KUALA LUMPUR AND ITS POPULATION

MANJIT SINGH SIDHU



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PERKHIDMATAN ARKIB PERDANA MENTERI
MALAYSIA
KOLEKSI
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PINTAR

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Population

DR. MANJIT SINGH SIDHU
Lecturer in Geography,
University of Malaya.

SURINDER PUBLICATIONS,
KUALA LUMPUR (P.O. BOX 474).

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PERKHIDMATAN ARKIB PERDANA MENTERI
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MALAYSIA

To My Father, Bhai Pall
Singh @ Bhai Karpal Singh
(Chaudriwala)

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FOREWORD

Since its modest beginnings as a mining town, Kuala Lumpur has grown into a thriving national capital. There is no doubt that the momentum of development will continue to attract firms and industries to the city. By the end of this century, Kuala Lumpur will probably have achieved the present size of other Southeast Asian capitals. Such rapid growth, will of course, bring associated social and environmental problems.

Unlike its Southeast Asian counterparts, relatively little has been written about Kuala Lumpur. In order to understand and appreciate its current and future problems, there is need to document its past pattern of growth and development. The physical and infrastructural problems will continue to be a major topic of public debate and complaint, and will have to be faced squarely by the authorities concerned. The multi-ethnic character of this city will also continue to demand consideration in policy formulations. In this respect, Kuala Lumpur is definitely more complicated than the other cities in the region.

This book has tried to explain the growth and character of Kuala Lumpur's population. It has tried to account for the different structures of its multi-ethnic character; from being a dominantly Chinese mining town, it has now become more mixed, with the Malays and Indians forming nearly 50 per cent of its population. Although most optimists tend to describe the town as "cosmopolitan", in reality the different races remain physically or even culturally segregated as has been clearly pointed out by Dr. Sidhu. Essentially the author of this book looks at the problem of Kuala Lumpur's population as a geographer-cum-demographer.

Although this book is intended for the general reader, it also has academic merits and deserves the attention of city authorities and scholars alike. However, as Sidhu would be the first to admit, there

still remains a great deal more to be written on the cultural and racial aspects of Kuala Lumpur and its peoples.

Professor Tengku Shamsul Bahrin,
Professor of Southeast Asian Geography,
Dean, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
University of Malaya,
Kuala Lumpur.
11th. January 1978.

PREFACE

While considerable work has been done on Western cities, Third World cities have only recently begun attracting attention of social scientists. The 'Primate Cities' of Afro-Asia have attracted a disproportionate share of this attention to themselves. In the Malaysian case, Singapore was the primate city until 1965 when it emerged as the city-state of Singapore after separating from Malaysia. Until then, Kuala Lumpur had to remain in the shadow of its lustrous neighbour.

Kuala Lumpur grew appreciably since Merdeka (independence) in 1957, but the pace of growth became even more rapid after 1965 when it assumed the dominant position in the country and on 1 February 1972 it achieved full city-status. But despite these developments, Kuala Lumpur has attracted limited attention from local authors. Considering that it is the seat of as many as three universities, this neglect is difficult to explain.

Among the several works pertaining to Kuala Lumpur, most contributions have come from foreigners. Two notable contributors have been Gullick and McGee. While the former wrote a splendid account of the early history of Kuala Lumpur, the latter's work deals with the geographical exploration of the city's changing cultural role. Besides, there is also Rudduck's comprehensive report concerning town planning in Kuala Lumpur. Among the local writers, we have Sham Sani's work (in Bahasa Malaysia) on the problem of urban pollution in Kuala Lumpur.

The present work seeks to provide an up-to-date and comprehensive picture of the city's multi-ethnic population; it deals with ethnic segregation, sex and age-structure, population densities, migrants and squatters. The introductory chapter touches on the early history of the city, to provide the reader a brief sketch of the origins and character of the city. Throughout, the Chinese are discussed before the other ethnic groups because up to the present they have been the dominant ethnic group in the city.

It is hoped that this book, which incorporates a segment of the author's research, will lead to a better appreciation of the city's variegated population not only for the many visitors to the Malaysian

capital but also for the local inhabitants of the city, including university students and city-authorities. And since the book is not specifically written for academics but for the general reader, questions of methodology have been avoided wherever possible.

Finally, I must hasten to thank my friends who have helped me in my work. Foremost, I am indeted to the officials from the Census Department, especially Mr R. Chander, Mr K.G.R. Nathan, Mrs Fernandez and Miss J. Paul for their help in providing me with the necessary data on which the book is based. Furthermore, I am grateful to several individuals — to Mrs Avis Pirie for her general advice; to Dr S.N.R. Kazmi for reading the book at various stages and to Paddy Chan for proof reading; to Mr W.T.S. Gould of Liverpool for his valuable suggestions pertaining to the chapter on mobility; to Dr. K.K. Nair for his comments on chapter one; and to Encik Osman for drawing the maps. My special thanks go to Dr V. Segara, my former family doctor, for initially suggesting that I write a book on Kuala Lumpur. I am grateful to Professor Tengku Shamsul Bahrin for writing the foreword to this book. Thanks are also due to my wife, Pritam, for her constant encouragement.

Dr. Manjit S. Sidhu,
Kuala Lumpur,
January 1978.

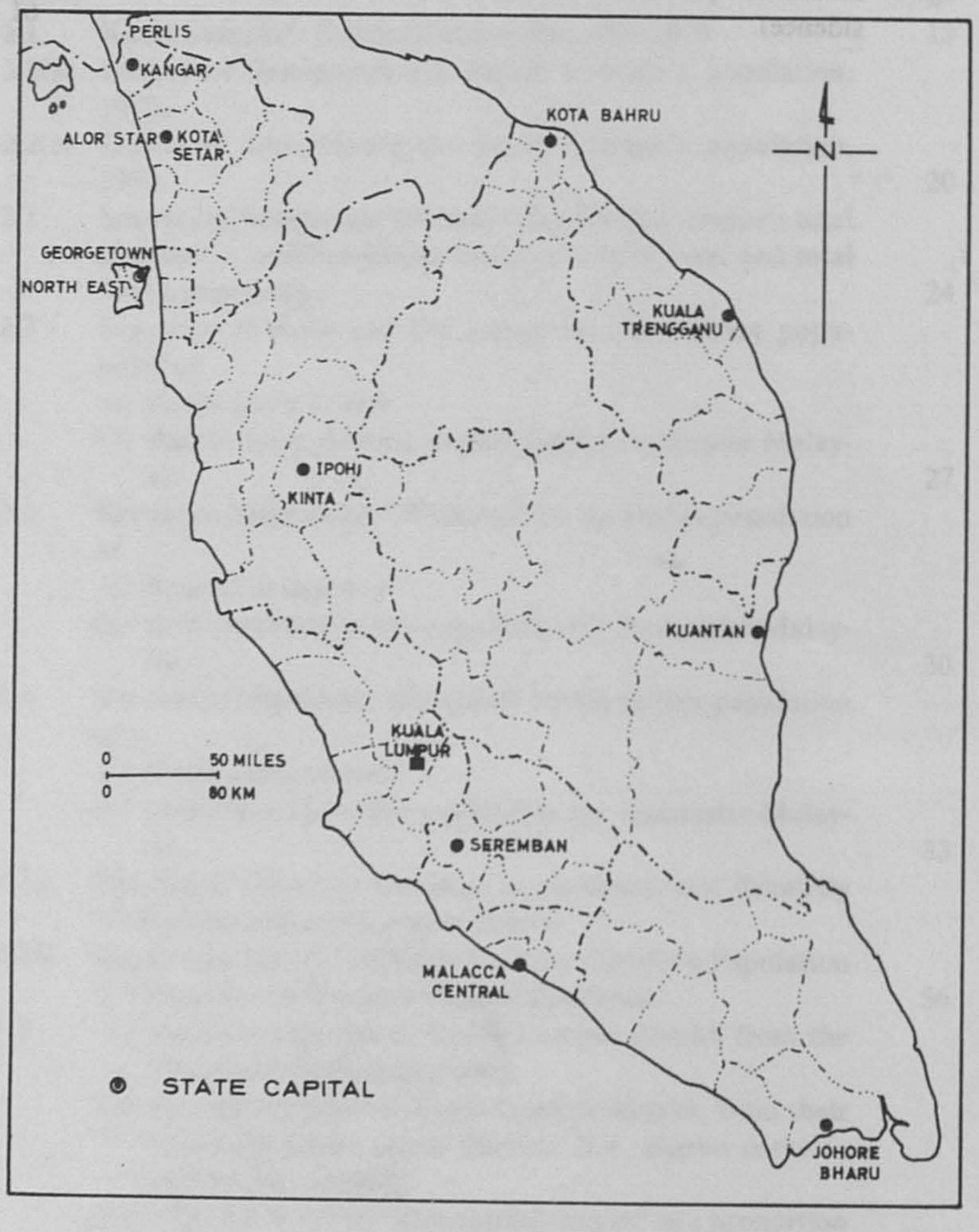
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Location of Kuala Lumpur

1 Kuala Lumpur's Early History

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century "Opencast tin mines came into existence and multiplied in the plains and along the Western foothills of the main range; mining villages sprang up where these mines were thickest and at focal points in the growing system of communications, the villages developed into considerable towns...." (Vlieland, 1934, p. 69). Kuala Lumpur was one of the many urban settlements to have originated in this manner. Its creation was almost entirely the work of Chinese immigrants who were largely involved in the tin mining industry. Since then, the Chinese have always formed a major proportion of the town's population.

The Chinese played such an important role in the early history of Kuala Lumpur that the Malay rulers of the State of Selangor handed over nearly all the administrative powers relating to the settlement to the most powerful Chinese, on whom they conferred the title of Kapitan China. In 1868, Yap Ah Loy became the third Kapitan China of Kuala Lumpur. So profound was his influence that Gullick, in his splendid account of Kuala Lumpur, writes, "Kuala Lumpur in 1880 was Yap Ah Loy's Kuala Lumpur" (1955, p. 8). This statement is axiomatic, since two-thirds of the town lying east of Klang River was then actually owned by Yap. Even the name of the city has a Chinese connection, for it has been suggested, though not conclusively proved, that the original Malay name of this settlement, 'Pengkalan Lumpur', was shortened by the Chinese to 'Kalen Lumpur' and later to 'Kuala Lumpur'.

It was only in 1879 that the first European administrator was permanently stationed in Kuala Lumpur, and in the following year the state capital was shifted from Klang to Kuala Lumpur. This event was of major importance in stabilizing this mining settlement which may have otherwise turned into a ghost town with the eventual exhaustion of tin.

A rough census, held in 1884, estimated the population of Kuala Lumpur to be 4,054. Much of the early development of the town occurred along the east bank of the Klang/Gombak rivers. While to the north of Jalan Tun Perak (originally known as Java Street and later as Mountbatten Road) lay the Sumatran Malay quarter of the town, the area to the south was the main Chinese quarter. An Indian quarter, modest in size, grew up to the south of Jalan Bandar (High Street), where one can still find the recently rebuilt Sri Maha Mariamman temple, and the Madras Theatre. At a later date the early Malay and Indian quarters of the city were acquired by the economically sophisticated Chinese.

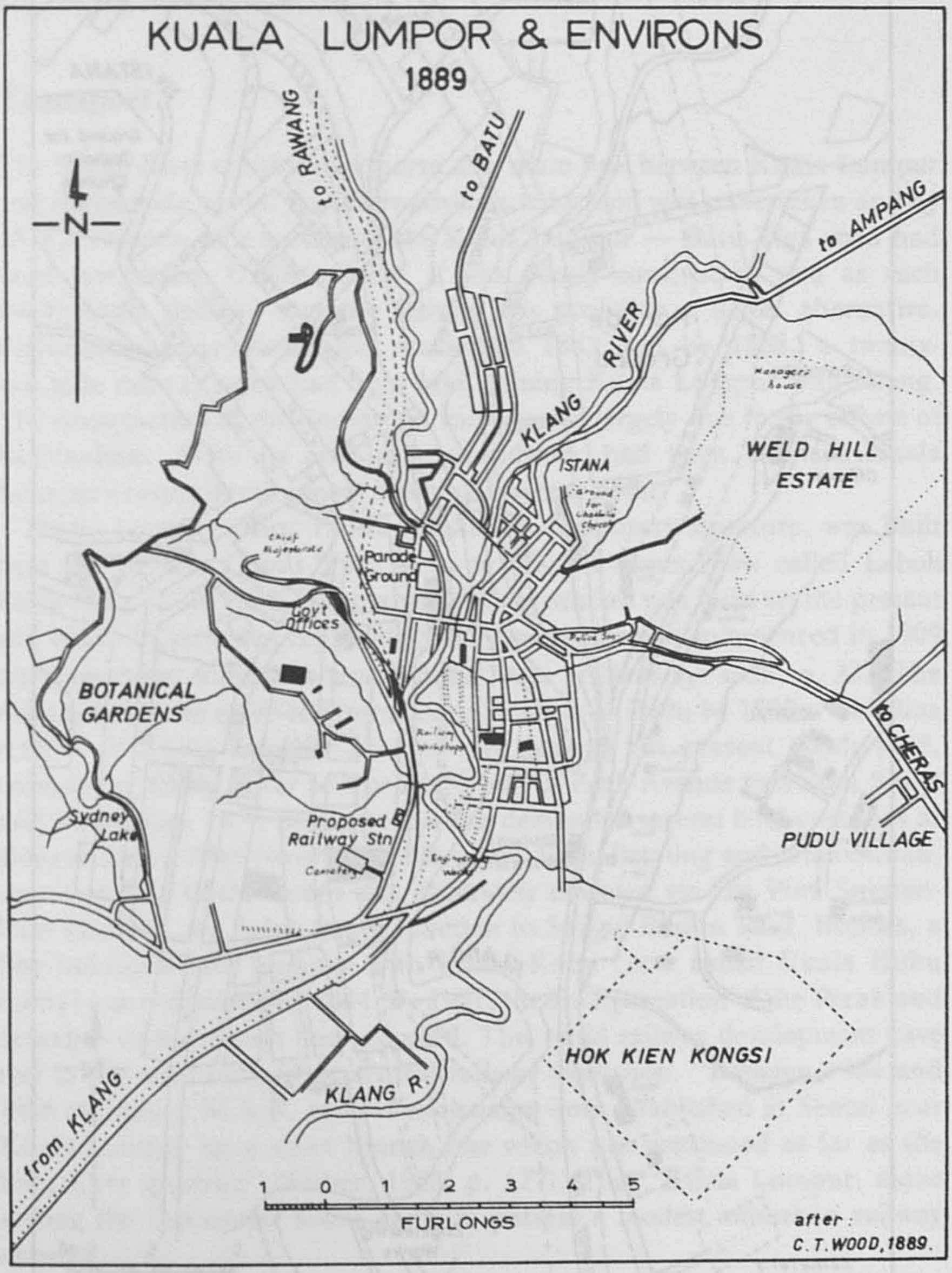
Photographs of the town dating back to about 1882 (see photograph 1) reveal that there were virtually no stone buildings. Since many of the early town buildings were constructed of wooden walls and attap (nipah palm leaves), it was periodically subject to destruction by fire. Building rules were however introduced only gradually as building materials including bricks and tiles were in short supply. Soon a number of brick kilns were established and by 1886 there were reportedly fifteen brick and six lime kilns around Kuala Lumpur. Most of the brick kilns were located to the west of the Klang River, in an area that later came to be known as Brickfields (in Malay it is sometimes still referred to as Batu Lima Belas). The building industry continued to develop and by 1887, Kuala Lumpur could boast over 500 brick buildings and a new market to the north of Jalan McArthur, probably the site of the present day Central Market. The site of the old market was kept as an open space — the Old Market Square (now called Medan Pasar).

Botanical Garden

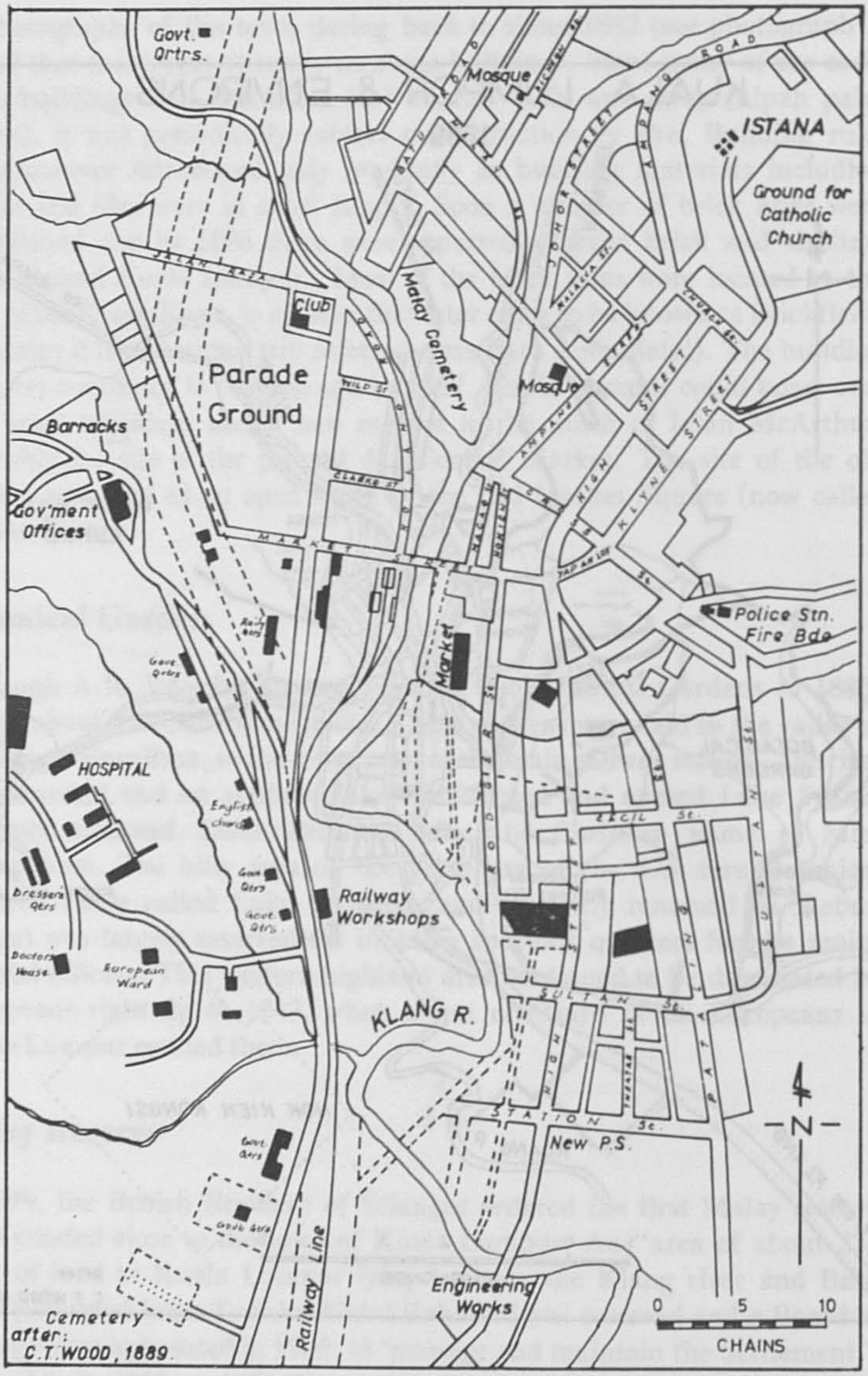
Although A.R. Venning started work on the Botanical Gardens in 1888, it took about a decade to complete. These gardens were laid in the valley of the Sungei Bras Bras, to the north west of the main railway station. The river was dammed and an artificial lake was created and named Lake Sydney (recently renamed Tasek Perdana) after the Christian name of Mrs. Swettenham. The hilly area on the periphery of the 173 acre Botanical Gardens (later called Lake Gardens, and presently renamed as Kebun Bunga) was largely reserved for building spacious quarters for the senior colonial officers. This western highland area continued to be dominated by Europeans right up to 1947, when about one-third of all Europeans in Kuala Lumpur resided there.

Malay Reserve

In 1899, the British Resident of Selangor ordered the first Malay reserve to be created close to the town of Kuala Lumpur. An "area of about 224 acres of land in Kuala Lumpur lying between the Klang river and Batu Road [renamed Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman] was reserved and a Board of Management appointed in 1900, to 'manage and maintain the Settlement'" (John Hands, 1955, p. 145). The decision to establish a Malay reserve was to enable Malay families to live their natural village lives almost within the



Map 1.2 Kuala Lumpur and Environs, 1889. (After JAMBRAS)



Map 1.3 Central Area

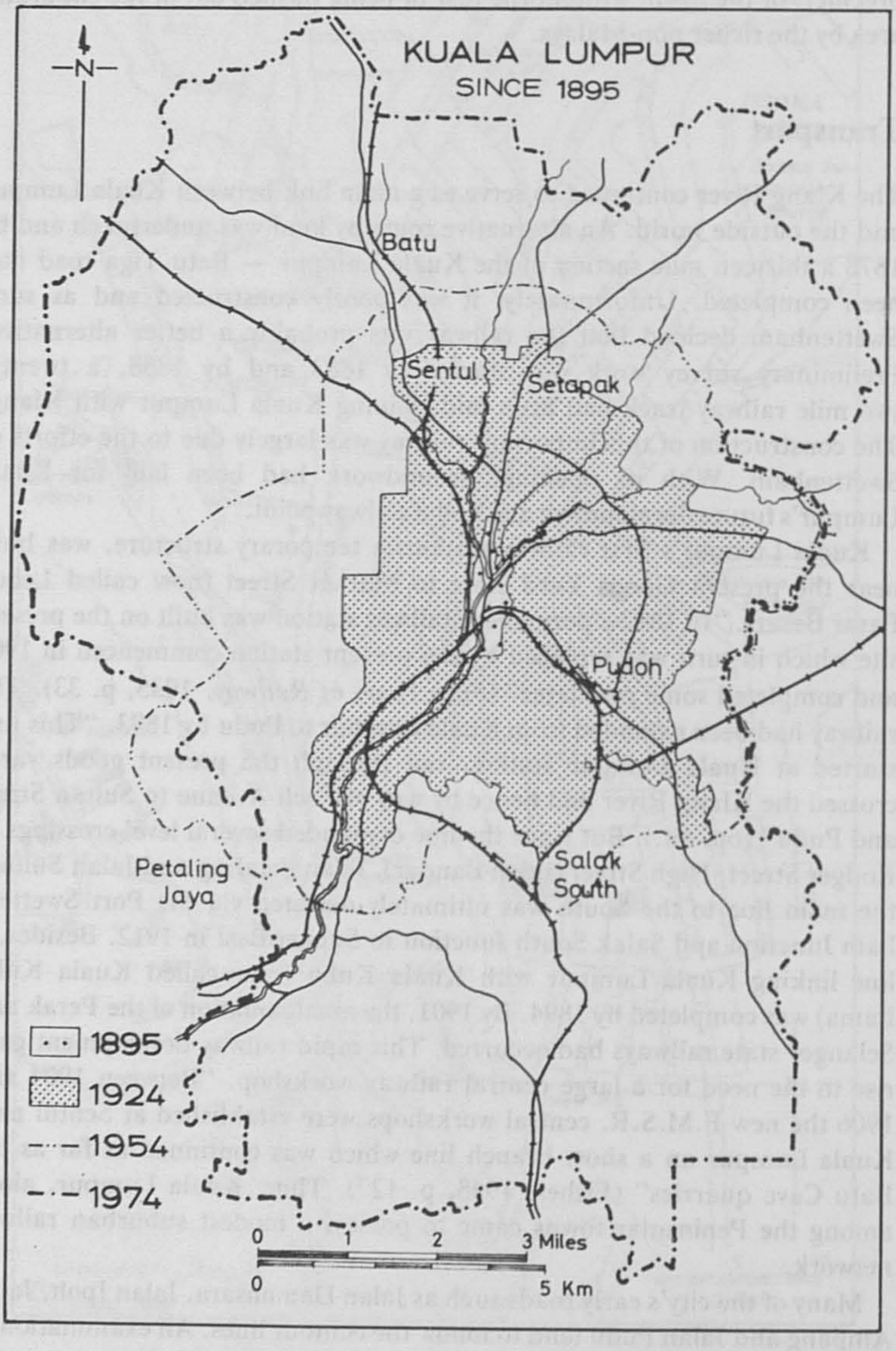
precincts of the town, without the fear of being pushed out of the suburban area by the richer non-Malays.

Transport

The Klang River continued to serve as a main link between Kuala Lumpur and the outside world. An alternative route by land was undertaken and by 1878 a thirteen mile section of the Kuala Lumpur — Batu Tiga road had been completed. Unfortunately, it was poorly constructed and as such Swettenham decided that the railway was probably a better alternative. Preliminary survey work was started in 1883 and by 1888, a twenty-two mile railway track had been laid, joining Kuala Lumpur with Klang. The construction of this important railway was largely due to the efforts of Swettenham. With its opening, groundwork had been laid for Kuala Lumpur's future development as a nodal railway point.

Kuala Lumpur's first railway station, a temporary structure, was built near the present Goods Yard close to Market Street (now called Leboh Pasar Besar). "In 1892 a permanent railway station was built on the present site which in turn was replaced by the present station commenced in 1909 and completed some year later" (*Fifty Years of Railway,* 1935, p. 33). The railway had been extended from Kuala Lumpur to Pudu by 1893. "This line started at Kuala Lumpur station, ran through the present goods yard, crossed the Klang River and hence by way of Foch Avenue to Sultan Street and Pudu" (op. cit.). But since the line demanded several level crossings at Rodger Street, High Street (Jalan Bandar), Jalan Petaling and Jalan Sultan, the main line to the South was ultimately deviated via the Port Swettenham Junction and Salak South Junction to Sungei Besi in 1912. Besides, a line linking Kuala Lumpur with Kuala Kubu (now called Kuala Kubu Lama) was completed by 1894. By 1901, the amalgamation of the Perak and Selangor state railways had occurred. This rapid railway development gave rise to the need for a large central railway workshop. "Between 1904 and 1906 the new F.M.S.R. central workshops were established at Sentul near Kuala Lumpur on a short branch line which was continued as far as the Batu Cave quarries" (Fisher, 1948, p. 127). Thus, Kuala Lumpur, alone among the Peninsular towns came to possess a modest suburban railway network.

Many of the city's early roads such as Jalan Damansara, Jalan Ipoh, Jalan Ampang and Jalan Pudu tend to follow the contour lines. An examination of these roads clearly reveals that they were initially bullock-cart tracks;



Map 1.4 Kuala Lumpur since 1895. (After JAMBRAS)

however, at a later date, as the mode of transport underwent profound changes, the existing roads were improved and adapted to the use of modern traffic. Thus, the "road pattern has remained substantially as it was in 1895 when the bullock cart was the customary form of transport, consequently the traffic problem in the central area is serious despite the development of suburban shopping centres in Petaling Jaya and elsewhere" (Sendut, 1969, p. 470). Most of the labour employed in the construction of the transport network was brought from India.

Administrative Functions

The transfer of the state capital to Kuala Lumpur in 1880 had assured it of a bright future. At the time of this transfer, the eastern bank of the Klang River was dominated by the Chinese tin miners; the fear of a potential revolt by Chinese miners on the east bank made the Resident, Bloomfield Douglas, select the west bank of the river as the site of the European quarters. The police headquarters was built on the hill to the southwest of the Parade Ground (now popularly called Selangor Padang), probably the same place on which the present police headquarters stand. A new court-house and police quarters were constructed nearby on Bluff Road (now called Jalan Aman).

The Moorish style State Secretariat was originally designed by the state architect, Norman, and modified by C.E. Spooner, the state engineer. This building was completed around 1895 and was sited opposite the Parade Ground. The Parade Ground soon emerged as the focal point of the European community, especially after the founding of the Selangor Club in 1894.

In 1896, with the formation of the Federated Malay States (comprising Negri Sembilan, Pahang, Perak and Selangor), Kuala Lumpur, owing to its nodality, became the obvious choice as the capital. Frank Swettenham became the first Resident-General of the Federated Malay States. On account of its new responsibilities, Kuala Lumpur acquired more government buildings. This led to an even more rapid growth of the town's population which by 1911 increased to nearly 47,000.

Summary

Early Kuala Lumpur was essentially a Chinese encampment whose inhabitants were predominantly males. Only a few of them truly regarded

Kuala Lumpur as their 'home' while the rest merely treated it as a 'place of temporary residence', and remitted their entire savings to their native land. Besides, there was little inter-action between one ethnic group and another; each group kept aloof both culturally and residentially, thus leading to the formation of a 'plural society' as described by Furnivall.

It need occasion no surprise that Kuala Lumpur resembled a 'parasitic city'. Its mineral wealth was exploited wastefully by immigrants. While the profits were remitted abroad, the taxes largely benefited the ruling class. It cannot be denied that important developments did occur during this period of the city's history; for example, modern land communications were established, linking Kuala Lumpur with its immediate environs as well as with its nearest seaport. These developments were however carried out with the main objective of facilitating even speedier exploitation of its rich mineral resources for export and at the same time allowing easier inflow of imported food and mining equipment. Local manufacturing industries based on local raw materials were hardly developed at all; instead, their export to the colonial power, Great Britain, helped the industry of that country.

Throughout the early history of Kuala Lumpur the native population remained virtually unaffected by the important changes that were taking place around them. Much of the modern economic sector was controlled by the colonial/immigrant complex, while the Malays largely remained marginal participants. As such, Kuala Lumpur essentially resembled a 'parasitic city' as envisaged in Hoselitz's classification of cities.

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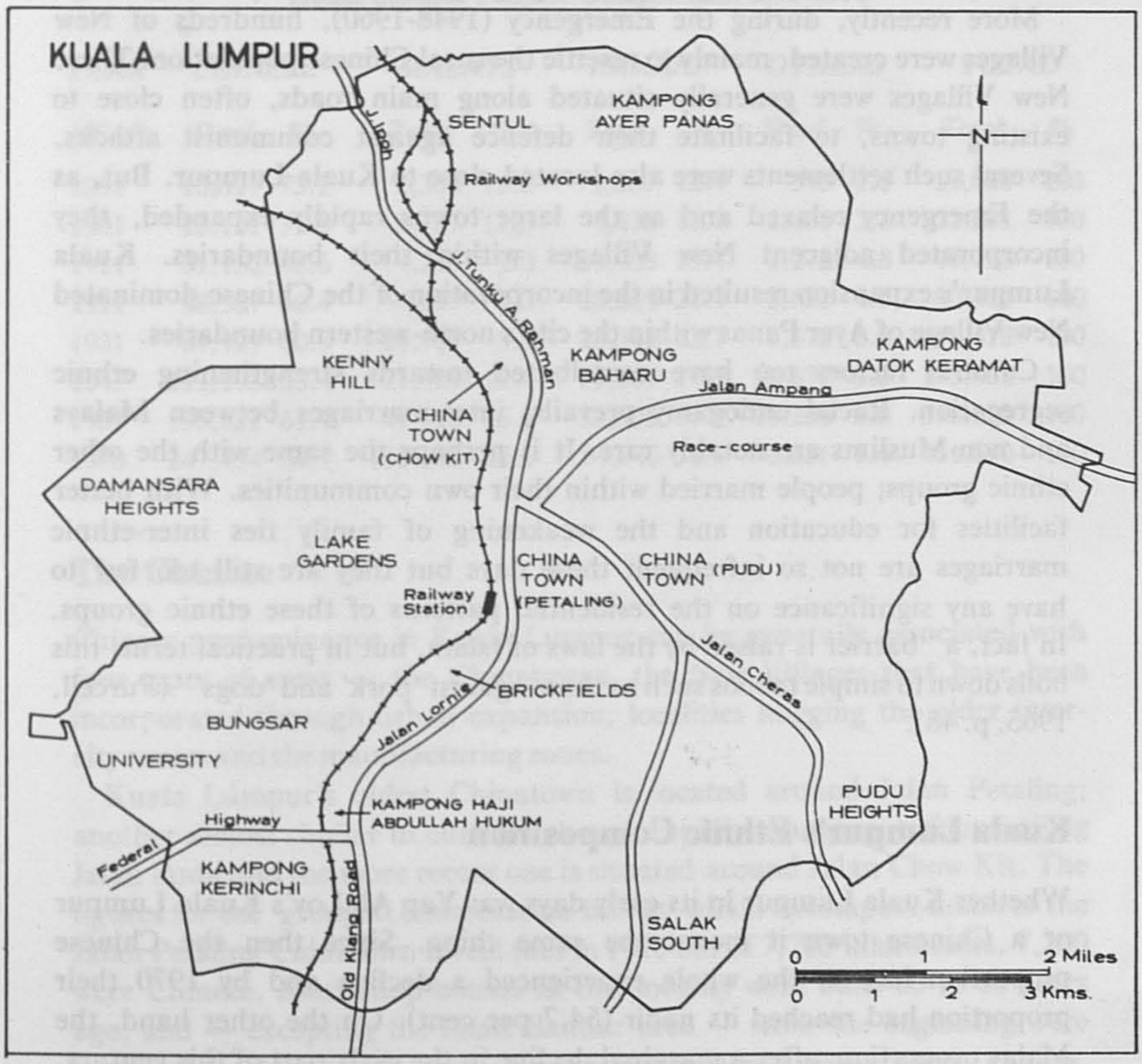
2 Ethnic Patterns in Kuala Lumpur

Origin of Ethnic Segregation

Like most large mining towns that originated in the middle of the nineteenth century, Kuala Lumpur was created by the immigrants themselves, who could not have displaced many native dwellers. The ensuing ethnic segregation in Kuala Lumpur as well as in most west coast towns of Peninsular Malaysia can be adequately explained in terms of the situation faced by the successive waves of fresh arrivals. Such groups of new comers intentionally flocked to those areas of the town that housed people from the same state or similar provinces (or even villages) in their country of origin. Two general factors appear to have strengthened ethnic segregation. First, nearly all the new arrivals had virtually no knowledge of the local language and could only understand their own mother tongues. They thus sought those areas within the city which housed people of the same ethnic group. This consequently led to a voluntary form of segregation. Secondly, there were others — employed in government service — who were brought mainly from India and Ceylon on contract, and as such had no choice whatsoever in selecting either the town or neighbourhood to which they were posted. This created an involuntary form of residential segregation on ethnic lines.

To keep pace with population growth, the city's boundaries were periodically expanded (see map 1.4), constantly encroaching upon the Malay rural settlements located on the urban peripheries. Most of these new areas incorporated within the enlarged urban boundaries were rapidly acquired by the non-Malays from the Malays. To prevent the possibility of the Malays — whom the British regarded as the natives of the Malay Peninsula — being pushed out of the city altogether, the colonial authorities created in 1899 a Malay Reserve, Kampong Bahru, occupying an area of about 224 acres to the north of the city (see chapter 1). Subsequent urban expansion brought Kampong Bahru within the city. Since law forbade the sale of land to non-Malays in this area it emerged as a Malay stronghold within the city, thus unwittingly contributing towards ethnic segregation.

Ethnic segregation within the city was also reinforced by occupational segregation, especially in the pre-independence period when division of labour sharply followed ethnic lines. The Malays held a commanding position in the civil service, police and armed forces. The Chinese monopolized commerce (especially retailing) and manufacturing, while the Indians were concentrated in the railways and the public works depart-



Map 2.1 Major Roads and Locations.

ments. Caste-like links between ethnic origin and occupation grew out of this situation. It often resulted in the Chinese dominating the central business districts and manufacturing zones, the Malays dominating the police and army barracks and civil service quarters, and the Indians being strongly associated in localities housing railway and public works department workers.

More recently, during the Emergency (1948-1960), hundreds of New Villages were created, mainly to resettle the rural Chinese population. These New Villages were generally situated along main roads, often close to existing towns, to facilitate their defence against communist attacks. Several such settlements were also located close to Kuala Lumpur. But, as the Emergency relaxed and as the large towns rapidly expanded, they incorporated adjacent New Villages within their boundaries. Kuala Lumpur's expansion resulted in the incorporation of the Chinese dominated New Village of Ayer Panas within the city's north-western boundaries.

Cultural factors too have contributed towards strengthening ethnic segregation. Racial endogamy prevails; inter-marriages between Malays and non-Muslims are notably rare. It is perhaps the same with the other ethnic groups; people married within their own communities. With better facilities for education and the weakening of family ties inter-ethnic marriages are not so infrequent these days but they are still too few to have any significance on the residential patterns of these ethnic groups. In fact, a "barrier is raised by the laws of Islam, but in practical terms this boils down to simple taboos such as those against 'pork' and 'dogs'" (Purcell, 1965, p. 48).

Kuala Lumpur's Ethnic Composition

Whether Kuala Lumpur in its early days was Yap Ah Loy's Kuala Lumpur or a Chinese town it meant the same thing. Since then the Chinese proportion has on the whole experienced a decline and by 1970 their proportion had reached its nadir (54.7 per cent). On the other hand, the Malay proportion, after a marginal decline in the early part of this century, has increased steadily to form one-quarter of the city's population for the first time in 1970. The Indian proportion has fluctuated considerably between one-eighth and one quarter. Likewise, the proportion of 'Others' too has fluctuated widely (see Table 1). It is clear that the city's composition has been changing and it is very likely that by the year 1980, Kuala Lumpur, the primate city of the country (which by 1957 had emerged

as the largest Chinese, Malay as well as Indian town) may become a 'mixed' city where none of the ethnic groups individually constitutes half or more of its total population.

Table 2.1

Kuala Lumpur's Ethnic Composition, 1891-1970

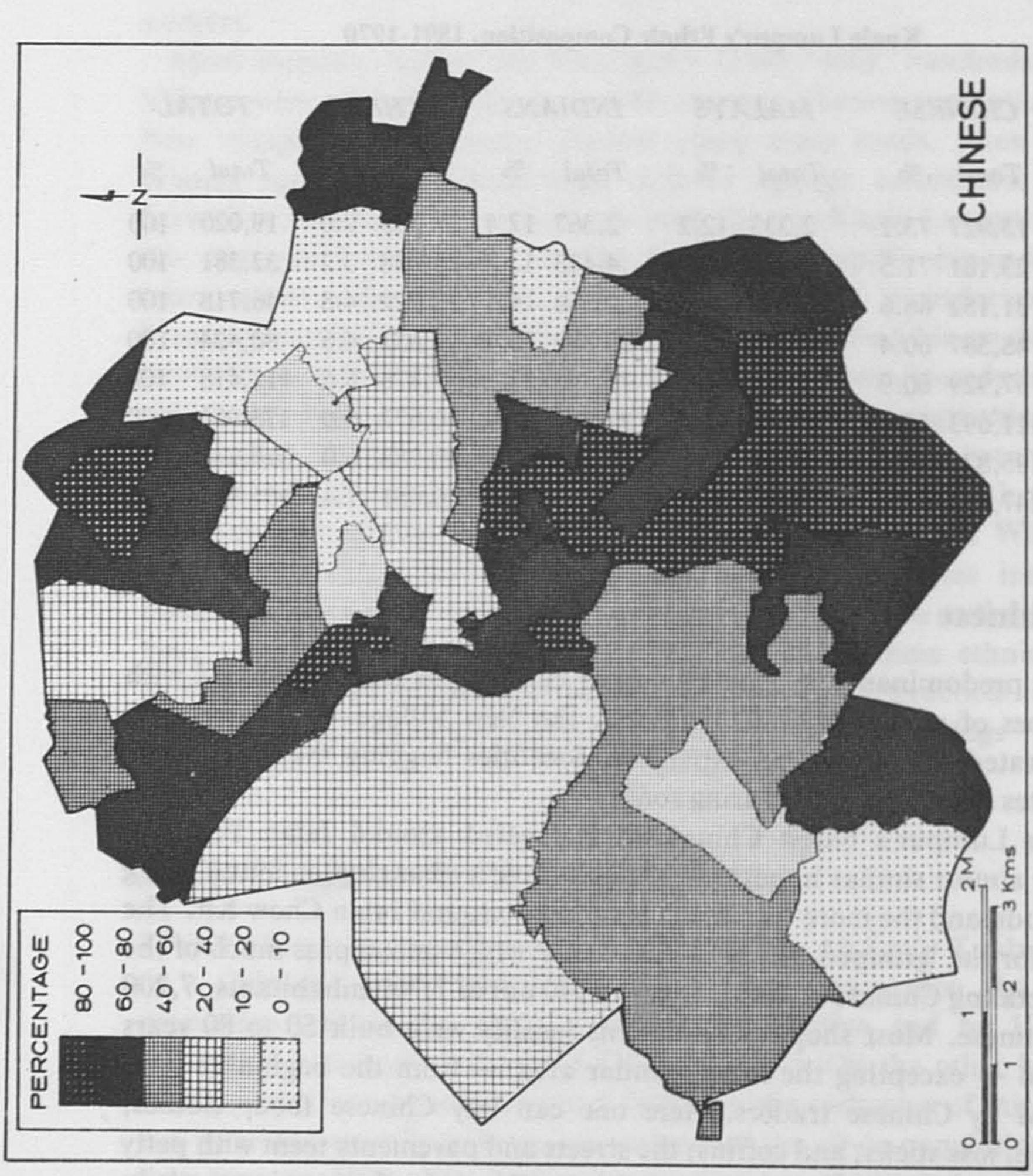
YEAR	*CHINESE*		*MALAYS*		*INDIANS*		*OTHERS*		*TOTAL*	
YEAR	*Total*	*%*	*Total*	*%*	*Total*	*%*	*Total*	*%*	*Total*	*%*
1891	13,927	73.2	2,333	12.2	2,367	12.4	393	2.0	19,020	100
1901	23,181	71.5	3,727	11.5	4,435	13.7	1,038	3.2	32,381	100
1911	31,152	66.6	4,226	9.0	9,068	19.4	2,272	4.8	46,718	100
1921	48,587	60.4	7,297	9.0	20,889	25.9	3,651	4.5	80,424	100
1931	67,929	60.9	10,769	9.6	25,342	22.7	7,378	6.6	111,418	100
1947	111,693	63.4	21,989	12.4	31,607	17.9	10,672	6.0	175,961	100
1957	195,822	61.9	47,615	15.0	53,505	16.9	19,288	6.0	316,230	100
1970	247,474	54.7	113,642	25.1	84,043	18.6	6,651	1.4	451,810	100

The Chinese

Chinese predominance in Kuala Lumpur can be generally associated with four types of areas — the Chinatowns, the New Villages that have been incorporated through urban expansion, localities hugging the older inter-city routes and the manufacturing zones.

Kuala Lumpur's oldest Chinatown is located around Jalan Petaling; another almost similar in outlook, though rapidly changing, is found along Jalan Pudu and the more recent one is situated around Jalan Chow Kit. The figures for the 'grouped enumeration blocks' which encompass much of the Jalan Petaling Chinatown reveal that in 1970 out of 7,700 inhabitants, 7,200 were Chinese. Most shop-houses in this locality were built 50 to 80 years ago, and — excepting the Jalan Bandar area — from the beginning were occupied by Chinese traders. Here one can buy Chinese food, clothes, medicine, joss sticks, and coffins; the streets and pavements teem with petty hawkers peddling fruits, snacks, and drinks. Displays of expensive goods in the shop-fronts very often conceal the poverty of the interiors.

Chinese residents live on the first and second floors of the shop-houses, and the area is populated both day and night. As many as 60 persons occupy each floor of a single shop-house — an area usually no more than 20 feet



Map 2.2 Chinese as Proportion of Total Population, 1970. (Data by Grouped Enumeration Blocks).

wide and 45 feet deep. Densities exceed 100 persons per acre. There is often only one communal kitchen to each floor, and frequently only a single latrine in the entire structure (See chapter 4). However, "the existence of an internal airwell, open to the sky, about halfway back from the street, and very often, a second airwell or walled yard at the rear", ensures ventilation (Jackson, 1975, p. 52; also see chapter on urban densities).

Chinatowns in Kuala Lumpur and elsewhere in South-East Asia have much in common. Their language is mainly Cantonese; cinemas show Chinese films; next to romanized Malay signboards Chinese characters are displayed; most businesses are run by the families which own them, with only a few employed workers. But as second and third — generation English-educated Chinese replace their foreign-born ancestors, change is slowly taking place. Moreover, the better educated are leaving the shop-houses for the suburbs. Yet many Chinese find these localities attractive and continue to live there, despite overcrowding and lack of amenities. "Slums they may be but it seems likely that the cultural and kinship ties of the Chinatown community will continue to attract people" (McGee, 1967, p. 168).

Chinese shop-houses cluster along the main roads in most towns. In some localities the Chinese-dominated areas extend a considerable distance from the thoroughfare; in others they are confined to a narrow ribbon. Many Chinese neighbourhoods in Kuala Lumpur specialize in car servicing and repairing, light engineering, and furniture-making.

The third type of Chinese community focuses on the New Villages. Near Kuala Lumpur these are dominated by the Chinese, and their incorporation within the expanding built-up area established segregated communities on the borders of the city (McGee, 1971, p. 128).

Manufacturing areas, too, are mainly Chinese in composition. The zone which lies to the east of the Jalan Sungei Besi is the main industrial belt in Kuala Lumpur, and the overwhelming majority of its inhabitants are Chinese. Forty out of Kuala Lumpur's 48 foundries are situated here, and other enterprises include light engineering works, sawmills, aerated drinks factories, bakeries and printing presses (Hodder, 1959, p. 82).

Malays

Malay areas can be grouped into three main categories: reserves; peri-urban settlements which have become part of the town through expansion, and Malay-dominated institutions. Among the last named, Wakaf lands

often occur on a scale too small to be detected on the maps. Wealthy Muslims donate property to the Mosque and the religious community, and thus provide the basis for minute Malay nucleations. Occasionally these are diluted by the presence of Indian Muslims.

In Kuala Lumpur, Kampong Bahru is the most segregated area and houses 15 per cent of the capital's Malays. The reserve is over 70 years old, and originally lay outside the built-up areas. Kampong Bahru, like Kampong Datok Keramat, has a rural appearance which sets it apart from neighbouring districts. Many of the houses remain stilted so as to avoid the monsoon floods; houses are often set up in compounds which abound with local fruit trees. Non-Malays are prevented from purchasing houses in the settlement, and property values are low compared with those of other areas where non-Malays can alienate land. Indeed, modern development has been modest, though government aid is stimulating change.

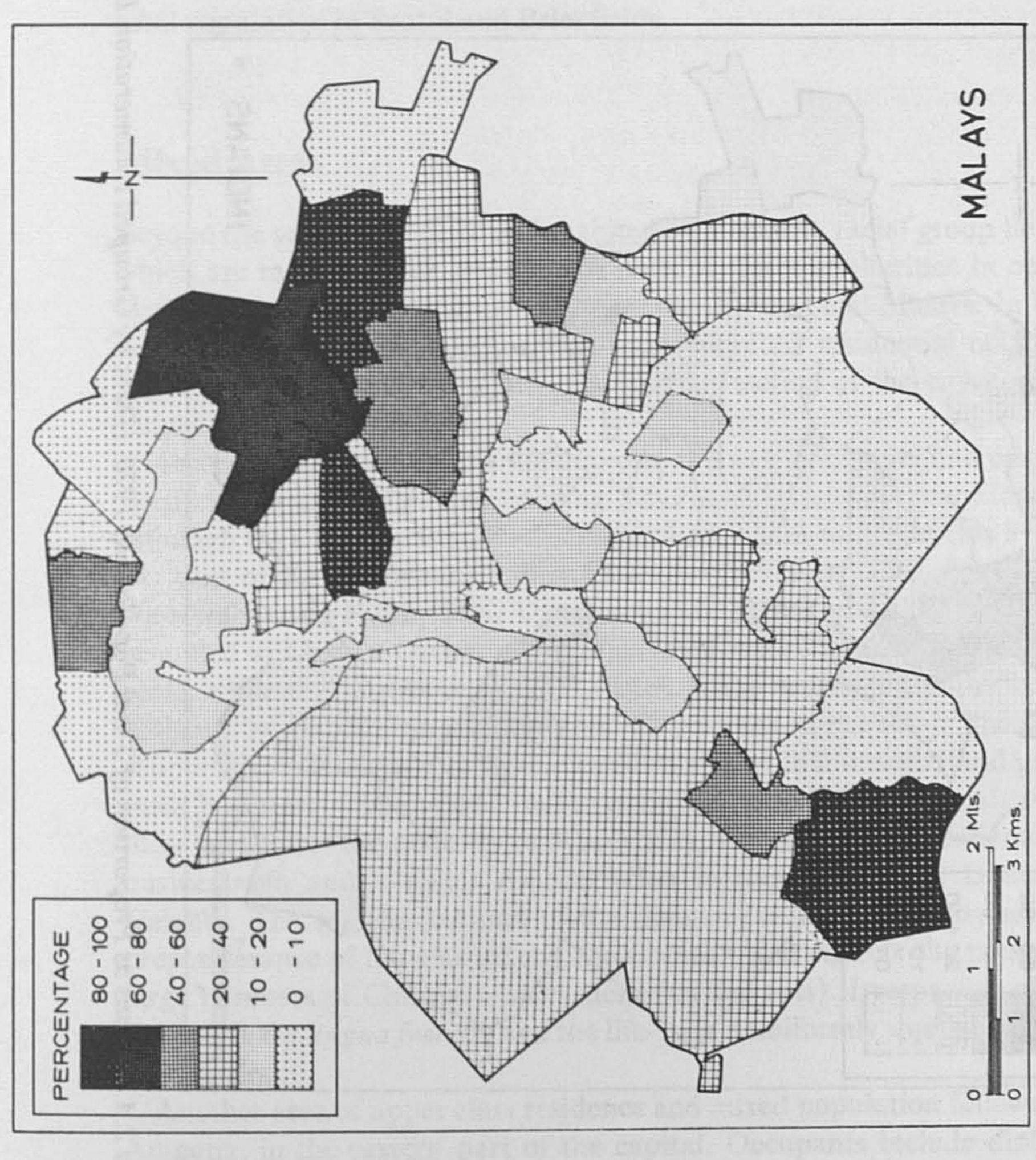
Conditions in the kampongs can be extended to the peri-urban Malay settlements in Kuala Lumpur. These are not reserves, but segregation remains high. Non-Malays avoid living in Malay areas, since they are easy targets when racial riots break out. In 1969, for example, non-Malay houses in Kampong Kerinchi in Kuala Lumpur were razed.

Many Malay areas are associated with army or police barracks. The high proportion of Malays, for example, in the north-east of the city, along Jalan Gurney, results from the presence of a large defence cantonment in that area. Similarly quarters attached to the Public Works Department in other parts of the town provide a focus for Malays.

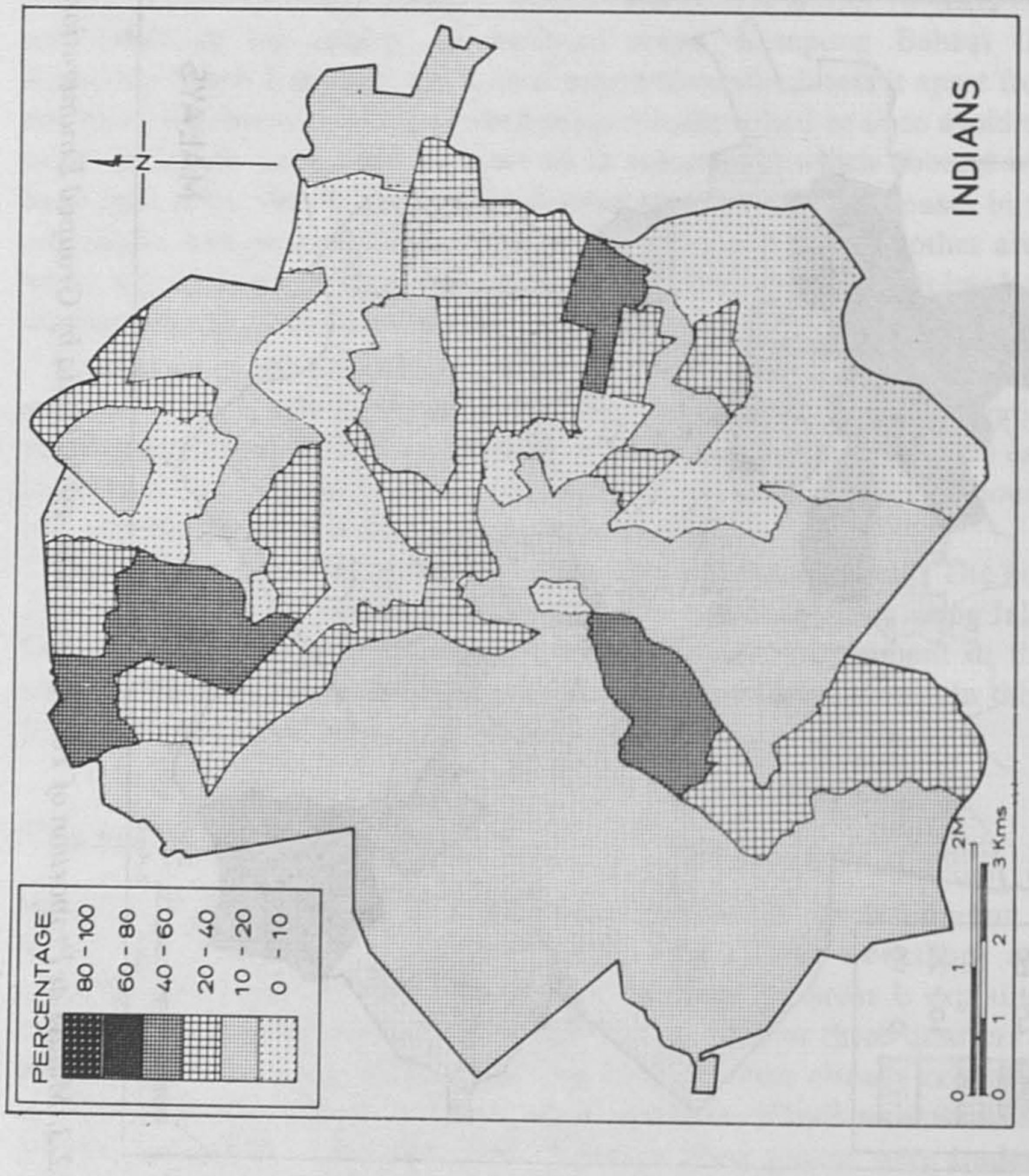
The Indians

Notable Indian concentrations occur in two localities in Kuala Lumpur — Sentul and Brickfields — areas associated with railway workshops and godowns (warehouses). Their concentration in these two areas is explained by the fact that in the pre-Second World War period over three-quarters of the railway workers were Indians and Ceylonese. As there already existed an Indian population in these localities, other categories of Indians moved in to provide specialized services for them. Amongst these groups were traders, priests, washermen, barbers and goldsmiths. Besides as Indians retired from the railways, they chose to settle close to or whenever possible within these two localities.

The labour lines found in these areas were built about 50 years ago. Though they give the appearance of slums, they have modern lighting and



Map 2.3. Malays as Proportion of Total Population, 1970. (Data by Grouped Enumeration Blocks).



Maps 2.4 Indians as Proportion of Total Population, 1970. (Data by Grouped Enumeration Blocks).

water facilities. These are however being gradually demolished to make way for newer buildings. The Indian concentrations in these two localities are being gradually diluted by the immigration of Malays who have in recent years replaced the Indians as the largest ethnic group employed by the railways. Despite this, the Indians continue to form approximately half the total population in Sentul and Brickfields.

Mixed Areas

Beyond the segregated districts inhabited by a specific racial group lie areas which are racially much more heterogeneous. Here similarities in occupational status have brought together Chinese, Indians and Malays. In Kuala Lumpur mixed areas are associated with high class residential neighbourhoods. One such district is the hilly western section of the city bordering Lake Gardens.

According to McGee, "the high land to the west of the city had originally been chosen as a high-cost housing site for colonial administrators, and although by 1947 Malayan civil servants had begun to live in this area, 30 per cent of the Europeans still lived there." (1971, p. 130). By 1970, the zone embracing Kenny Hill, Damansara Heights, and Lake Gardens was occupied by Chinese (35 per cent), Malays (35 per cent) and Indians (17 per cent), while the European element, listed in the census under the heading 'Others', accounted for no more than 13 per cent of the total. The greater proportion of Malays in this zone consists of top civil servants and government ministers. Chinese and Indian politicians and bureaucrats also live in these areas, but the majority of Non-Malay residents are professionals and businessmen and a major concentration of these occurs at Damansara Heights. The sex composition of the population in this locality reveals a preponderance of females among the Chinese, and reflects the presence of large numbers of Chinese amahs (domestic servants). Irrespective of race, English is the *lingua franca*, and the life-style is uniformly sophisticated and westernized.

Another area of upper class residence and mixed population follows Jalan Ampang, in the eastern part of the capital. Occupants include diplomats and foreign executives, and wealthy Malaysians of all races. Mixed neighbourhoods also occur in or near to Pudu Heights. Most of the residents are either businessmen or government employees, and Chinese, Malays and Indians form roughly equal proportions.

Indices of Segregation

The most conspicuous concentrations are associated with the Chinese who frequently account for over four-fifths of the population throughout the densely populated town-centre where the shop-houses normally combine the functions of commerce and residence. Indeed, the proportion of Chinese rarely falls below one-fifth in any neighbourhood.

Malay concentrations are usually associated with the Malay reservation areas. Usually their settlements within urban areas tend to be on the periphery. Although the Indian population is widely dispersed, two nodes of concentration are noticeable where they form roughly half the total population. One striking feature is that while the Chinese proportion rarely falls below 20 per cent, the Malays and Indians are virtually absent from some localities.

The segregation index which measures the degree of isolation of a particular group from the remainder of the population was highest amongst Malays while it was lowest in the case of the Indians. The largest group, the Chinese, achieve intermediate scores between those of the Malays and the Indians (see Table 2.2a).

The segregation between one ethnic group and another (or pairs of races) can be measured by using the index of dissimilarity. This index is obtained by halving the sum of the differences between the percentage distribution of each group by area. From the study of the indices of dissimilarity it is clear that the Indians are closer to the Chinese than Malays; the Chinese are also closer to the Indians than the Malays; the Malays are closer to the Indians than the Chinese. It is therefore evident that the Malays are the most isolated group.

Table 2.2

(a) Indices of Segregation for Kuala Lumpur, 1970

Chinese	*Malays*	*Indians*
50.6	57.8	37.1

(b) Indices of Dissimilarity for Kuala Lumpur, 1970

Malay-Chinese	*Chinese-Indians*	*Indians-Malays*
63.5	43.0	52.3

Summary

A study of the ethnic patterns reveals that despite considerable changes in the city's ethnic composition, segregation of racial groups persists. It is evident that the most important factor behind ethnic segregation in Kuala Lumpur is the institutional factor. The concentration of Malays in Kampong Bahru, the Chinese in Kampong Bahru Ayer Panas, and the Indians in Sentul and Brickfields has been largely determined by institutional or 'decision-making' factors; on the other hand, the non-Malay dominance of the central business district (CBD) and other commercial districts can be adequately explained by historical factors, since the CBD was initially built by the immigrants and occupied by them ever since. These processes of residential segregation on ethnic lines were further reinforced by cultural factors.

While ethnic segregation in the pre-Merdeka (pre-independence) period was accepted, it has become unacceptable in the post-Merdeka era as it hinders the process of national integration. The Government is currently faced with three problems: (i) how to reduce the current high level of ethnic segregation in Kuala Lumpur and other towns, (ii) how to prevent the emergence of potential segregation in newly developing neighbourhoods in and around Kuala Lumpur and other Peninsular towns; and (iii) how to prevent new rural/urban migrants from gravitating to traditionally segregated areas on ethnic lines.

To overcome these problems, the Government has to employ institutional factors in diluting segregation. First, it has to help find space within the CBD for Malay businessmen but at the same time ensure that they are dispersed all over and not concentrated in a particular block. Secondly, it has to see that every alternate or third house (as the situation may demand) in newly emerging neighbourhoods is reserved for Malays, who are presently under-represented within the city. Thirdly, as stated in the Second Malaysia Plan, real effort is needed to eradicate the close identification of ethnicity and occupational structure. Finally, it has to review the entire policy of setting up mono-ethnic reserves (since these only strengthen segregation), while ensuring that the interests of economically weaker groups are not endangered.

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3 Age and Sex Structure of Kuala Lumpur

At least until the middle of the nineteenth century Kuala Lumpur was no more than a mining village and, as in most mining settlements in their early developmental stage, its population was naturally dominated by male adults. The immigrants to the mining regions of the Peninsula in the early period were mostly sojourners for whom the Peninsula was an El Dorado, a land to which they migrated in search of employment or business opportunities; once they had saved up enough, they left for their native lands. Thus, it occasions no surprise that the population of early Kuala Lumpur was male dominated.

In the early days there existed a distinct possibility that Kuala Lumpur, like many other mining towns, might be ephemeral in existence. This fear was however put to rest in 1880, when it was decided to shift the State capital from Klang to Kuala Lumpur. From then onwards Kuala Lumpur began to discard its image of a predominantly male dominated town. Gullick noted this trend when he wrote: "The need for schools was felt as the population of Kuala Lumpur changed towards a normal family composition (in contrast to the mining camp population of the period of the 1870s)" (1955, p. 101). The first school (a Chinese institution) was opened only in 1884; however, it was not until 1890 that Kuala Lumpur got its first English school.

Census-Based Study

The age and sex structure of the city's population showed continual change, but at a slow rate. By the time the first systematic census for the Peninsula was taken in 1921, the sex ratio for the city remained highly unbalanced, there being only 45 women per 100 males. This sex ratio continuously improved over the years (see Table 1).

Compared with the sex-ratios for the Peninsula's total urban population, it is evident that Kuala Lumpur always had a lower sex-ratio (see Table 1). This disparity resulted from two factors. First, Kuala Lumpur, being the Federal capital, served as the main magnet for immigrants from abroad and the majority of the immigrants were males. Secondly, Kuala Lumpur also served as a magnet for the local population and likewise a large proportion of the local migrants to Kuala Lumpur were males, who often left their families behind in rural areas or in smaller towns.

Table 3.1

Sex-ratios (females per 100 males) for Kuala Lumpur's total population, and Peninsular Malaysia's total rural and total urban population, 1921-1970

Year	*Kuala Lumpur*	*Peninsular Malaysia*	
		Rural	*Urban*
1921	45.4	67.9	53.3
1931	59.6	72.4	63.1
1947	82.5	90.0	84.9
1957	88.2	96.0	92.0
1970	91.5	98.6	97.9

Since the sex-ratio study of the overall population tends to disguise important demographic differences that exist among the various ethnic groups, it is essential to discuss their age and sex-composition separately. Even within these individual ethnic groups there exist further differences among the various clans and sub-cultural types. Such detailed studies are however hampered by the lack of data.

The Chinese Sex-Ratio

The most striking feature of the Chinese sex-ratios has been the fact that their urban sex-ratios have always been nearer to balance as compared with their rural sex-ratios. In sharp contrast, the reverse was true in the case of the Malays and the Indians.

For Kuala Lumpur, the Chinese sex-ratio in 1921 was low, there being only 48 females per 100 males. This disparity can be largely explained by the fact that a large proportion of the Chinese population during this period was made up of short-term migrants. Despite improvements the Chinese sex-ratio continued to be low in 1931 (see Table 3.2).

This wide disparity of the sexes led to various social problems among the Chinese in Kuala Lumpur and elsewhere in the Peninsula. Prostitution was widespread. In fact, the authorities recognised this problem and legalised brothels in an apparent bid to satisfy the needs of a male dominated population (on whom the colonial economy depended so much) and also to control the incidence of associated venereal diseases. The spread of brothels however resulted in frequent fights among the rival Chinese dominated secret societies that were closely involved in this lucrative trade. The law and order problems combined with those of morality, together with the appre-

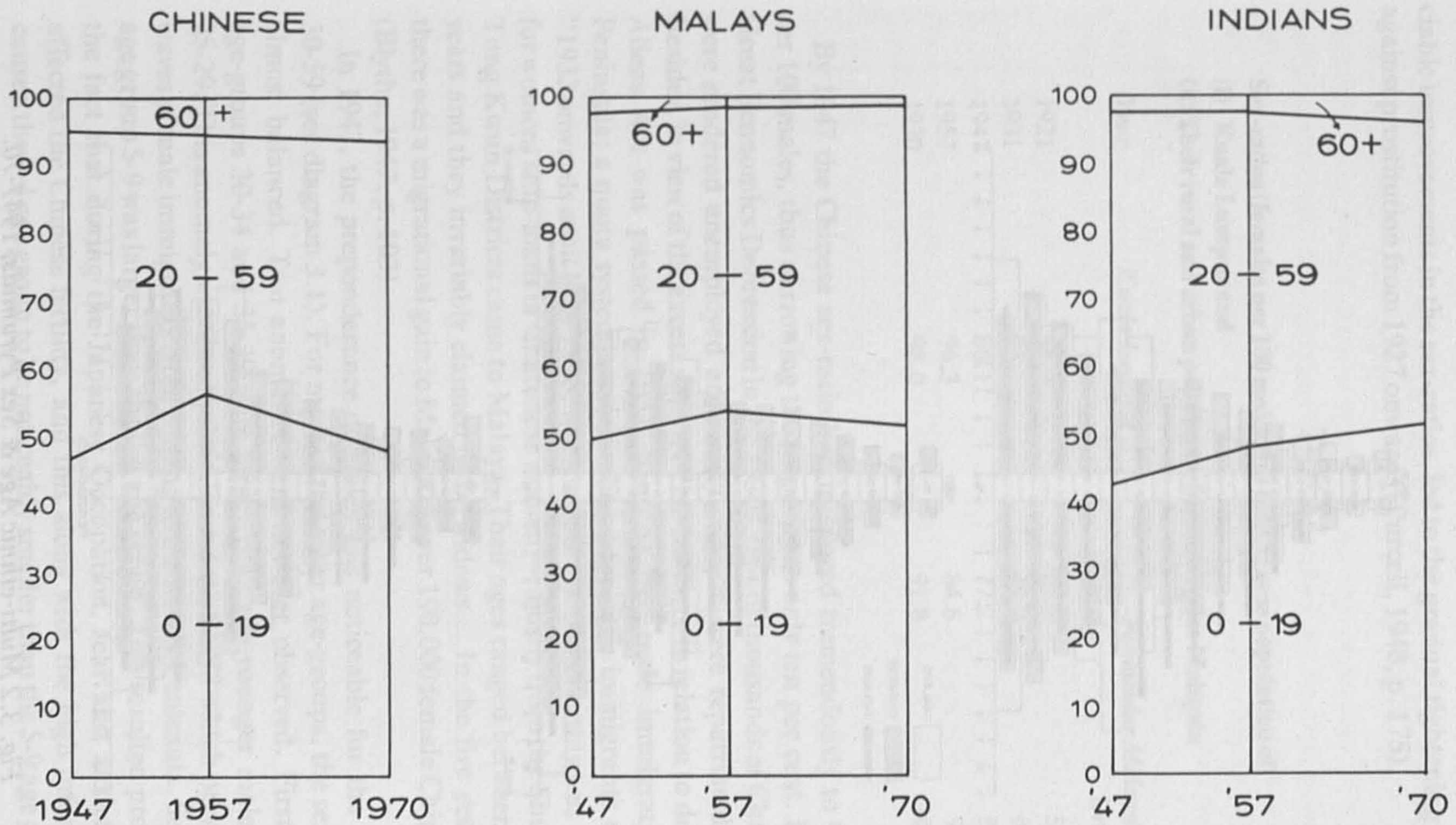


Diagram 3.1 Changing Age Structure of the K.L. City's Population, 1947-70.

Age and Sex Structure

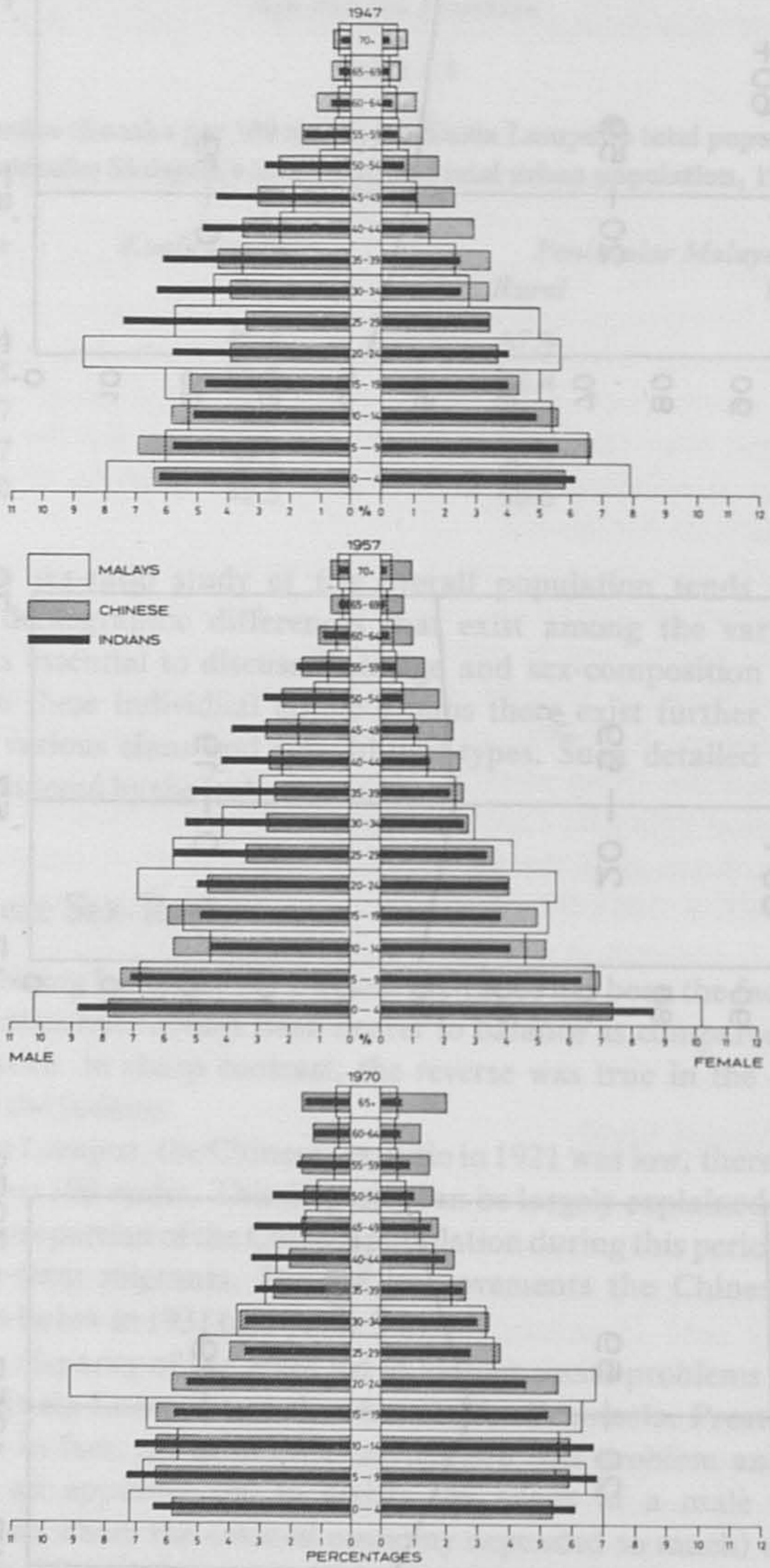


Fig. 3.2 Multi-ethnic Age & Sex Pyramids, 1947-70.

ciable improvements in the sex-ratios, led to the gradual tightening of the law against prostitution from 1927 onwards (Purcell, 1948, p. 175).

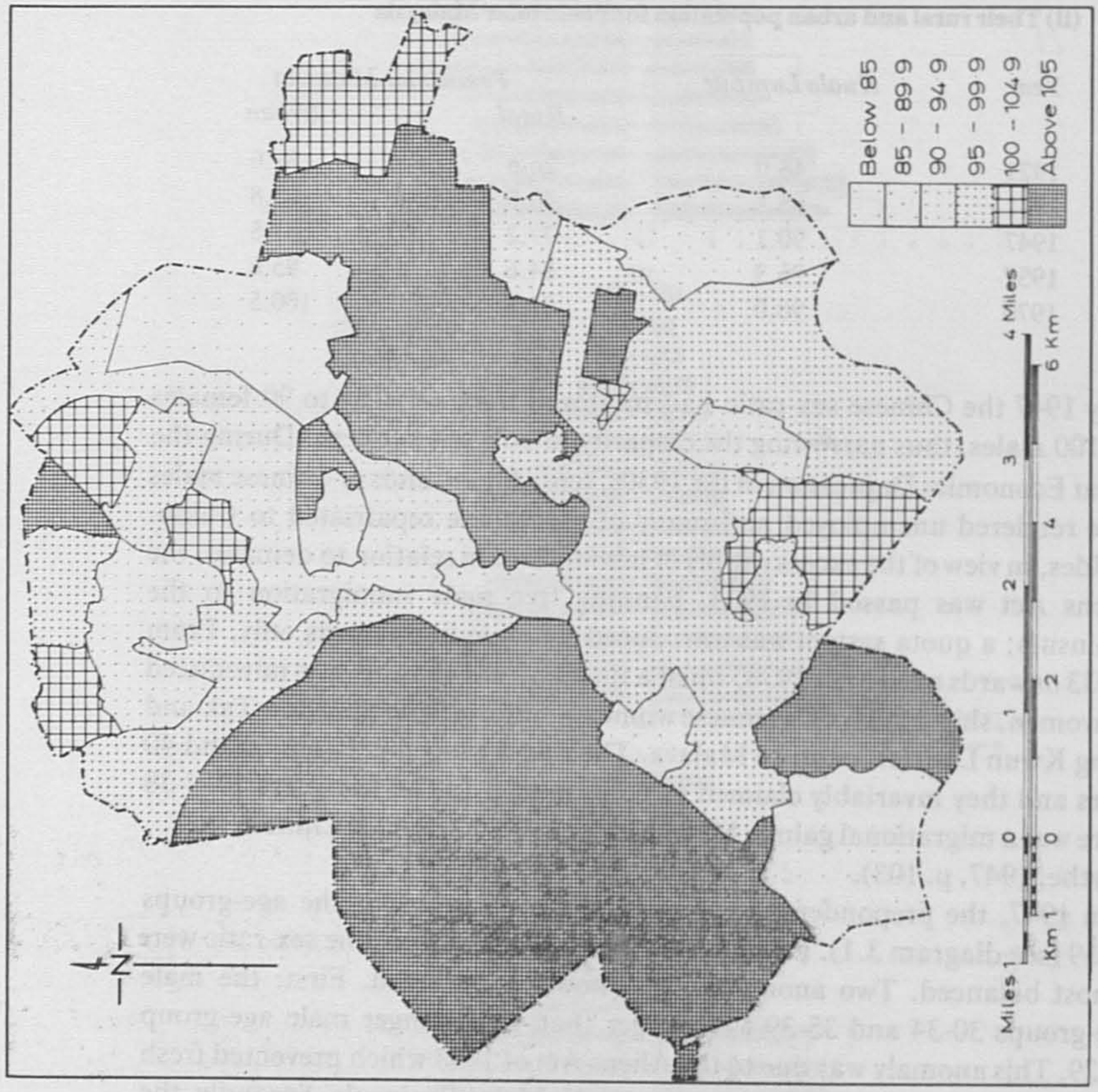
Table 3.2

Sex-ratios (females per 100 males) for the Chinese population of
(i) Kuala Lumpur and
(ii) Their rural and urban population for Peninsular Malaysia

Year	*Kuala Lumpur*	*Peninsular Malaysia*	
		Rural	*Urban*
1921	48.0	26.6	51.0
1931	65.1	40.0	63.8
1947	90.1	77.2	87.5
1957	96.3	84.6	95.6
1970	98.0	91.8	100.5

By 1947 the Chinese sex-ratio had improved tremendously to 90 females per 100 males, thus narrowing the disparity to only ten per cent. During the Great Economics Depression in the 1930s, tens of thousands of Chinese males were rendered unemployed and many of them were repatriated to China. Besides, in view of the excess supply of labour force in relation to demand, the Aliens Act was passed in 1933, banning free male immigration to the Peninsula; a quota system was introduced for male immigrants only. From "1933 onwards until May 1938, when a quota of 500 monthly was introduced for women, ship-loads of Cantonese women — mostly from the Shun Tak and Tung Kwun Districts came to Malaya. Their ages ranged between 18 and 40 years and they invariably claimed to be widows... In the five years 1934-38 there was a migrational gain to Malaya of over 190,000 female Chinese....." (Blythe, 1947, p. 103).

In 1947, the preponderance of males was noticeable for the age-groups 30-59 (see diagram 3.1). For most of the other age-groups, the sex-ratio were almost balanced. Two anomalies were however observed. First, the male age-groups 30-34 and 35-39 were larger than the younger male age-group 25-29. This anomaly was due to the Aliens Act of 1933 which prevented fresh waves of male immigrants from coming to the Malay Peninsula. Secondly, the age group 5-9 was larger than the 0-4 age group. This resulted probably from the fact that during the Japanese Occupation, fear and anxiety-adversely affected the Chinese fertility, and this along with the high infant mortality caused the 0-4 age group to be noticeably smaller than the 5-9 age group.



Map 3.1 Chinese Sex-Ratios (females per 100 males), 1970.

By 1957, the Chinese sex-ratio had improved further to 96 females per 100 males, bringing it closer to parity. With few exceptions, the age-pyramid was generally symmetrical. One striking change had occurred. While the 1947 age-pyramid was characterized by an excess of males over females in the younger and adult population groups (excepting the 25-29 age group), in 1957 the age-pyramid revealed that there were now more females than males, particularly in the marriageable age group, 25-39. This resulted from the fact that during the Emergency about a 100,000 Chinese, (from all over Peninsular Malaysia) comprising mainly the younger male adults, emigrated to China (Caldwell, 1963, p. 46).

An examination of the age-structure diagram revealed that there was an increase in the youthful population (0-19) and a corresponding decline in the adult population (20-59). This meant that the population was increasingly dominated by the young population, a characteristic common to most developing areas.

Further improvements had occurred in the Chinese sex-ratio by 1970, there now being 98 females per 100 males. This was, however, a little lower than the Chinese urban sex-ratio for the Peninsula (see Table 3.2). This indicated that among the Chinese migrants — from other parts of the Peninsula, including smaller towns — to Kuala Lumpur, there was a slight excess of males over females.

Considerable changes had taken place in the Chinese sex and age-pyramid for Kuala Lumpur by 1970. There was now little difference in the size of the age groups 5-9, 10-14 and 15-19; compared with the size of these age groups, the 0-4 age group was noticeably small. This change in the age pyramid indicated that the birth-rate of the Chinese community had appreciably declined from 1957 to 1970. Although there were no birth rate figures available from Kuala Lumpur for this period, the overall figures for the Peninsular Chinese revealed a sharp decline from 43.3 (per 1000) in 1957 to 29.8 in 1970.

From a close study of the map showing the spatial patterns of sex-ratios (for the Kuala Lumpur Chinese) one can make certain generalizations. First, there are more females than males in the high class residential areas such as Damansara and Ampang Road (see map 3.1). This probably results from the fact that in such areas, most wealthy families have female Chinese amahs (domestic servants). Secondly, in localities such as Kampong Kerinchi and the area to the east of Kampong Bahru, where the Chinese proportion is generally low, their sex-ratios too tend to be low. Thirdly, in the main business district, their sex ratios were also low. This disparity resulted from

the temporary presence of a male dominated population residing in hotels that were concentrated in this area. In fact, Kuala Lumpur being the administrative and commercial capital of the country, it daily attracts hundreds of visitors, largely males, from other parts of the country and a certain proportion of them stay overnight in the city.

The Malay Sex-Ratio

Throughout the period for which data is available there has been a preponderance of males over females in urban areas. Besides, the female to male ratio has been higher in rural areas than in urban areas.

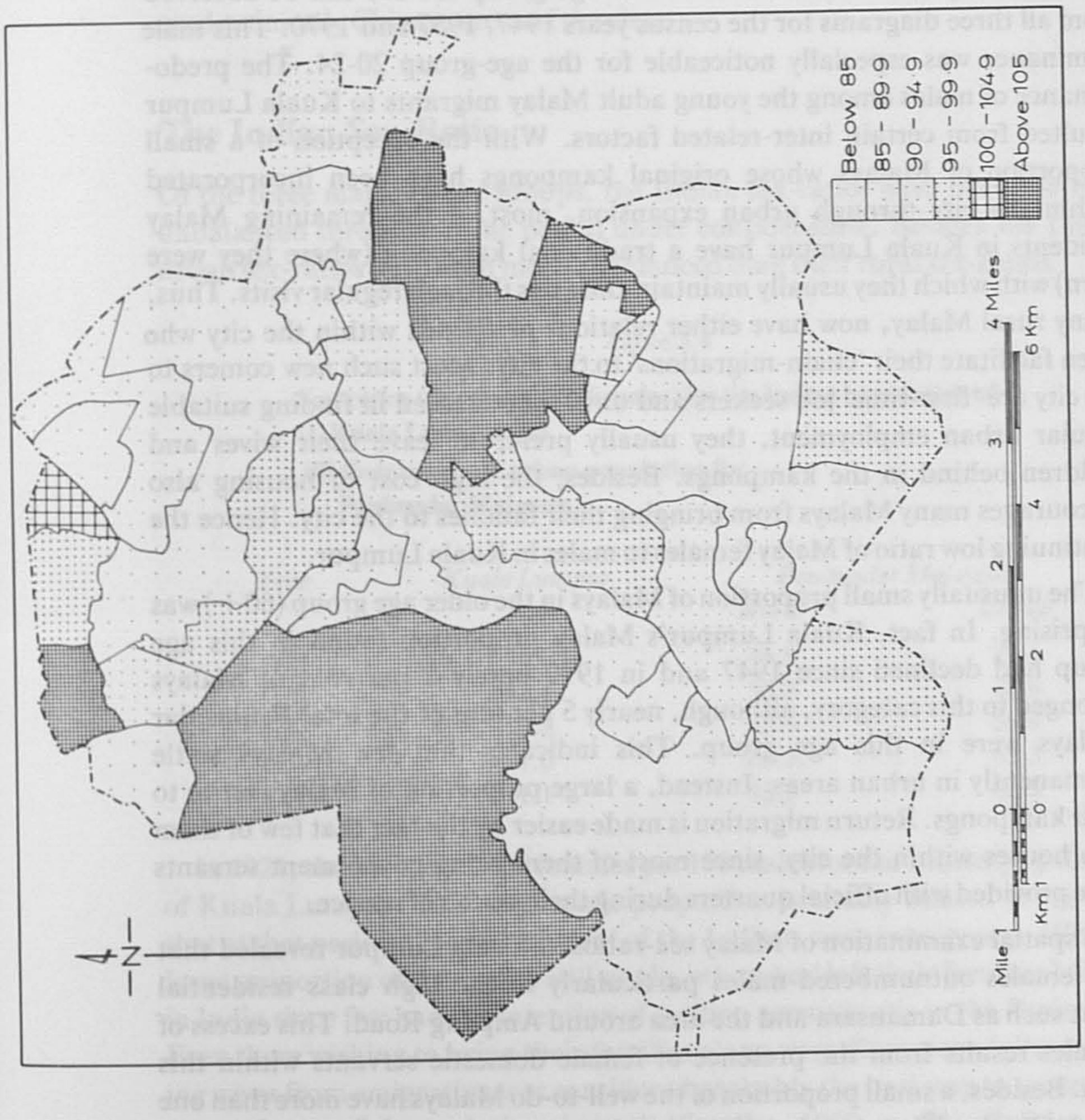
While the disparity in the overall Malay urban sex-ratios has always been less than 10 per cent, in the case of Kuala Lumpur their sex-ratio disparity has been in excess of 10 per cent. In 1921, for example, there were 66 females per 100 males. Part of this imbalance resulted from the fact that in 1921 the Malay immigrant proportion in Selangor was high; although the Indonesian immigrants were male dominated, their sex-ratios were nowhere as imbalanced as those of the Chinese and Indian immigrants, since a large proportion of them were family migrants. In fact, the main reason for the paucity of females among the Kuala Lumpur Malays was that the majority of them were male migrants from the 'Kampongs' (villages).

Table 3.3

Sex-ratios (females per 100 males) for the Malay population of
(i) Kuala Lumpur and
(ii) their rural and urban population for
Peninsular Malaysia

Year	*Kuala Lumpur*	*Peninsular Malaysia*	
		Rural	*Urban*
1921	66.1	96.2	93.4
1931	72.6	97.6	94.6
1947	82.9	101.2	99.5
1957	88.2	102.2	97.7
1970	86.4	101.7	98.7

A closer study of the Malay sex-ratio revealed that their sex-ratio continued to improve upto 1957, after which it marginally declined (see Table 3). This trend, towards becoming balanced (upto 1957), was to some extent due to the decline in the overseas born Malay population of Selangor from 40.26 per cent in 1921 to 8.42 per cent in 1957. On the other hand, the decline in their sex-ratio, in the post independence era resulted from the fact that the total



Map 3.2 Malay Sex Ratios (females per 100 males), 1970.

Malay population of Kuala Lumpur increased rapidly from 47,615 in 1957 to 113,642 in 1970. Much of this increase was caused by rural/urban mobility as well as the 'step-wise' migration from the smaller towns to the primate city. There was a preponderance of male adults among the new Malay migrants to Kuala Lumpur.

The male predominance in the adult age-group (20-59) can be observed from all three diagrams for the census years 1947, 1957 and 1970. This male dominance was especially noticeable for the age-group 20-24. The predominance of males among the young adult Malay migrants to Kuala Lumpur resulted from certain inter-related factors. With the exception of a small proportion of Malays whose original kampongs have been incorporated within the city through urban expansion, most of the remaining Malay residents in Kuala Lumpur have a traditional kampong (where they were born) with which they usually maintain close ties through regular visits. Thus, many rural Malay, now have either relations or friends within the city who often facilitate their 'chain-migrations' to the city. Most such new comers to the city are 'first-time' job seekers and until they succeed in finding suitable regular urban employment, they usually prefer to leave their wives and children behind in the kampongs. Besides, the high cost of housing also discourages many Malays from bringing their families to the city. Hence the continuing low ratio of Malay females to males in Kuala Lumpur.

The unusually small proportion of Malays in the older age group (60+) was surprising. In fact, Kuala Lumpur's Malay proportion found in this age group had declined since 1947 and in 1970 barely 2 per cent of Malays belonged to this category, although, nearly 5 per cent of the total Peninsular Malays were in this age group. This indicates that few Malays settle permanently in urban areas. Instead, a large proportion of Malays retire to their kampongs. Return migration is made easier by the fact that few of them own houses within the city, since most of them being government servants were provided with official quarters during their period of service.

A spatial examination of Malay sex-ratios in Kuala Lumpur revealed that the females outnumbered males particularly in the high class residential areas such as Damansara and the area around Ampang Road. This excess of females results from the presence of female domestic servants within this area. Besides, a small proportion of the well-to-do Malays have more than one wife. On the other hand, traditional Malay areas — Kampong Bahru, Kampong Dato Keramat and Kampong Kerinchi and the localities adjoining these — have low sex-ratios. The low sex-ratios to the south-west and to the north-west of the city partly result from the presence of the University of

Malaya and the University of Technology in these two areas respectively. The presence of a large police camp off Jalan Gurney in the north-west of the city also contributes towards the low sex-ratio prevalent there. Besides, Malay sex-ratios also tend to be low in the central business district, and in other predominantly Chinese areas of the city.

The Indian Sex-Ratio

Of the three major ethnic groups, the Indian sex-ratios have been the most unbalanced throughout the period under consideration. Besides the Indian urban sex-ratios have been more unbalanced than their rural sex-ratios.

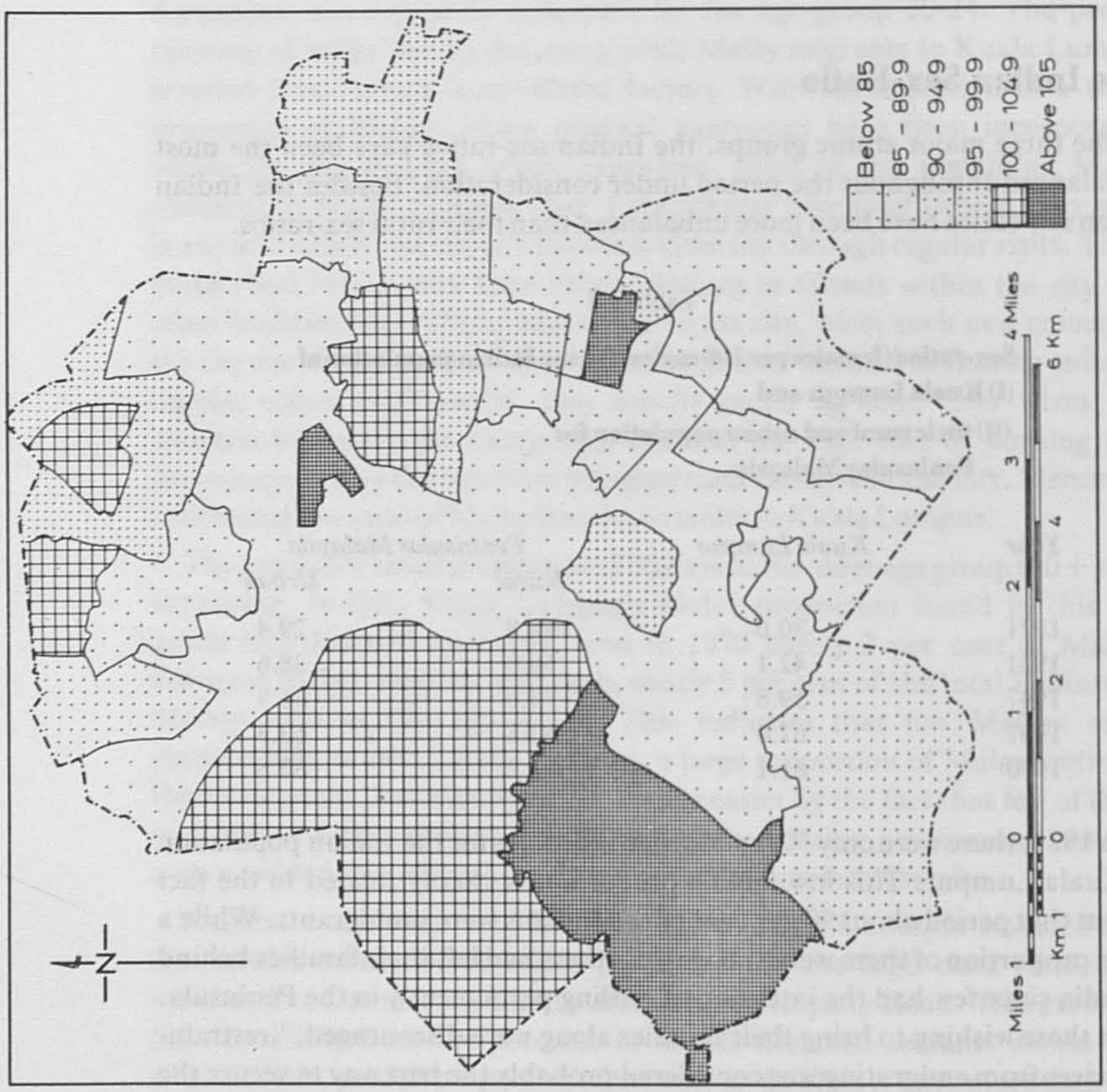
Table 3.4

Sex-ratios (females per 100 males) for the Indian population of
(i) Kuala Lumpur and
(ii) their rural and urban population for
Peninsular Malaysia

Year	*Kuala Lumpur*	*Peninsular Malaysia*	
		Rural	*Urban*
1921	30.0	46.8	29.4
1931	42.1	56.8	38.6
1947	59.8	73.6	56.9
1957	67.0	83.5.	63.3
1970	81.1	93.2	82.5

In 1921, there were only 30 females per 100 males for the Indian population of Kuala Lumpur. This low female proportion is closely related to the fact that at that period about 90 per cent of the Indians were immigrants. While a large proportion of them were still single, others had left their families behind in India since few had the intention of settling permanently in the Peninsula. Even those wishing to bring their families along were discouraged; "restraining wives from emigrating was considered probably the best way to secure the return home of the male immigrant" (Sandhu, 1969, p. 98). Besides, the social system in India-based on the joint family — frowned upon independent female emigration.

Their sex-ratios improved to 42 per 100 in 1931 and again to 59 per 100 in 1947. An examination of the 1947 age pyramid reveals certain interesting aspects to it. For example, while half of the age-pyramid (showing the female



Map 3.3 Indian Sex-Ratios (females per 100 males), 1970.

proportions in each of the age-groups) was almost symmetrical, the other half (showing the male proportion in each of the age-groups) was highly skewed (see diagram 3.2). This indicated that while much of the increase in the female population of Kuala Lumpur was largely due to natural increase, the Indian male population increase was still appreciably influenced by fresh immigrants. It was primarily this factor that was responsible for making the male age group 25-29 larger than any other age group.

By 1957, their sex-ratio had improved further to 67 females per 100 males. The improvement resulted from the fact that most of the Indians became permanently settled. Also, the inflow of new male immigrants had been effectively halted through the tightening of the immigration laws in the early 1950s. Even so, the Indian community retained some of its immigrant characteristics, especially revealed in the wide disparity of the sexes within the adult age-groups (see diagram 3.2).

Further improvements had occurred by 1970, there now being 81 females per 100 males. As in the past, this disparity was caused by the continued presence of the earlier male dominated immigrant population which had now moved into the older adult and old age groups. The excess of males in the younger adult age group 20-39, was largely due to the inmigration of male Indians from other parts of the Peninsula.

Another recent development was the appreciable drop in their birth-rates — which, for the Peninsula, had declined from 49.7 in 1957 to 29.6 per 1000 in 1970 — which had the important effect of causing the 0-4 age group to be smaller than the 5-9 age group (see diagram 3.2).

From the study of diagram 3.1 showing the changes in the major age groups of the Indians over 1947-1970, it is evident that they were slowly becoming a settled community. Not only was there a continuing increase in the proportion of young people (0-19) but there was also an appreciable increase in the old age group (60+).

The spatial patterns of the Indian sex-ratios were not greatly different from those of the other two major ethnic groups. There was either a preponderance of females or their sex-ratios were nearly balanced in the better residential areas — Damansara and the area along Jalan Ampang. This was caused by the presence of amahs in these localities. The immigration of Indian male adults in the predominantly Indian areas such as Brickfields and Sentul where there is a concentration of Indian restaurants together with the availability of accommodation (sometimes with an Indian family) has resulted in these areas having low sex-ratios. Areas where overall Indian proportions are low, in particular the Chinese dominated areas, also tend to

have low sex-ratios (see map 3.3).

Summary

The study of sex-ratio reveals several things. First, the tremendous improvement in the Chinese and Indian sex-ratio indicates that both these groups have become settled communities. Secondly, the disparity in the Malay sex-ratio reveals that rural/urban mobility for that group is dominated by males. Thirdly, the study reveals that sex-ratios are usually low in the traditional areas occupied by Malays, Chinese and Indians respectively, as these areas attract the new rural/urban migrants. Fourthly, there are more females than males for all the three ethnic groups in the two highclass residential zones — the western highland area, and the area lying to the east, along Ampang Road; this results from the presence of female servants (amahs).

In future, it seems likely that the Indians sex-ratios will improve further as the old male dominated population is replaced by the more balanced adult population. On the other hand, the Malay sex-ratio will probably stagnate at its present level (86 females per 100 males); the Malays being indigenous inhabitants, maintain strong ties with their native kampongs, to which many hope to return on retirement. It is likely that a majority of the potential Malay migrants to Kuala Lumpur will continue to be males.

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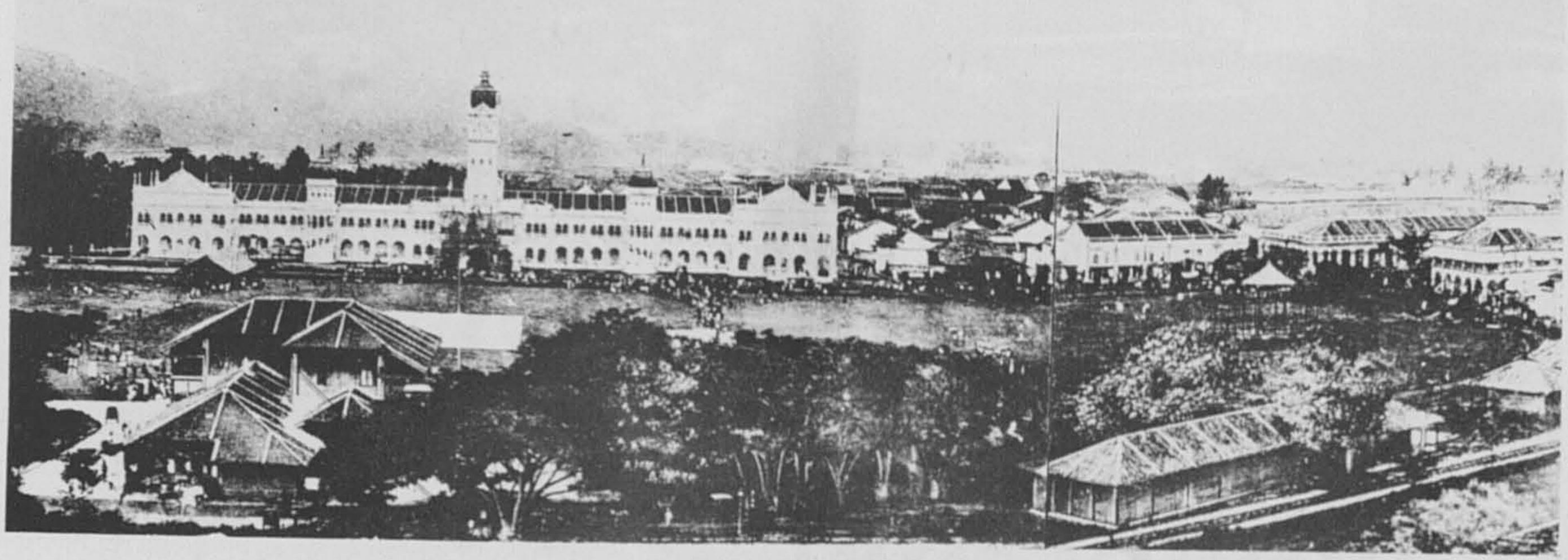
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1. Kuala Lumpur, 1884 (Courtesy, Museum Negara)



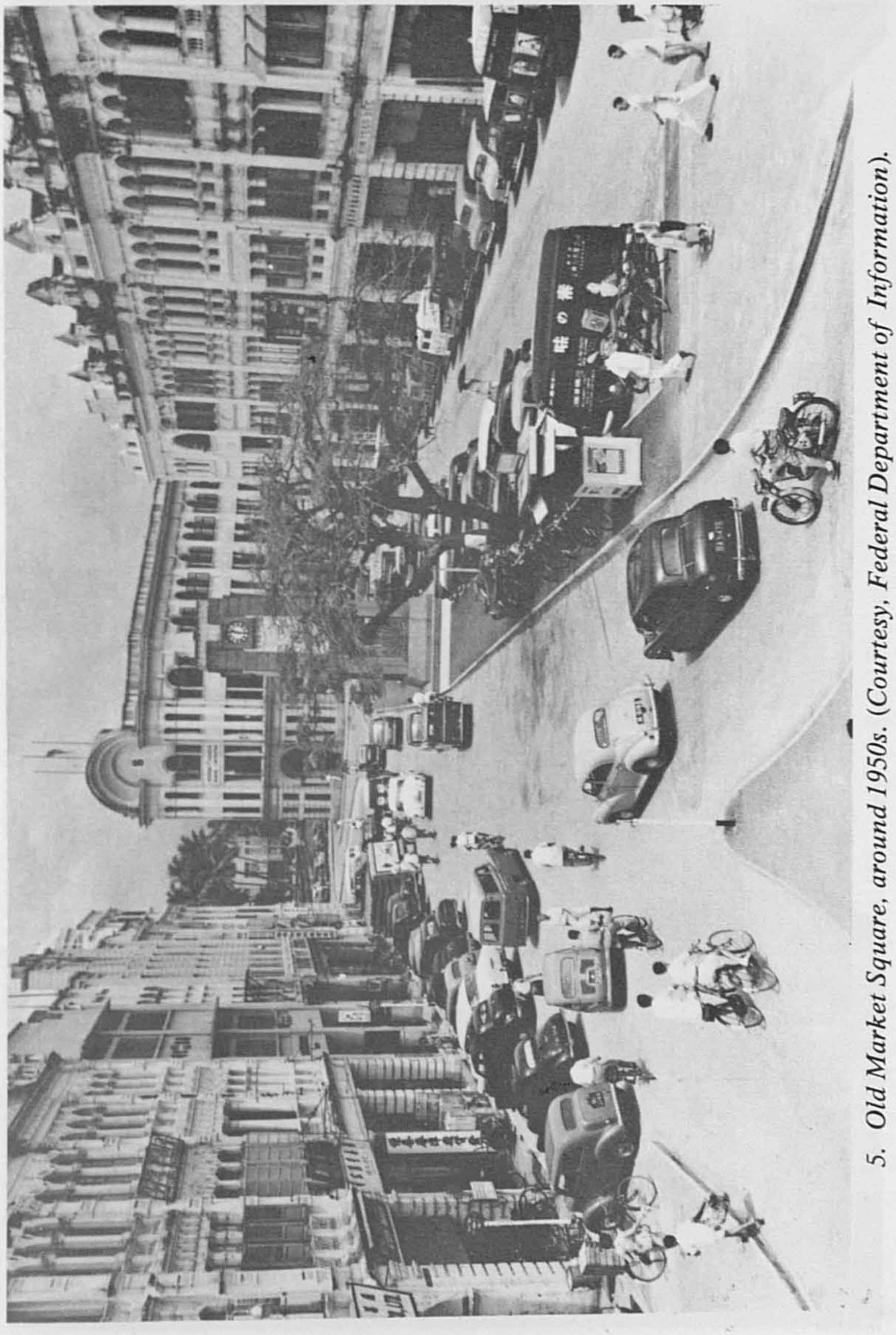
2. Kuala Lumpur, 1897 (Courtesy, Museum Negara)



3. A photograph taken during the early part of this Century, showing Petaling Street facing the railway crossing at the present Foch Avenue. (Courtesy, Museum Negara).



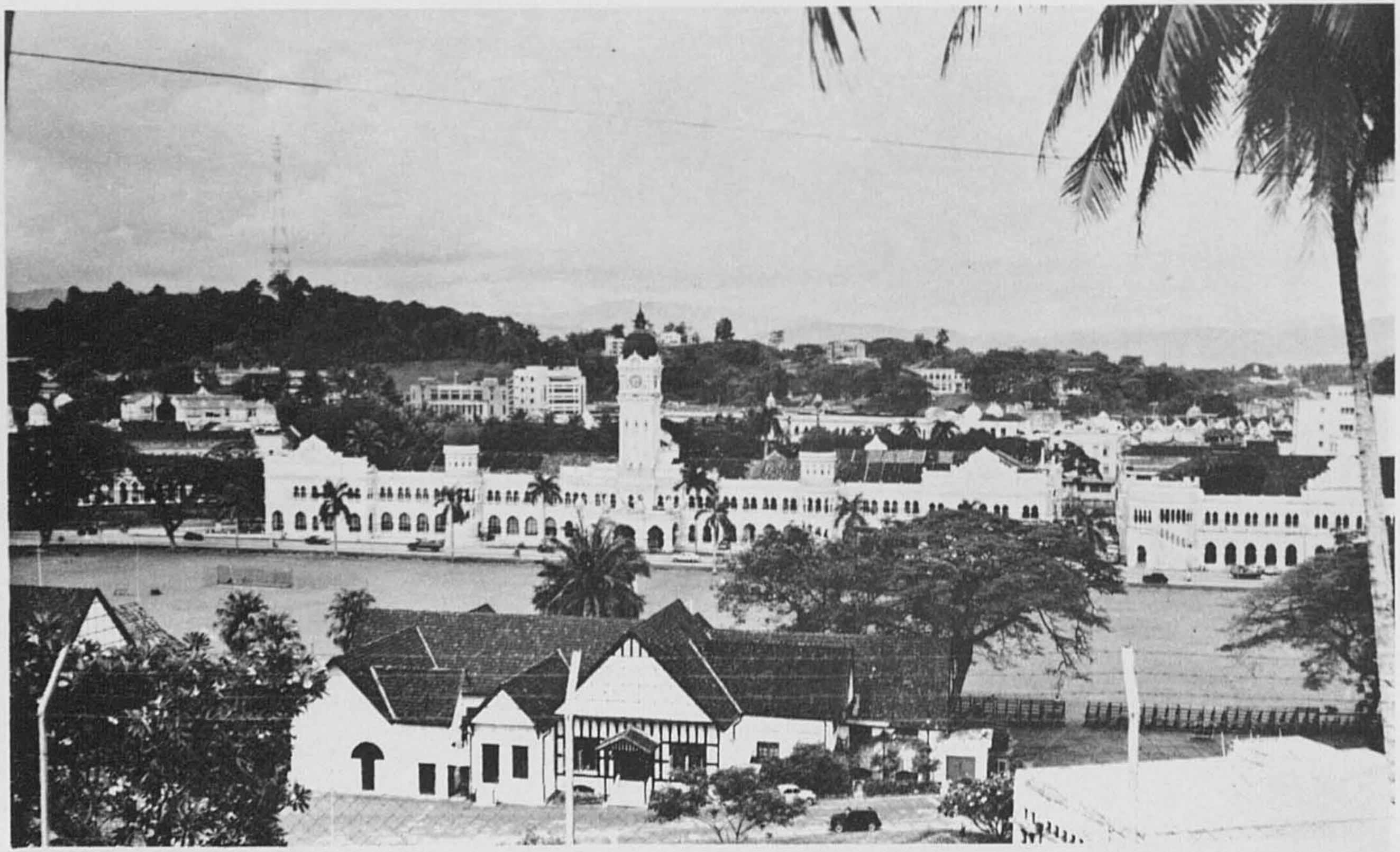
4. Jalan Silang (Cross Street) and Jalan Yap Ah Loy Junction, 1913. (Courtesy, Museum Negara).



5. Old Market Square, around 1950s. (Courtesy, Federal Department of Information).



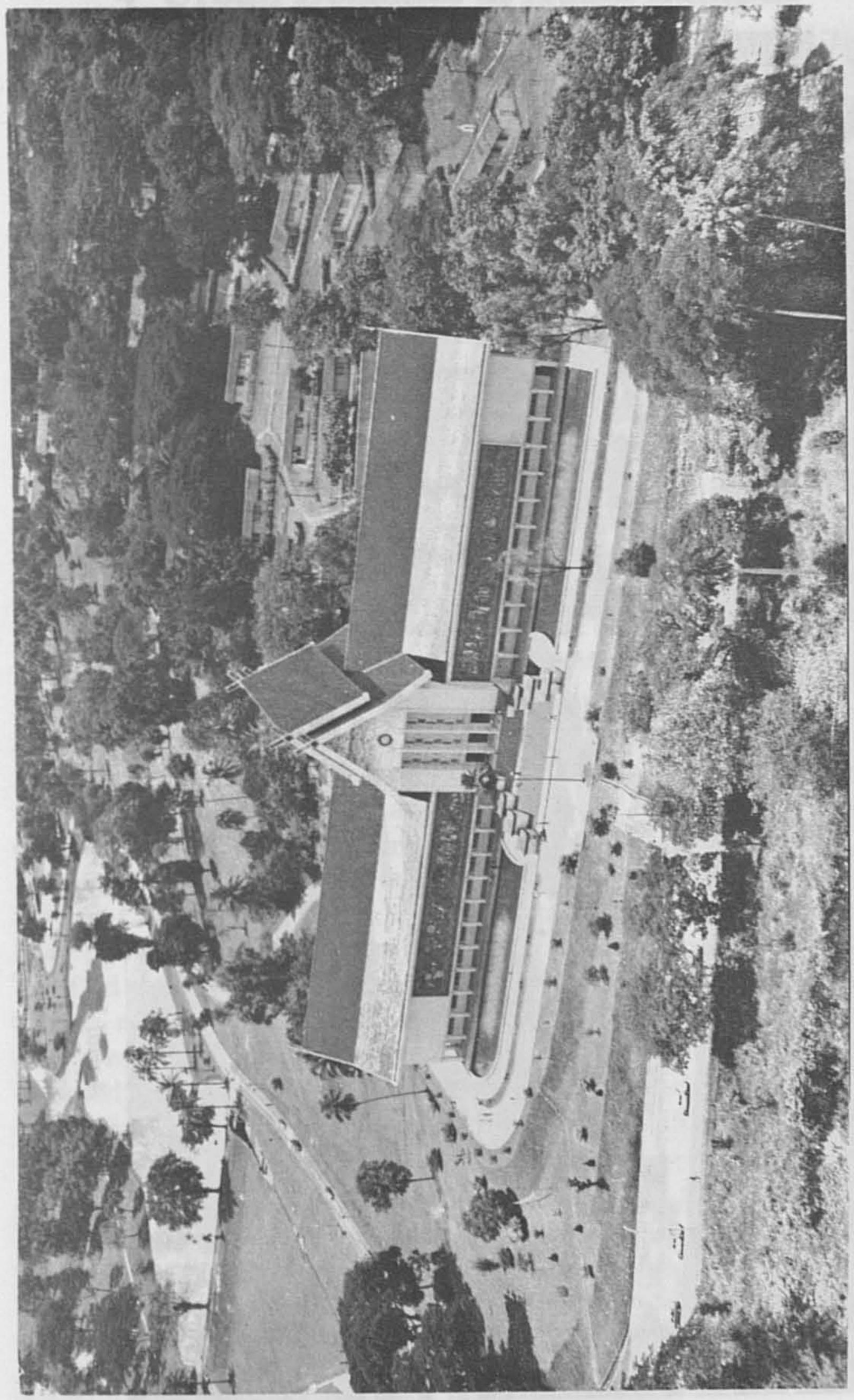
6. Petaling Street facing Foch Avenue, 1964. (Courtesy, Federal Department of Information).



7. Aerial View of Selangor State Secretariat Building facing The Parade Ground, 1954. (Courtesy, Federal Department of Information).



8. Aerial View of K.L. City (1970?)
(Courtesy, Federal Department of Information).



9. Aerial View of Lake Garden & National Museum 1970. (Courtesy Federal Department of Information).



10. Aerial View of Information and Broadcasting Complex in Pantai; note the squatter houses in the background, 1973. (Courtesy, Federal Department of Information).

4 Urban Densities in Kuala Lumpur

In 1970, Kuala Lumpur had a total population of 452,000 within its area of 93 square kilometres, giving an average density of about 20 persons per acre. An examination of maps 4.1 and 4.2, however, reveals marked spatial variations. Map 4.1 reveals that densities are highest in the core zone and generally decline towards the outer zones (see also diagram 4.1). This immediately confirms that Kuala Lumpur differs from the typical Western city in that its core is not sparsely populated but instead it is the most densely populated concentric zone within the city. The high densities within the core are explained by the presence of the traditional shophouse within the city centre, which combines the function of business and residence on the ground and first floors respectively.

A striking feature of the shophouse within the CBD (central business district) in Kuala Lumpur and elsewhere in the Peninsula is that the overwhelming majority of its residents are Chinese. Very often, either the entire CBD or a part of it is a Chinatown. In the case of Kuala Lumpur, Petaling Street and Sultan Street which lie within the east south-east sector of Ring 2 of Map 4.2 form the heart of the oldest Chinatown in the city. It has been pointed out that the Chinatown "records the highest population densities in the city, the average for the region's Chinatowns being 350 persons per hectare (i.e. 142 persons per acre), occasionally rising to over 2,500 per hectare (i.e. 809 persons per acre) in selected blocks" (Jackson, 1975, p. 47). Although most Chinatowns from their very inception are close to being 100 per cent Chinese, the Petaling Street Chinatown is unique in the sense that it had originally a sizeable Indian population. Even now within this area one can find the Sri Maha Mariamman Indian temple, a Sikh temple and a theatre named Madras. The area was gradually acquired by the more enterprising Chinese in the early decades of this century. It has been observed that between 50 and 100 persons reside in each shop-house, which is usually 20 feet wide and 80 feet long (Newcombe, 1956, p. 9). While the

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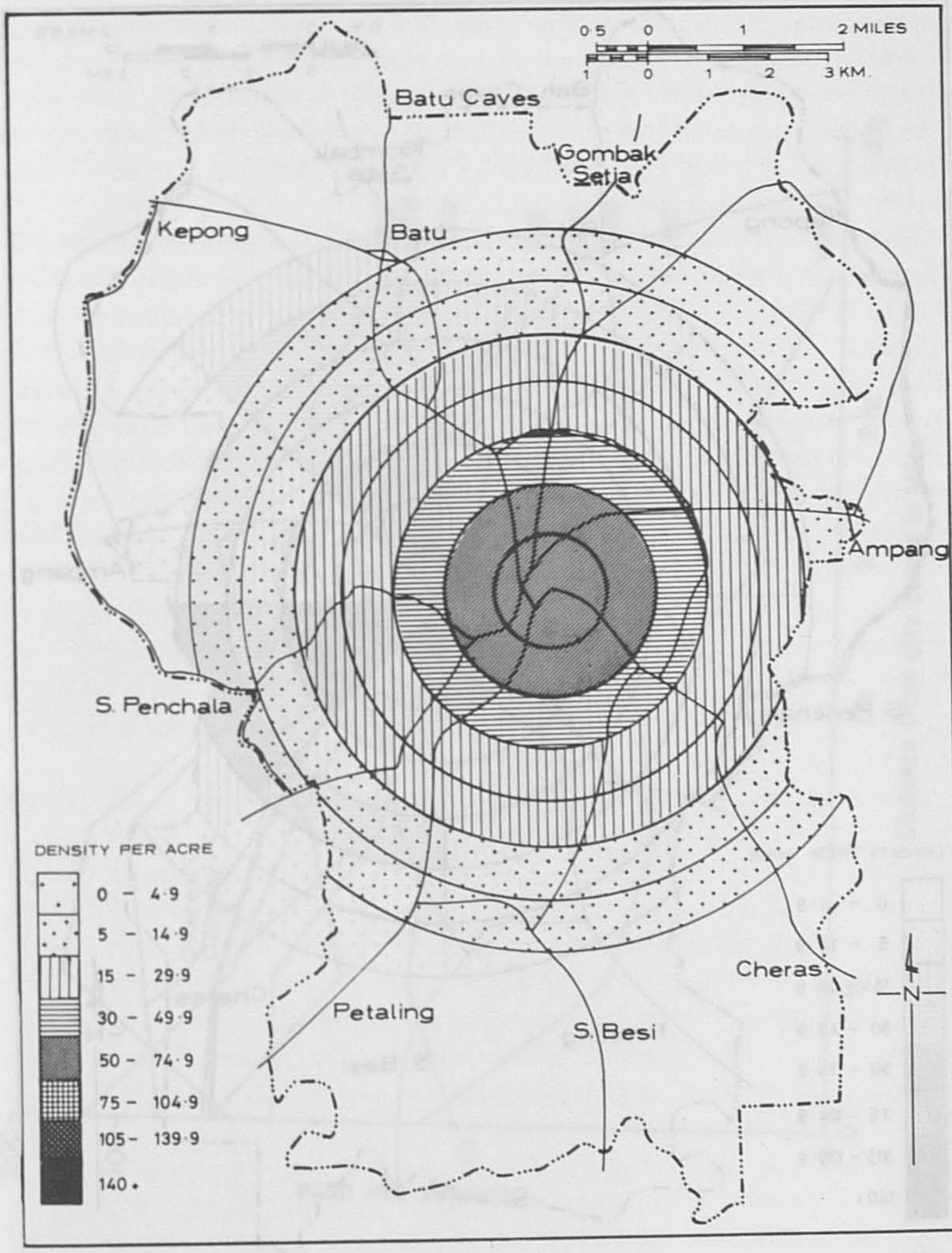
1 The study relies on information obtained from a detailed dot distribution map which was prepared by the Census Department using the individual enumeration block data. By counting the number of dots (each dot represents 100 persons on the base map) within each concentric zone of half-mile intervals, the density values were obtained for constructing map 4.1. The same technique was used to prepare map 4.2 showing density by sectors. From the data employed in drawing these two maps, the density gradient graphs (see diagram 4.1) were constructed.

majority of the residents, often including the owner, reside on the first floor in cubicles, others sleep on collapsible beds on the group floor in the passage-way between wares. The beds are folded and hidden in a corner in the morning before the shop opens for business. As such, the proportion of the urban population who live in shop-houses is considerable; it has, in fact, been "estimated that more than 50 per cent of the urban population in the Federation live in shop-houses" (Concannon, 1951, p. 33). The situation seems to have improved marginally since the early 1950s. Besides, segregation and diseases are common in these areas. A medical authority cited by Concannon pointed out that "the existing type of shop-house is the largest single factor contributing to the high incidence of tuberculosis in this country" (1951, p. 33). The reason for this is that the shop-houses, especially the older ones, in the Peninsula are poorly designed and receive inadequate sunlight and fresh air, despite the presence of an air-well at the rear. The high population densities in shop-houses continue even to this day as there are no direct laws to prevent overcrowding.

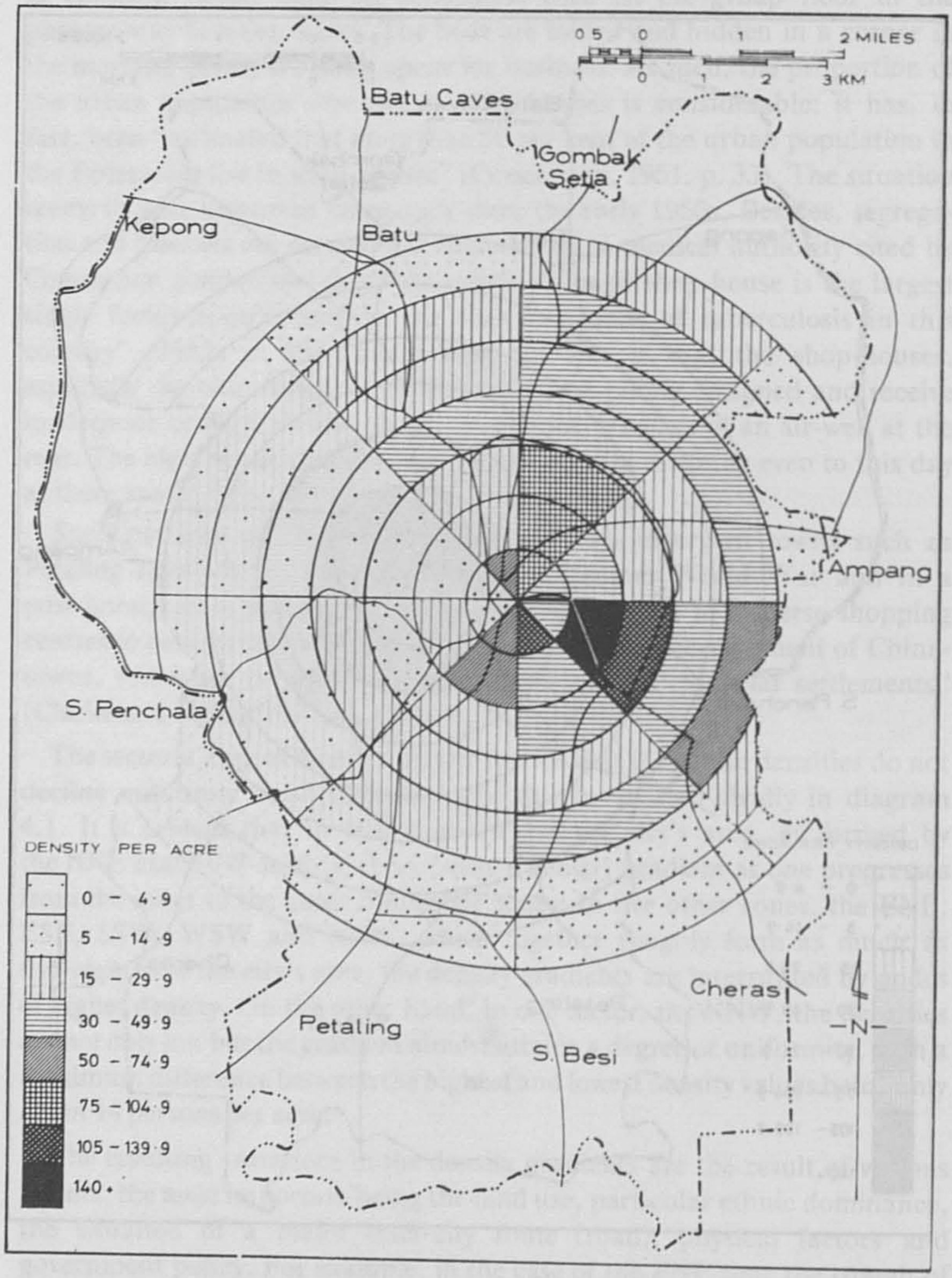
Such patterns are however missing in newly emergent towns such as Petaling Jaya which "developed after the Second World War and in a post-immigration period. Deliberate steps were taken to disperse shopping centres to each neighbourhood, thus forestalling the development of China-towns, which are so typical of virtually all major Peninsular settlements" (Clarke and Sidhu, 1977, p. 156).

The sectoral map of Kuala Lumpur reveals that the urban densities do not decline uniformly in all directions and this is revealed vividly in diagram 4.1. It is evident that in only a quarter of the city's area, as formed by the NNE and SSW sectors, there exists a density gradient as one progresses from the inner to the outer concentric zones. In five other zones, the ENE, ESE, SSW, WSW and NNW, which together roughly form as much as five-eighths of the city's area, the density gradients are interrupted by nodes of higher density. On the other hand, in one sector, theWNW, the densities are not only low but the gradient almost attains a degree of uniformity, with a maximum difference between the highest and lowest density values being only about 14 persons per acre.

The resulting variations in the density gradients are the result of various factors, the most important being the land use, particular ethnic dominance, the situation of a major inter-city route (road), physical factors and government policy. For example, in the case of the ENE zone the trough of low density in Rings 3 and 4 is caused by the presence of a high class residential area and a race course. The highest density for any zone occurs in



Map 4.1 Population Densities by Concentric Zones, 1970.



Map 4.2 Population Densities by Sectors, 1970.

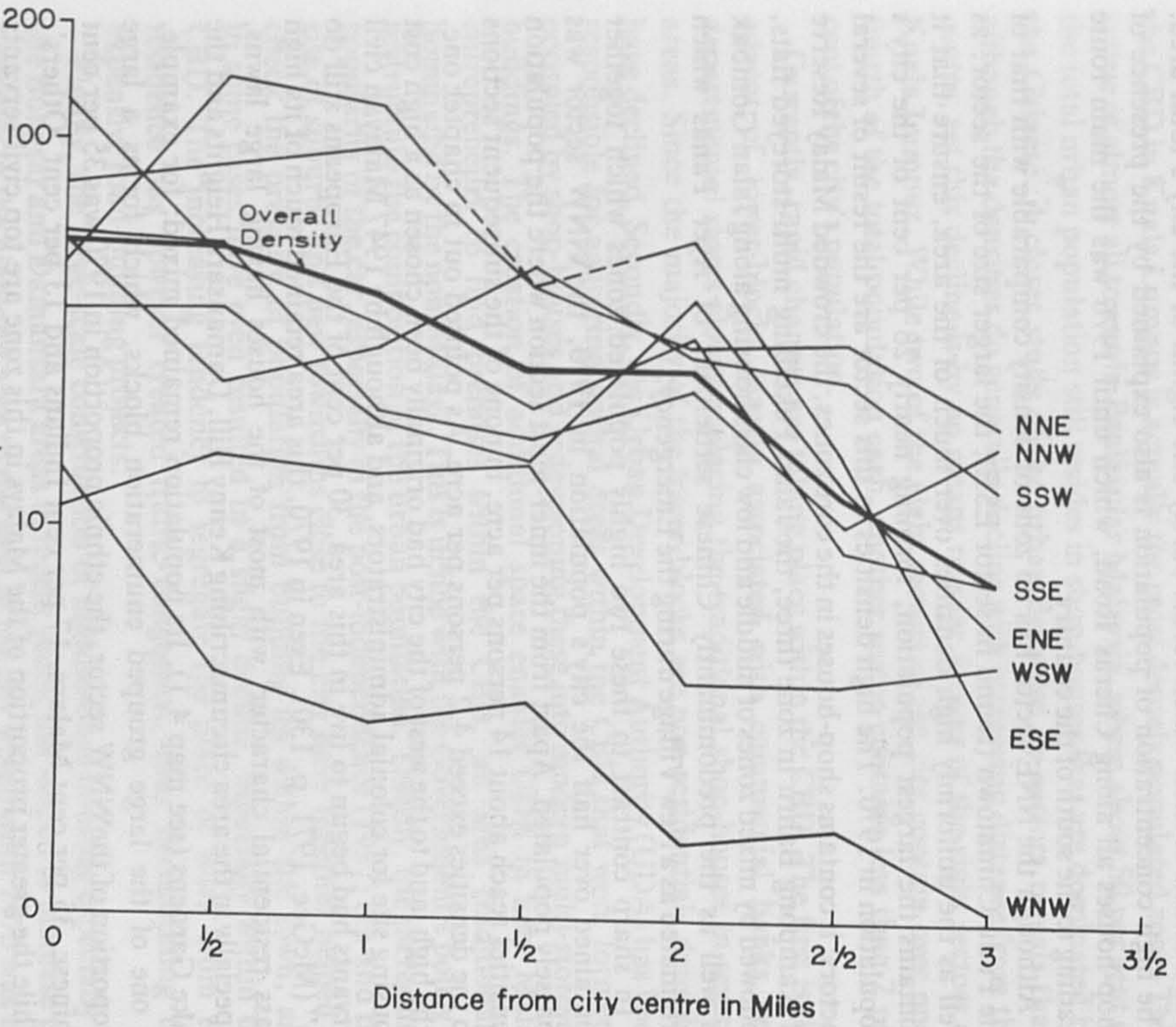


Diagram 4.1 Density Gradients for Kuala Lumpur, 1970.

ring two of the ESE sector owing to the location of the Petaling Street Chinatown, part of the Pudu Road Chinatown and the Jalan Shaw multi-storeyed flats. Consequently this sector has the greatest concentration of population in Kuala Lumpur; in fact, over a quarter of the city's population is found in this section which forms barely one-eighth of the city's total area. The high concentration of population is also explained by the presence of shop-houses all along Cheras Road, which until 1976 was the main route leading to the south of the country.

Although the NNE sector has no zone of density comparable with that of the Pudu Chinatown (found in sector ESE), the larger size of the sector, as well as the uniformly high densities over much of the area, ensure that it contains the largest population, forming nearly 28 per cent of the city's population in 1970. The high densities in this sector are the result of several factors; it contains shop-houses in the core zones, the crowded Malay Reserve of Kampong Bahru in zone three, the Jalan Pekeliling multi-storeyed flats, followed by mixed zones of middle and low class housing along Jalan Gombak as well as the predominantly Chinese settlement of Ayer Panas which originated as a New Village during the Emergency.

In sharp contrast to these two highly populated zones which together contained over half the city's population in 1970, the WNW sector was sparsely populated. Apart from the inner-most section where the population densities reach about 14 persons per acre, in none of the subsequent sections do the densities exceed 4.2 persons per acre. As pointed out in chapter one, "the high land to the west of the city had originally been chosen as a high cost housing site for colonial administrators, and although by 1947 Malayan civil servants had begun to live in this area, 30 per cent of the Europeans still do so" (McGee, 1971, p. 130). Even in 1970, this area retained much of its high class residential character, with most of the houses having large lawns, especially in the area circumscribing Kenny Hill, Damansara Heights and the Lake Gardens (see map 4.1). Its population remained mixed; for example, in one of the large grouped enumeration blocks, which forms a large proportion of the WNW sector, the ethnic proportion in 1970 was 35 per cent Chinese, 35 per cent Malays, 17 per cent Indians and 13 per cent 'Others'. While the greater proportion of the Malays in this zone are top civil servants and government ministers, the majority of the non-Malays are professionals and businessmen. The life-style of the inhabitants is uniformly sophisticated and westernized and the chief lingua-franca is English irrespective of race.

In fact, the total population of the entire sector was as low as 7,000 or about 1.5 per cent of the city's total population. While densities remain low

throughout the sector, these tend to decline away from the centre.

Summary

It is evident that unlike the Western cities where the CBDs have low densities, the CBD in Kuala Lumpur is actually the most densely populated zone. This is true of almost all towns in Peninsular Malaysia, where about 50 per cent of the total urban population still resides in shop-houses that are dominated by the Chinese. A closer study of the urban densities by sectors reveals that, although the densities do generally decline with increasing distance from the centre, yet this decline is by no means regular for any of the eight sectors of Kuala Lumpur. While two of the eight sectors of the city contain over one-fourth of the total population each, another sector contains less than 2 per cent of the city's population.

Currently, rapid changes are taking place within the CBD. The first is the advent of tower-blocks largely associated with commercial banks and departmental stores slowly replacing the traditional shop-houses in several areas. Since the majority of the tower-blocks are non-residential, densities have declined. Secondly, the Urban Development Authority (UDA) has been responsible for acquiring several areas within the CBD that were formerly occupied by shop-houses and redeveloping these into modern multi-storeyed buildings. The creation of additional space enables UDA to help Malay entrepreneurs to find premises within the CBD, an area traditionally dominated by the non-Malays. This is in line with the Government's policy to restructure the composition of the urban population. Thirdly, the increasing popularity of the car, especially in the post-independence (1957) era and the rise of suburbs and new townships close to the city have together helped to check the pressure of population from building up within the town, and in some cases have even resulted in a slight decline, especially within the CBD. The increasing tendency to segregate the place of work from the residence has however created traffic congestion, thus necessitating the expensive road-building projects.

Finally, the large-scale construction of middle-class housing especially in the Bungsar and Damansara areas in recent years, has helped to increase the densities in the highland area to the west of the city which until 1970 was the most sparsely populated area of Kuala Lumpur.

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5 Migrants to Kuala Lumpur

The study of population mobility to Kuala Lumpur is based on the 'previous place of residence' data derived from the 1970 census. As this data is available only at the district level (and not by individual cities), the present study covers the entire Kuala Lumpur district which encompasses within its borders four large towns — Kuala Lumpur (451,000), Petaling Jaya (93,000), Jinjang (27,000) and Serdang Bahru (13,000).

The 'previous place of residence' data relates to:

(i) Those who have resided in the same locality since birth[1];
(ii) Those who have previously resided elsewhere in Kuala Lumpur district;
(iii) Their district and state of previous residence within Peninsular Malaysia;
(iv) Those whose previous place of residence was Sabah or Sarawak;
(v) Those whose previous residence was outside Malaysia[2], and
(vi) Those whose previous residence is not known.

Based on the above sub-division, it was found that almost one-third of the total population of 871,909 in Kuala Lumpur district in 1970 were migrants from outside the district. Nearly half were residents in the same district since

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1 This category is misleading as the census department employs the term 'locality' in a perculiar fashion. 'Locality' in this context refers to an estate, village or town and "moves within the locality are excluded in this classification" (*1970 Population and Housing Census of Malaysia,* Volume 1, Part V, Selangor, p. 15). Besides the term 'previous place of residence' relates to the last move made by the migrants before the Census. It ignores all other previous moves (Ibid).

2 An examination of this category revealed that approximately one-third of the Chinese and Indian migrants to Kuala Lumpur district originated from outside the Peninsula. To state it differently, 8.5 per cent of the total Chinese and 11.7 per cent of the total Indians found in Kuala Lumpur district in 1970 were overseas migrants, largely originating from Mainland China and India. These percentages are close to the proportion of overseas born population (8.06 per cent) for the Peninsula in 1970. This would suggest that an appreciable proportion of the Chinese and Indian migrants from abroad did not migrate away from the locality to which they first migrated within Kuala Lumpur district. This would seem strange considering the fact that an overwhelming majority of them migrated to the Peninsula in the early 1950s or even earlier, before the immigration law were further tightened so as to make it almost impossible for fresh migrants to enter the country.

As such doubts are raised regarding the reliability of the data pertaining to the 'previous locality of residence.' Either the census question was not clear in itself or the census enumerators were not able to extract the precise information required.

birth (see footnote on page 55). While 18.6 per cent had given their last move as being within the district itself, for 3.3 per cent their 'previous place of residence' was not known. Tables 5.1A and 5.1B sums up similar details for the various ethnic groups found within Kuala Lumpur district.

Table 5.1A

Showing the Origin (based on last place of residence) and Ethnicity of Migrants to Kuala Lumpur District

Origin \ *Ethnicity*	*Chinese*	*Malays*	*Indians*	*Others*	*Total*
In this locality since birth*	272,586	83,115	69,082	2,597	427,380
Kuala Lumpur district	89,908	47,213	23,810	1,823	162,754
Peninsular Malaysia (Excluding Kuala Lumpur District)	71,047	80,870	27,253	1,585	180,755
Sabah and Sarawak	566	1,221	83	136	2,006
Outside Malaysia	42,232	6,223	16,499	4,559	69,513
Not Known	15,673	9,231	4,222	375	29,501
Total	492,012	227,873	140,949	11,075	871,909

Table 5.1B

Showing the Proportion (%) of Kuala Lumpur District's Population by Ethnicity and Previous Place of Residence

Origin \ *Ethnicity*	*Chinese*	*Malays*	*Indians*	*Others*	*Total*
In this locality since birth*	55.40	36.47	49.01	23.45	49.01
Kuala Lumpur district	18.27	20.71	16.89	16.46	18.66
Peninsular Malaysia (Excluding Kuala Lumpur District)	14.44	35.48	19.34	14.31	20.73
Sabah and Sarawak	0.11	0.53	0.05	1.22	0.23
Outside Malaysia	8.58	2.73	11.70	41.16	7.97
Not Known	3.18	4.05	2.99	3.38	3.38
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* See footnote 1, page 55.

Origin of Migrants

Of the total migrant population of 252,274, 71.6 per cent came from within the Peninsula. Opposed to this the contribution from the states of Sabah and Sarawak was neglegible being less than 1 per cent. Another 27.5 per cent originated outside Malaysia, largely from China and India.

From within Malaysia the most important contributors to Kuala Lumpur district were the states of Perak (47,700), Selangor (36,000), Negri Sembilan (23,000), Johore (15,900) and Malacca (15,500) Map 5.1 and Table 5.2 (i)[1].

Table 5.2(ii) reveals the role of the 'state capital districts' (i.e. district containing the state capital) in contributing migrants to Kuala Lumpur district. Almost half the migrants to Kuala Lumpur from outside Selangor state originated from the 'state capital districts' though these contained one-third of the total population of the Peninsula, excluding Selangor. This is partly explained by the fact that people living in the ten 'state capital districts' are usually more knowledgeable regarding job opportunities in Kuala Lumpur than are the inhabitants of the remaining districts of each state.[2]

Ethnicity of Migrants

Although the Malays formed barely one-fourth of the districts population, yet they formed 44.7 per cent of the total migrants.[3] On the other hand the

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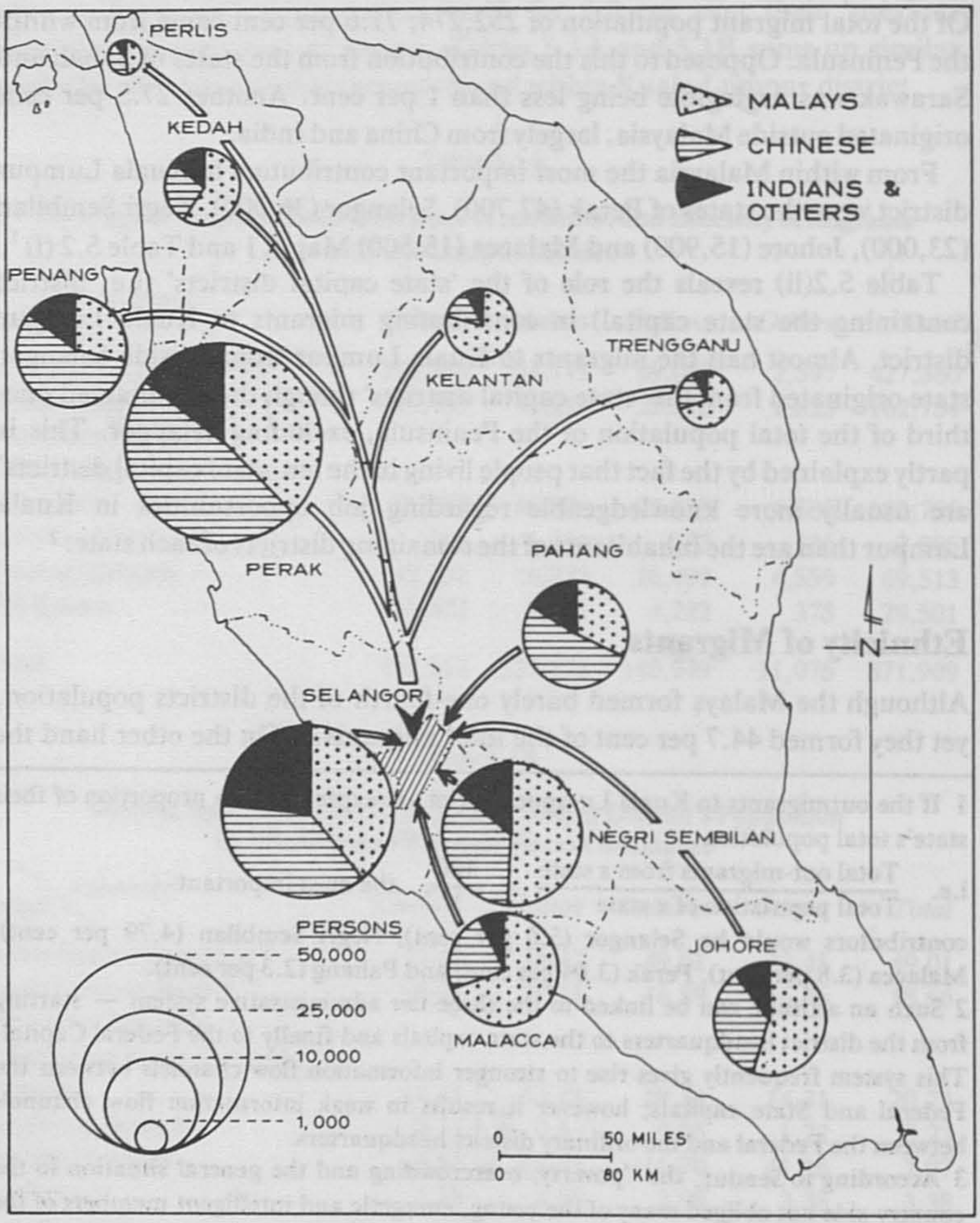
1 If the outmigrants to Kuala Lumpur district are expressed as a proportion of their state's total population

i.e. $\frac{\text{Total out-migrants from x state}}{\text{Total population of x state}} \times \frac{100}{1}$, the most important contributors would be Selangor (5.6 per cent), Negri Sembilan (4.79 per cent), Malacca (3.8 per cent), Perak (3.04 per cent) and Pahang (2.3 per cent).

2 Such an attitude can be linked to the three-tier administrative system — starting from the district headquarters to the state capitals and finally to the Federal Capital. This system frequently gives rise to stronger information flow channels between the Federal and State capitals; however it results in weak information flow channels between the Federal and the ordinary district headquarters.

3 According to Sendut, the "poverty, overcrowding and the general situation in the country-side has obliged many of the young, energetic and intelligent members of the community [Malay] to move into towns....". (1962, p. 122). An appreciable proportion of the Malay migrants to Kuala Lumpur originate from the 'Kampongs' (villages).

Likewise, in the case of the non-Malays, they were 'pushed' from smaller towns and rural areas to Kuala Lumpur, owing to lack of employment opportunities in their places of origin, mainly due to lack of industrial development.



Map 5.1 Migrants to Kuala Lumpur District from Various States. (Based *on 1970 census data pertaining to previous place of residence*).

Table 5.2

(i) the total migrants to Kuala Lumpur district from the states of Peninsula Malaysia.
(ii) the total migrants to Kuala Lumpur district from their respective 'state capital districts' (i.e. district containing the state capital).
(iii) migrants from the 'state capital district' as a proportion of total migrant from each individual state.

(*Data Based on Previous Place of Residence*).

Migrants	*Total*			*Chinese*			*Malays*			*Indians*		
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
Johore	15,906	4,630	29.1%	5,617	1,429	25.4%	8,502	2,507	29.4%	1,658	630	37.9%
Kedah	7,342	3,728	50.7%	2,036	1,113	54.6%	4,238	2,151	50.7%	1,023	439	42.9%
Kelantan	5,471	3,116	56.9%	722	518	71.4%	4,298	2,389	55.5%	399	169	42.3%
Malacca	15,538	9,268	59.6%	3,898	3,372	86.5%	10,430	4,910	47.0%	1,014	792	78.1%
Negeri Sembilan	23,083	11,099	48.0%	8,192	5,650	68.9%	11,307	3,333	29.4%	3,340	1,971	59.0%
Pahang	11,838	2,489	21.0%	5,899	951	61.1%	4,091	1,111	27.1%	1,740	391	22.4%
Penang	13,897	9,631	69.3%	7,911	6,419	81.1%	3,796	1,723	45.3%	1,953	1,300	66.5%
Perak	47,779	23,022	48.1%	22,623	13,863	61.2%	17,819	5,865	32.9%	6,981	3,084	44.1%
Perlis	1,197	1,197	100%	481	481	100%	583	583	100%	125	125	100%
Trengganu	2,628	1,541	58.6%	596	297	49.8%	1,836	1,154	62.8%	180	82	45.5%
Peninsular Malaysia (excluding Selangor)	144,679	69,721	48.19%	57,975	34,093	58.81%	66,900	25,726	38.45%	18,413	8,983	48.79%

Chinese and Indians, who formed 56.4 per cent and 16.1 per cent of the district's total population formed 39.3 per cent and 15.0 per cent of the total migrants to the district. (See table 5.3).

Table 5.3

The Ethnic Composition (in per cent) of Migrants from Within Peninsular Malaysia to Kuala Lumpur District, 1970.
(*Data based on previous place of residence*).

Chinese	*Malays*	*Indians*	*Others*	*Total*
39.3	44.74	15.07	0.87	100%

Since almost three-quarters of the Peninsular Chinese lived in towns above the size of 1,000, one would have expected greater Chinese migration from the smaller towns to the primate city of Malaysia. This did not occur because of the migration of large numbers of Chinese to the neighbouring city state of Singapore. For example, in a study of mobility covering a sample of 1970 secondary school leavers from six randomly selected district towns (excepting the district state capitals) it was found that "an appreciable proportion (22.27 per cent) of the Chinese school leavers migrated to areas outside West Malaysia. Of these 3/4 migrated to neighbouring Singapore. In fact, the Kuala Lumpur-Petaling Jaya region was the second order destination, following Singapore, for Chinese school leavers (Sidhu, 1976, p. 36). The fact that Singapore was a Chinese dominated city attracted many Chinese from the Peninsula. Besides, Singapore experienced a shortage of manpower in the late 1960s due to its rapid industrial expansion; alongside, job-opportunities in the Peninsula were limited as revealed by the high unemployment rate of 8 per cent in 1970. Furthermore, it is not compulsory in Singapore, as it is in Malaysia, to have a minimum qualification in Malay for entrance into Government Service.

Education and Mobility

The mobility to Kuala Lumpur district is especially high amongst the educated. In the study quoted above it was found that "19.7 per cent of all school leavers surveyed [from the six district towns] had migrated to the Federal Capital, Kuala Lumpur, and Petaling Jaya. Of these 31.7 per cent were gainfully employed in government service and private firms, while the

rest had migrated there to continue their studies" (Sidhu, 1976, p. 32).

Annually Kuala Lumpur district attracts thousands of school leavers from other districts as large numbers of jobs are offered by the public and private sectors within Kuala Lumpur. Furhter, the concentration of tertiary education facilities within Kuala Lumpur and their corresponding paucity in other parts of the country compel many to migrate to Kuala Lumpur in order to further their studies.

Sex Structure

Females formed 46.8 per cent of the total migrants from other Peninsular districts. This is in considerable contrast to the Third World cities which receive predominantly male migrants. Table 5.4 shows that this trend is consistent among migrants from all parts of Peninsular Malaysia. This near balanced sex-ratio arises because females are more liberated in Malaysia as compared with some of the more conservative Muslim countries. Apart from those who come to further their

Table 5.4

Showing the Proportion of Females Among Migrants to Kuala Lumpur District. (Data based on previous place of residence)

Origin \ *Ethnicity*	*Chinese*	*Malays*	*Indians*	*Total*
Johore	44.2	44.1	43.4	44.1
Kedah	46.0	40.5	40.0	42.0
Kelantan	46.2	44.8	43.1	44.9
Malacca	47.5	43.8	42.2	44.8
Negri Sembilan	49.0	47.3	46.0	47.8
Pahang	52.2	45.9	47.0	49.2
Penang	47.0	44.9	40.3	45.6
Perak	50.2	45.2	44.3	47.5
Perlis	47.6	41.1	48.0	44.2
Selangor (excluding K.L. District)	49.6	48.3	47.3	48.5
Trengganu	49.6	43.0	39.4	44.4
Peninsular Malaysia	49.0	45.4	45.0	46.8
Sabah	31.8	17.8	26.3	22.8
Sarawak	39.6	24.9	42.2	30.7
Outside Malaysia	52.5	45.5	36.4	47.8

education[1], the number of independent female migrants to Kuala Lumpur is substantial. While the educated females usually find jobs mainly as typists and clerks in the offices, the uneducated and the less-educated find employment in the light manufacturing industries, departmental stores and also as amahs with upper middle class and high class families. Indeed several light manufacturing industries prefer female employees as it is customary to pay them less as compared with male employees in corresponding situations.

Usually a large number of these independent migrant girls live as tenants with families. The fear that some of the female migrants, especially the unsophisticated migrants from rural areas may become prostitutes has prompted authorities to moot the idea of providing them with hostels.

In a survey of Malay migrants in Kuala Lumpur, it was found that about [illegible] migrants were married and travelled with their families migrants to Kuala Lumpur as their sex-ratios are comparable to those for the Malays.

Conclusion

From this study it is obvious that one out of every third inhabitant of Kuala Lumpur district in 1970 was a migrant from outside. Nearly two-thirds of these migrants originated within Peninsula Malaysia. The Malays who formed barely one-fourth of the district's population formed 45 per cent of the total migrants from within the country. On the other hand, the Chinese who formed 56 per cent of the districts total population formed barely two-fifths of the migrants to Kuala Lumpur originating from within the Peninsula. Only for the Indian population did their proportion of total migrants into Kuala Lumpur coincide with their proportion of the district's population. Such a migration pattern must surely imply that the Malay proportion of the district's population will rise while the Chinese proportion will decline. This will probably result in Kuala Lumpur becoming a more 'mixed' area by 1980, a city in which none of the three major ethnic groups forms over 50 per cent of the total population.

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1 For example in the academic session 1976/77 there were 2,400 female under-graduates as compared with 5,500 male under-graduates in the University of Malaya alone.

Associated with this rapid migration into Kuala Lumpur is the problem of increasing population densities, overcrowding, squatting, frequent water shortages and traffic jams, especially within the city area. Often, during school holidays and religious festivals a large proportion of the migrants move out of Kuala Lumpur, thus placing a serious strain on the existing transport system. At the start of the school calender the same sort of rush is repeated in reverse.

Many of the above mentioned problems can be solved through a policy of decentralization of Federal Government functions which are presently heavily concentrated in Kuala Lumpur. These can be distributed to the various state capitals. Such a policy will go a long way in alleviating many of the district's (and Kuala Lumpur city's) current problems which are largely associated with the continuing congregation of people. Kuala Lumpur district which forms less than one per cent of the Peninsular area has been steadily increasing its share of the Peninsular population — it was 4 per cent in 1931, 5.9 per cent in 1947, 7.6 per cent in 1957 and 9.8 per cent in 1970. By 1980 this proportion will probably rise to around 12 per cent.

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6 Squatters in Kuala Lumpur

The origin of squatting can be traced to the early history of the city.[1] As mentioned in chapter one, Kuala Lumpur originated as a Chinese mining settlement in the mid-nineteenth century. As land administration during that period was virtually non-existent, the early Chinese immigrants who came to work in the tin mines usually erected shacks close to their place of work. Very often the early squatter dwellings were temporary structures with planks walls and 'attap' roofs. And when the miners' place of work became too far, they would dismantle their huts and reconstruct them near their latest work-place. In this manner many of the early immigrants managed to live rent free for most of their stay in the Peninsula.

Most of the early squatter areas in Kuala Lumpur were to be found along the Gombak and Klang rivers. Probably the oldest, and also one of the largest slum areas, consisting of hundreds of houses, was to be found close to the heart of the city; it was known as the Gombak Lane squatter settlement and was completely destroyed by fire in 1956.

The arrival of Indians, associated with the railway development in the late nineteenth century, also contributed to the squatter problem. In the early stages of railroad construction, railway quarters were almost non-existent and most workers constructed temporary structures along the railway line. Even the construction of railway housing at a later date did not altogether solve the problem of squatting. Upon retirement, when forced to vacate their quarters in the 'railway coolie lines', many of them who did not return to India but chose to stay in the Peninsula usually became squatters. The largest of such squatter colonies sprang up in two areas in Kuala Lumpur where the main railway workshops were located, namely Brickfields and Sentul.

Later, during the Great Depression in the 1930s, tens of thousands of immigrant workers, particularly the rural wage-earners, were retrenched and while thousands were repatriated to their native lands, others drifted to the towns (including Kuala Lumpur), very often into the existing squatter areas. The coming of the Second World War created almost similar effects. Del Tufo reported that during the Japanese Occupation rubber became practically unsaleable and tin mining too came to a standstill. This resulted

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1 According to Sandhu, "There have always been Chinese squatters in Malaya, but in varying numbers, from the beginning of Chinese settlement in Malaya." (1964, p. 146).

in outmigration from the rubber growing and mining areas to the food growing areas of the towns and villages. Even "more significant was the greatly increased clustering of population in the areas immediately outside the towns" (1949, p. 35). A majority of such migrants living on the urban periphery were illegal squatters; only a few of them returned to their former homes and occupations after the war. Subsequently, when the urban boundaries were enlarged, several of these squatter colonies came to be included within the urban areas. A proportion of them still continue to occupy the original areas.

In the period following the Second World War approximately one million rural dwellers were affected by "The Emergency".[1] A majority of them (largely non-Malays) were compulsorily resettled in New Villages or re-grouped on the estates and mines. On the other hand, tens of thousands of others refused to move into the resettlement areas but instead migrated into existing towns. Since many could not afford to rent houses because the rents had risen steeply on account of the acute housing shortage in the 1950s, an appreciable proportion of them became squatters, often occupying the low lying riparian areas, disused mining sites and land adjoining the railway line — areas lacking development potential. Many of the squatters now used corrugated iron sheets to roof their tenements, instead of 'attap.'

In the period following independence, "the fragmentation of large rubber estates by local syndicates, which bought these estates from European firms.....caused many estate labourers to be unemployed" (Barakbah, 1971, p. 205). The majority of the unemployed generally migrated to urban areas in search of alternate employment. Poverty drove most of these to the squatter areas. Such a situation was not perculiar to a particular state, but was prevalent throughout the Peninsula.

Another wave of squatters was created in the 1969 period. The introduction of work-permits for non-citizens threw thousands, especially the non-skilled workers, out of employment. A large proportion of those rendered jobless were rural estate Indians. While many of those affected by work-permits returned to India, others migrated to urban areas in the hope of becoming petty traders since the self-employed were exempted from taking out work-permits. The majority of such rural/urban migrants

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1 The Emergency was declared on 16th June, 1948 and ended on 31st July, 1960. During the Emergency, it was decided to resettle the widely dispersed non-Malay rural population into compact settlements. The aim of this programme was to deny sources of food and easy recruitment to the communists who were predominantly Chinese.

gravitated to existing squatter colonies. Some, who failed to succeed as self-employed businessmen, subsequently became beggers, and took to squatting on the 'five-foot way' (shop verandahs) within the central business districts.

Furthermore, the New Economic Policy launched under the Second Malaysia Plan in 1970 aimed at restructuring the Malaysian society — through the removal of socio-economic inequalities among the major ethnic groups — as a means of forging national unity. As such, "the implementation of this policy, together with the 'push factors' in the rural areas, has resulted in the rapid migration of rural Malays to the various urban centres, particularly the capital city of Kuala Lumpur" (Shari, 1956, p. 3). Since the majority of these migrants were usually unskilled and also first-time job-seekers in the city, they could only find low income jobs, with monthly incomes below $300/-. Therefore, understandably, they could not afford to pay the high city rents and were thus forced to become squatters.

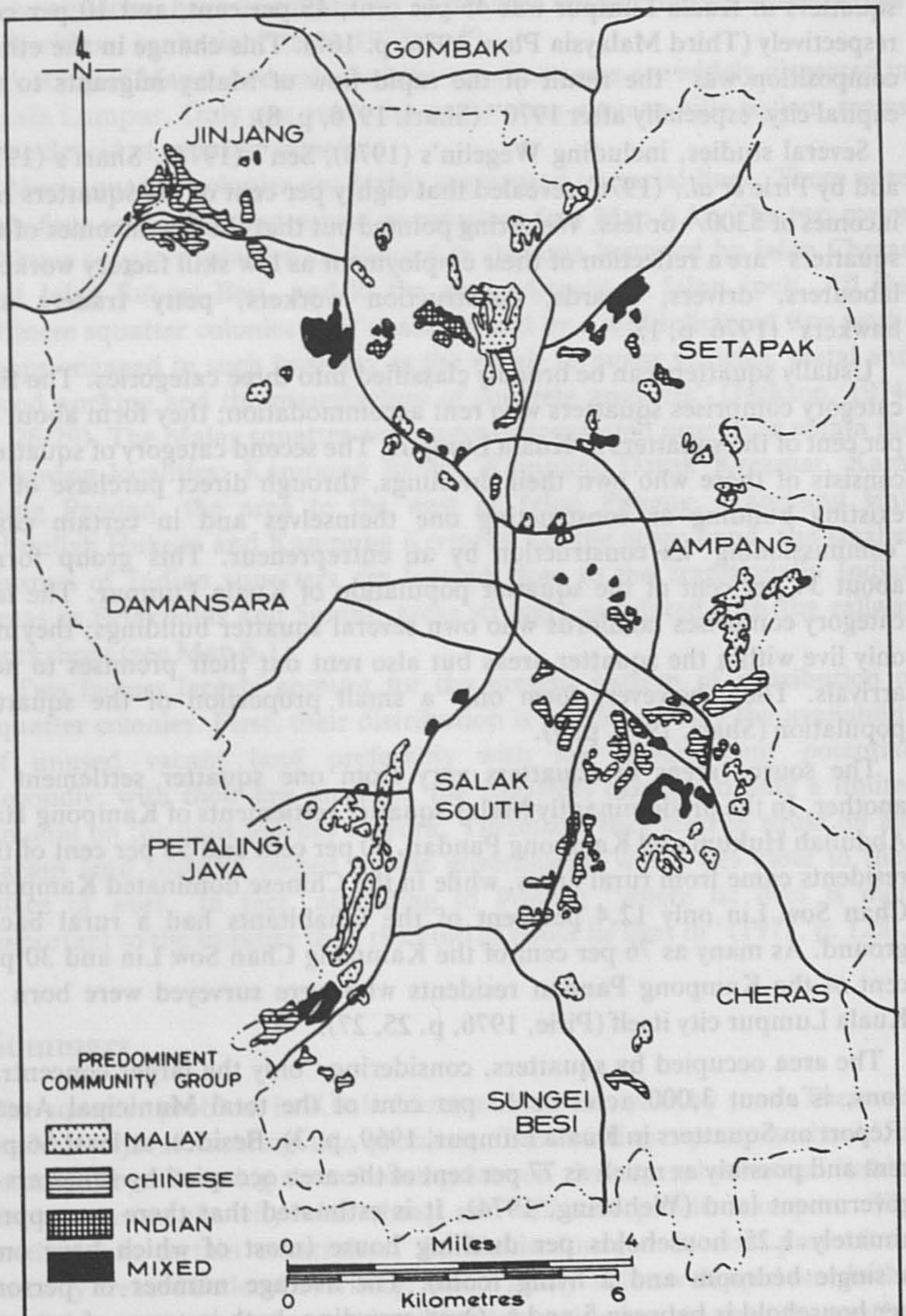
A characteristic feature of each wave of squatters to Peninsular towns has been their tendency to segregate on ethnic lines. Most poor migrants show a proclivity to gravitate to those squatter colonies that are dominated by their respective ethnic groups. The reasons explaining such behaviour have been discussed in the chapter dealing with ethnic patterns in Kuala Lumpur.

Total Numbers, Ethnic Composition and Distribution of Squatters

Most studies tend to estimate Kuala Lumpur's squatter population between one-fourth and one-fifth of the city's total population.[1] This means that out of the city's total population of 451,000 in 1970, between 112,000 and 150,000 inhabitants were squatters. For the Federal Territory as a whole, this figure is much higher, being about 200,000.

In 1969, it was reported that 67.2 per cent of the squatters in Kuala Lumpur were Chinese, 20.4 per cent Malays and 11.5 per cent Indians (Tan, 1970). The large proportion of Chinese squatters is explained by the fact that they formed 55.2 per cent of the city's population in 1970. The racial composition of squatters has altered considerably since then. According to the latest estimates, the proportion of Chinese, Malay and Indian

1 One estimate places Kuala Lumpur's squatter population as much as 50 per cent of the city's total population. (Report on Squatters in Kuala Lumpur, 1969. Appendix I, p. 2).



Map 6.1 Squatter Areas in Kuala Lumpur, 1970.

squatters in Kuala Lumpur was 45 per cent, 45 per cent, and 10 per cent respectively (Third Malaysia Plan, 1976, p. 167). This change in the ethnic composition was "the result of the rapid flow of Malay migrants to the capital city, especially after 1970" (Shari, 1976, p. 8).

Several studies, including Wegelin's (1973), Sen's (1974), Shari's (1976) and by Pirie *et al.*, (1976) revealed that eighty per cent of the squatters had incomes of $300/- or less. Wehbring pointed out that the low incomes of the squatters "are a reflection of their employment as low skill factory workers, labourers, drivers, guards, construction workers, petty traders and hawkers" (1976, p. 1).

Usually squatters can be broadly classified into three categories. The first category comprises squatters who rent accommodation; they form about 58 per cent of the squatters in Kuala Lumpur. The second category of squatters consists of those who own their dwellings, through direct purchase of an existing building or constructing one themselves and in certain cases 'commissioning' its construction by an entrepreneur. This group forms about 34 per cent of the squatter population of Kuala Lumpur. The last category comprises landlords who own several squatter buildings; they not only live within the squatter areas but also rent out their premises to new arrivals. They, however, form only a small proportion of the squatter population (Shari, 1976, p. 9).

The source areas of squatters vary from one squatter settlement to another. In the predominantly Malay squatter settlements of Kampong Haji Abdullah Hukum and Kampong Pandan, 90 per cent and 55 per cent of the residents came from rural areas, while in the Chinese dominated Kampong Chan Sow Lin only 12.4 per cent of the inhabitants had a rural background. As many as 76 per cent of the Kampong Chan Sow Lin and 30 per cent of the Kampong Pandan residents who were surveyed were born in Kuala Lumpur city itself (Pirie, 1976, p. 25, 27).

The area occupied by squatters, considering "only the larger concentrations, is about 3,000 acres or 13 per cent of the total Municipal Area" (Report on Squatters in Kuala Lumpur, 1969, p. 3). Besides, at least 56 per cent and possibly as much as 77 per cent of the area occupied by squatters is government land (Wehbring, 1974). It is estimated that there are approximately 1.25 households per dwelling house (most of which have only a single bedroom and a living room). The average number of persons per household is between 5 and 6. Over-crowding, both in terms of persons per room and houses per acre, is common and even the basic amenities are either absent or inadequate. Sen points out that "approximately 80 per cent

of the squatters have no electricity, 75 per cent are without water and 35 per cent without sanitation" (Sen, 1973, p. 7).

A study of Map 6.1 reveals that the squatter areas are widely dispersed in Kuala Lumpur. Only one area, the upper class western hilly region, seems to be devoid of squatter colonies.

Most squatter colonies are highly segregated on racial lines. There were only four areas that had mixed populations (see Map 6.1). The two major Chinese squatter colonies are located in the area bounded by Jalan Cheras and Jalan Sungei Besi, and in the area adjacent to Jalan Ipoh. All the Chinese squatter colonies are "characterized by a multiplicity of tiny workshops engaged in such business as the repair of motor vehicles, metal and wood working and the manufacture of concrete products" (Jackson, 1974, p. 28-29). The Malay squatter areas were concentrated near to or within the following localities: Kampung Bahru, Kampung Datuk Keramat, Kampung Pandan, the area to the west of Jalan Pahang, Kampung Haji Abdullah Hukum and Kampung Kerinchi. On the other hand, the smaller clusters of Indian squatters are located close to the traditionally Indian areas in Brickfields and Sentul, areas strongly associated with the railway workshops (see Map 6.1).

Two factors largely account for the present pattern of distribution of squatter colonies. First, their distribution is conditioned by the availability of unused vacant land preferably with low development potential. Secondly, with their low incomes, the squatters can spend only a limited amount on the daily journey to work. Therefore, they tend to squat on any vacant land (usually owned by the government) which lies close to their place of work. In fact, according to Poethig "where he lives is more important to the squatter than the kind of house he lives in" (1971, p. 125).

Summary

The squatter problem in Kuala Lumpur increases year by year. There are several ways of tackling this problem. The existing squatters should be relocated by allocating them housing lots on the city suburbs and linking these areas to the city with cheap and efficient public transport. This method has certain constraints. As Kuala Lumpur is now part of the recently created Federal Territory, such a policy will now depend on whether the Selangor state government is willing to provide land to resettle squatters from outside the state. Furthermore, there is a need to speed the building of multi-storeyed flats in order to resettle the existing squatters. This is

however an expensive method and depends on the availability of federal funds.

Apart from these measures, the government can provide five or ten-year land leases to existing squatters who presently occupy land that is not immediatley required by the city authorities. At the same time these areas should be provided basic amenities such as roads, sewage, electricity and water supply. Such measures will safeguard the health of these squatters who afterall form almost a third of the city's population.

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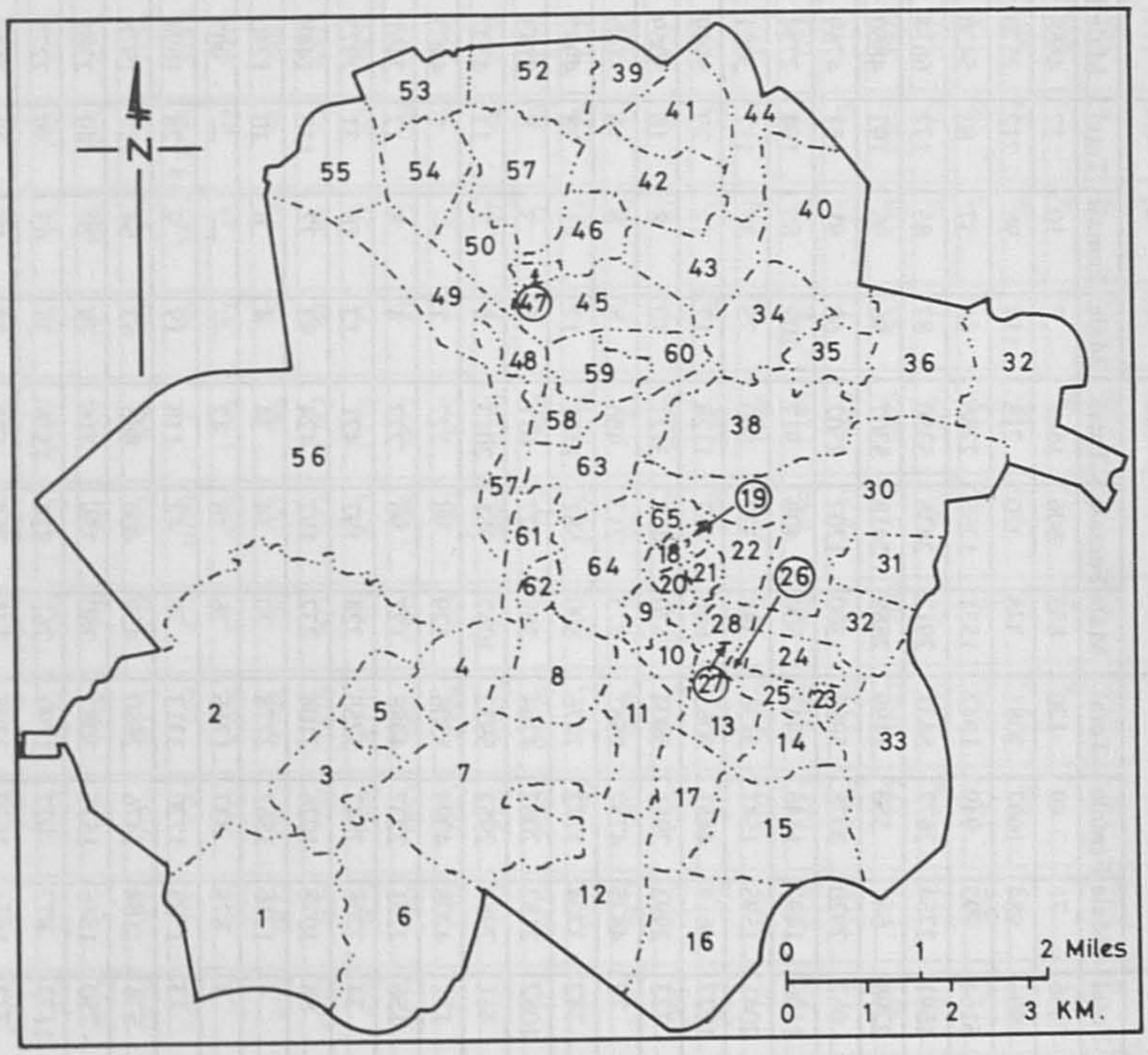
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APPENDIX*



Map Showing Aerial Units of K.L.

* There are several reasons for adding the appendix. Foremost, the data pertaining to the grouped enumeration blocks is not published anywhere and was kindly made available by the Census Department. Similar data was collected during the 1957 census but it has been lost. It is hoped that through publication, this data will be preserved. Anyone wishing to study Kuala Lumpur's changing ethnic patterns can always use this data. The map showing the various aerial units (grouped enumeration blocks) is provided above.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY GROUPED ENUMERATION BLOCKS, ETHNICITY, AND SEX FOR THE MUNICIPAL AREA OF KUALA LUMPUR CITY, 1970.

Grouped Enumeration Blocks	MALAYS			CHINESE			INDIANS			OTHERS			TOTAL		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	3935	3321	7256	71	49	120	855	806	1661	7	10	17	4868	4186	9054
2	1124	872	1996	984	1097	2081	348	370	718	114	98	212	2570	2437	5007
3	2860	2304	5164	993	949	1942	1531	1255	2786	46	37	83	5430	4545	9975
4	861	730	1591	2754	2677	5431	2912	2438	5350	87	85	172	6614	5930	12544
5	1234	1064	2298	641	558	1199	2889	2418	5307	96	96	192	4860	4136	8996
6	489	478	967	2920	3078	5998	1300	1202	2502	60	91	151	4769	4849	9618
7	624	572	1196	1497	1446	2943	504	408	912	109	85	194	2734	2511	5245
8	1043	998	2041	1595	1541	3136	348	332	680	75	37	112	3061	2908	5969
9	652	375	1027	4614	4451	9065	666	462	1128	17	12	29	5949	5300	11249
10	396	327	723	2993	2911	5904	1670	1451	3121	10	8	18	5069	4697	9766
11	44	26	70	4835	4752	9587	273	213	486	8	8	16	5160	4999	10159
12	466	276	742	3704	3772	7476	800	681	1481	17	11	28	4987	4740	9727
13	567	515	1082	2182	2082	4264	389	222	611	5	3	8	3143	2822	5965
14	256	205	461	2980	2952	5932	1062	951	2013	4	7	11	4302	4115	8417
15	65	46	111	4208	4098	8306	129	98	227	1	—	1	4403	4242	8645
16	79	77	156	2251	2237	4488	127	96	223	4	8	12	2461	2418	4879
17	28	6	34	2708	2547	5255	224	197	421	13	18	31	2973	2768	5741
18	45	43	88	1078	1026	2104	232	192	424	93	22	115	1448	1283	2731
19	—	4	4	1216	1562	2778	20	14	34	4	6	10	1240	1586	2826
20	3	1	4	878	837	1715	26	16	42	—	—	—	907	854	1761
21	6	7	13	1593	1720	3313	76	42	118	19	9	28	1694	1778	3472
22	272	304	576	1184	1476	2660	459	406	865	63	54	117	1978	2240	4218
23	346	404	750	1546	1537	3083	360	356	716	29	20	49	2281	2317	4598
24	605	568	1173	872	927	1799	762	814	1576	36	63	99	2275	2372	4647
25	112	111	223	1674	1630	3304	331	264	595	22	16	38	2139	2021	4160
26	24	17	41	1604	1652	3256	65	15	80	11	11	22	1704	1695	3399
27	—	—	—	1361	1319	2680	18	15	33	15	9	24	1394	1343	2737
28	128	159	287	2328	2246	4574	245	158	403	15	7	22	2716	2570	5286
29	2	—	2	2733	3162	5895	31	10	41	1	8	9	2767	3180	5947

31	2509	2246	4755	515	476	991	1416	1263	2679	10	10	20	4450	3995	8445
32	337	444	781	1151	1118	2269	1223	1085	2308	29	34	63	2740	2681	5421
33	895	740	1635	1735	1491	3226	242	193	435	9	6	15	2881	2430	5311
34	2677	2129	4806	451	359	810	296	242	538	99	108	207	3523	2838	6361
35	4043	3636	7679	5	4	9	31	20	51	1	1	2	4080	3661	7741
36	3446	2858	6304	123	182	305	138	129	267	98	93	191	3805	3262	7067
37	208	190	398	2370	2454	4824	584	573	1157	71	83	154	3233	3300	6533
38	986	896	1882	519	839	1358	276	281	557	237	248	485	2018	2264	4282
39	903	926	1829	1909	2166	4075	334	322	656	10	12	22	3156	3426	6582
40	2970	2433	5403	190	159	349	471	1029	77	86	163	3795	3149	6944	
41	121	81	202	3150	3245	6395	633	655	1288	37	45	82	3941	4026	7967
42	349	303	652	1922	1872	3794	196	192	388	25	29	54	2492	2396	4888
43	3141	1672	4813	824	751	1575	819	523	1342	41	41	82	4825	2987	7812
44	255	223	478	2475	2295	4770	705	673	1378	21	22	43	3456	3213	6669
45	1280	1242	2522	1986	1883	3869	1564	1248	2812	23	27	50	4853	4400	9253
46	142	114	256	2166	2193	4359	445	380	825	33	41	74	2786	2728	5514
47	2471	1779	4250	3084	3076	6160	576	494	1070	27	37	64	6158	5386	11544
48	235	182	417	5414	4965	10379	576	313	889	29	21	50	6254	5481	11735
49	368	604	972	3932	3790	7722	1328	1078	2406	78	43	121	5706	5515	11221
50	612	605	1217	2871	2805	5676	3139	2602	5741	62	69	131	6684	6081	12765
51	922	762	1684	1178	1098	2276	2588	2252	4840	25	20	45	4713	4132	8845
52	1327	1282	2609	690	674	1364	675	688	1363	18	23	41	2710	2667	5377
53	230	252	482	2182	2197	4379	1830	1654	3484	32	44	76	4274	4147	8421
54	254	237	491	1540	1447	2987	696	659	1355	10	15	25	2500	2358	4858
55	72	50	122	2150	2089	4239	522	420	942	13	15	28	2757	2574	5331
56	1448	1523	2971	1220	1722	2942	700	723	1423	560	528	1088	3928	4496	8424
57	487	431	918	2227	2176	4403	839	567	1406	18	4	22	3571	3178	6749
58	691	575	1266	2087	1903	3990	352	185	537	1	5	6	3131	2668	5799
59	4605	4419	9024	684	590	1274	316	127	443	13	8	21	5618	5144	10762
60	3863	3668	7531	2	4	6	18	22	40	3	4	7	3886	3698	7584
61	62	30	92	2344	1402	3746	732	56	788	19	18	37	3157	1506	4663
62	124	14	138	3986	3228	7214	161	37	198	170	32	202	4441	3311	7752
63	1058	911	1969	1767	1657	3424	1601	544	2145	279	148	427	4705	3260	7965
64	645	617	1262	2609	2611	5220	680	511	1191	26	47	73	3960	3786	7746
65	24	37	61	3512	3942	7454	82	38	120	39	28	67	3657	4045	7702
Total	60430	52361	112791	125596	123928	249524	45890	37473	83363	3348	2992	6340	235264	216754	452018

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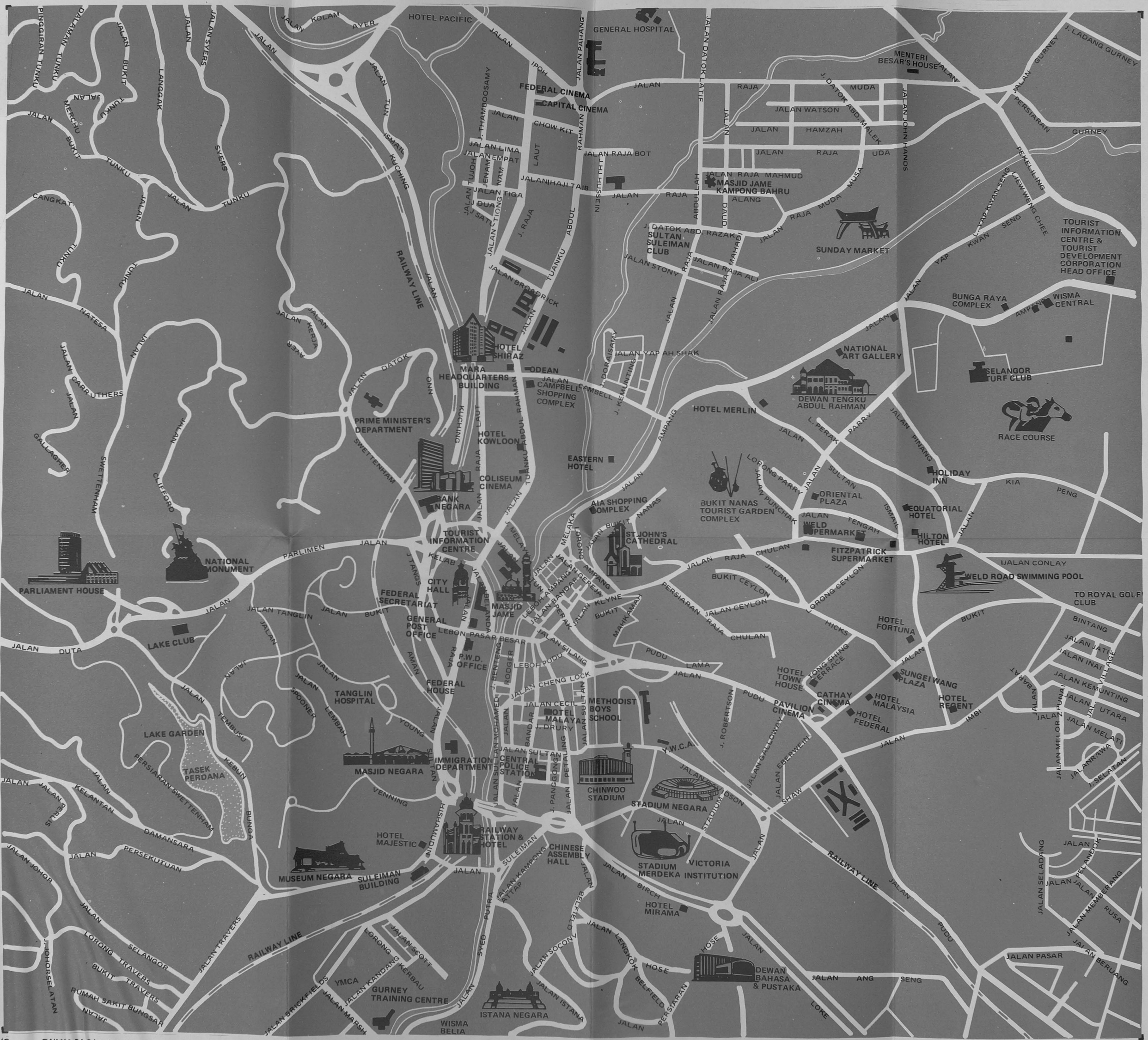
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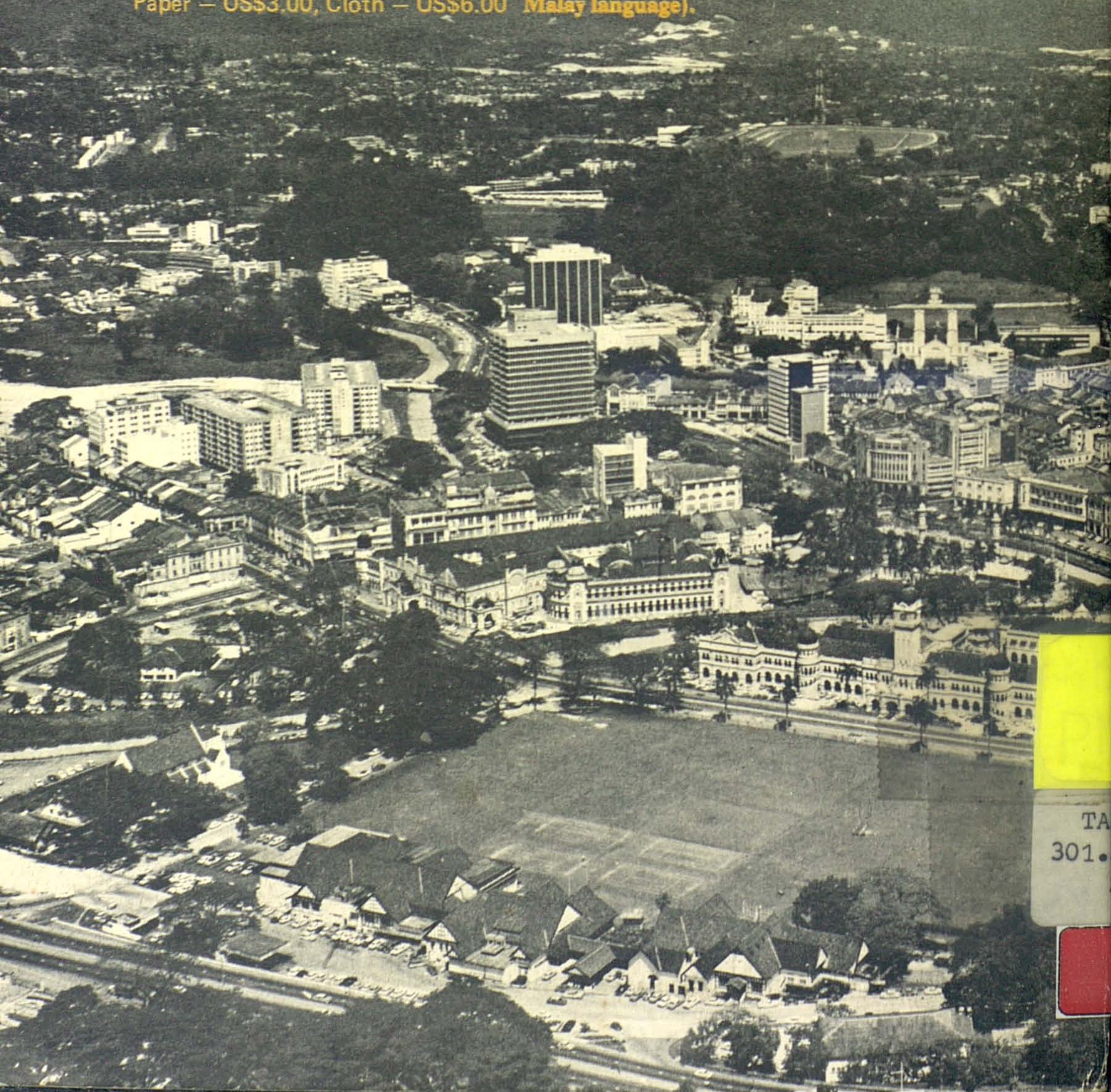
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