Three kinds of units of analysis were distinguished by Krippendorff (1980:57): sampling units, recording units, and context units. According to him, "Sampling units are those parts of observed reality or of the stream of source language expressions that are regarded independent of each other" (1980:57). They tend to have physically identifiable boundaries. For this study the questionnaire will be the sampling unit.

Krippendorff regards recording units as "the separately analyzable parts of a sampling unit." He cited Holsti's definition where a recording unit was viewed as "the specific segment of content that is characterized by placing it in a given category" (1980:58).



According to Krippendorff (1980:59), "Context units set limits to the contextual information that may enter the description of a recording unit."

Berelson (1952:135) defines the recording unit as "the smallest body of content in which the appearance of a reference is counted."

For this study the recording unit will be the theme, which, according to Berelson, is a simple sentence, an assertion about a subject matter. The theme will be the context unit as well.

### Categories

Berelson (1952:147) indicates that the formulation and the definition of appropriate categories are crucial in content analysis because the categories contain the substance of the investigation.

According to Berelson (1952:149) the most general category used in content analysis studies answers the question: "What is the communication about?" He suggested that topics were subject-matter categories in the same manner that a subject of an active sentence was its subject matter.

For our purposes, the first question was analyzed in the above manner, i.e., what is the communication about?

The changes described by the respondents could be categorized into: amenities, residence, social relationships, lifestyle, tenancy status, economic status, social status, and leadership.

Question 2, which traced the sources of changes, resulted in the following categories: individual initiative, joint effort among the people, the headman/woman, the headman/woman and the authorities interested in improving the squatters' lives, outside sources, don't know, and missing data.

Question 3, which asked whether the respondents faced any problems, has the following categories: yes, yes--but . . . , no.

Question 3A, which dealt with the problems faced by the respondents, included the following: lack of value, loss of value, institutional dysfunction, actor dysfunction, indeterminate situation, creating alternatives, and conflict.

Questions 4A-4H, which attempted to find out the extent of the respondents problem-solving, resulted in the following categories: leaving field, stopped by someone or something, and waiting for prospects. Under the category of leaving field would be a statement such as, "I'm fed up with waiting," or "I gave up." For the category "stopped by someone or something" an example would be: "I would like to have electricity in the house but I have no money." Finally, an example for the last category of "waiting for prospects" would be a statement such as: "The headman is going to help."

Question 5 asked if the respondents discussed their problem and the categories included: yes, no, and missing data.

Question 5A, which asked with whom they discussed their problems included the following categories: husband, other family

members, friends at work, neighbors, headman/woman, authorities, others, don't know, and missing data.

Questions 5B and 5C were dropped from the questionnaire because the respondents had problems recalling what they had said to the person with whom they discussed their problems. I felt that they gave some form of response out of politeness.

Question 6 dealt with changes among the respondent's friends. The categories were: **yes, no, don't know, and missing data.**

Question 6A asked the respondents to describe the changes they have observed among their friends. Two categories of changes were discerned: **absolute and comparative.** Under absolute change were the following categories: **better, more or less the same, worse, some better--others worse; don't know; and missing data.** Under comparative change were the following: **better than I am, more or less the same as I am, worse than I am, don't know, and missing data.**

Questions 7, 7A, 7B, 7C were dropped from the questionnaire because of cultural sensitivities. The respondents seemed reluctant to discuss if the changes that their friends had undergone had caused any problems to their friends. They said that they seldom go out of their houses to visit their friends and thus would not be able to tell me their problems.

Question 8 dealt with the respondent's attention to radio programs. Answers to this question were categorized as follows:

no radio, tuned out, non-selective, and selective. When the responses indicated that the respondent was "selective" the programs were categorized according to the following: entertainment (music and songs), drama, news and current affairs, religious program, women's program, gardening, health, and children's program.

Question 9 pertained to the respondent's attention to television programs. Answers were coded under the following: no television, tuned out, non-selective, and selective. Those under "selective" were coded under: entertainment, drama, news and current affairs, religious program, women's program, gardening, health, sports, feature movies, and children's program.

Question 10 dealt with the respondents' attention to newspapers. Categories used to code the responses included: yes, no. Answers for those who said they read the newspapers were further coded into non-selective, and selective. If they named the newspapers they read, their answers were coded as "selective," whereas if they said "whatever is available," their responses were coded under "non-selective." Answers for those under "selective" were recorded under the following newspaper titles: Berita Harian, Utusan Malaysia, Bacaria, Mingguan Perdana, New Straits Times, Nanyang Siang Pau, Watan, Mingguan Malaysia, Malay Mail, Star, Mingguan Wanita, Berita Minggu, Utusan Melayu, Utusan Zaman.

Question 11 pertained to the types of content read and the categories were as follows: **non-selective**, and **selective**. For "selective" the following categories were employed: **strange stories, crime, local news, foreign news, women's page, cartoons, accidents, entertainment page, sports page, fiction, religious page, classified advertisements, and features.**

Although some of these categories could be collapsed I chose not to do so because I wanted to get as much detail as possible.

Question 12 dealt with the respondent's attention to magazines. The categories were: **yes**, and **no**. Answers for those who said they read the magazines were further coded into **non-selective**, and **selective**. For those who were selective, responses were coded under the following: Wanita, Koleksi, URTV, Variapop, Keluarga, UFF, Variasari, Jelita, Dewan Masyarakat, Dian, Nadi Insan, and Gila-gila.

Question 13 pertained to the respondent's attention to movies. The categories used were: **no movies**, and **selective**. The "selective" answers were coded under: **Malay, Indonesian, English, Hindi, Tamil, and Chinese.**

Questions 14-18 dealt with the usefulness of each of the media mentioned above. The responses were categorized as: **yes, no, and missing data.**

When the response was positive additional categories were employed: **social comparison, use of social time, and orientation to community life.**

Questions 19A-19E pertained to the changes in the respondent's attention to the media. The categories used were: **more, less, more or less the same, and hard to say.**

Questions 20A-20F, dealing with demographics, included: marital status which had categories of **married, single, divorcee, widow,** and **number of children,** which was broken into 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 or more.

Tenancy status was categorized as: **renting, bought, had it built, others, and missing data.** Previous residence was categorized as follows: **mining quarters, army quarters, original village, other squatter village, same village, small town, and missing data.** For sources of knowledge of availability the categories were as follows: **husband, other family members, friends at work, neighbors, headman/woman, self, others, and missing data.** Income-generating activities were divided into **yes** and **no.** If the answer was "yes" it was categorized into **skilled, and semi-skilled.**

Question 21 pertained to a change of jobs and the categories used were: **yes** and **no.** If there was a change of jobs the answer was coded under the following: **good, not so good, and missing data.**

The following question also pertained to the change of jobs. The categories employed were: **a lot better, a little better, more or less the same, a little worse, a lot worse, and missing data.**

The final question pertained to education and the categories involved were: illiterate, primary education, form one up to form three, form four up to form five, university/college, religious school, religious and primary education, religious and secondary education, and missing data.

#### Technical Problems

Questions regarding neighbors and their problems seemed to make the respondents uneasy. This could be due to their reluctance to be perceived as "being noseey" or "gossips." Their answers seemed forced and out of politeness. Hence, some questions had to be dropped from the questionnaire.

The probe for Question 2 met with problems because the respondents were hesitant to talk about their neighbors. I met with the same resistance in question 6. However, after explaining that I would not consider them as gossiping, that I was interested in their objective observation regarding the changes undergone by their neighbors was I able to get the respondents to answer the question.

Respondents also seemed uncomfortable with Question 7, which asked if the changes among their friends have caused any problems for their friends. After a few unsuccessful attempts to get some meaningful response I had to abandon the question. Subsequently questions 7A, 7B, and 7C also had to be dropped.

Questions 3B, 3C, and 3D posed some difficulties to the respondents. They were confused because as far as they were

concerned they had provided the answers in Question 3. After a few attempts I had to drop the questions. The main problem could be differentiated from the minor ones on the basis of the length of the discussion on the particular problem.

Question 4 posed a difficulty as well. After a few attempts it became apparent that the respondents were unable to follow the series of statements that I read to them even though I tried to explain as plainly as I could. In the end, I asked them the following question: "What is the situation like now?" Their responses were then coded under the categories stated earlier.

Questions 5B and 5C were dropped from the questionnaire when a number of attempts indicated that those who responded to these questions merely said that they talked about their problems as did those to whom they turned.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE RESEARCH SETTING

This chapter describes the physical and social settings of each of the three villages--first-stage, second-stage, and third-stage villages.

The reader can gain an appreciation of the context of the research by access to the everyday surroundings of the respondents. They provide a sense of the appropriateness of our classification scheme for the context in which social change and social problems occurred.

### VILLAGE SETTING

#### 1. First-stage Village

The early squatters came to know of the existence of land that they could squat on by accident. They were helping some Chinese search for their lost pigs in the undergrowth and it dawned upon them that they could farm vegetable plots on the unused land. When some of them lost their jobs due to the closure of the tin mines they decided to build their homes near their vegetable plots.

They started clearing more land and over the eleven years since the first people squatted there there had been an increase in the number of people living in the first-stage village.

The first-stage village has a small acreage. Situated on a hill directly next to the main north-south highway, it supports a population of approximately 70 households.

It is almost devoid of large trees because most of them had been cut down to make way for space for building more houses. Therefore, in the afternoon the houses, all of which have galvanized iron roofs, were transformed into intolerable saunas. The semi-concrete walls did not improve matters.

The houses in the first-stage village were modest in size, consisting of only one bedroom. The dwelling structures were built of more wood and less concrete and had not undergone further transformation in the form of better material and additional rooms.

Some of the squatters were able to grow vegetable gardens. However, most of the land had suffered soil erosion when the people cleared it for their houses, rendering it useless for cultivation. However, there was enough space to rear chickens and ducks, although monkeys from the nearby woods often preyed on the eggs.

The first-stage village was located next to a housing estate. A clump of rubber trees about 200 square feet in area separated the squatter village, with all of the inadequacies regarding basic amenities, and the suburban residential area which had all the luxuries of suburbia.

There was a town nearby which owed much of its existence to an army camp since most of the tin mines had closed down. The army camp, in addition to a number of factories and two universities, provided the people with means of employment. As for schooling for the children, there were a number of schools nearby, mainly primary ones. Some of the older children had to go to Kuala Lumpur to attend secondary schools.

The women did most of their marketing at this nearby town which also supported a number of clinics to which the squatters brought their sick children.

#### Village Atmosphere

I had heard of factions existing in the first-stage village before I set foot there. An elderly respondent who had just moved to the second-stage village from the first-stage village said she was glad of her move because there had been "no unity" in her former village. According to her, the village clansmen (anak buah) would not heed the words of the leader.

Later, a number of aspects of the story emerged. One version was that one of the cousins of a respondent had requested a spot of land to erect his house. The leader was reluctant to comply because, apparently, there had been plans for a road near the requested spot. Instead, another space was recommended by the leader. It seemed that the applicant, with the support of his cousin, insisted on the preferred spot and proceeded to build the house.

As a result of this act of defiance, the village head tendered his resignation.

Another version of the incident was given by the cousin of the applicant who maintained that the leader had purposely not wanted to comply with her cousin's request because he had been influenced by the people who had not liked her.

When the ketua kampung handed in his resignation some of the villagers urged him to reconsider his decision. However, since he declined, a new leader had to be elected. The former ketua kampung has not participated in any village activity since his resignation because he had felt hurt and slighted, according to a respondent.

The attitude of the villagers toward the new ketua kampung was one of "He's still new"--wait and see.

One Sunday, the newly elected village head, assisted by six men, cleared a small plot of land which was to be the foundation of a new civic hall. When I asked my "foster brother" whose family I was staying with, why he had not joined in the activity, he said that he was not informed of the gotong royong effort. He added that, formerly, he used to participate in all of the village affairs since he was one of the committee members but his feelings had been hurt on several occasions so that he felt he was better off if he resigned, which he did.

Later, when talking about village disunity, one of the respondents asked me if I had observed how many people were

helping clear the plot for the future civic hall in the rain the previous day. I asked if people had been informed of the activity, to which she replied, "If you really want to help you don't need to be informed. You have eyes. You could see what the others were doing. If you had really wanted to help you would have brought out your cangkul and just joined in. Furthermore, the notice had been posted on the notice board."

I checked the notice board which was located at the crossroads, on the way to the surau, and found the notice which had been posted the day before.

Since my foster brother did not take that route he had missed the announcement.

Other respondents pointed to the lack of cooperation as well and they used the Sunday land-clearing event to illustrate their point to me.

Another example which seemed to indicate the new ketua kampung's eagerness to get things in motion was his efforts to get the electrification of the village resumed. Since some of the people had already had wiring done to their houses in anticipation of the electricity, including my foster family, he had approached my foster brother to get the name of the electrician who had wired his house. The ketua kampung had also called a meeting at the surau to update the situation stating that the company which had won the contract had been found by City Hall to be inefficient and that if the people wanted to have electricity

they had to find another contractor, hence the reason why the ketua kampung had approached my foster brother to ask for his help.

When I left the village after a week's stay, the villagers were optimistic again about getting electricity.

In summary, the first-stage village had undergone significant changes in recent years, especially in the increase in its population.

## 2. Second-stage Village

According to Othman:

Squatters settlements are less likely to be formed on well-kept and fenced land since this indicates a measure of surveillance and may show that the landowner is interested in developing the land in the near future. Building squatter dwellings on such land is likely to lead to immediate eviction and demolition, a prospect that potential squatters try to avoid. On the other hand, land that has been neglected and unfenced, often covered with thick undergrowth, would indicate that the landowner is either not physically present in the area or is not interested in making use of the land. The condition of neglect is particularly true of government land where little attention, if any, is given until the land is required for development purposes. The squatters are not always aware of whether the land is owned by individuals or by the government. What is important to them is that they should be safe for a period of time from eviction.

This was what happened with the second-stage village. People who worked with the army passed by an area of what looked like a deserted hillside save for a few houses strewn amongst thick undergrowth. They decided that it looked like a feasible place to settle and they did.

According to these earlier settlers they had to first hack their way through the thick undergrowth and then clear a space big enough to erect the foundations for their homes. They recalled that there was no water and they had to dig wells and store rain water for their drinking water. The well water was mainly used to wash their clothes, which did not really get clean because the water was yellowish-red in color. There was no electricity and they had to use kerosene or gasoline lamps. Since they lived on the slopes of the hill they also suffered from mudslides when it rained heavily.

These earlier settlers put their roots down almost eleven years ago. It was not until the past three years that there was an increase in the number of people living there.

Now the whole hill is populated with squatters residing in five zones drawn up by ketua kampung. The exact number of households were not known. According the ketua kampung there were approximately 1,000 people living in the village.

The houses were one-storied buildings which had part-concrete and part wooden walls. The roof was made of zinc which turned the house into an oven during the day. There were a few growing trees, to provide some form of shade in the midday sun.

The houses were quite well-spaced out enabling the people to rear chickens, ducks and goats and to grow small vegetable gardens. There were no fences to separate one house from the next.

For those living on the hill their main fear was the strong wind which in the past had blown away their roofs and at times their whole structure. Another problem for some of the people on the hill was the flooding that occurred when it rained heavily. This was due to the overflow from the abandoned mining pool.

The second-stage village was located near the old Klang highway. It was also quite close to the north-south highway which meant that the residents had easy access to the various towns as well as the city center of Kuala Lumpur.

A regular bus service provided the residents with an adequate means of transportation.

Located nearby were a number of factories, the most notable being Ajinomoto and Kentucky Fried Chicken, which provided the residents with employment close at hand.

#### Village Atmosphere

When I first entered the village, rumors were rife that the land was going to be taken by the developer. Some of the people were unsure of their fate. Earlier, when I called upon the ketua kampung, she talked about the "noise" the people were making regarding this issue. She was updating the village affairs to the official from City Hall, who accompanied me in order to introduce me to Kakak, as the headperson was known to everyone. Previously, she said the same thing happened, but it subsided when she did not entertain them. She was going to do the same, i.e., ignore them and see if the furor would die down.



She blamed a group of villagers headed by the former village secretary, her once firm ally, for causing the "unrest."

On my second visit, this time with the vice-president of the women's organization accompanying me, Kakak showed anger at the people's insinuation that she was misusing the village funds which consisted of the money paid by the squatters in order to acquire the space or tapak to erect their houses. The squatters had paid \$100 each. According to Kakak, the money had been used to pay for the construction of the civic hall and its attached toilet, and the muqaddam class, among other things.

When the vice-president suggested that Kakak list the expenses incurred and distribute it to the villagers, Kakak did not seem to pay much attention to it because she did not pursue the matter further but went on to another topic.

Later on, during my stay in the village, the husband of one of the respondents volunteered that Kakak was a good leader because, due to her efforts, some of the village had enjoyed electricity and water. According to this male informant, those against the village head were people who had no electricity in their houses. This, he said, was due to the fact that their houses were directly under the main electrical line thus making it too dangerous for the people concerned, especially during thunderstorms, which occurred quite often in that area.

As for those who were against Kakak, they complained that she picked and chose those whom she felt ought to have electricity. In short, she was being accused of favoritism.

Another complaint levelled against her was her lack of knowledge of who the committee members of the village zones were.

According to one respondent, the people were unhappy with the zoning representation scheme devised by the village head, whereby people were elected from one zone to represent another. According to the respondent, people were reluctant to tell their problems to someone who did not belong to their zone. They would rather tell their problems to someone from their own area so that he or she would be able to understand and represent their case more effectively.

On the other hand, according to the ketua kampung, she devised the zoning system and its method of representation in the way mentioned above, because she wanted the people to know of the other zones' problems so that they would not be so immersed in theirs.

According to one respondent, the ketua kampung seldom visited their zone because she was "scared" of the villagers. When I commented on her rare visits, the village head said that she purposely left them alone because they had been so defiant of her. She felt they had not been grateful for her help, especially when she had stood up for the people when the bull-

dozers from City Hall stood ready to swoop down on their dwellings.

According to another respondent, she felt that the village head suspected her coffee shop was being used as a meeting place for the opposing faction.

The village atmosphere was, in short, that of distrust among the various factions and the village head.

In summary, this village, because of the tenacity of the village head and the respect given her by the authorities at City Hall, had seen a number of changes in the increasing population and improvements in amenities.

### 3. Third-stage Village

The early settlers in this village knew of its existence because they used to work the tin mines around the area. When the tin mines shut down they decided to make their homes along the ridges of the abandoned mining pools which posed a flood menace during heavy rains. However, the people kept piling loads of sand to stay out of the waters. Their efforts seemed to pay off because there had been infrequent severe floodings in recent years.

When the squatters first settled, they said the land supported only reeds which grew eyebrow-high.

When they cleared the land and started to hammer in the posts to support the foundations of their houses, water came up

to their knees. They had to pile up a lot of sand before they could get anywhere with their building.

Since there was no drinking water they had to collect rain water. Some of them dug wells but the water was so murky that they did not dare drink it. They had to trek the footpath down the hill to the abandoned mining pools to wash their clothes and bathe. It used to be a daily ritual for the women who kept each other company because the place was quite deserted then.

According to the early squatters, initially, they had to build their houses on stilts to keep above the constant flooding. That is why to this day there are houses still above the ground unlike the other two villages discussed earlier. It was a status symbol to "lower" one's house because then one could use concrete materials instead of wood because the wooden houses were reminiscent of the rural areas whereas concrete houses were symbols of city living.

The third-stage village supported houses which had been extended, also another status symbol, because this was usually done over the years as one accumulates enough savings to buy the material.

This village was shadier than the other two because the people had settled there for a longer period of time and thus had been able to grow trees over the years as the land recovered itself.

Like the first-stage village, the third-stage village was also located next to a housing estate where facilities, such as water and electricity, were available in the households. The housing estate also had a bus system, facilitating travel to their workplaces. Indirectly, this helped the squatters from the third-stage village who also made use of the buses to get to their places of employment, especially those who worked in Kuala Lumpur.

Apart from the benefit of the bus system, the third-stage village also enjoyed the market provided by the residents of the housing estate for the snacks made by the squatter women.

Besides this housing estate, the third-stage village was also near another residential town which provided some of the women with some form of employment such as washing the clothes of the residents, ironing, and cleaning their houses.

Some of the women also opened up snack stalls in this residential town. When a pasar malam or night market was held in that area the men were also able to sell some of their wares, such as knives and used imported clothing. Thus the proximity of the third-stage village to two residential areas helped the squatters to augment their family income as well as get to their places of work in Kuala Lumpur.

Within bicycle-riding distance there are several factories that keep some of the squatters employed.

### Village Atmosphere

Like the other two villages, the third-stage village also had factions. The ketua kampung had recently stepped down because he had separated from his first wife and had taken a second wife who lived in a nearby town. The majority of the villagers regarded the former ketua kampung with respect because it was under his leadership that the village had seen many improvements in the form of amenities such as water, electricity, kindergarden, surau, civic hall, public telephone, and a ceramic workshop--among other things. The people admired him for bringing VIPs into the village because they felt that this enhanced the village standing, to be noticed by prominent leaders in government.

However, there were people who were not happy with the former ketua kampung because, according to them, he had been unfair in his allocation of who should have electricity in their households. According to one opponent, the former ketua kampung had not included her in the list because his former wife had not liked the way the respondent had sewed her dress.

Other respondents had blamed the former ketua kampung because he had not tried influencing the engineers to close one eye as to the nearness of their houses to the power line in order to enable them to have electricity in their houses.

Most of the respondents were opposed to the newly elected ketua kampung because they had known him to be ineffective when

he had held office previously, before the other ketua kampung was elected. They boycotted the election, thus enabling those who opposed the former ketua kampung to elect the present one.

Thus far, according to the respondents who did not support him, the new ketua kampung had not done anything to bring further improvement to the village, especially to their request of having water directly supplied to their homes.

In summary, the third-stage village, under the former leadership, enjoyed the most number of facilities, in comparison to the other two villages.

## CHAPTER V

### A DEMOGRAPHIC COMPARISON OF THE PEOPLE OF THE VILLAGES

As the description of the social settings suggests, each of the villages reflects a different demographic profile of its residents. The social characteristics of the residents of each of the villages give us some insight into the interplay between the settings and the people and provide an understanding, as well, of the ways in which individuals define their problems.

We will describe the characteristics of the residents by comparing them on characteristics of age, education, number of children, duration of stay, tenancy status, previous residence, and income-generating activities.

#### Age

In his study, Othman found that 48 percent of the squatters were mainly in the age group of 21-40 years. They constituted 69 percent of those over 20 years of age. Only 15 percent of the total population was over 40 years old.

In the three villages of the present study, the following were some of the findings regarding the ages of the respondents (Table 1, page 62).



Table 1. Age of Respondents by Village Stage.

Age	First-stage Village (N=44)	Second-stage Village (N=51)	Third-stage Village (N=102)
Under 20	0%	4%	0%
20-29	63	32	35
30-39	26	32	45
40-49	7	24	14
50-59	4	6	5
60-69	0	0	1
70-79	0	2	0
Total	100%	100%	100%

The oldest and the youngest among all the respondents lived in the second-stage village. The majority of respondents in this village were within the age groups of 20-29 and 30-39 years with one-third of the respondents coming from each category. The next largest group was from the category of 40-49 years, followed by those within the age group of 50-59 and 70-79 years, respectively.

The majority of the respondents in the first-stage village were within the age group of 20-29 years, comprising almost two-thirds of the total number of respondents. The next largest group was from the category of 30-39 years. Unlike the third-stage village, the first-stage village had fewer respondents

within the age group of 40-49 which meant that the first-stage village had a higher proportion of younger respondents.

The plurality of respondents in the third-stage village were within the age group of 30-39 years, comprising almost half of the total respondents. The next largest group came from the category of 20-29 years, constituting about one-third of the total squatter women interviewed, followed by those within the age group of 40-49 years.

When the three villages were compared, the first-stage had the highest proportion of those within the age group of 20-29 years of age, whereas the third-stage village had the highest proportion of those within the age group of 30-39 years, and the second-stage village had the largest proportion of those in the age group of 40-49 years.

#### Education

The second-stage village and the third-stage village had more respondents who finished primary schooling, whereas the first-stage village had more respondents who had lower secondary education (Table 2, page 64).

Since the third-stage village and the second-stage village had proportionately more respondents in the older age groups of 30 years and above, it followed that more would have primary education than those in the first-stage village. This was because it was only after Merdeka or independence in 1957 that

more opportunities were made available for girls to pursue an education beyond primary level.

Table 2. Education of Respondents by Village Stage.

Academic Level	First-stage Village (N=44)	Second-stage Village (N=51)	Third-stage Village (N=102)
Illiterate	2%	14%	14%
Primary	25	45	60
Lower secondary	39	20	12
Upper secondary	18	20	9
University/college	5	0	1
Religious-primary	5	2	4
Religious-secondary	7	0	0
Total	101%	101%	100%

Similarly, owing to the larger proportion of those who were older (beyond 29 years old) in both the second-stage and the third-stage villages, there were more of those who were illiterate in these two villages than in the first-stage village because those who were within the younger age group would have had the opportunity to harvest the fruits of Merdeka, i.e., they would be the ones to have gone farther than primary education.

#### Number of Children

In the second-stage village and the third-stage village the more respondents had four children whereas in the first-stage

village more had three children (Table 3, below). This could be due to the larger proportion of respondents who were just in the process of adding to the family when compared to those in the other two villages.

Table 3. Number of Children per Respondent by Village Stage.

Number of Children	First-stage Village (N=44)	Second-stage Village (N=51)	Third-stage Village (N=102)
None	5%	6%	2%
1	23	12	10
2	23	18	16
3	25	8	16
4	18	24	22
5	2	14	15
6	0	8	10
7	5	2	2
8 or more	0	8	9
Total	101%	100%	102%

Similarly, owing to the same factor, there were proportionately more respondents in the second-stage village and the third-stage village who had eight children or more because there were more respondents who were in the older age brackets who thus had an earlier start at expanding their family size.

### Duration of Stay

According to Othman's study (1980:32), more than a third of the squatters had squatted for eleven years or more. Another third had done so for 5-10 years whereas the rest had squatted up to four years.

The increase in the number of squatters was attributed to "the emergence of Kuala Lumpur as the political, commercial, and administrative center and recent efforts to achieve a more balanced ethnic composition of the population." The shortage of low cost housing as well as the availability of unused private and public land in the city were also cited as contributing factors.

According to Othman, in the fifties and sixties, non-Malays outnumbered the Malays. This changed in the seventies when new Malay squatters exceeded the non-Malay squatters by as much as 2 to 1.

In the present study, more of those in the second-stage village had stayed in the village for two years, whereas those in the first-stage village had stayed for only a year (Table 4, page 67). As for the third-stage village, the majority had stayed for 14 years.

In the second-stage village, the longest period that the squatters had been there was 11 years, whereas in the first-stage village it was 10 years. For the third-stage village the longest period of settlement had been 17 years. Therefore, the first-

stage could be considered to be the youngest settlement among the three.

Table 4. Duration of Stay of Respondents by Village Stage.

Duration of Stay	First-stage Village (N=44)	Second-stage Village (N=51)	Third-stage Village (N=102)
Less than a year	24%	10%	4%
1 year	26	14	2
2 years	5	43	3
3 years	7	14	3
4 years	7	2	6
5 years	12	0	5
6 years	7	2	4
7 years	2	4	9
8 years	7	6	9
9 years	2	2	8
10 years	2	0	12
11 years	0	4	5
12 years	0	0	8
13 years	0	0	4
14 years	0	0	16
15 years	0	0	2
16 years	0	0	1
17 years	0	0	1
Total	101%	100%	102%

Furthermore, half of the first-stage village respondents said they had lived in the village less than a year or one year compared to the second-stage village where only a quarter of the respondents said they had lived there for the same duration of time. As for the third-stage village only 6 percent had stayed for less than a year or one year.

#### Tenancy Status

In the second-stage village, the majority of respondents built their houses through gotong royong (Table 5, below). All they had to do was to see the ketua kampung and ask her for a "tapak" or space to build their houses. They were required to pay M\$100 which according to the ketua kampung went into the general funds for the upkeep of the community hall and the sarau, among others.

Table 5. Tenancy Status of Respondents by Village Stage.

Tenancy Status	First-stage Village (N=44)	Second-stage Village (N=51)	Third-stage Village (N=102)
Renting	14%	6%	3%
Bought	16	4	28
Built	65	88	59
Others	5	2	10
Total	100%	100%	100%

Like the second-stage village, the first-stage village supported a majority of those who had built their own houses through cooperative efforts, although compared to the former, the first-stage village had fewer respondents doing so more respondents in the first-stage village who were either renting their houses or who had bought them, in comparison to the second-stage village.

As for the third-stage village, like the other two other villages, it supported a larger population of those who built their houses than those who either bought or rented. However, among the three, the third-stage village had the smallest proportion of respondents in this category.

In comparison to the other two villages, a relatively larger proportion bought their houses than those who had originally built them. Like the first-stage village, more respondents bought their houses than rented them, which meant that more of the original settlers preferred to sell them than to rent them.

Being the oldest established village among the three, the third-stage village saw the most turnover in its population. Only a little over half of its original residents still remained in their own houses whereas the rest had sold or rented or even given their houses away to relatives, as a number had done.

Compared to the other two villages, the third-stage village had the greatest proportion of those who obtained their houses as hand-me-downs from close relatives (cf. Others, Table 5, page 68)



and had the least number of people who were renting the houses they lived in.

#### Previous Residence

More than half of the respondents in the second-stage village came from other squatter villages, comprising the majority of the people living there (Table 6).

Table 6. Previous Residence of Respondents by Village Stage.

Types of Residence	First-stage Village (N=44)	Second-stage Village (N=51)	Third-stage Village (N=102)
Mining quarters	2%	4%	8%
Army quarters	25	14	3
Original village	14	14	46
Squatter village	30	53	24
Same village	11	4	6
Town	16	12	12
Total	100%	100%	100%

As for the first-stage village, almost one-third of the respondents said they also came from other squatter villages.

The third-stage village differed from the other two villages because almost half of its respondents came from their original village.

Although fewer respondents in the third-stage village came from other squatter villages, one-fourth did.

Almost equal proportions of respondents in both the second-stage village and first-stage village came from their original villages. However, although these two villages had a larger population coming from the army camp, the first-stage village had more than the second-stage village, whereas the second-stage village had more coming from other squatter villages.

As for those who had lived in mining quarters previously, there were more respondents in the third-stage village than the other two villages.

In the first-stage village, about 10 percent of the respondents said they lived in the same village before, which meant that they had been children when their parents first came and now they had started their own households, having married someone from the same village.

In the first-stage village, also, when the number of respondents were compared between those who came from their original village and those who came from the nearby small towns, figures indicated that slightly more came from the nearby towns. When all three villages were compared, more in the first-stage village came from small towns than the other two.

According to Othman (1980:58), two main categories of reasons could be drawn as to why the squatters moved from their former place of residence to the present location: the "push" factors and the "pull" factors. The push factors explained why the squatters left their original location, whereas the pull

factors explained why a specific location was selected for settlement.

Othman stated:

The 'push' factors included the fact that many settlers were evicted from their original locations due to the priority given to mining activities and government projects. Many of the squatters were renting elsewhere but decided to move because of the following principal reasons: (1) the cost of renting was too high; (2) choices of renting were limited; (3) rented accommodation offered limited space for a growing family; (4) the location was far from the place of employment. . . .

. . . the 'pull' factors included the suitability of land for setting up houses, for cultivation, and animal husbandry. Once a settlement was initiated, a strong 'pull' factor was the information communicated to friends and relatives aimed at attracting them to move into the area. . . .

The proximity of the settlement to the place of work was another strong motivating 'pull' factor.

#### Income-generating Activities

The first-stage village had proportionately more respondents working at skilled jobs than those in the second-stage village or the third-stage village (Table 7).

Table 7. Income-generating Activities of Respondents by Village Stage.

Types of Activities	First-stage Village (N=44)	Second-stage Village (N=51)	Third-stage Village (N=102)
Skilled	29%	13%	17%
Semi-skilled	71	87	83
Total	100%	100%	100%

Looking at the educational levels of respondents, the first-stage village had proportionately more respondents with form-five and university/college qualifications combined than the other two villages. Therefore, it was not surprising that proportionately more respondents worked at skilled jobs than those in either the second-stage or third-stage villages.

## CHAPTER VI

### PERCEPTION OF CHANGES

The analysis begins with the treatment of the three villages as the social contexts where individuals perceived changes as having taken place.

Villages were described as first-stage, second-stage, and third-stage, depending upon the availability of amenities.

Changes that occurred in the village, as we defined them, were those conditions perceived by our respondents as having undergone some variation; this could mean the addition of amenities, changes in social status, leadership, and economic status.

Changes might or might not be perceived by villagers as problematic situations.

Changes were classified into eight types: (1) amenities; (2) residence; (3) social relationships; (4) lifestyle; (5) tenancy status; (6) economic status; (7) social status; and (8) leadership.

Our analysis plan is to look successively at each of the three village settings to determine (1) the number of perceived changes in the village; (2) the kinds of changes, (3) the number of problematic situations that were perceived as incident to those changes, and (4) the kinds of problematic situations.

The next step in our analysis is to determine what kinds of communication would be related to what kinds of problematic situations in each of the three villages. Communication variables include (1) incidence of interpersonal communication; (2) the structure of interpersonal communication; (3) the uses of mass communication, and (4) the structure of mass communication.

Our last variable is the ways in which the villagers perceived the usefulness of their various sources of information and communication.

Figure 2 outlines this analysis model:

(1) Villages	(2) Changes	(3) Problematic Situations	(4) Ratio	(5) Communication	(6) Evaluation of Sources
1st-Stage	Number	Number	(3)/(2)	Interpersonal	Social utility
2nd-Stage	Types	Types	(3)/(2)	Mass media	Informational
3rd-Stage			(3)/(2)		Social comparison

Figure 2. Model for Data Analysis.

Figure 2 shows the number of changes perceived in each village (1), and (3) the number of problematic situations perceived in relation to these changes. A ratio (4) is computed, (3)/(2), to describe the relationship between number of changes and number of problematic situations. The ratio allows us to observe that in some villages a perceived change results also in

problems (or problematic situations), while in another village the changes do not produce problematic situations.

Should the least-developed village have more and different kinds of problems than the most-developed village?

One possibility is--for we have no theory to guide us--that the first-stage village would experience the most change that is problematic. The movement to a new place, and the lack of amenities in this village would suggest a greater variety of problems.

Following from this, the second stage-village, which incorporates more improvements in amenities should contain fewer conditions that are problematic.

If this line is pursued, we would expect that the more developed is a village, the fewer types of changes it would experience. Enjoying a great number of amenities this village would be expected to face the least number of problems.

This addresses in limited ways the concept of "revolution of rising expectations." At what stage, so to speak, do expectations increase most sharply as a function of social change.

A detailed look at the various types of changes and the problematic situations arising from the changes would throw some light on the above conjectures.

#### Nature of Changes in the Villages

The age of the village, i.e., the number of years since its establishment, its rate of expansion, and the availability of

amenities could be factors in determining the stability of the village because changes happening over a period of time would not alter the character of the village as much as changes occurring overnight either in the number of new settlers or in the introduction of new facilities. Therefore, a stable village would be one where fewer types of changes would be mentioned by its inhabitants. For instance, the third-stage village had its first settlers seventeen years ago when compared to the second-stage village (first settled eleven years ago) and the first-stage village (first settled ten years ago).

Additionally, the third-stage village had seen only 9 percent of new residents in the past two years, whereas the second-stage village had seen 67 percent and the first-stage village had seen 55 percent. Furthermore, people who had settled in the various villages for a longer period of time would have noticed changes in amenities much more so than those who had just moved in because the older settlers would have waited a long time for the changes to occur, whereas those who had just arrived would find the facilities already there for them to enjoy.

When asked to describe some of the changes they have seen around them, most of those who had been the first few settlers to clear the land in this village recounted the hardships they encountered initially. They talked about the hard work of clearing the undergrowth and the thicket; the absence of tap water and electricity; the long trek to the abandoned tin mines



to do their laundry and take their baths; the collection of rain water to augment their drinking water which they had to buy from people in the nearby town and having to haul the tin cans on their bicycles; the small number of people living in the area; and the absence of other facilities such as clinic and school.

Presently, they described the changes that have taken place in the area: how the village had grown in area; the increase in the village population; the availability of water and some electricity; the various facilities such as the surau, civic hall, kindergarten, and clinic, among others.

For this study the following categories of changes were drawn up: amenities; residence; social relationships; lifestyle; tenancy status; economic status; social status; and leadership.

Those who had recently settled in the village were able to name more than one category of change because not only did they move from one physical environment to another, they also had to undergo changes in relationships and lifestyle, among others, as indicated by the results of the study.

Those who had to leave their parents on account of having married someone from a squatter village not only experienced a change in their physical environment, but they also underwent a change in their social status, that of a married woman. They had to leave behind old familiar faces and had to establish new relationships, with their newly-acquired spouse and other residents in the village.

Some of the respondents could see changes in their economic status as well. They found employment in the factories nearby thus making a monetary contribution to their households. Some of the respondents who did not dare work while they were still in their original villages for fear of loss of face, did not hesitate to work as cleaning ladies or washer women in somebody else's households, even those belonging to another ethnic group, in their new environment, away from the disapproving looks of her kinsmen.

Those who had just left the army barracks or mining quarters saw changes in the lifestyle of the squatter village. They observed the gotong-royong style of the village as being absent from their previous way of life.

Those who were used to renting observed some improvement in their financial standing as a result of owning their own houses.

I will discuss the findings in Table 8 (page 80) in two ways. First, I will point out how the women in the three villages, as an aggregate, described their environment. Then I will contrast the three villages in terms of their characteristics.

I have some expectations for similarities among the three villages and also some differences. The similarities arise from their common nature as squatter villages in an urban setting. The differences arise from their differing demographics.

Table 8. Percentage of Respondents Mentioning Changes by Village Stage.

Changes	First-stage Village (N=44)	Second-stage Village (N=51)	Third-stage Village (N=102)	Total (N=197)
<b>Amenities</b>				
No reference	2%	20%	1%	6%
Reference made	98	80	99	94
<b>Residence</b>				
No reference made	57	73	97	83
Reference made	43	28	3	17
<b>Social Relationship</b>				
No reference made	80	78	92	86
Reference made	21	22	8	14
<b>Lifestyle</b>				
No reference made	55	73	98	82
Reference made	46	27	2	18
<b>Tenancy Status</b>				
No reference made	80	75	98	88
Reference made	18	25	2	12
<b>Economic Status</b>				
No reference made	75	53	97	81
Reference made	25	47	3	19
<b>Social Status</b>				
No reference made	98	86	99	81
Reference made	2	14	1	19
<b>Leadership</b>				
No reference made	82	94	94	91
Reference made	18	6	6	9

#### Changes in Amenities

Looking first at the totals in column four (Table 8) we can see that there is almost total awareness of changes in amenities.

Almost all respondents in the first and third-stage village mentioned changes in amenities that had taken place in their village, even though the first-stage village lacked many facilities when compared to the third-stage village.

In the second-stage village, relatively fewer respondents mentioned changes in amenities when compared with those in the other two villages. One reason could be that not all of the villagers were able to enjoy the facilities that had been introduced in the village. For instance, electricity was available in certain parts of the village only, whereas in the third-stage village almost everyone was able to enjoy electricity.

#### Changes in Residence

The total or aggregate movement in terms of changes of residence was 17 percent, with great variance across the three villages.

Since respondents in the third-stage village had settled in the kampung for a longer period of time than those in either the first-stage village or the second-stage village, fewer of them mentioned changes in residence. More respondents in the first-stage village mentioned this change because more of them had just settled in that village.

#### Changes in Social Relationships

The total reference to changes in social relationships was 14 percent with little variance across the three villages.

As was to be expected, fewer respondents in the third-stage village made any reference to changes in social relationships because they had lived in the village for some time. Since there were not too many newcomers and their relationships with their neighbors had been good, their social relationships remained stable.

Those in the third-stage village who mentioned changes in their social relationships were be those who felt left out of the ceramic workshop or who did not get along with the headman as well as they had at one time.

About one-fifth of the respondents from the other two villages mentioned changes regarding social relationships. This could be attributed to the fact that more had just moved to the respective villages.

#### Changes in Lifestyle

The aggregate for changes mentioned regarding lifestyle was 18 percent with great variance across the three villages. This follows a pattern similar to that of changes in residence.

Fewer respondents in the third-stage village referred to changes in lifestyle because most of them had lived there for some time.

On the other hand, more respondents in the first-stage village mentioned changes in lifestyle than those in the other two villages. Those who had moved from the army camp to the squatter village liked the gotong royong lifestyle or "village"

lifestyle. Similarly, those who used to rent houses or rooms in small towns preferred the village lifestyle because they said that it was too impersonal in the towns. However, there were those who felt that their privacy had been invaded as a result of the move.

Fewer respondents in the second-stage village mentioned changes in lifestyle than those in the first-stage village because the majority in the second-stage village had lived in other squatter villages before and were familiar with the lifestyle.

#### Changes in Tenancy Status

The total for changes in tenancy status was 12 percent with some variance between the second-stage and the third-stage village. This follows a pattern similar to that of changes in social relationships.

Fewer respondents in the third-stage village mentioned changes in tenancy status. This could be due to the fact that most of the respondents had built the houses themselves when they first moved into the then sparsely populated village.

More respondents in the second-stage village mentioned changes in their tenancy status, while they might have been renting before, they now were the owners of houses, whereas in the first-stage village more were still tenants.

### Changes in Economic Status

The aggregate for changes in economic status was 19 percent with great variance across the three villages.

Respondents in the third-stage village made the fewest mentions followed by those in the first-stage village, whereas the second-stage village made the most mentions.

Those in the third-stage village did not see changes in their economic status because they had been at the same job for some time. Meanwhile, in the first-stage village, since most of the respondents had just settled down there, they saw no changes in their economic standing. For those who had bought their houses, some of them might still be in the process of paying off their debt. As for those who had just arrived from their original village and were renting a house, they too would not be able to see improvement in their economic standing.

However, opportunities abounded for those in the second-stage village who wanted to improve their economic status as the village was located near the north-south highway providing easy access to various towns as well as the city center. The nearness of a number of factories also provided the squatters with jobs, not only directly in the factories but also indirectly, by enabling the squatter housewives to prepare snacks for the factory workers, thus augmenting their husbands' income. In some households, the men worked at two jobs, which further improved their financial status.

### Changes in Social Status

The total for changes in social status perceived was 19 percent. Not many respondents mentioned changes in their social status except for a small proportion from the second-stage village who had been recently married or widowed.

Most other respondents had been married for some time.

### Changes in Leadership

The total for changes in leadership was 9 percent with little variance across the three villages.

More respondents from the first-stage village mentioned changes in leadership although the third-stage village too had seen a change in leadership.

In the first-stage village, the leader resigned because one of the villagers had ignored his suggestion and proceeded to build his house close to a future road. He resigned just when people were expecting him to put through plans regarding the electrification of the village. They hoped that the new leader would expedite the matter.

In the third-stage village, among those who talked about the change in leadership, more regretted it because the former leader had been accredited with doing so much in bringing about improvements in the form of various facilities to the village.

The leader had resigned because he had taken a new wife who lived in the nearby village. His resignation created less ill-feeling and gossip than that of the headman in the first-stage



village because it was common knowledge that the first marriage of the former ketua kampung of the third-stage village was not working out. The villagers seemed to be open-minded and understanding judging from some of the remarks made by some of the respondents, who stated that it was too bad that his personal affairs were not going smoothly because as a leader he was very well respected and admired. According to the villagers, he would come and visit them occasionally and inquire about the progress of the village.

In summary, changes perceived by the respondents were classified into eight areas: amenities, residence, social relationship, lifestyle, tenancy status, economic status, social status, and leadership.

One obvious similarity shared by all three villages was the awareness of changes in amenities perceived by the majority of respondents.

However, the similarity ended there because in the other areas respondents in the third-stage village made very few mentions, whereas those from the first and the second-stage villages perceived substantial changes.

The first-stage village and the second-stage village had the following areas in common: social relationship and tenancy status. Since these two villages saw new squatters settling in it was not surprising that the respondents mentioned changes in the above-mentioned areas. New relationships had to be estab-

lished in a new environment. For those who used to rent their place of stay, moving to a new place offered opportunities for owning one's own house.

In the areas of residence, lifestyle, and leadership, more respondents in the first-stage village mentioned them than those in the second-stage village. Since there were more respondents from the first-stage village who had just settled in there it was to be expected that they would be the ones who would notice changes in that sphere. Consequently, as a result of their moving to the present environment they noticed changes in the lifestyle of the new place.

As for the change in leadership, the first-stage village had just elected a new leader, whereas in the second-stage village the same leader held sway.

In the areas of economic status and social status, more respondents in the second-stage village mentioned having perceived changes than those in the first-stage village. The nearness of the village to various factories offered more semi-skilled job opportunities to those in the second-stage village, whereas the first-stage village was not as strategically located.

As for the area of social status, there were more respondents who had previously been widowed or married in the second-stage village than in the first-stage village.

## CHAPTER VII

### NATURE AND CONCEPTUALIZATION OF PROBLEMS

In the previous chapter several types of changes observed by the respondents were discussed. These changes caused problems, according to the respondents.

In this chapter, I will discuss the relationship between the number of changes perceived and the number of problematic situations associated with them (Table 9, page 89).

In addition, the problems will be transformed into the conceptual scheme of problematic situations described in Chapter II. These problematic situations will then be discussed in terms of changes connected with them (Table 10, page 90).

Table 9 shows an inverse relationship (Cols. 7 & 8) between the number of changes and the number of problematic situations. We would expect that with more changes there might be more problems. However, this is not the case.

The reason is that in the first-stage village, the fewer changes in Column 1 (Table 9) had to do with amenities, about which there was a great awareness. This created a need for more amenities and the lack of which also triggered social conflict (Table 10).

Table 9. Number of Perceived Changes and Problematic Situations Mentioned by Respondents by Village Stage.

	Number of Changes							
	First-stage Village		Second-stage Village		Third-stage Village		Total	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	1 (N=9)	2 + (N=30)	1 (N=4)	2 + (N=40)	1 (N=77)	2 + (N=15)	1 (N=90)	2 + (N=85)
1 Problem Situation	22%	37%	100%	55%	25%	27%	28%	44%
2 + Problem Situations	78	63	0	45	75	73	72	56
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Column 2 (Table 9) incorporates additional changes such as those of tenancy status and residency, which, once achieved, produced fewer problematic situations.

In Column 4 (Table 9) we can see that in the second-stage village more changes resulted in more problematic situations. This could be explained in terms of the unequal distribution of amenities in the village where some respondents enjoyed more amenities than others. This created a great desire for amenities which they could see before their very eyes, in the same village, yet out of their reach. Social conflict ensued as a result of this. In addition, perceptions of changes regarding other areas such as residency and tenancy status were interpreted in terms of loss of value and indeterminacy (Table 10).

Table 10. Changes Mentioned as Problematic Situations by Respondents by Village Stage.

Types of Changes mentioned as Problems								
Types of Prob. Sits.*	1st. Problem		2nd. Problem		3rd. Problem		Total	
	Amen.	Other	Amen.	Other	Amen.	Other	Amen.	Other
First-stage	(N=34)	(N=5)	(N=10)	(N=16)	(N=5)	(N=12)	(N=49)	(N=33)
Lk. value	41%	40%	50%	56%	40%	17%	43%	40%
Ls. value	15	40	10	13	20	33	14	24
Actor dys.	3	0	0	6	0	8	2	6
Indeterminacy	6	20	10	6	20	8	8	9
Creating alt.	0	0	0	6	20	0	2	3
Conflict	35	0	30	13	0	33	31	18
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Second-stage	(N=34)	(N=10)	(N=12)	(N=6)	(N=4)	(N=2)	(N=50)	(N=18)
Lk. value	47%	50%	50%	33%	75%	100%	50%	50%
Ls. value	21	20	8	67	0	0	16	33
Actor dys.	3	10	0	0	0	0	2	6
Indeterminacy	9	20	25	0	25	0	14	11
Creating alt.	6	0	17	0	3	0	8	0
Conflict	15	0	0	0	19	0	10	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Third-stage	(N=90)	(N=2)	(N=66)	(N=3)	(N=36)	(N=1)	(N=192)	(N=6)
Lk. value	57%	50%	44%	67%	44%	100%	50%	67%
Ls. value	6	50	8	0	3	0	6	17
Inst. dys.	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Actor dys.	8	0	2	0	0	0	4	0
Indeterminacy	7	0	5	0	6	0	6	0
Creating alt.	3	0	12	33	19	0	9	16
Conflict	19	0	30	0	28	0	24	0
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

\*No report on institutional dysfunction in first-stage and second-stage villages

Columns 5 and 6 (Table 9) portray the more advanced village where problematic situations do not increase as changes occur. Most of the problematic situations were in connection with

amenities, the area of change most observed and experienced by the respondents (Table 10).

For the rest of the discussion we transformed the problems that were described by residents of the villages into our conceptual categories of problematic situations (Table 10). We will look at the first-mentioned problem in relation to the various changes in each of the three villages. Then a comparison among the three villages regarding the first-mentioned problem will be carried out.

Next, we will look at the second-mentioned problem for each of the three villages. This will be followed by a comparison across the three villages.

The same procedure will be repeated for the third-mentioned problem.

Next, for each of the villages, we will compare the first, second and the third problems.

#### MOST-MENTIONED PROBLEM

##### First-stage Village

The most-mentioned area of change was related to amenities. References to other changes were grouped as "other" but also are discussed below.

One reason for the many references to amenities could be that the presence of basic facilities which were once absent could be directly observed, especially by those who had done

without them for a considerable period of time, some for as long as 11 years.

In structural terms, as the village expanded in size and population the people banded together to request the basic amenities such as water and electricity. Their chances of getting their requests fulfilled were more favorable when a whole village united to submit the application than when only a handful of people did so.

Since water had only been introduced in the last one-and-a-half years (April 18, 1982) those who had to trek to the abandoned tin mines for water and those who had to dig wells could comment on the change more so than those who, upon arrival, already had water at their disposal.

#### **Lack of value**

According to our conceptual scheme, the problems of amenities were most often characterized as situations of "lack of value." For instance, although four standpipes had been erected in the village, the respondents still complained of a lack of water. (The villagers were not alone in this perception because even the officers at City Hall acknowledged this for a fact).

For those who lived uphill, the water flowed in a mere trickle because of the low pressure. Before they could even get a decent amount of water in their vats, their turns were up and they had to relinquish the use of the water pipe.

As described earlier, there was no electricity in this first-stage village. Therefore, a number of respondents talked about the lack of this other basic facility. Some of them, believing earlier promises regarding the installation of electricity in the village, had prepared the wiring in their houses, hoping that it would facilitate matters. Unfortunately, as the years went by, the wiring was destroyed by termites. Still there was no sign of electricity brightening their houses.

One of the other areas of change which was perceived to be "lacking in value" concerned social relationships where a respondent lamented that she lacked friends. However, this area of change was not perceived to be as problematic as that of amenities because from the responses it seemed that amenities were more vital to the people's existence, the lack of which created a variety of problems.

Another reported "lack of value" was in relation to "lifestyle" where a respondent observed that the element of village lifestyle called gotong royong or village self-help was lacking. According to her, as each village project got under way, fewer people seemed to turn up to help. Although notices were circulated, most people seemed to ignore them leaving only the same old faces to do the work.

A change in economic status was perceived by a respondent to be problematic. She stated: "With the closure of the tin mines, my husband's job was terminated. Now he's working at another



place, earning less money. With just one person working, I feel the pinch."

### **Loss of Value**

The other problematic situation that arose in connection the various types of changes was "loss of value." More people mentioned this problematic situation in connection with changes in amenities. For those who had been used to having electricity at the flick of a switch, especially those who had lived in the army camp previously or those who had rented houses in nearby towns, they had to do without something that had been a part of their lives. We coded this as a "perception of a loss of value." In comparison with the problematic situation of "lack of value," "loss of value" regarding electricity was less of a problem because, as the people themselves put it, they could do without electricity, but not water.

Another area where respondents talked about the absence of something formerly present and which in our scheme was coded as "loss of value" was in the area of "social relationships." For those who had just settled down in the village, they faced the problem of loneliness. They had to leave their parents and friends in the village where they grew up and a void was felt in their lives. What were once close at hand--familiar faces and a sense of belonging--were no longer there in the new environment.

### **Institutional Dysfunction**

No respondent blamed any institution for their difficulties regarding amenities and this could be attributed to the prevailing attitude in the country itself. People had been told of how much the government had done for them, and to question the effectiveness of the institution would be equivalent to being ungrateful. Furthermore, the people themselves felt such relief at having a roof over their heads that they would not want to chance having it torn away right before their very eyes should someone inform the government that they had been bad-mouthing the authorities. This attitude of not questioning the authorities is a deep-rooted part of the people of Malaysia which could be traced back to the days when the sultans wielded power, when one's life was literally in their hands.

### **Actor Dysfunction**

A very small proportion of the respondents blamed the village leader or ketua kampung for the lack of the basic facilities. However, most respondents acknowledged the fact that the new leader had been in touch with City Hall and that he was doing his part in trying to get electricity for the village.

### **Indeterminate Situation**

The areas of changes in which "indeterminacy" was discussed were those concerning amenities and social relationships.

Regarding amenities, only one respondent talked in terms of uncertainty. He was unsure of the time when electricity would be installed in the village. Most of the other respondents only indicated the absence of the facility.

In connection with "social relationships" those who had to make new friends faced uncertainty as to the extent of liberties they could take with their new neighbors. New social "boundaries" had to be established and this could lead to difficulties, especially those pertaining to little children who are apt to "quarrel" among themselves. These could spark into disputes, if the parents decide to "meddle" in the children's "skirmishes."

### **Conflict**

The presence of the basic amenity of water was seen to have created a lot of competition among the residents in the village as to who would get what amount of water. Water was perceived to be lacking as a result of the increase in population. Thus there had been conflicts regarding who could use the pipes. Only a few weeks before this study was carried out the people were placed on a schedule regarding the use of the pipes. Otherwise, whoever was able to get to the water pipe and stand watch to "fend off" others would get the most water supply. If one did not stand watch, one's water hose would be disconnected from the faucet before one could even reach one's home, let alone get enough to do one's dishes. The schedule, however assured each household that they would get an hour's worth of water supply, depending on

the flow at that time of the day and where one's house was located, whether uphill or downhill.

In summary, the biggest proportion of respondents discussed "lack of value" in connection with improvements in amenities. This was followed by "conflict" and "loss of value."

As for "other" areas of changes equal proportions of respondents discussed "lack of value" and "loss of value." "Indeterminacy" was also discussed.

#### Second-stage Village

A similar analysis was carried out for this village. Most respondents again mentioned changes in amenities as problems. Mention of the other types of changes was minimal mainly because people had been waiting for the changes in amenities to take place and had participated in bringing them about. Furthermore, changes in amenities affected the running of the households more than changes in the other areas because changes in social relationships and lifestyle, for instance, were more often of a more personal nature.

#### **Lack of Value**

Without water, no household would survive. The difficulty posed by the lack of this basic amenity would be felt most by housewives who were mainly responsible for the running of their households. In a Malay household especially, water was important for ablution before the five daily prayers. Water was also

essential in their toilet practices, especially to clean themselves. Among the Malays, toilet paper was a foreign object which they associated with the Chinese. That was why most of the respondents talked more about the lack of water than any other amenities.

Some of the respondents mentioned the lack of electricity especially when some of the other residents were able to enjoy that facility.

Another area of change that was connected with "lack of value" was in the area of "lifestyle." This was regarding the lack of gotong royong as perceived by one respondent.

The other area of change was in "economic status" whereby respondents talked about their lack of money as a result of husbands changing their jobs and bringing in less money.

#### **Loss of Value**

The most-mentioned "loss of value" again was connected with changes in amenities. Those respondents who had lived in the army camp and who had been used to having electricity at their fingertips felt the absence of that facility. They complained of the inability to use their electrical appliances such as the fan to relieve them of the oppressive heat, which was considerable in the almost-bare squatter village. They had to use batteries to operate their television or radio sets.

Other respondents talked about soil erosion during heavy rainstorms that resulted from a lot of land clearing to accommo-

date construction of more houses. Still others talked about the loss of clean air as a result of several factories which had been established nearby. The most obnoxious odor pervading the atmosphere came from a factory that produced monosodium glutamate.

"Loss of value" resulting from change in residence was stated by a respondent whose child had to stop schooling because there was no school for the dumb near their new place of residence.

No one mentioned the problematic situation of "loss of value" regarding changes in social relationships. Perhaps since some of the residents had known each other in their former places of residence and had moved to the present village together, no change was perceived to have occurred.

The other area where "loss of value" was perceived was connected with tenancy status. A respondent said that she lost her friend as a result of her (the friend) owning a house. She said that the change in status had turned her friend's head.

A respondent noted the change in her economic status. Formerly she was working, but not any longer. She did not have any income as a result of this change.

Regarding changes in social status, a respondent had recently lost her husband and now had to adjust to being a widow.

### **Institutional Dysfunction**

No one mentioned any problematic situation related to institutional dysfunction. As explained earlier, this could be the

result of their wanting to preserve their safety because to criticize the authorities would invite (unnecessary) trouble.

### **Actor Dysfunction**

Similar to the first-stage village no actor dysfunction was noted in this second-stage village either. This could be due to the recognition that the head woman had been enterprising in getting as many facilities as she could for the villagers.

### **Indeterminate Situation**

More respondents expressed uncertainty regarding the future of their houses since rumors had been buzzing that the developer was going to take away the land for some construction project. They were not sure whether they would be given a house or not by the developer as a form of compensation. They were also in the dark as to when this would happen.

Another respondent talked about uncertainty in connection with her changed status as a house-owner. She was uncertain about the safety of her house and uncertain about when natural disaster would strike, such as the strong winds that tore many houses down not too long ago.

### **Creating Alternatives**

Respondents talked about efforts to overcome problems concerning the lack of electricity. Contributions were collected from those who wanted to have electricity but to no avail.

### **Conflict**

When everyone had to trek for miles to the abandoned tin mines to get their water there seemed to be more of a sense of camaraderie among the people. As soon as the stand pipes were installed, often at the people's request, to provide water within the village itself, competition over the water occurred resulting in ill-feelings and disharmony.

As noted by Othman (1982:74), the major cause of conflict in squatter settlements was over access to water supply. According to him, "The adequacy of these standpipes depends on the number of households that each pipe services. If the ratio is high, such as fifty or more households sharing one standpipe, then the water supply depends on the distance of the pipes from the squatter houses. If a squatter needs to walk more than 200 yards, carrying the water to his home, the water supply can be said to be fairly inaccessible to him." (p. 42).

Problems arose in some instances when electricity was introduced to the villages. Those whose houses were under the power lines could not enjoy the facility. They blamed the leader, accusing him or her of favoritism. As a result, people were split into factions of those favoring the leader and those who were opposed to him.

Hence the competition over water was expressed by a number of the respondents as being problematic and we coded this as a



"perception of conflict," making this the third-ranking category of problematic situation connected with changes in amenities.

In summary, the most mentioned problematic situation was "lack of value" discussed in connection with improvements in amenities. Other problematic situations discussed in conjunction with amenities by considerable proportions of respondents were "loss of value" and "conflict."

In "other" areas of changes "lack of value" was dominant.

#### Third-stage Village

The overwhelmingly mentioned area of change was regarding amenities. Only two changes were mentioned in the area of social relationships and one with respect to leadership. Although there were new faces as a result of people selling their houses and new people coming in, the number was not as many as those in the other two villages where in the last two years people came almost en masse. In the third-stage village the turnover was more gradual in nature.

Furthermore, people in the third-stage village had lived there for a longer period than those in the other two villages. Therefore, the residents saw more changes in the area of amenities.

#### **Lack of Value**

Apparently, the more improvements that occurred regarding amenities, the more need there seemed to be. This could be

because people were setting their expectations higher, and the more they got the more they wanted. In the third-stage village the people were getting used to the idea of getting more and more facilities. Hence, when their expectations were not met, a "lack of value" was felt.

One respondent observed a lack in unity as a result of the new leadership.

#### **Loss of Value**

Most of the "loss of value" was connected with changes in amenities and social relationships. Respondents talked about one of the water pipes that was not working. This caused them some problems in obtaining water.

As for "social relationships," a respondent talked about being ostracized from the rest of the village because of her brother's relationship to another resident in the village.

#### **Institutional Dysfunction**

Only one respondent blamed the village administration for the lack of amenities. This respondent could see beyond the fault of merely one single person, in this instance, the headman. It could be that she had more education and therefore was able to think in terms of concepts like pentadbiran or administration. Also, perhaps she felt it more justifiable to blame the administration rather than put the blame on one person, i.e., the ketua kampung.

**Actor Dysfunction**

Since some of the respondents did not have electricity supplied to their houses like some of their neighbors they felt that the headman had practiced favoritism in selecting the people who should have electricity. They therefore blamed the headman for this lack of amenity.

The headman was also blamed for inefficiency in bringing about more changes.

Another source of problems where "actors" were blamed was the selfishness of some members of the village. A respondent said that she knew people who would not relinquish the use of the pipes even though their vats were overflowing.

**Indeterminate Situation**

Some uncertainties were voiced by the respondents regarding their chances of getting land, water, and electricity. Some respondents were in a limbo: they would like to make repairs to their ailing houses but were not sure if the the land would be taken for development.

**Creating Alternatives**

The squatters were not an unenterprising group of people. Some respondents recounted how they moved their houses so that they would be out of the way of the main cable to enable them to get electricity. Unfortunately, it did not materialize.

Other respondents told of their efforts to get enough water by paying their neighbors in the nearby residential area in order to attach a water hose to augment their water supply.

### **Conflict**

Like the other two villages, the third-stage village residents also talked about conflict regarding the addition and extension of amenities. In the third-stage village, factions arose with the establishment of the ceramic workshop. Those who were not active tried to downgrade efforts of those who worked hard at the workshop. Those who did not want to get involved in the workshop accused those involved of favoritism, of preferring certain sections of the village population to work in the workshop. Some of them said that they had not been "invited" because they did not come from the same home state as those who were manning the workshop.

In actuality, the workshop had been set up by City Hall under its "Sang Kancil" program, with the consensus of the villagers concerned. According to one informant, even during the initial process there had been problems in reaching agreement. A number of suggestions had been made during the first meeting, among which were a sewing project and a ceramic workshop. After much discussion, those who voted for a ceramic workshop had their way.

As it turned out, the active ones in the ceramic workshop were those who had been in favor of the sewing project but who

had compromised "for the sake of our village's progress." The ones whose voices were loud and clear during the first meeting in favor of the ceramic workshop were not heard of since nor were their shadows seen in the vicinity of the workshop.

Some of them said that they would rather work in the factories than at the workshop which generated income on the basis of commissions. If large orders were obtained then the participants would get a bigger commission. If they had to turn down offers because of lack of staff then their position would be jeopardized since small womanpower meant smaller output which in turn led to smaller commissions.

Those who said they would rather work in the factories because they would be assured of a regular income consisted of those who had never sought any form of employment anywhere nor were they presently employed in any income-generating activities such as preparing snacks for sale or the like. One respondent who had said that the others had not "invited" her said, "Even if they had invited me I would not go because I don't have the energy for that sort of thing."

In the same kampung a public telephone had been installed in the compound of the Sang Kancil building. Unfortunately, it had created problems among some of the squatters. Since the telephone was a public one, the teachers could not lock at night the gates of the Sang Kancil building which housed the kindergarten and clinic.

According to some respondents this encouraged vandalism during the night when groups of youths from the village gathered on the steps of the building to play their guitars and to smoke. Complaints of littering and noise were voiced. According to one complaint some boys had broken into the kindergarten's bathroom to take their baths.

A respondent, the mother of some of the boys, maintained that the boys were not doing anything harmful or destructive. She was angry at the people who called in the police and accused them of trying to make trouble in the village.

For those who had just settled in the villages several problems were mentioned. Loss of friends as a result of the move, lack of rapport and warmth in the early stages of moving into a new environment, lack of amenities in the new area of settlement as compared to what they had been used to previously--all these posed problems.

#### A Comparison of the Nature of Problematic Situations

The three villages were compared regarding their most-mentioned problem. Following is a breakdown according to our schema of problematic situations.

##### **1. Lack of Value**

When the three villages were compared as to the nature of the problematic situations, more respondents perceived "lack of value" than any other situation. Proportionately more respon-

dents in the third-stage village cited lack of value than those in either the first- or second-stage villages even though the majority spoke of changes in amenities.

In the third-stage village, respondents expressed the need for water to be supplied directly into the houses. They said that it would be more convenient than the practice of having to go to the water pipe to attach the hose which would sometimes get detached before one could get an adequate supply. They had heard of other squatter villages having a direct water supply into the houses; therefore, they were hoping for the same.

There were more respondents in the second-stage village who mentioned a lack of value than those in the first-stage village because they were able to observe some of their neighbors enjoying the amenities which they lacked.

As for the first-stage village, where everyone had to get along with the bare minimum, to have a roof over their heads without paying rent was already a blessing.

Besides expressing a need for value in the area of amenities, the respondents in the three villages also pointed to a need for value in other areas of changes as well. But in this case more respondents in the second-stage village discussed this problematic situation than those in the other two villages. The areas of changes were in social relationships; lifestyle and economic status.

In structural terms, those who were newly settled had to adjust to their new surroundings and establish new friendships. Some of them noted the lack of friends. As for a change in lifestyle, some respondents mentioned the lack of gotong royong which they had always associated with village lifestyle. Others noted the lack of money as a result of having a bigger family.

In the third-stage village, a respondent talked about the lack of unity among the people as a result of the election of the new leader.

## 2. Loss of Value

"Loss of value" was coded most for the second-stage village where, among the first-mentioned problem, it ranked second. The areas of changes connected with the problematic situations were "residence," "tenancy status," "economic status," and "social status."

In moving to a new environment there was a sense of loss of one's old ties to the former environment. Loneliness was cited as one of the problems faced by the newly arrived.

For some the change they perceived in their friend's tenancy status, i.e., being a house owner rather than a tenant, proved to be problematic because the friend had "become arrogant" and no longer wanted to continue the friendship.

For those who had once earned an income, their changed status of being unemployed was seen as a problem



For some respondents their having married was perceived as causing "loss of value." As a result of their having to join their husbands they had to leave the security of their parents' homes and had to move into a new and different environment. Since they had not known the men they married previously they felt an acute sense of loss in the new environment, with no familiar faces to turn to.

For both the first- and third-stage villagers the perceptions of "loss of value" were in connection with changes in social relationships. In the third-stage village respondents lamented the loss of friends who had moved on to greener pastures and who had sold their houses to somebody else.

In the first-stage village those respondents who had just moved in expressed loneliness and a sense of loss in the new village.

### **3. Institutional Dysfunction**

Only a very small proportion of respondents in the third-stage village mentioned institutional dysfunction. No one else did, either in the first- or second-stage villages. There was no indication of anyone blaming either City Hall or the government for any delay in their requests for amenities such as electricity, on the part of those respondents in the first-stage village; or a direct supply of water into the houses of those in the third-stage village. The target of blame was immediate as could

be seen in the next problematic situation of actor dysfunction, where the leader was often held responsible.

In a society where authorities were held in reverence--part of the feudal mentality--and where one took care not to be perceived as being anti-government for fear of being branded an anti-national element or worse, as a communist, one would not blame the authorities. Furthermore, in the third-stage village, people had been used to having their requests fulfilled by the authorities. Therefore, if their further wants were not met, then the new ketua kampung was to be blamed, as he was seen as being not as effective and influential as the former leader.

#### 4. Actor Dysfunction

Proportionately more respondents in the third-stage village blamed the new leader for not functioning as well as the former ketua kampung in responding to their requests. For some others, the former ketua kampung was held responsible for not including them in the electrification scheme.

In the other two villages there were equal proportions of respondents mentioning the problematic situation of actor dysfunction although the proportions were smaller than that of the third-stage village. As indicated earlier, in the third-stage village the people expressed the opinion that they owed a lot to the former ketua kampung. In the first-stage village some respondents did not like the way the former ketua kampung kept village affairs to himself and his deputy, whereas in the

second-stage village the ketua kampung was accused of favoritism regarding the electrification of the village.

##### 5. Indeterminate situation

Perceived indeterminacy was discussed in connection with changes in amenities; social relationships; and ownership although the majority of respondents reported more problematic situations related to amenities than the other two areas for all three villages.

The possibility of being evicted after having settled in the villages loomed in the minds of some of the respondents. They had seen this happening in some of the neighboring squatter villages whereby some of the people had to find new places of settlement because the developer had taken away the land for construction of housing estates or industrial projects. Some of these squatters had been forced to make their way to other villages, e.g., to the village where this study was done.

The uncertainty made it hard for them to devote their full attention to the upkeep of their houses. For instance, some of the respondents would like to repair their houses but they were not sure whether that would prove to be a good idea since they did not know when they would be forced to move. Therefore, they had to be mindful of the condition of their houses especially when there were children in the households.

On the other hand there were respondents who went ahead and repaired their houses in the belief that it would increase their

chances of getting a license thus ensuring permanency in the area.

Those who saw the image of the developer looming near wanted to know what sort of compensation they would get. Would it be in the form of money? and if so, how much? Or, would they be given the opportunity to use the money to pay for one of the units to be erected, and what sort of housing unit would it be? The idea of living in a flat or apartment building was not a pleasant thought for among the Malays where rituals such as marriage and death figure prominently in their lives, flat or apartment living would not be able to accommodate such events. Much space was needed to gather friends and kith and kin which would not be available in a flat or apartment. They also needed space to raise their chickens and to grow lemon grass, chillies, and ginger root.

## **6. Creating Alternatives**

Proportionately more respondents in the second-stage village mentioned this problematic situation which was discussed in connection with changes in amenities. As a result of the lack in water other means of obtaining it had been devised by the squatters. Those who lived near a housing estate paid the residents there to allow them to attach a hose to their faucets during a certain time of the day so that they could fill up their water vats for their daily needs. Another example of the creation of alternatives was illustrated by some respondents who said that in

their pursuit of electricity they had even physically moved their houses to increase their chances of getting the facility.

## 7. Conflict

Among the problematic situations discussed "conflict" was the second problem most mentioned in the third-stage village. In the first-stage village "conflict" was coded when the respondents talked about competition over the insufficient supply of water pipes as well as negative feelings toward the former leader over the construction of a house by one of the settlers' relatives.

In the third-stage village people talked about competition over water as well as factions resulting from unequal distribution of electricity.

There were proportionately more respondents in the first-stage village relating "conflict" than those in the third-stage village because there was more perceived inadequacy in water supply in the village, and hence more competition was perceived to occur.

In the second-stage village the sources of conflict were the same as those in the third-stage village: competition over water and ill-feeling toward the leader who was perceived to have practiced favoritism in the allocation of electricity supply.

### SECOND-MENTIONED PROBLEM

As discussed in an earlier section, some respondents mentioned more than one area of change as well as more than one problem. Sometimes one area of change was associated with more

than one problem. At other times different areas of changes were related to different types of problematic situations.

This section will deal with the second-mentioned problem connected with the various areas of changes and will be coded according to our conceptual scheme of problematic situations.

#### First-stage Village

Unlike the first-mentioned problem which had been associated with changes regarding amenities, the second-mentioned problem concerned other areas of changes: among those who mentioned a second problem one-and-a-half times as many respondents indicated changes in the "other" areas rather than regarding amenities. The focus of discussion was predominantly "lack of value." This followed the same pattern as the first-mentioned problem although "lack of value" was discussed in conjunction with amenities in the case of the first-mentioned problem.

In the second-mentioned problem respondents expressed a need for closer social relationships; more financial resources; and better leadership.

The reason respondents placed greater value on matters other than amenities, despite the fact that this village had the least amenities, could be because of their lower level of expectation when compared to those in the other two villages. Most of them were just in the process of settling down in their new houses. As such they perceived their present situation to be better than when they were renting a room or living with their family or in-

laws. They were realistic about their demands since they did not expect too much from a village that had just been settled in. They recognized that their main problem was the lack of facilities--especially, electricity, and this was indicated as the major problem regarding changes in amenities in their second-mentioned problem. However, they had other problems that figured prominently in their lives, such as the lack of friends in their new environment, and the lack of money to obtain electricity or to extend their houses.

#### Second-stage Village

In this second-stage village among those who mentioned a second problem, the majority mentioned it in conjunction with changes in the area of amenities. This was similar to the case of the first-mentioned problem. As far as other areas of changes were concerned fewer respondents talked about them as being problematic.

The most discussed problematic situation was "lack of value."

One reason could be that the expectation of the respondents had been raised due to the availability of facilities among some of the villagers. For instance, some villagers had electricity in their houses. This resulted in the attitude of, "if they can have it, why can't we?" among those who had not yet enjoyed the benefit of the mentioned facility.

This led to some resentment against the headwoman and some respondents reported this to be a problem which under our conceptualization scheme was coded as "social conflict."

Another problem perceived by the respondents was that of anxiety and uncertainty over the rumor of the coming of the developer to take over the land. We coded this perception of a problem as "indeterminate situation."

As for the other areas of changes the problematic situations discussed were "loss of value" and "lack of value" where respondents talked about the lack of friends in their new place of settlement and the "loss" of friends from their former area of residence.

#### Third-stage Village

Among those who mentioned a second problem the majority spoke in terms of changes in amenities. The major problematic situation connected with this was "lack of value." Apparently the more facilities there were in the villages the more were perceived to be lacking. Respondents who lived alongside neighbors who had electricity and ample water supply were bound to express a need for those facilities. Additionally, as mentioned earlier, since the villagers had seen how much could be achieved, given the right head of the village, their expectations were higher when compared to those who had not seen much changes. Therefore, they were ready for further improvement and when this



did not materialize hostility and resentment occurred. Factions resulted with the election of the new head of village.

Those who did not have electricity or an adequate supply of water did not resign themselves to fate. Some of them moved their houses away from the main electric line hoping that this would facilitate their obtaining the facility. Unfortunately, this did not bring forth the desired result.

Those with an insufficient water supply had to tap that from the neighbors who lived in the adjacent housing estate, paying a monthly sum of money.

Regarding "other" areas of changes, lack of value was predominantly expressed, followed by "creating alternatives."

In summary then it can be said that in the first-stage village where most villagers had just recently arrived (usually from a much-worse place) and where facilities were mostly lacking, respondents would be more tolerant than those who had been used to seeing a lot of improvements done in their village as was the case in the third-stage village. When people's expectation level had been raised there would be more "lack of value" situations expressed.

Additionally, when everybody was in the same situation such as those in the first-stage village, where everyone had to do without electricity, there would be no envy or resentment regarding this matter. Unfortunately, the inadequacy of some facility that had been supplied, such as water, had caused much

grief until the problem was solved by the installation of a schedule.

#### THIRD-MENTIONED PROBLEM

##### First-stage Village

A similar pattern was repeated for the third-mentioned problem as for the second-mentioned problem in this first-stage village. Among those who mentioned a third problem, twice as many respondents mentioned it in connection with changes in areas other than amenities.

Equal proportions discussed "loss of value" and "conflict" in this regard.

The reasons could be similar to the ones mentioned earlier: despite the lack of facilities the respondents were not driven to exclude other areas of changes as being unimportant.

However, among those who discerned improvements in amenities to be a problem, "lack of value" still predominated.

##### Second-stage Village

Among those who discussed a third problem, twice as many respondents spoke in connection with improvements in amenities. "Lack of value" predominated the list of problems discussed. Other problems that merited mention among the respondents were "indeterminacy," "conflict," and "creating alternatives."

Again, the reasons could be similar to the ones given earlier. In the case of "lack of value," the people's expecta-

tions were higher in this village due to the presence of some of the facilities among some villagers but not among others. As for indeterminacy the rumors about the developer coming to take away the land bothered some of the respondents.

In "other" areas of changes, only a lack of value was expressed.

### Third-stage Village

Among those who mentioned a third problem, the majority mentioned it in terms of improvements in amenities. Minimal mention was made of problems resulting from perceived changes in the other areas.

As discussed earlier, in this village the people had seen so much improvement in facilities that their expectations had been raised. Therefore even their third-most mentioned problems were connected with lack of value.

### Summary

For the first-mentioned problem the pattern was the same for all three villages: respondents discussed "lack of value" concerning amenities.

When the first problem was compared across the three villages, proportionately more respondents in the third-stage village discussed "lack of value" regarding amenities than those in the other two villages. Respondents in the first-stage village

made up the smallest proportion discussing "lack of value" in connection with improvements in amenities.

In the "other" areas of changes, both the second- and third-stage villages had proportionately equal numbers of respondents discussing "lack of value."

As for those who mentioned a second problem, respondents in the first-stage village as well as in the third-stage village spoke in terms of "lack of value" connected with changes in areas other than amenities whereas in the second-stage village respondents discussed "lack of value" regarding changes in amenities.

Among those who mentioned a second problem, the third-stage village had the biggest proportion of respondents mentioning a second problem followed by those in the first-stage village. The second-stage village had the smallest proportion of respondents mentioning a second problem. One explanation for this could be the higher expectation level among those in the third-stage village, and as for the first-stage village, the respondents not only faced problems regarding the lack of facilities but also those pertaining to other changes as well, since, from a structural point of view, a greater proportion of respondents had only recently moved into the village.

Among those who mentioned a third problem, more respondents from the first-stage village did so than those in the other two villages. The third-stage village had the second-highest

proportion mentioning a third problem whereas the second-stage village had the least proportion of respondents doing so. Overall, the second-stage village had the least proportion of respondents mentioning problems regarding changes in amenities or in any of the other areas.

In structural terms, it could be concluded that the more respondents observed and experienced improvements in amenities the higher would be their expectations. In a village where unequal distribution of facilities prevailed, the people's expectations would also be higher and "lack of value" would be its main concern.

As for the newly established village, where everyone faced problems regarding amenities, "lack of value" would also predominate, although other areas would also pose considerable concern.

## CHAPTER VIII

### ORIENTATION TO INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION

During my stay in the villages, it was apparent to me that there were several major ways in which the respondents became socialized to the community and learned to cope with their problems.

One of these means was by personal observation; the villages ranged from a one-half-square mile to a square mile with "rows" of houses facing each other in a somewhat haphazard manner. This meant that each individual was able to observe personally what was going on in the area. Furthermore, there were opportunities daily for respondents from all three villages to interact with other villagers especially in the morning during their marketing at a number of small fish stands at various locations of the villages or during the late afternoon when they congregated under shady trees near their houses.

Many of the squatters brought old affiliations to the squatter villages with them. This meant that there were also ample opportunities for interpersonal contact by which they could validate their observations and make sense of them.

Tables 11 (page 124) and 12 (page 129) show the extent of interpersonal communication in relation to problematic situa-

tions; that is, what types of problems were discussed with family members, neighbors, and the ketua kampung?

Table 11. Orientation of Respondents to Interpersonal Communication Sources by Village Stage.

Sources of interpersonal communication	First-stage Village (N=23)	Second-stage Village (N=34)	Third-stage Village (N=21)
Husband	35%	38%	28%
Other Family Members	9	23	0
Friends at work	0	0	5
Neighbors/friends	39	27	29
Headman/woman	9	9	29
Authorities	0	0	5
Others	8	3	5
Total	100%	100%	100%

This chapter will discuss the types of interpersonal communication sources used by the respondents and will attempt to explain why some sources were sought more than others.

As mentioned earlier, the sources of interpersonal communication were categorized as: (1) husband; (2) other family members; (3) friends at work; (4) neighbors; (5) headman/headwoman; (6) authorities; and (7) others.

In the first-stage village, most respondents turned to their neighbors or husbands to discuss their problems. The rest of the responses were divided equally among: "other family members;"

"headman/headwoman;" and "others." None of the respondents preferred friends at work or the authorities.

In the second-stage village the interpersonal source turned to most was the husband. Neighbors came second. "Other family members" was the third-most mentioned source. Some respondents mentioned the headwoman whereas others indicated people not included in any of the other categories. However, these last two categories did not contain as many responses as the rest of the categories mentioned earlier.

No respondent indicated authorities or friends at work as sources to whom they turned in order to talk about their problems.

In the third-stage village, equal proportions of respondents discussed their problems with "husband," "headman," and "neighbors."

Other responses were divided equally into the rest of the categories: "other family members," "authorities," and "others." However, only a small N was recorded for each category.

### **Analyses**

When the three villages were compared, the first-stage village contained the largest proportion of respondents who mentioned that they turned to their neighbors in order to talk about their problems.

In ethnographic terms this was the case because a number of them had known each other while living in the army camp and other



squatter villages, and had come to settle in the new place together, and there was already a feeling of camaraderie among them. Therefore, common problems were discussed with their friends.

In the second-stage village respondents turned to their husbands most of all. Unlike the first-stage village "neighbors" were not as important as husbands.

One reason why this was so is that the village was larger in area than the first-stage village. As such people were more spread out. Therefore, even though some of the respondents might have friends who used to stay in their former places of residence before moving into the house presently occupied, they were now located in more distant "zones" in the village which made it a little difficult for them to keep in touch, unlike the first-stage village which was more compact in size. In the second-stage village there were more newcomers as compared to the third-stage village. These women had to depend more upon their husbands until they could establish firmer ties with their new neighbors.

In the third-stage village "husband" was mentioned as often as "headman" and "neighbors." This could be due to the fact that the village had been established longer than any of the other two and that after living in the same village for a considerable period of time the women knew the headman well enough to not feel awkward about approaching him.

In ethnographic terms, respondents talked with admiration of the former headman who had "done so much." He was said to be a "good mixer" because he could be at home both among the villagers as well as with the authorities. The respondents knew that they could count on him; thus the reason they approached him with their problems.

In the first- and second-stage villages, comparatively fewer respondents mentioned having discussed their problems with the headperson. This was due both to length of time in the villages and the lack of distinctive capabilities of the headperson.

Considering most of the problems were those of lack of amenities this said a lot about the headperson when compared to that of the third-stage village. In the first-stage village people said the former headman and his deputy kept village affairs to themselves. Lack of information seemed to have plagued the village.

As for the second-stage village the headwoman was having a credibility crisis. One of the committee members said she was scared to be seen frequenting the headwoman's house for fear that people would think that she was in league with the ketua kampung.

Although a number of respondents held her in high esteem there were some whose expectations were higher, having spent time in well-equipped army quarters, who were dissatisfied with the ketua kampung.

According to the committee member mentioned above, the head-woman dared not come up to the committee member's zone because the people challenged her decisions.

As mentioned earlier the respondents in the third-stage village talked to their neighbors as much as to their husbands. Considered from a structural view the village had been established longer with the fewest number of newcomers in the past two years when compared to the other two recently established villages. Thus the respondents would know their fellow-villagers much longer and better than those in the first- and second-stage villages.

#### **Problematic Situations and the Uses of Information Sources**

According to Deis (1981), uses of information would be greater in goal-oriented situations than those that were not. He found that a high incidence of "lack of value" was associated with a greater use of sources of information while "loss of value" was associated with fewer sources.

As borne out by our findings, "lack of value" predominated information-seeking through various interpersonal channels (Table 12, page 129).

Other goal-oriented situations that used interpersonal sources of information were "indeterminate situation" and "conflict."

Table 12. Interpersonal Communication of Respondents by Problematic Situations by Village Stage.

Problematic Situations	First-stage Village	Second-stage Village	Third-stage Village
Discussed with husband	(N=8)	(N=13)	(N=6)
Lack of value	44%	42%	50%
Loss of value	11	25	0
Indeterminate situation	11	17	25
Conflict	33	17	25
Total	100%	100%	100%
Discussed with Family	(N=2)	(N=8)	(N=2)
Lack of value	100	50	100
Indeterminate situation	0	13	0
Creating alternatives	0	13	0
Conflict	0	25	0
Total	100%	100%	0
Discussed with Neighbors	(N=9)	(N=9)	(N=6)
Lack of value	38	33	83
Loss of value	0	44	0
Indeterminate situation	13	11	0
Creating alternatives	0	11	0
Conflict	50	0	17
Total	100%	100%	100%
Discussed with head	(N=2)	(N=3)	(N=6)
Lack of value	50	33	67
Loss of value	50	33	17
Indeterminate situation	0	33	17
Total	100%	100%	100%
Discussed with Others	(N=2)	(N=1)	(N=1)
Lack of value	50	100	100
Actor dysfunction	50	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%

NOTE: "Friends at work" and "authorities" were reported only in the third-stage village with N=1. "Lack of value" was discussed in both cases.

Although "loss of value" did not involve goal-orientation, results indicated that some form of communication took place although the instances were fewer than those of "lack of value."

The following is the breakdown of the sources of interpersonal communication according to the problematic situations discussed.

### **Discussion with Husband**

#### First-stage Village

Among those who said they discussed their problems with their husbands, proportionately more talked about a need for value. This was in line with Deis' hypothesis that the more goal-oriented the problematic situation was the more communication occurred.

The second largest proportion of respondents turned to their husbands in connection with the problematic situation of "conflict."

Equal proportions of respondents talked with their husbands concerning the problematic situations of "loss of value" and "indeterminate situation." However, their number was proportionately smaller than those who discussed the other problematic situations.

#### Second-stage Village

In this village also, among those who discussed their problems with their husbands, proportionately more respondents talked

about a need for value rather than other problems. Again, this illustrated that a goal-oriented situation was associated with a higher incidence of communication.

The next most-discussed problem pertained to "loss of value." Although this was not a goal-oriented situation some information took place. In this instance, it could be the lamenting of a loss of a job due to the move or the "loss" of familiar faces and physical environment.

Equal proportions of respondents indicated that they turned to their husbands to talk about the uncertainty of their future, ("indeterminate situation") as well as "conflict."

#### Third-stage Village

In the third-stage village the most discussed problem also pertained to "lack of value."

For the next most-discussed problems equal proportions of respondents turned to their husbands to talk about indeterminacy as well as "conflict."

#### **Comparison of the Three Villages**

Of those who said they discussed their problems with their husbands, in all three villages, more discussed the problematic situation of "lack of value."

"Loss of value" figured prominently in the discussion with husbands among the respondents only in the second-stage village whereas in the other two villages "conflict" took up a lot more

of the discussion. In the third-stage village "loss of value" was not discussed at all whereas in the first-stage village it was discussed as much as "indeterminate situation" which occupied least of the respondents' attention as far as discussing it with their husbands.

"Indeterminate situation" was discussed more with husbands in the third-stage village than in the other two villages.

In general, goal-oriented situations were associated with communication in all three villages.

#### **Discussion with Family Members**

##### First-stage Village

Among those who said they discussed their problems with members of their family, other than their husbands, all of the respondents discussed a need for value.

##### Second-stage Village

In this village more of the respondents talked about a need for value than the other problematic situations with their family members.

The next most-discussed problematic situation was "conflict" followed by "indeterminate situation" and "creating alternatives" which tied for the next position.

### Third-stage village

In this village "other family members" did not play a part in interpersonal communication with the respondents regarding their problems.

### **Comparison of the Three Villages**

In the first-stage village communication with family members was connected with "lack of value" situations whereas in the second-stage village other problems were discussed as well.

When compared with the other problematic situations, "lack of value," which was more goal-oriented than the other problematic situations, was associated with more communication with members of the family.

### **Discussion with Neighbors**

#### First-stage Village

Among those who talked to their neighbors about their problems, more talked about "conflict" than the other problematic situations.

"Lack of value" was their next most-discussed problematic situation, followed by "indeterminate situation."

#### Second-stage Village

Among those who talked to their neighbors about their problems more talked about "loss of value" than the other problematic situations.



The next most-talked-about problem concerned "lack of value," followed by "indeterminate situation" as well as "creating alternatives."

#### Third-stage Village

Among those who turned to their neighbors the majority discussed a need for value followed by "conflict."

#### **Comparison of the Three Villages**

When the three villages were compared respondents in the second-stage village had more problematic situations to discuss with their neighbors than respondents in the other two villages.

Since more of the respondents in this village had been together in their previous places of residence, they therefore shared some common experiences which provided them with some form of comparison regarding observations and problems connected with their new place of domicile.

These respondents lamented the loss of some of the things they had known together in their previous place of residence. In the first-stage village three problematic situations were recorded whereas in the third-stage village only two were coded.

In the first-stage village "conflict" predominated in discussions with neighbors. People were concerned about the discord between some villagers and the former leader.

In the third-stage village neighbors who had to do without electricity expressed resentment against the former ketua kampung.

## **Discussion with Headperson**

### First-stage Village

Among those who said they talked to the headman half of them discussed matters pertaining to a need for value and the other half talked about "loss of value."

Other problematic situations were not discussed with the headman.

### Second-stage Village

In this village three problematic situations were discussed with the headwoman. Equal proportions of respondents turned to their ketua kampung to talk about a need for value, "loss of value," and "indeterminate situation."

### Third-stage Village

Among those who talked to the headman two-thirds of the respondents discussed problems connected with the need for value. The remaining third was equally divided between "loss of value" and "indeterminate situation."

## **Comparison of the Three Villages**

In the first-stage village only two problematic situations were discussed whereas in the second- and third-stage villages three problematic situations were talked about.

It was only in the third-stage village that "lack of value" predominated.

Even though "loss of value" was not a goal-oriented situation for all three villages some communication took place although in the first- and second-stage villages the proportions between the goal-oriented situation of "lack of value" were the same as that of "loss of value."

### **Discussion with "Others"**

#### First-stage Village

Among those who turned to "others" to talk to about their problems half were in connection with "lack of value" and the other half were concerned with "actor dysfunction."

#### Second-stage Village

All of those who said they turned to "others" to talk about their problems discussed only "lack of value."

#### Third-stage Village

In this village also everyone who said they turned to "others" discussed only "lack of value."

### **Comparison of the Three Villages**

Only in the first-stage village were two problematic situations discussed. In the other two villages only "lack of value" was the topic of discussion.

### **Summary**

When all the major sources of interpersonal communication were considered in association with the various types of proble-

matic situations faced by the respondents it was found that in the first-stage village, where both the husband and the neighbor were equally the most important sources of interpersonal communication, the main problematic situations discussed were "lack of value" and "conflict," respectively.

As for the second-stage village the husband was the major source of interpersonal communication regarding problems faced by the respondent. The major problematic situation that was discussed most often was "lack of value."

In the third-stage village neighbors as well as headman were equally the most important sources of interpersonal communication. The most discussed problematic situation was "lack of value" for both sources.

When all the problematic situations were taken into consideration "lack of value" figured as the most-often-talked-about situation with all of the five major sources of interpersonal communication.

The next most-talked-about problematic situation was "indeterminate situation" which was discussed with husbands, family members, neighbors, and the headman or headwoman.

"Conflict" and "loss of value" were equally discussed by the respondents whereas in only one village was "actor dysfunction" talked about at all.

In summary then, the most discussed problematic situation was associated with goal-orientation, that of need of value. In

cases where the respondents had not been immobilized by their indeterminacy sources of interpersonal communication were sought out.

Although "loss of value" was not goal-oriented it was discussed just as much as "conflict."

### **Psychological Location of Solutions to Problems**

We conceptualized that problematic situations would lead to communication. Goal-oriented problems had been shown to use more communication sources than other problematic situations. Assuming that the communication helped the respondents arrive at their solution this section will discuss what sort of solution the respondents had decided upon.

Three psychological locations regarding the solution to their problems were conceptualized: (1) the respondent was waiting for something to happen; (2) the respondent was stopped by someone or something; and (3) the respondent left the field.

In all three villages, among those who discussed their problems and who expressed where they were at regarding a solution, more respondents said they were waiting for something to happen (Table 13, page 139).

However, fewer respondents in the third-stage village said they were waiting when compared with the other two villages. Instead more said they did not know or that they were stopped from arriving at a solution.

Table 13. Psychological Location of Solutions of Respondents to Problems by Village Stage.

Psychological Location	First-stage Village (N=23)	Second-stage Village (N=34)	Third-stage Village (N=21)
Waiting for something to happen	61%	62%	48%
Stopped by someone or something	13	12	24
Left the field	13	23	24
Don't know	13	3	14
Total	100%	100%	100%

However, fewer respondents in the third-stage village said they were waiting when compared with the other two villages. Instead more said they did not know or that they were stopped from arriving at a solution.

This could be because of their own personal circumstances. For instance, in cases where there was a lack of electricity, the respondents' houses were too near the main power line. Hence this prevented them from enjoying this amenity unless they moved their houses, a feat that was not easy to accomplish.

In other cases, they might feel that the headman had excluded them from his list of those eligible to get electricity.

More people in the second-stage village left the field compared to those in the first- and third-stage villages because those who were not in the clique favoring the headperson felt

that their chances of getting the basic amenities were slim, therefore they gave up hoping.

#### **Psychological Solution Location by Problematic Situations**

Respondents were asked what point they were at regarding the solution to their problems.

When the major problematic situations of "lack of value," "loss of value," "conflict," "indeterminate situation," and "creating alternatives" were compared regarding the respondents' psychological locations, "lack of value" was associated with more varied responses than the others. This was especially so for the third-stage village (Table 14, page 141).

Table 14. Psychological Solution Location of Respondents by Problematic Situations by Village Stage.

Psychological Location by Problematic Sit.	First-stage Village	Second-stage Village	Third-stage Village
Lack of value	(N=10)	(N=15)	(N=15)
Waiting for something to happen	70%	53%	47%
Stopped by someone or something	20	13	20
Left the field	10	27	20
Don't know	0	7	13
Total	100%	100%	100%
Loss of value	(N=3)	(N=9)	(N=1)
Waiting for something to happen	33	56	0
Stopped by someone or something	0	22	100
Left the field	33	22	0
Don't know	33	0	0
Total	100%	100%	100%
Conflict	(N=8)	(N=3)	(N=3)
Waiting for something to happen	38	67	0
Stopped by someone or something	12	33	0
Left the field	25	0	33
Don't know	25	0	67
Total	100%	100%	100%
Indeterminate sit.	(N=2)	(N=5)	(N=2)
Waiting for something to happen	100	80	100
Left the field	0	20	0
Total	100%	100%	100%
Creating alt.	(N=0)	(N=2)	(N=0)
Waiting for something	0	100	0
Total	0	100%	0



## CHAPTER IX

### MEDIA ENVIRONMENT

None of the villages studied could be said to be media-poor, especially in electronic media. Despite the lack of electricity in two of the villages, people were not without their own resources. They used batteries and generators to operate their radio and television sets.

What was apparent was the presence of a stereo-set in households with grown-up children who were earning incomes of their own or in households where the husband worked at white-collar jobs. However, generally, there were not that many households with stereo sets.

More prevalent were color television sets especially among those with electricity. Those without electricity, they used battery-operated black-and-white television sets which exhausted the batteries within a week if the respondents were selective over what programs they watched. A battery for a color television set would last three days. The cost for charging the batteries was equivalent to one lunch (a plate of rice with fish and vegetables).

As mentioned earlier, some households could afford generators. In such cases they would sport a color television set, a refrigerator, a stereo set and a fan.

The following is a breakdown of the various media available in the three villages studied and the people's attention to them.

#### Possession of Radio Sets

The availability of electricity influenced the possession of electronic media and other electrical appliances among the squatters. As one of the squatters observed, the moment electricity was made available in the village one could see endless streams of sales persons coming to the village to sell their various wares on very accommodating terms.

As for electronic media, those who lived in places without electricity had to make do with a radio set whereas those who enjoyed the availability of electricity would get a color television set if they could afford it. Those who had no electronic media initially would more likely go on to buy a television set if they had electricity available in the village rather than buy both a radio and a television set because usually for them it would be a matter of choosing one over the other in order to save expenses.

When the three villages were compared regarding the possession of radio sets (Table 15, page 144), more respondents in the first-stage village had radio sets than those in the other two villages. This could be explained by the lack of electricity in the more-recently-settled village. Therefore, they had to be content with radio instead. Respondents who had radio sets while they were living in other towns or squatter villages with elec-

tricity operated their sets with the aid of generators or batteries in the village without electricity.

Table 15. Possession of Radio Sets by Respondents by Village Stage.

Possession of Radio Sets	First-Stage Village (N=44)	Second-Stage Village (N=51)	Third-Stage Village (N=102)
No	5%	38%	17
Yes	96	63	83
Total	100%	100%	100%

As for those in the second-stage village, more dispensed with radio because more had television sets compared with the first-stage village (see Table 20, page 154 (since some parts of the village had electricity). Furthermore, more respondents in the second-stage village were involved with income-generating activities outside the home. This gave them little time to pay attention to the radio. By the time they reached home in the evening the television set was on and therefore they watched that, instead. Hence, there was no need felt for radio.

More respondents in the third-stage village owned radio sets than those in the second-stage village because before the advent of electricity in the village more villagers depended on their radio sets for information and entertainment. Furthermore, since some of the villagers had settled there before the introduction of television in Malaysia chances of their owning at least a portable transistor radio was greater.

### Orientation to Radio

Regarding the respondents' orientation to radio, three categories were devised: tuned out; non-selective; and selective.

Table 16. Orientation to Radio of Respondents by Village Stage.

Orientation to Radio	First-Stage Village (N=42)	Second-Stage Village (N=32)	Third-Stage Village (N=85)
Tuned out	2%	3%	15%
Non-selective	12	6	15
Selective	86	91	69
Total	100%	100%	100%

When the respondents stated their favorite programs, their answers were coded as "selective." When they stated that they did not listen to anything in particular, their responses were coded: "non-selective." The category, "tuned-out," included responses such as, "I'm not interested, it's there in the background;" or "I don't have time to listen."

For all villages, more respondents were selective as compared to those who were non-selective. More respondents were non-selective than tuned-out in the first-stage and second-stage villages.

The third-stage village had the largest proportion of respondents who tuned out radio. One reason could be that there were more respondents who worked outside the homes, as washer women or cleaning maids. As such they were away from as early as

6.30 a.m. till noon. In the afternoons some of them had to go back to do the ironing and did not come home till almost dusk. If they were not too tired they would sit down to watch television while folding their own laundry or feeding their children.

Another reason for the higher proportion of tune-outs could also be attributed to lack of interest on the part of the respondents.

In the second-stage village there were fewer respondents who were tuned-out because most of them were interested in the radio as borne out by the evidence that although there were fewer radio sets in this village there was a high proportion of those who were selective in their radio-listening.

As for the first-stage village, there were fewer people who tuned out radio because it offered them entertainment and information since some respondents expressed regret at their inability to spend as much time listening to their favorite programs as they did previously because now they had to devote their attention to their small children. There was a larger proportion of those within the age group of 20-29 years having one to four children.

Since the children were not spaced they were not old enough usually to help take care of the smaller ones. Hence, the mother had to bear all the burden herself. (This also explains the larger number of respondents not involved in any income-

generating activities in the first-stage village). The mother could not find time to devote her attention to the radio as in her unmarried days when she barely missed the drama programs or the request programs. Now she could not be too particular about what programs she listened to, hence the higher rate of non-selectivity in the first-stage village than in the second-stage village.

There were more respondents in the third-stage village who were non-selective because more of them had television and since a large proportion of the respondents were involved in income-generating activities they had to make a choice of how to spend their leisure time. Furthermore, since some of them prepared their wares in their own houses they turned on the radio in order to have something in the background. They also did not have to make a conscious effort to turn on the radio because they had electricity, whereas those without electricity had to juggle the amount of time they used the batteries between the television set and the radio. Therefore, respondents in the third-stage village could literally afford to be non-selective and have their radio sets on all the time.

In the second-stage village there were fewer respondents who were non-selective because they were interested in the radio programs as pointed out earlier. Those who had radio were selective about their programs and this could only be attributed to interest because not everyone in the village had electricity

and thus had to balance the time they used their battery between their radio and television sets.

Structurally, then, the availability of electricity in the longer-established villages determined radio-listening among the respondents somewhat. But, lack of selectivity regarding the use of the medium by some of the respondents is better explained by their lack of time or tiredness as a result of the respondents' having to take care of a considerably large number of small children in the family.

#### Selection of Radio Programs

A high proportion of respondents who listened to the radio, especially those in the first- and second-stage villages, indicated their preferences for the various programs aired. Drama and entertainment programs were the two most preferred programs in all the three villages. News was next on the list with the exception of the third-stage village where there was not as big a following as in the other two villages (see Table 17, page 149).

In the first-stage village, equal proportions of respondents indicated that they listened to drama and entertainment, each slightly more than half of the number of respondents who mentioned the programs they liked to listen to.

In the second-stage village an almost equal proportion to that of the first-stage village said they liked entertainment programs. Next on their list was drama.

As for the third-stage village the reverse was the case, with drama being their first choice and entertainment programs second. The proportion of those who said they liked drama was also slightly more than half the respondents who indicated what programs they liked to listen to.

Table 17. Selection of Radio Programs by Respondents by Village Stage.

Programs	First-stage Village (N=36)	Second-stage Village (N=29)	Third-stage Village (N=59)
Drama	53%	45%	51%
Entertainment	53	52	41
Gardening	0	3	2
Health	0	0	2
News	42	41	29
Religious program	11	28	15
Women's program	19	10	12

NOTE: The total was more than 100 percent because some respondents gave more than one answer.

News was next in importance for all three villages. However, fewer respondents in the third-stage village mentioned they listened to the news compared with those in the other two villages.

This could be due to the lower educational level of a greater proportion of the respondents in the third-stage village, which also coincided with their being in the older-age group,



which in turn explained the greater proportion of respondents expressing preference for religious programs, more so than the respondents in the other two villages.

The next program with a substantial following was the women's program with more respondents in the first-stage village saying they listened to the program compared to those in the other two villages. Perhaps this could be attributed to their higher level of education which made them more receptive to informational types of programs when compared to those with a lower educational level.

#### Was Radio Helpful?

When respondents were asked if radio was helpful in solving their problems, except for a few respondents who discussed loneliness as a problem and said that radio kept them company and entertained, most of the others discussed the general uses of radio with very little explicit relevance to the problems that they had mentioned earlier (Table 18).

Table 18. Was Radio Helpful to Respondents by Village Stage.

Was radio Helpful?	First-stage Village (N=42)	Second-stage Village (N=32)	Third-stage Village (N=85)
No	52%	56%	91%
Yes	48	44	9
Total	100%	100%	100%

Their responses were coded according to the following categories: informational; social comparison; and social utility. The figures therefore, do not reflect the actual usefulness of radio in helping them solve problems that they had mentioned, but rather describe the usefulness of radio in general as perceived by respondents (Table 19).

Table 19. How was Radio Useful to Respondents by Village Stage.

How was Radio Useful?	First-stage Village (N=20)	Second-stage Village (N=14)	Third-stage Village (N=8)
Social comparison	70%	50%	88%
Social utility	15	36	13
Informational	25	14	0

NOTE: Total was more than 100 percent because some respondents gave more than one answer.

#### How Was Radio Useful?

Included in "social comparison" were statements such as, "The program provided me with comparisons;" "It gave me guidelines and examples from which I could make comparisons;" and "I am not the only one with such a problem."

Coded under "social utility" were statements such as "The radio kept me company;" and "It entertained me."

When respondents said that the radio provided them with information, these responses were coded "informational."

Results showed that for all three villages radio was useful in providing the respondents with social comparisons. They said that they could identify with some of the characters portrayed in the dramas and hence could make comparisons with their lives.

This would be considered relevant by McGuire (in Blumler and Katz, 1974:189) as an aspect of "identification theory:"

Since the mass media, obviously in their fictional presentations and to an appreciable extent even in their factual ones, present people playing recognized and stylized roles, these identification theories have considerable relevance to the gratifications to be obtained from media consumption. Even where the content is not explicitly designed to present characters in attractive roles (for example, in news stories), the media tend to portray people in a myriad of dramatic situations involving interesting responses that acquaint the audience with a variety of roles and lifestyles, thus supplying material for possible role identities to add to one's own self-concept. The fictional content explicitly present people in roles, typically stylized for prompt recognition and often quite glamorous, allowing the easy adoption in fantasy of ego-enhancing roles through identification with the characters. Even where the persons depicted are presented in pedestrian roles (as in the case of the inevitable "housewife and mother" in the daytime serials), the presentation is such as to emphasize and enhance the significance of these roles which in fact are shared by most members of the audience. . . .

Additionally, social comparison could be included under what McGuire termed as "objectification theories" which:

. . . regard the person as inadequately directed by internal cues and thus in chronic need of external guidelines. Our lack of a developed ideology (or even of specific attitudes) presents a constant potential for embarrassment. Exposure to mass communications, whether of the entertainment or of the information variety, can supply a plethora of predigested and easily assimilable viewpoints. Since one is deficient even in cues for interpreting one's own tensions and anxieties, exposure to media content provides labels and interpretations for one's own vague feeling states. When one is unable to evaluate the adequacy of one's own performance, these depictions provide social comparisons that serve as a

yardstick for measuring its suitability. Again, by selective exposure to the appropriate mass communication material, the person can find a gratifying interpretation for personal anxiety and guilt by attributing negative feelings to external factors and even find some reassurance regarding the adequacy of his or her own behavior by contrasting it with the even more heinous behaviors of people portrayed in the media.

Radio was perceived as an entertainment provider and as a medium that kept them from feeling lonely, and thus of special utility. More respondents in the second-stage village saw it as such, whereas more in the first-stage village perceived radio as being useful in keeping them informed of the developments in the outside world.

In the third-stage village, radio was seen as being more useful in providing social comparisons than either social utility or in providing information.

There was more perception of radio as a provider of information among those in the first-stage village, perhaps because there were more respondents who had a higher level of education. Entertainment was least perceived to be of importance in this village.

The respondents in the third-stage village placed a higher value on radio as a provider of social comparison especially through the drama programs. It could be that the proportionately greater respondents of lower educational level depended more on the set formula of the broadcasts--especially drama--to compare their lives. This was preferred to the processing of "raw" information."

### Possession of Television Sets

As mentioned earlier, the availability of electronic media depends largely upon the availability of electricity. When respondents were asked what programs they watched on television, those without television would indicate that they had no television owing to the lack of electricity. Therefore, it was reasonable to expect that the village with no electricity would sport fewer television sets.

Table 20. Possession of Television Sets by Respondents by Village Stage.

Possession of Television	First-Stage Village (N=44)	Second-Stage Village (N=51)	Third-Stage Village (N=102)
No	30%	18%	10%
Yes	71	82	94
Total	100%	100%	100%

A structural analysis alone would not account for the presence of television in villages that had little or no electricity at all. However, this could be explained through ethnographic analysis.

The presence of television sets despite the lack of electricity could be explained by the presence of villagers who had possessed the sets in their previous places of residence which had electricity and who had brought their sets over to the new place of settlement. For those who had moved in without owning a television set, they remained without it because possessing one

would mean incurring expenses charging the batteries which were needed to operate the set.

This proved to be the case with respondents in the first-and second-stage villages. Those who had lived in the army camp, another squatter village, or "other town" where electricity was available brought their television sets to their new place of residence. If in the former place they were used to having the set on all the time, it was not the case in the new place because without electricity they had to depend on batteries or generators to operate the set.

There were more respondents who had television in the second-stage village than those in the first-stage village because there were places in the second-stage village which had electricity whereas the whole of the first-stage had none at all (Table 20, page 154). Those who came to the second-stage village without television were able to buy a set if they happened to live in the areas with electricity. They would be better able to afford the set now that they did not have to pay rent.

Another possible explanation for the greater number of respondents having television sets in the second-stage village than the first-stage village could be attributed to the fewer people who came from the same village. Some respondents married residents of the first-stage village who knew there was no electricity. Also there had been cases where people in the first-stage village who had previously owned television sets loaned

them to relatives living in places with electricity because they did not want to bother with charging batteries because of the expense.

Additionally, there were more respondents who had come from other squatter villages in the second-stage village than in the first-stage village as mentioned earlier. If the majority of them had lived in places with electricity, they would be more likely to have a television set which they brought over to the new place.

As for the third-stage village, electricity was available in the village. Therefore more people had television sets in their homes. Those who did not own one blamed it on their inability to obtain electricity because of the location of their houses or on the ketua kampung for favoritism.

#### Orientation to Television

When respondents said they were too tired or too busy to watch their television sets, their responses were coded "tuned out." More respondents in the first-stage "tuned out" television compared to those in the second- and third-stage villages because more complained of tiredness or lack of time due to their having too many things to attend to as a result of their having too many children who came one after the other. Since the older children were too young to help out, the mother had to manage all by herself unless she had her own mother living in the same squatter

village. Some respondents indicated that television kept the children occupied, leaving them free for other chores.

Table 21. Orientation to Television of Respondents by Village Stage.

Orientation to Television	First-Stage Village (N=31)	Second-Stage Village (N=42)	Third-Stage Village (N=96)
Tuned out	10%	5%	6%
Non-selective	3	5	15
Selective	87	90	79
Total	100%	100%	100%

Owing to the larger proportion of first-stage respondents in the child-bearing age group of 20-29 years who had the maximum of four children, there were thus more who tuned out because of tiredness or lack of time.

As for non-selectivity, more respondents in the third-stage village said they did not care what programs they watched. This was understandable because those who had no electricity supply in their houses had to decide which programs they wanted to watch because they could not afford to have the sets on all the time. As mentioned earlier, batteries for a color television set lasted three days compared to a week for a black and white set, if the respondent was selective about the programs they watched. In the third-stage village where the majority of the respondents had electricity in their houses, television was taken more for granted and was switched on regardless of what programs



were on. They did not have to be bothered with recharging batteries and the expenses involved. Therefore, as far as "selectivity" was concerned, the first- and second-stage villages predominated with slightly more respondents in the latter than the former.

Similar to the analysis offered for the selectivity in the use of radio, that of television could be accounted for by taking into consideration the structural factors as well as the ethnography of the villages.

#### Selection of Television Programs

There were similarities in the selection pattern between the first- and second-stage villages (Table 22, page 159).

In the first-stage village, the biggest proportion of respondents indicated feature movies were their favorite program on television. This was also the case with the second-stage village.

The second most-mentioned program selected was drama for both first- and second-stage villagers.

Another similarity between the two villages was their third most-mentioned program--the news.

As for the third-stage village, the first program on the list was drama, followed by feature movies and entertainment, respectively.

Table 22. Selection of Television Programs by Respondents by Village Stage.

Program	First-stage Village (N=27)	Second-stage Village (N=38)	Third-stage Village (N=76)
Children's Program	7%	3%	0%
Drama	48	53	51
Entertainment	15	8	24
Gardening	0	3	3
Movies	70	61	43
News	37	18	18
Religious program	8	5	16
Sports	7	3	12
Women's program	4	13	9

NOTE: The total was more than 100 percent because some respondents gave more than one answer.

One reason could be that the feature movies which often were aired in the later part of the evening appealed more to the younger respondents who comprised a greater proportion of those respondents residing in the first- and second-stage villages, whereas the older people, most of whom were found in the third-stage village, preferred the shorter dramas made for television. The dramas they liked most were the weekly series of "Opah," whose main character was a grandmother, and "P. J.," a series similar to "Dallas."

As for the movies, the themes varied and more often than not these dealt with young romances, which would not be very appealing to the older people.

Also, for the younger respondents who were burdened with young children, feature movies substituted for the outings to the movie theaters that they were used to when they were single or before they became mothers. Therefore, they would look forward to this form of entertainment which might be the only form of recreation for them.

As for those who worked in the daytime outside of their houses, especially among those in the third-stage village, they would be too tired to watch the movies. Since all the children would be kept occupied by the movies they said they would take the opportunity to rest instead.

News was higher on the lists of the first- and second-stage villagers because of the higher level of education of the respondents in these two villages.

More respondents in the third-stage village watched religious programs than those in the other two villages. This could be attributed to the greater number of respondents who were in the older age brackets who tended to be more religious.

Another program liked by a greater proportion of respondents in the third-stage village than those in the other two villages was wrestling. This was especially preferred by the older women who said that they got so involved with the action.

In summary, it could be said that most respondents preferred entertainment-type programs rather than informational-type ones on television.

#### Was Television Helpful?

Like the responses to radio many indicated the usefulness of television not in solving the problems that they mentioned earlier but for other purposes. On the whole, most respondents in all three villages said television was not helpful in helping them solve their problems (Table 23). Respondents in the third-stage village were consistently the most negative about the usefulness of either radio or television in solving their problems. Since most of their problems were related to a lack of amenities which had been fulfilled through the help of an enterprising headman, they could only hope that their present headman would take the same initiative to help them out.

Table 23. Was Television Helpful to Respondents by Village Stage.

Was Television Helpful?	First-stage Village (N=31)	Second-stage Village (N=42)	Third-stage Village (N=96)
No	84%	67%	97%
Yes	16	33	3
Total	100%	100%	100%

How was Television Useful?

For those who indicated some usefulness of television, their responses were coded in the same manner as that of radio, i.e., under the categories of "social comparison;" "social utility;" or "informational."

Table 24. How was Television Useful to Respondents by Village Stage.

How was Television Useful?	First-stage Village (N=5)	Second-stage Village (N=14)	Third-stage Village (N=3)
Social comparison	80%	79%	100%
Social utility	20	7	0
Informational	40	29	0

NOTE: The total was more than 100 percent because some of the respondents gave more than one answer.

In all three villages more respondents said that television was helpful in providing them with social comparisons, especially through the local family dramas, such as "Opah." They said they could identify with the family interactions and problems portrayed via the program. All these respondents in the third-stage village indicated that television was useful in that respect. However, none of the respondents in this village indicated that television was useful in providing them with information or social utility.

Since more respondents from this village came from a lower-educational level the visual presentation of family affairs could

have enhanced their understanding and hence appealed more to them.

As for the other two villages, in the first-stage village more respondents perceived television to be of "social utility" than those in the second-stage village. More saw television as being informational as well.

Since there were more respondents who were of a higher-educational level than those in the second-stage village the likelihood of those in the first-stage village perceiving television as providing information, especially through their news and current affairs program, was increased. This could be seen in their choices of programs which had been discussed earlier.

In the second-stage village where there was a considerable number of respondents with small children, television was perceived as being of social utility; it was useful in keeping their children occupied and thus quiet.

#### Access to Newspapers

More respondents from the first-stage village read newspapers than those from the second- and third-stage villages (Table 25, page 164). One reason could be that there were more respondents from the first-stage village who worked in offices and thus had the opportunity to read the newspapers at their places of work. Another reason could be that there were more respondents who had secondary education and thus read more than

those who only had primary education. Additionally, it could be that more husbands brought home newspapers in the first-stage village than in the other two villages because they were better educated than those in either the second-stage village or the third-stage village. Being younger they had the opportunity to pursue their studies further than those in their fathers' generation.

Table 25. Newspaper Reading of Respondents by Village Stage.

Newspaper Reading	First-stage Village (N=44)	Second-stage Village (N=51)	Third-stage Village (N=102)
No	16%	31%	31%
Yes	84	69	69
Total	100%	100%	100%

#### Orientation to Newspapers

Nearly all those who read the newspapers tended to be "selective." Figures in Table 26 (page 165) indicate almost equal proportions of respondents who were able to name newspapers they read. Unfortunately they were not questioned on the regularity of their reading. Hence, the measure is not as sensitive as it might be.

Table 26. Orientation to Newspapers of Respondents by Village Stage.

Orientation to Newspapers	First-stage Village (N=37)	Second-stage Village (N=35)	Third-stage Village (N=70)
Non-selective	3%	0%	1%
Selective	97	100	99
Total	100%	100%	100%

#### Selection of Newspapers

The majority of those who named the newspapers they read mentioned the two major publications, Berita Harian and Utusan Malaysia (Table 27, page 166).

The most-mentioned newspaper among those in the first-stage village was Berita Harian, whereas among those in the other two villages, it was Utusan Malaysia.

The relatively new "sensational" weekly, Mingguan Perdana, was the next most-mentioned newspaper read, although the readership was nowhere close to those of the two major dailies. More respondents in the third-stage village read Mingguan Perdana than those in the other two villages. One reason could be its popularity among people of lower educational level.

Owing to her English education, one respondent in the first-stage village read the English-language newspapers, the New Straits Times and the Malay Mail.

The same was true for a respondent in the third-stage village.



In the second-stage village, owing to her ethnic origin, which in this case determined her medium of education, one respondent read the Chinese-language daily, the Nanyang Siang Pau.

Older respondents mentioned reading the Jawi newspapers of Utusan Zaman and Utusan Melayu.

Table 27. Newspapers Read by Respondents by Village Stage.

Newspapers	First-stage Village (N=36)	Second-stage Village (N=35)	Third-stage Village (N=69)
Bacaria	6%	3%	6%
Berita Harian	82	34	45
Berita Minggu	3	9	3
Malay Mail	3	0	0
Mingguan Malaysia	8	6	4
Mingguan Perdana	8	9	17
Mingguan Wanita	0	0	4
Nanyang Siang Pau	0	3	0
New Straits Times	8	0	0
Star	0	0	1
Utusan Malaysia	61	63	70
Utusan Melayu	0	9	0
Utusan Zaman	0	0	1
Watan	0	3	0

NOTE: The total was more than 100 percent because some respondents mentioned more than one newspaper.

### Selection of Newspaper Content

The categories in Table 28 were drawn up according to what the respondents themselves said, without any collapsing of the categories. This was because it was felt that it reflected the educational level of the respondents, as will be shown below.

Table 28. Selection of Newspaper Content by Respondents by Village Stage.

Types of Content	First-stage Village (N=32)	Second-stage Village (N=25)	Third-stage Village (N=40)
Accidents	0%	4%	3%
Cartoons	3	0	5
Classified ads.	0	4	3
Crime	24	24	15
Entertainment page	6	4	0
Features	0	4	0
Fiction	12	4	3
Foreign news	15	12	5
Local news	15	8	0
News	33	36	50
Politics	6	4	3
Religious news	3	4	3
Sports	3	0	5
Strange stories	6	16	15
Women's page	18	4	13

NOTE: The total was more than 100 percent because some respondents mentioned more than one type of content.

"News" was the most-mentioned type of content read in all three villages, especially among those in the third-stage village. Owing to the lower educational level of a large proportion of the respondents in this village, they did not exercise as much discrimination as to what constituted "news" as those with a higher level of education.

This was evident among those in the first- and second-stage villages, where there was discrimination among "local," "foreign," and "political" news.

The next most-mentioned type of content preferred was "crime" for all three villages. One reason could be the preponderance of crime news items in the newspapers which made it impossible for them not to notice.

The same could be said for the category, "strange stories." When asked to define what they meant by that term, the respondents said "unusual stories" or "something out of the ordinary."

For this category, more respondents in the second-stage village and the third-stage village mentioned it.

In the second-stage village the women's page obtained less readership than in the other two villages.

#### Access to Magazines

More respondents in the first-stage village indicated they read magazines than those in either the second- or third-stage villages (Table 29, page 169). Again, this could be due to the greater proportion of those who had completed secondary education

in the first-stage village than those in the other two villages. The predominance of a younger age composition could also contribute to the availability of more magazines in the first-stage village than in the other two villages.

Table 29. Magazine Reading by Respondents by Village Stage.

Magazine Reading	First-stage Village (N=44)	Second-stage Village (N=51)	Third-stage Village (N=102)
No	57%	67%	74%
Yes	43	33	27
Total	100%	100%	100%

Additionally there were more respondents who had the opportunity to buy the magazines since they worked at better paying jobs and thus had the means to spend the money on magazines. Furthermore, they were able to pick these up on their way back from work whereas those who stayed home had to depend on their husbands, brothers, or sisters to remember to bring them home.

Fewer respondents in the third-stage village had magazines. The smaller proportion of respondents who had completed secondary education and the bigger proportion of respondents in the older age groups could possibly account for the lack of magazine readership.

### Orientation to Magazines

As for orientation to magazines all those in the second-stage village who said they read magazines were selective (Table 30). Those in the first-stage village were the least selective. Reading magazines consumed more time than they could afford. The opportunity to read presented itself only after the respondents had put their children to sleep. Sometimes they were so tired that while putting their children to sleep they fell asleep themselves.

Table 30. Orientation to Magazines of Respondents by Village Stage.

Orientation to Magazines	First-stage Village (N=19)	Second-stage Village (N=17)	Third-stage Village (N=27)
Non-selective	11%	0%	4%
Selective	90	100	96
Total	100%	100%	100%

As for those who worked outside the house they had barely enough time to get their household chores done. Hence, magazine reading was not one of their major activities.

### Selection of Magazines

The most widely read magazine in all three villages was the women's, Wanita (Table 31, page 171).

Table 31. Selection of Magazines by Respondents by Village Stage.

Magazines	First-stage Village (N=19)	Second-stage Village (N=17)	Third-stage Village (N=27)
Dewan Masyarakat	5%	0%	0%
Dian	5	0	0
Gila-Gila	5	0	0
Jelita	0	6	0
Keluarga	11	6	11
Koleksi	5	6	4
Nadi Insan	5	0	0
Utusan Filem & Fesyen	5	0	4
URTV	0	18	11
Variapop	0	6	0
Variasari	0	6	7
Wanita	74	88	89

NOTE: The total was more than 100 percent because some respondents named more than one magazine.

In the first-stage village almost twice as many respondents read the magazine than those in the other two villages. This could be due to the greater proportion of respondents with a higher level of education residing in this village.

Other magazines were mentioned but the readership was minimal in all three villages.

The "high brow" magazines, such as Nadi Insan and Dewan Masyarakat were read by a respondent who was currently enrolled in the off-campus program of one of the local universities.

#### Movie Attendance

Movie attendance was not a popular activity because most respondents said they had no time, especially those saddled with little children (Table 32).

The older respondents gave age as a reason for not going to the movies.

Table 32. Movie Attendance of Respondents by Village Stage.

Movie Attendance	First-stage Village (N=5)	Second-stage Village (N=4)	Third-stage Village (N=10)
No	89%	92%	90%
Yes	11	8	10
Total	100%	100%	100%

#### Movie Selection

The majority of respondents said that they went to see Malay-language movies (Table 33, page 173). This could be due to their medium of instruction since most of the respondents attended Malay-medium schools.

Indonesian-language movies were quite popular among those who said they went to the movies because of the similarity of the language with the Malay language.

Table 33. Types of Movies Attended by Respondents by Village Stage.

Types of Movies	First-stage Village (N=5)	Second-stage Village (N=4)	Third-stage Village (N=10)
English-language	0%	0%	10%
Indonesian-language	40	25	0
Malay-language	60	75	90
Total	100%	100%	100%

Only a small proportion of the respondents indicated attending English-language movies. Comprehension of the English-language was minimal. In order to understand they would have to read the sub-titles that were provided during the screening of the movies.

### Summary

From the foregoing discussion mass media did not seem explicitly to contribute to helping respondents solve their problems. Instead, respondents turned to interpersonal channels to talk about their problems.

Rogers (1976:136) had noted the importance of interpersonal channels in the process of the diffusion of innovations. According to him:

When individuals in developing nations who had adopted an innovation . . . were asked the sources/channels through which they had learned about the new idea, the mass media were almost never reported. Interpersonal channels with peers totally predominated in diffusing the innovation.



A possible explanation of this anomaly seemed to lie in the contents of the media messages, which investigation showed seldom to carry specific messages about the innovation (such as what it is, where to obtain it and at what cost, and how to use it) even though there was much content promoting national development in a general sense (such as news of a new highway being constructed, appointment of a new minister of agriculture, and so on). So when the media content was analyzed it was found to contain very little attention to the technical innovations that were diffusing; they spread most frequently through interpersonal communication (1) from government development workers to their clients and (2) among peers in the mass media audience.

Rogers (1976) cites Barghouti's (1974) content analysis of the print and electronic media of Jordan and his finding of the insignificance of agriculture news compared with other categories of the content of the mass media.

Mustafa (1975) found that in three Malaysian newspapers development news was usually made up of speeches by government ministers and other officials rather than news about the problems or failure of government projects as seen or experienced by the people.

What all this points to is the lack of relevance of information to the needs of the people. As Rogers notes, the media are more interested in disseminating government policies.

One way of overcoming this situation was advocated by Whiting; he says that the nature of the audience had to be studied in order to know their needs; the media messages could be made relevant to those needs (Rogers 1976:116).

When considering a different role of communication in "self development," Rogers (1976:139) indicates:

. . . The role of government agencies is mainly to communicate in answer to (these) locally initiated requests rather than to design and conduct top-down communication campaigns.

A mass medium may be used to feed local groups with information of a background nature about their expressed needs, and to disseminate innovations that may meet certain of these needs.

Even though in the present study we are not concerned with dissemination of innovations, we are interested in the role of communication in helping squatter women address problematic situations as they define them. The mass media were not perceived to be useful at all except in providing entertainment when they faced the problematic situation of "loss of value," specifically loss of friends as a result of their moving to a new environment.

As far as providing them with information on how to fulfill their lack of value, which was the dominant problematic situation faced by most respondents, the mass media were found to be wanting.

## CHAPTER X

### CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Early scholars in mass communication research made numerous references to the role that the mass media play in the process of development. Schramm (1972:20) stated that change begins with communication; the mass media create a climate for development by teaching the people of the developing countries the values of modernization:

In the service of national development the mass media are the agents of social change. The specific kind of social change they are expected to help accomplish is the transition to new customs and practices and, in some cases, to different social relationships. Behind such changes in behavior necessarily lie substantial changes in attitudes, beliefs, skills, and social norms.

. . . Basically the mechanism of change is simple. First, the populace must become aware of a need which is not satisfied by present customs and behavior. Second, they must invent or borrow behavior that comes closer to meeting the need. A nation that wants to accelerate this process, as all developing nations do today, will try to make its people more widely and quickly aware of needs and of the opportunities for meeting them, will facilitate the decision process, and will help the people put the new practices smoothly and swiftly into effect (pp. 114-115).

Lerner (1976:317) stated that mass media had the power to mobilize people to modernize due to their multiplier effect. He stated that the mass media had taught the people what to want and that the challenge for mass media then was to teach people how to get (1967:317). He stated that:

. . . our analysis of the failures of [the] first phase of development experience--failures which have led much of the developing world to the verge of a counter revolution of rising frustration--identifies unwise communications as the key factor" (p. 313)

According to Lerner (1976:292), charismatic leaders and the mass media had caused the people to put "values of consumption" before "values of production."

Rogers (in Rogers and Shoemaker, 1971), too, initially attributed the mass media with the power of diffusing innovations which would lead to modernization. Later, in the wake of critical evaluations regarding the role of mass communication in development, he reformulated his idea (1976:135): ". . . it was realized that the role of mass communication in facilitating development was often indirect and only contributory rather than direct and powerful."

These approaches were later criticized for their inattention to (1) content of the media, (2) the need for social-structural changes in addition to communication for development to occur, and (3) shortcomings of the diffusion-of-innovation-perspective (Rogers, 1976:135).

Given this climate of reevaluation, this dissertation set out to look at communication in a developing country within two contexts: structural changes as advocated by Schramm, Lerner et al., and an ethnographic situational approach.

Malaysia provided an appropriate setting where, after Independence in 1957 and especially after the May 1969 bloodbath,

major policy changes took place to encourage more bumiputras ("sons of the soil") to participate in the economic sector. More opportunities were made for bumiputras to improve their educational and thus economic standing. This meant movement to the city. Once the move was undertaken the villager had to contend with new surroundings where, especially in a newly-settled village, women would be faced with many problems associated with changes.

This dissertation studies problems associated with those changes and focuses upon how women, as a special group, coped with them. What sort of communication sources did they turn to and what types of problematic situations did they discuss?

Three squatter villages, each established at different points in time and with different degrees of perceived changes were selected. In all three villages, changes regarding amenities were most frequently mentioned.

The concept of problematic situations was employed to classify changes that were perceived to have occurred in the villages.

This concept offered several advantages over a simple listing of changes: (1) It was more economical--use of seven problematic situations permitted the grouping of hundreds of changes into those seven categories. (2) It described activity associated with those changes; that is, certain problematic situations suggested certain behaviors. Thus it was behavioral

rather than categorical. (3) It was systematic; one could see one problematic behavior in relation to another. (4) It was predictive; one could formulate hypotheses for more or less communication behavior and the nature of that behavior with respect to each problematic situation. This could not be done for topical or nominal categories. (5) There was a developing literature which could guide our expectations/hypotheses.

The problematic situations were: lack of value, loss of value, actor dysfunction, institutional dysfunction, indeterminate situation, creating alternatives, and social conflict.

Each village expressed "lack of value" for amenities as their major concern. Related but dependent problems connected with improvements in amenities included "loss of value," "conflict," and "indeterminacy."

Certain problematic situations had been shown to require the use of communication. It was found that respondents most often turned to interpersonal sources of communication to discuss conflict and goal-oriented problems, such as lack of value and creating alternatives.

Neighbors who happened to be old friends were turned to with respect to these problems more readily than were other sources. In cases where friends were not readily reached, husband and family members on hand were consulted.

Mass media were not perceived to be helpful in this regard.

This seemed to reaffirm what had been pointed out by Lerner and Schramm (1976), Rogers (1976), and Feliciano (in Lerner and Schramm, 1976) regarding the larger role played by interpersonal communication in a developmental setting as opposed to that of the mass media.

It was found that people's expectation level was commensurate with what they personally had experienced and observed. The more improvements they observed around them, the more need or "lack of value" was expressed.

As observed by Othman (1980:78):

The concept of satisfaction does not always reflect the availability of adequate facilities. It is related to the level of expectation that the squatters have and their perception of what they can realistically achieve. . . . New facilities are requested only if they think they stand a chance of obtaining them. Otherwise they will use their ingenuity to survive and make do with what they have in the midst of the affluence of a modern city.

In this study mass media use was not correlated with expectations or needs.

The role of mass media was more indirect. Radio and television dramas (as perceived by the respondents) provided social comparison or tauladan regarding how to be a good mother, to bring up a harmonious family, how to solve family problems, and how to be a good neighbor.

Authorities who are concerned with development should take our findings into consideration in their assessment of priorities regarding the allocation of resources for communication research.

No one has ever paid attention to the plight of urban squatter women and their pattern of communication. This dissertation documented the women's problems as they, themselves, perceived them to be in conjunction with the changes they observed and experienced personally.

#### Suggestions for Further Research

The concept of problematic situations and communication in a development setting should be replicated in other contexts to determine its full explanatory power.

In this study the focus of attention was on Malay squatter women. Future research should take into consideration squatters of other ethnic origins so that comparisons might be made as to the generalizability of squatter problems in cities.

This study pointed out that personal observation and experience played an important part in raising people's expectations. This could be tested further in the same three villages at another point in time. In addition one could compare this finding with three other villages with the same characteristics at similar points in time.

Different groups of people in a development setting could also be studied regarding the generalizability of the importance of personal observation and experience in raising expectations.

Given its exploratory nature, certain limitations were discerned in this study. For instance, in future research, the three villages should undergo the same sampling procedure. In my



case, not all squatter women were interviewed in the second-stage village because of the size of the area and the large number of villagers. There was no up-to-date map nor an up-to-date list of who was located where. Although the rate of expansion had slowed down, some construction was still going on, indicating that new squatters were still coming in.

One should be prepared in a village setting for long interview sessions because the procedure tends to be a reciprocal one where the interviewer is interviewed almost as much as the interviewee.

This study could also be replicated for different stages of urban development. Problems faced by other groups, such as men and youths, could also be studied.

As mentioned earlier, employing "amenities" as an indicator of "village development" could be one way of explaining similarities and differences among the villages. However, alternative explanations using the criteria of lifestyle, education, physical, and occupational mobility could also be tested.

Using the concept of "problematic situations" allowed us to sort out the problems faced by the respondents. Most of these problems converged on lack of value, loss of value, and conflict. It might be worthwhile to utilize more established communities where a greater variety of problematic situations might occur. As an example, where there are no "institutions" in a village there can be no "institutional dysfunction." Where problems are

limited to amenities or well defined, there will be less indeterminacy.

To accomplish this, we should follow a "sample" of squatters who have moved from villages to the city. We would ask what circumstances led the person to the city and what new problems have emerged.

Next, I am interested to know how the respondent goes about solving her problem. If so, I would ask: How would you go about solving the problem? What would you like to see done as a way of solving the problem? What steps have you taken to solve this problem?

If the respondent does not mention "communication" as part of her effort to solve her problems, I would ask: Did you communicate with anybody regarding your problems? Why did you choose to communicate with this particular person/persons?

If the respondent does not mention "authorities" as alternative channels of communication I would ask: Are you aware of alternative channels of communication such as the people at City Hall and the liaison officer?

I would ask the above question because some of the respondents may not be aware of the channels they can turn to regarding their problems.

If the respondent is aware of alternative sources I would ask if she faces any problems communicating with them? This question is important because if the respondent faces problems

communicating with the authorities, the next step would be to determine the problems. This would provide feedback to the authorities concerned and steps could be taken to remedy the situation.

The authorities would also be interviewed to determine their perceptions of squatter problems. This would enable us to see if they are addressing the same aspects of the problems as the squatters.

Do they keep the squatters informed of the steps they are taking in solving the squatters' problems? How often do they communicate? Do they face any problem communicating with the squatters?

These questions are important in gauging the extent to which the authorities communicate with the squatters. If the squatters are kept informed they would not face the problem of uncertainty. Also they would not be too ready to blame the authorities for their problems. At least they would know that the authorities are making efforts to help them overcome their problems.

Problems brought up by the squatters could be viewed within the context of problems faced by those in the lower classes of society--the differences and similarities. This would provide the authorities some feedback as to future planning regarding this section of society.

Problems of communicating with the authorities could also be compared. This would help the authorities to evaluate their performances, whether they are helping or otherwise.

Respondents' perceptions regarding the role of mass media in relation to helping them solve their problems could also be studied. This could provide feedback to the authorities concerned as to the relevance of the contents of mass media to the information needs of the people.

Thus, if this study is carried out in the future it would not only present the various problems of the squatters but also would provide explanations based on village and transitional "city" differences and similarities. Additionally, it would give an indepth picture of the communication that goes on in the effort to solve the problems, both from the point of view of the squatters as well as the authorities.

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APPENDIX A: QUESTIONNAIRE

Two versions: English and Bahasa Malaysia



Hamima Dona Mustafa, School of Communications  
University of Washington, Seattle, 98195

### QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION: As you know, there have been many changes in people's lives in Malaysia. Many persons like yourself have been affected. I would like to discuss some of those changes with you.

This will be a very confidential discussion with you and with many other people, and no one's name will be asked. Let us begin our discussion of changes in Malaysia.

1. What kinds of changes have you observed around you?

PROBE: Any others?

2. What has been responsible for these changes?
3. Have there been any problems for you, personally, or for others whom you know as a result of these changes?

(yes \_\_\_) (no \_\_\_)

If yes,

- 3a. What are these problems?

PROBE 1: For you, personally?

PROBE 2: For others whom you know?

- 3b. Now with respect to the problems that you personally experienced, which one of these problems has affected you the most?
- 3c. Would you describe this problem briefly?
- 3d. What caused this problem?

4. We're interested in where you are at this point in trying to overcome this problem. I'm going to describe some situations in which you might find yourself right now with respect to this problem. Tell me which of them applies to you at the present time:

- 4a. You are at a point where you have to choose among different solutions?  
(yes \_\_\_) (no \_\_\_)
- 4b. You are being forced to do something you don't want to do.  
(yes \_\_\_) (no \_\_\_)
- 4c. You don't see any possibilities for a solution.  
(yes\_\_\_) (no\_\_\_)
- 4d. You thought you had a solution, but it didn't work.  
(yes\_\_\_) (no\_\_\_)
- 4e. You know what you want to do, but something is preventing you from doing it.  
(yes\_\_\_) (no\_\_\_)
- 4f. You're waiting for something to happen that would help to solve the problem.  
(yes\_\_\_) (no\_\_\_)
- 4g. Someone you know is going to help you solve the problem?  
(yes\_\_\_) (no\_\_\_)
- 4h. You've given up trying to solve the problem?  
(yes\_\_\_) (no\_\_\_)

5. Now I'd like to ask you about your discussions with other people. Have you talked about this problem with anyone?

(yes\_\_\_) (no\_\_\_)

If yes,

5a. Whom did you talk to?

5b. What approximately did you say to that person?

5c. What did the other person say to you?

6. Now I'd like to ask you about your friends. Have you noticed any important changes in their situations?

If yes,

6a. What changes have you observed?

7. Have these changes created any problems for them? If yes, what are these problems?

7a. Are these problems similar or different from the problems you have mentioned?

If similar,

7b. How are they similar?

If different,

7c. How are they different?

I'm interested in other things that you do. For an example, if you listen to the radio, watch television, read newspapers, and so forth.

8. What programs do you listen to on the radio?

PROBE: Any others?

9. What programs do you watch on television?

PROBE: Any others?

10. What newspapers do you read?

PROBE: Any others?

11. What kinds of stories in newspapers do you read most?

12. What magazines do you read?

PROBE: Any others?

13. What movies have you seen lately?

PROBE: Any others?

Thinking back to your most important problem, I'd like to know if listening to the radio, watching television, reading, or going to the movies has helped you to understand or solve problems of this kind.

14. Has radio been helpful or not? If yes, how has it helped?

15. Has television helped or not? If yes, how has it helped?

16. Have newspapers helped? If yes, how have they helped?

17. Have magazines helped? If yes, how have they helped?

18. Have movies helped? If yes, how have they helped?

19. Sometimes our interests change and so we develop different tastes for things. I'm wondering if you have changed any of your preferences for radio, television, newspapers, magazines or movies over the past few years?

19a. Are you listening more or less to the radio than you did before?

More ( ) Less ( ) About the same ( ) Can't say ( )

19b. Are you now watching television more or less than usual?

More ( ) Less ( ) About the same ( ) Can't say ( )

19c. Are you now reading newspapers more or less than usual?

More ( ) Less ( ) About the same ( ) Can't say ( )

19d. Are you now reading magazines more or less than usual?

More ( ) Less ( ) About the same ( ) Can't say ( )

19e. Are you now attending more movies, or fewer movies, than usual?

20. Now, I'd like to ask you just a few questions about yourself and your family.

20a. Are you married or single or ...

( ) married            ( ) divorced  
( ) single             ( ) widowed

If married, divorced or widowed--

20b. How many children do you have?

20c. How long have you lived in this city?

20cl Are you a tenant or owner of this house?

20d. Where did you live before?

20dl Who informed you of this place?

20e. Do you have a job or some other way of earning money?

If yes,

20f. What is it?

21. Have you changed jobs recently?

(yes\_\_\_)      (no\_\_\_)

If yes,

21a. Is this change better or worse for you?

If better,

21b. A lot better or a little better?

A lot ( )    A little ( )    About the same ( )

If worse,

21c. A lot worse or a little worse?

A lot ( )    A little ( )    About the same ( )

22. How old are you?

23. What is the last year of schooling that you completed?

Hamima Dona Mustafa, School of Communications  
University of Washington, Seattle, 98195

### SOALSELIDIK

PENGENALAN: Sepertimana yang puan maklum, banyak perubahan telah berlaku dalam penghidupan orangramai di Malaysia. Ramai orang seperti puan sendiri telah pun mengalaminya. Saya ingin membincangkan beberapa perubahan tersebut dengan puan.

1. Apakah jenis perubahan yang telah puan perhatikan di sekeliling paun?

PROBE: Adakah yang lain lagi?

2. Apakah yang bertanggungjawab di atas perubahan-perubahan ini?
3. Adakah puan atau orang-orang lain menghadapi masalah akibat perubahan-perubahan ini?

(ya \_\_\_) (tidak \_\_\_)

Kalau ya,

- 3a. Apakah masalah-masalah itu?

PROBE 1. Untuk puan sendiri?

PROBE 2. Untuk mereka yang puan kenali?

- 3b. Sekarang, mengenai masalah-masalah puan sendiri telah alami, yang mana satukah yang lebih memberi kesan?
- 3c. Bolehkah puan jelaskan masalah itu dengan secara ringkas?
- 3d. Apakah yang menyebabkan masalah ini?

4. Saya ingin mengetahui sejauh mana puan berada dalam usaha mengatasi masalah ini. Saya akan bacakan beberapa situasi yang mungkin puan hadapi. Tolong beritahu saya situasi manakah yang puan hadapi sekarang:
- 4a. Puan terpaksa memilih di antara beberapa penyelesaian.  
(ya \_\_\_) (tidak \_\_\_)
- 4b. Puan dipaksa membuat sesuatu tanpa kerelaan puan.  
(ya \_\_\_) (tidak \_\_\_)
- 4c. Puan tidak nampak jalan keluar sama sekali.  
(ya \_\_\_) (tidak \_\_\_)
- 4d. Puan fikir puan asa jalan keluar tetapi ianya tidak berjaya.  
(ya \_\_\_) (tidak \_\_\_)
- 4e. Puan tahu apa yang puan hendak lakukan, tetapi ada sesuatu yang menghalang puan daripada membuatnya.
- 4f. Puan berharap sesuatu akan berlaku yang dapat menolong puan menyelesaikan masalah puan.  
(ya \_\_\_) (tidak \_\_\_)
- 4g. Kenalan puan akan menolong puan mengatasi masalah puan.  
(ya \_\_\_) (tidak \_\_\_)
- 4h. Puan telah putus asa untuk mengatasi masalah puan.  
(ya \_\_\_) (tidak \_\_\_)
5. Sekarang saya ingin bertanya tentang perbualan puan dengan orang lain. Pernahkah puan bercakap tentang masalah ini dengan sesiapa?  
(ya \_\_\_) (tidak \_\_\_)

Kalau ya:

5a. Dengan siapa puan bercakap?

5b. Apakah yang puan perkatakan kepada \_\_\_\_\_?

5c. Apakah yang diperkatakan oleh \_\_\_\_\_ kepada puan?

6. Sekarang saya ingin bertanya tentang kawan-kawan puan. Adakah puan nampak sebarang perubahan dalam situasi/keadaan mereka?

Kalau ya:

6a. Perubahan apakah yang puan lihat?

7. Adakah perubahan-perubahan ini menyebabkan sebarang masalah kepada mereka? Kalau ya, apakah masalah-masalah ini?

7a. Adakah masalah-masalah ini sama atau berbeza dengan apa yang puan telah sebutkan awal tadi. Kalau sama:

7b. Apakah persamaannya?

7c. Apakah perbezaannya?

Saya berminat dalam hal lain yang puan lakukan. Misalnya, sekiranya puan mendengar radio, menonton televisyen, membaca suratkabar dan sebagainya.

8. Rancangan apakah yang puan ikuti di radio?

PROBE: Adakah yang lain lagi?

9. Rancangan apakah yang puan tonton di televisyen?

PROBE: Adakah yang lain lagi?

10. Suratkabar apakah yang puan baca?

PROBE: Adakah yang lain lagi?

11. Jenis cerita apakah yang paling banyak puan baca?

12. Majalah apakah yang puan baca?

PROBE: Adakah yang lain lagi?

13. Apakah tayangan gambar yang puan tonton baru-baru ini?

PROBE: Adakah yang lain lagi?



Mengingatikan kembali tentang masalah puan yang terpenting sekali, saya ingin tahu samada mendengar radio, menonton televisyen, membaca atau menonton tayangan gambar telah membantu puan memahami atau mengatasi masalah-masalah yang sama coraknya.

14. Adakah radio membantu atau tidak? Sekiranya ya, bagaimanakah ia membantu?
15. Adakah televisyen membantu atau tidak? Sekiranya ya, bagaimanakah ia membantu?
16. Adakah surat kabar membantu atau tidak? Sekiranya ya, bagaimanakah ia membantu?
17. Adakah majalah membantu? Sekiranya ya, bagaimana ia membantu?
18. Adakah tayangan wayang membantu? Sekiranya ya, bagaimanakah ia membantu?
19. Kadangkala minat kita berubah dan kita mula berminat kepada perkara-perkara yang lain. Saya ingin tahu samada puan berubah minat kepada radio, televisyen, surat kabar, majalah, atau tayangan gambar dalam beberapa tahun ini?
  - 19a. Adakah puan mendengar radio lebih atau kurang daripada biasa?
 

Lebih ( )      Kurang ( )      Lebih kurang sama ( )

Tak dapat nak kata ( )
  - 19b. Adakah puan menonton televisyen lebih atau kurang daripada biasa?
 

Lebih ( )      Kurang ( )      Lebih kurang sama ( )

Tak dapat nak kata ( )
  - 19c. Adakah puan membaca surat kabar lebih atau kurang daripada biasa?
 

Lebih ( )      Kurang ( )      Lebih kurang sama ( )

Tak dapat nak kata ( )

19d. Adakah puan membaca majalah lebih atau kurang daripada biasa?

Lebih ( )      Kurang ( )      Lebih kurang sama ( )

Tak dapat nak kata ( )

19e. Adakah puan menonton tayangan gambar lebih atau kurang daripada biasa?

Lebih ( )      Kurang ( )      Lebih kurang sama ( )

Tak dapat nak kata ( )

20. Sekarang saya ingin bertanya tentang puan dan keluarga puan.

20a. Adakah puan

- ( ) berkahwin
- ( ) bujang
- ( ) bercerai
- ( ) balu

20b. Berapa orang anak puan?

20c. Berapa lamakah puan tinggal telah tinggal di sini?

20cl. Adakah puan menyewa atau membeli rumah ini?

20d. Di manakah puan tinggal dahulu?

20dl. Dari siapakah puan dapat tahu tentang tempat ini?

20e. Adakah puan mempunyai pekerjaan atau cara mendapatkan pendapatan?

20f. Apakah pekerjaan itu?

21. Adakah puan menukar pekerjaan baru-baru ini?

(ya \_\_\_) (tidak \_\_\_)

Sekiranya ya:

21a. Adakah pekerjaan ini baik atau kurang baik untuk puan?

Sekiranya baik:

21b. Adakah banyak kebaikannya?

Banyak ( ) Sedikit ( ) Lebih kurang sama ( )

21c. Banyak keburukannya atau sedikit keburukannya?

Banyak ( ) Sedikit ( ) Lebih kurang sama ( )

22. Berapa umur puan?

23. Apakah peringkat persekolahan puan yang terakhir?

VITAE

Hamima Dona Mustafa

- Personal: Born in Penang, Malaysia on July 18, 1949.
- Education: Attended primary and secondary schools in Penang, Malaysia.
- B.A. (Hons.), Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, 1973.
- M.Sc., Journalism, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, 1975.
- Ph.D., Communications, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.
- Profession: Lecturer at Mass Communication Section, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang.