

TABLE OF CONTENTS

WEEKLY MARKETS IN SELANGOR

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDY OF THE WEEKLY MARKET

SYSTEM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TANJONG KARANG,

SUNGAI BULOH, PORT SWETTENHAM AND BANTING

IN THE COASTAL DISTRICTS OF SELANGOR

I.

INTRODUCTION

- A. Aim of Study
- B. Area of Study
- C. Methodology
- D. Problems of Study
- E. Definitions

by Abdul Rasip bin Abdul Latiff

II.

THE WEEKLY MARKET

320010

1. Origin
2. Development
3. Regulations
4. Factors influencing trading
5. The weekly market system

THE TRADER

1. Types of traders
2. Specialization in trade
3. Resources
4. Role of money in trading

A Graduation Exercise presented to
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part fulfilment towards the
Degree of Bachelor of Economics,
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	iv
LIST OF DIAGRAMS	v
LIST OF MAPS	vi
LIST OF PLATES	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	ix
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
A. Aim of Study	1
B. Area of Study	2
C. Method of Study	6
D. Problems of Study	7
E. Definitions	9
II. THE WEEKLY MARKETS: A GENERAL BACKGROUND	11
Origin	11
Present Development	13
Rules and Regulations	14
Factors influencing Trading	15
The Weekly market places under study	21
III. THE TRADERS	25
Types of traders	25
Specialisation in trade	40
Resources	40
Ease of entry into trading	41
Traders' Positions, Rights and Conflicts	41
Proliferation of Traders	44
Social grouping among traders	46
IV. MARKET EXCHANGE AND PRACTICES	49

Chapter	Page
Goods Sold in the market places	49
Trade Profit	54
Credit practices	60
Bargaining	61
Discounts	66
Records	67
Price and price fluctuations	67
Units of measure	69
V. PEOPLE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE MARKET PLACE	71
People in the market places	71
Social relations in the market places	79
VI. MARKET TURNOVER AND EXPENDITURE	83
VII. CONCLUSION	88
The economic aspect of the weekly market system	88
The social aspect of the weekly market system	89
Mark-up levelled on Manufactured Goods	94
Appendix	
I. List of the goods in the market places	99
II. Weekly, monthly and yearly variations in the volume of trade as shown by the issue of one-day licences	123
III. Questionnaire for Traders	136
IV. Questionnaire for Customers	144
Bibliography	146
I. Turnover by Type of Traders	146
III. Market Turnover for the Banting Market Place On One Market Day	151

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
TABLE	
I. List of Weekly Market Places in the Selangor Coastal Districts	4
II. Density of Population in the Selangor Coastal Districts	18
III. Itenerancy of Traders	26
IV. Types of Traders by Goods Sold	31
V. Literacy Among Traders	45
VI. Types of Goods Sold in the Market Places	52
VII. Mark-up Levelled on Manufactured Goods	54
VIII.(a): A Cake Giving Low Returns	57
(b): A Cake Giving High Returns	58
(c): A Cake Giving Medium Returns	59
IX. Number of People Entering the Banting Market Place on One Market Day	72
X. Racial Composition of People in the Market Places	75
XI. Turnover by Type of Traders	84
XII. Market Turnover for the Banting Market Place On One Market Day	85

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

Diagram	Page
I. Graph showing the Rate of Number of People Entering The Banting Market Place on One Market Day	73
II. Tanjong Karang Market Place	92
III. Sungai Buloh Market Place	94
IV. Port Swettenham Market Place	96
V. Banting Market Place	98

LIST OF MAPS

Map	Page
I. Coastal Districts of Selangor	x
II. Weekly Markets in the Selangor Coastal Districts	5
III. Tanjong Karang	91
IV. Sungai Buloh	93
V. Port Swettenham	95
VI. Banting	97
7. Vegetable Traders	35
8. Malay Lady Selling Cottage-made Products	36
9. Chinese Lady Selling Ready-made Wares	36
10. A Trader of 'Mixed' Goods	37
11. Medicine Traders	39
12. Traders lining the Entrance into The Sungai Buloh Market Place	42
13. A Trader of Cottage-made Products	43
14. An Arab Woman Trader	47
15. Prepared Food & Cakes	51
16. Cakes	51
17. Customers Enjoying The Food At A Prepared-Food Stall	53
18. Bargaining in the Market Place	61
19. Customers Supporting The Goods of A Trader	65
20. People Entering into The Sungai Buloh Market Place	74

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE

Page

1.	A Trader of Ready-made Wears	29
2.	A Textile Trader: 'Specialist' in Batek and Sarong	29
3.	A Chinese Textile Trader	32
4.	A Trader in Kitchenware	32
5.	A Tobacco Trader	34
6.	A Banana Trader	34
7.	Vegetable Traders	35
8.	Malay Lady Selling Cottage-made Products	36
9.	Chinese Lady Selling Ready-made Wears	36
10.	A Trader of 'Mixed' Goods	37
11.	Medicine Traders	39
12.	Traders Lining the Entrance Into The Sungai Buloh Market Place	42
13.	A Trader of Cottage-made Products	43
14.	An Aged Woman Trader	47
15.	Prepared-food & Cakes	51
16.	Cakes	51
17.	Customers Enjoying The Food At A Prepared-Food Stall	55
18.	Bargaining in the Market Place	63
19.	Customers Inspecting The Goods of A Trader	68
20.	People Coming Into The Sungai Buloh Market Place	74

21. People In The Market Places 77

22. Gossiping In The Market Place 78

23. Trader & Customer Having A Chat Over A Smoke 81

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Abdul Razak Yusoff

University of Malaya,
Kuala Lumpur.
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MAP I

COASTAL DISTRICTS OF SELANGOR

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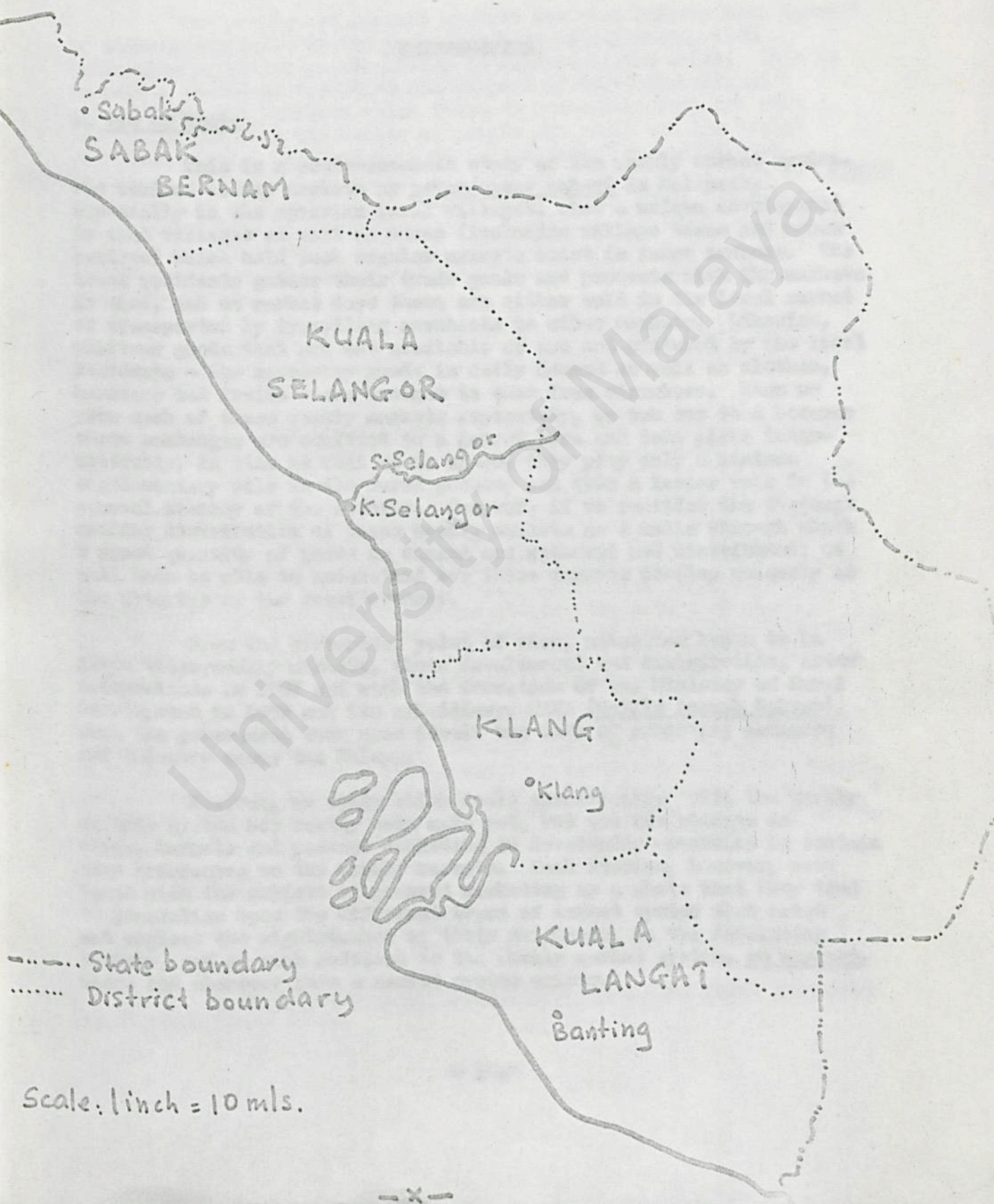
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MAP I

COASTAL DISTRICTS OF SELANGOR



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Aim of Study

This is a socio-economic study of the weekly market system. The various weekly markets or pekan/pasar sahari in Malaysia, especially in the agrarian rural villages, show a unique development in that villages as well as towns (including village towns and urban-centres) which hold such regular markets exist in large numbers. The local residents gather their trade goods and products with the markets in mind, and on market days these are either sold in the local market or transported by travelling merchants to other markets. Likewise, whatever goods that are not available or are not produced by the local residents - the necessary goods in daily demand as well as clothes, hardware and fruits - are brought to them from elsewhere. When we view each of these weekly markets separately, we can see that because these exchanges are confined to a narrow area and take place intermittently, in time as well as in space, they play only a minimum supplementary role in the rural economy and even a lesser role in the general economy of the country. However, if we consider the thorough netlike distribution of these weekly markets as a media through which a great quantity of goods in demand are gathered and distributed; we will then be able to understand how these markets develop uniquely as the arteries of the rural economy.

From the historical point of view, attention began to be given these weekly markets, their development and distribution, after independence in 1957 and with the formation of the Ministry of Rural Development in 1959 and its subsidiary, MARA (Majlis Amanah Rakyat), when the government took upon itself the task of promoting commerce and industry among the Malays,

However, no study which deals specifically with the weekly markets system has really been made yet, but the few studies on fairs, markets and peasant marketing in developing countries do contain some references to the weekly markets. Such studies, however, were bound with the subject of peasant marketing as a whole that they tend to generalise upon the different types of market system that exist and neglect the significance of their existence, in the developing economy, and as such referred to the weekly market system, en passant, where and whenever such a market system exists.

The reasons for the lack of detailed studies are twofold.¹ For economists, peasant markets are obscure and unimportant in comparison to the larger problems of the developing areas, little information is available, and the difficulties to be overcome to secure new material are so great as to discourage extensive investigation.

The problem of peasant markets has also largely been ignored by anthropologists. In the past they have worked mostly with culturally primitive people living in self-contained units. This is in part a result of tradition and in part of their theoretical orientation; the problems which interest anthropologists are more easily handled when the number of people are small and the social structure simple. When studies of larger societies become more important, both the theoretical and practical limitations make it preferable to work with small well-defined units, usually villages. These communities have relationships, economic, political and social, with the larger society, which of necessity has often been ignored in favour of the relationship which function mostly within the community units.

As a result the isolation of the local unit under study has been artificially overemphasised in many studies of peasant societies, especially the economic isolation.

This study concerns not a community but a type of activity, exchange - that is exchange which takes place in the weekly market places - and the people who take part in it and most of the practices such as bargaining, credit and the like. Although these people do not all come from the same town or village, it is implicitly assumed that all of the communities served by the weekly market system under study are parts of one larger social and economic unit. By focussing on the markets, one of the major mechanisms binding these various communities together, this study may clarify the nature of the individual units as well as the often overlooked connections between them. For it is only when they are viewed as a part of the whole culture that many of their characteristics can be understood.

Since this is a socio-economic study of the weekly markets largely as a closed system, for the most part the writer has dealt with the economic problems in the narrower sense and with those social and cultural factors most directly related to them because of the practical limitations of time and resources available in the fieldwork, and also for the writer's lack of economic and social theory.

B. Area of Study

The area chosen for this study is the Coastal Districts of

¹Alice Dewey, Peasant Marketing in Java (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1962).

Selangor, namely the districts of Sabak Bernam, Kuala Selangor, Klang and Kuala Langat. There are no special reasons for this choice but for the simple fact that the writer lives in Klang and these districts are of easy access to him. However, for purposes of representation and classification, the area of study has been divided into four, viz:-²

- (1) The Tanjong Karang - Sabak Bernam Area, which includes that part of the Kuala Selangor district north of the Selangor River and the district of Sabak Bernam.
- (2) South Kuala Selangor District, that part of the Kuala Selangor District south of the Selangor River.
- (3) The Klang District.
- (4) The Kuala Langat District.

It is impossible within the limited time and resources available to conduct an exhaustive study covering every weekly market that operate in this area.³ As such four markets were chosen, namely the markets of Tanjong Karang, Sungai Buloh, Port Swettenham and Banting. These markets were chosen under the following criteria:-

- (1) to represent the district/area under study.
- (2) to represent the economic area under study.
- (3) for urban and rural comparison.

Hence the weekly markets of Tanjong Karang, Sungai Buloh, Port Swettenham and Banting represents the four areas under study, respectively. They are more or less similar in size in terms of the number of traders and customers in them.

The weekly markets of Tanjong Karang, Sungai Buloh and Banting are rural in character, situated on the fringes of their 'two-rows' village towns. The economic activities in these rural areas is mainly agricultural. Nevertheless they have their differences. In the Tanjong Karang - Sabak Bernam Area the main agricultural activity is padi farming, in the South Kuala Selangor Area it is coconut farming, rubber tapping and fishing and in the Kuala Langat District it is coffee farming and rubber tapping. However certain

²See Map I.

³See Table I and Map II for the various markets operating in the area of study.

WEEKLY MARKETS IN THE SELANGOR COASTAL DISTRICTS.

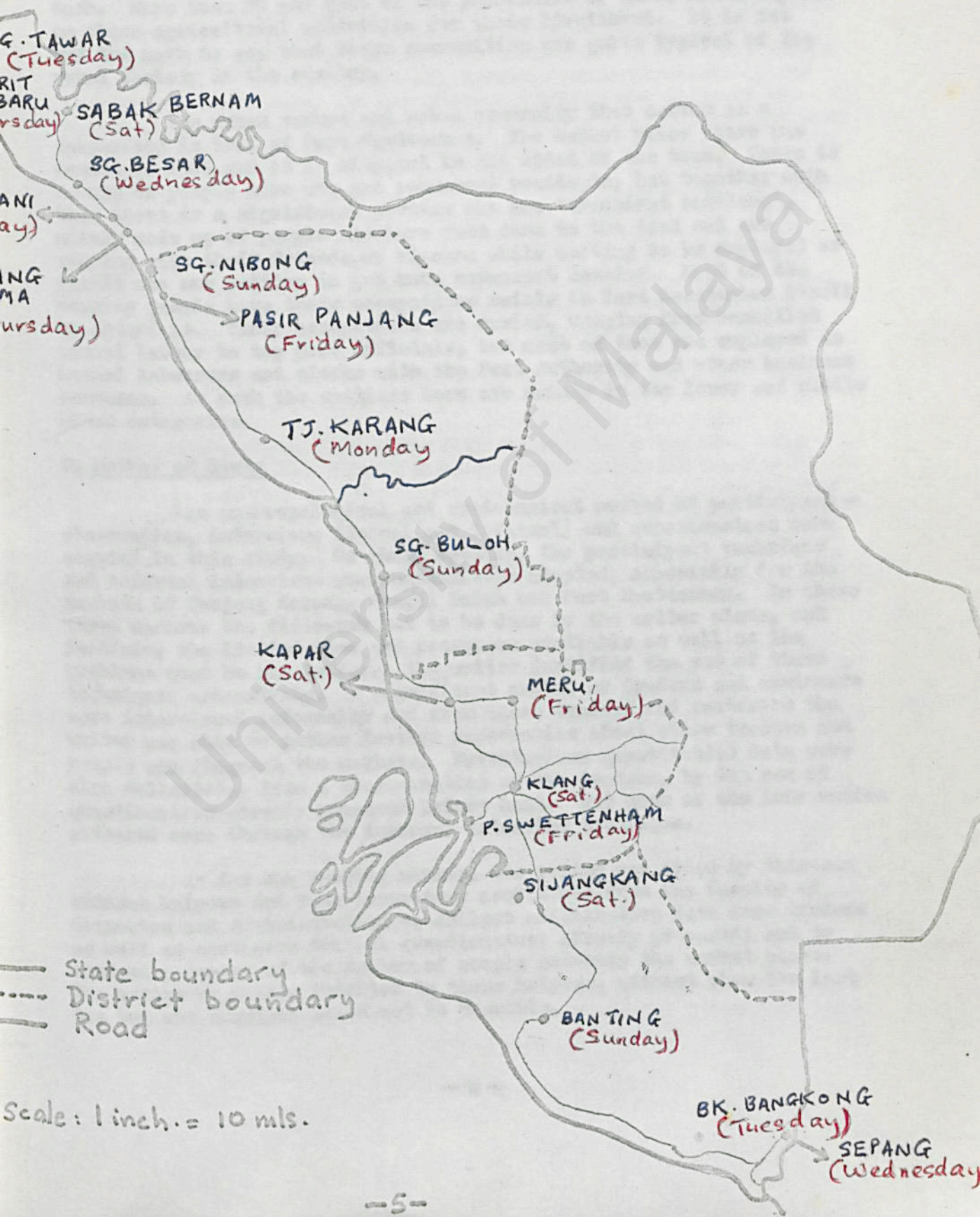
TABLE I

LIST OF WEEKLY MARKET PLACES IN THE SELANGOR COASTAL DISTRICTS

Day	District/Area of Study	Place	Time
Sunday	Tanjong Karang - Sabak Bernam Area.	(1) Sungai Nibong	Morning
		(2) Parit 6 (Sg. Besar)	Morning
	South Kuala Selangor District.	(3) <u>Sungai Buloh</u>	Morning
	Kuala Langat District	(4) <u>Banting</u>	Morning
Monday	Tanjong Karang - Sabak Bernam Area.	(5) <u>Tanjong Karang</u>	Morning
Tuesday	Tanjong Karang - Sabak Bernam Area.	(6) Bungai Dorani	Morning
		(7) Sungai Tawar	Morning
	Kuala Langat District	(8) Bukit Bangkong	Morning
Wednesday	Tanjong Karang - Sabak Bernam Area.	(9) Sungai Besar	Morning
	Kuala Langat District	(10) Sepang	Morning
Thursday	Tanjong Karang - Sabak Bernam Area.	(11) Simpang Lima	Morning
		(12) Parit Bharu	Morning
Friday	Tanjong Karang - Sabak Bernam Area.	(13) Pasir Panjang	Morning
	Klang District	(14) Meru	Morning
		(15) <u>Port Swettenham</u>	Evening
Saturday	Tanjong Karang - Sabak Bernam Area.	(16) Sabak Bernam	Morning
	Klang District	(17) Kapar	Morning
		(18) Klang	Evening
	Kuala Langat District	(19) Sijangkang	Morning

Note: The market places under study are underlined.

WEEKLY MARKETS IN THE SELANGOR COASTAL DISTRICTS.



agricultural activities are common to these areas, they include fishing, coconut farming and subsistence vegetable gardening.

Very little amount of padi, coconut and fish are consumed locally. Most of them and all of the rubber and coffee are sold for cash. More than 90 per cent of the population of these areas depends on these agricultural activities for their livelihood. It is not off the mark to say that these communities are quite typical of the rural society in the country.

The urban market and urban community that serves as a comparison is that of Port Swettenham. The market place there was opened in 1965 and it is situated in the midst of the town. There is a corp of people here who are permanent residents, but together with them there is a significant portion who are 'transient settlers', mainly made up of people who have just come to the town and are staying with their friends or kinsmen while waiting to be employed or people who are waiting to get more permanent housing. Most of the working people have their occupations mainly in Port Swettenham itself or around it. Their occupations are varied, ranging from unskilled manual labour to top port officials, but most of them are employed as manual labourers and clerks with the Port Authority and other business concerns. As such the settlers here are mainly in the lower and middle class categories.

C. Method of Study

The anthropological and sociological method of participant - observation, interviews (formal and informal) and questionnaires were adopted in this study. Of these methods, the participant technique and informal interviews were extensively adopted, especially for the markets of Tanjong Karang, Sungai Buloh and Port Swettenham. In these three markets the fieldwork had to be done by the writer alone, and realising the limited time and resources available as well as the problems that he had to face, the writer justified the use of these techniques extensively. A significant number of traders and customers were interviewed informally and from these traders and customers the writer was able to gather further information about other traders and people who frequent the markets. Nevertheless quantitative data were also collected, from a cross-section of the traders, by the use of questionnaires already prepared before hand. But much of the information gathered were through the informal interview technique.

As for the Banting market, the writer was aided by thirteen student helpers and four laboratory assistants from the Faculty of Economics and Administration to collect quantitative data from traders as well as customers through questionnaires already prepared; and to conduct a census of the number of people entering the market place. The writer is deeply indebted to these helpers, without whom the last two but one chapters would not be possible.

D. Problems of Study.

The problems facing this study were many and varied. The biggest problem was the problem of getting the most accurate information available. As a socio-economic study the writer was interested in getting not only accurate information on pure economic activities but also information on the social and cultural factors affecting or influencing these activities. The information desired was always hard to come. There was a general tendency among the traders, and to a small extent among the customers and others who frequent the market places, to be cautious and suspicious of any person, what more a stranger, probing into their activities. This was enhanced by the fact that the writer lacks the knowledge and practical training in fieldwork necessary to create the rapport that is essential in such a situation. Quite a number of respondents, especially the women traders could not fully grasp the intention of the writer. For example, an aged woman trader, after listening attentively to the writer's intention of an interview with her, turned around and said, "Are you asking for alm?". Further elaboration brought this reply, "Are you going to sell something to me? Please, I have no money."

Nevertheless, the majority of the people approached were responsive and cooperative.

The problem then arise with the non-Malay traders. They form a minority in the Tanjong Karang, Sungai Buloh and Banting markets and a number of them flatly turned down the writer's request for an interview. But the writer managed to interview some of them and from the several visits made to these markets was able to create a friendly relationship with these traders and it was from them that the writer was able to get some information, if not all, about their unresponsive counterparts.

But in the Port Swettenham market place the response from the non-Malay traders was very unfavourable. They composed mainly of Chinese women and youngsters who were abrupt and uncooperative to strangers probing into their activities. Information on these traders was gathered from one Chinese trader (a man for that matter) whom the writer had acquainted during his visits to the Tanjong Karang and Sungai Buloh markets. Due to this problem the writer was not able to do any breakdown of data on ethnic basis.

Right from the start the writer was keen to find out the socio-economic reasons for the traders to trade in the weekly markets and to get a general picture of their occupational background, since trading in the markets is a weekly affair and the majority of the traders do not venture further then the local market place. The answers given were usually vague. It was either they need extra income or to make a living. The writer, however, believed that there are other complex reasons (social as well as economic) other than these

simple, straight-forward replies. These reasons are discussed in greater detail in another part of this study.

Inquiries into the social and cultural aspects of market practices are very hard for the simple trader or customer to conceive. As such the writer have to depend a lot on observations as well as reading materials available on such practices.

The problem was somewhat different when it come to the question of income. In addition to the trader's unwillingness to tell his/her exact income the problem was further complicated by the fact that no trader can give a definite amount what he/she receive per market day. The amount of income receives would depend on several factors such as the number of sales made (which further depend on the number of customers in the market) and the time of the month or the year. Under these circumstances any estimates of income made are very rough indeed.

Beside the problems of response and accuracy in the information and data collected, there were also the problems of the right time for interviews and the formulation of the questionnaire. A market usually started about 6.30 in the morning when the traders start streaming in and ends a couple of hours after noon. For the Banting market it ends around noon. The Port Swettenham market operates in the evening from about 6.00 p.m. to about eleven o'clock. By the time the traders unpacked and arrange their goods the customers will start flowing in until about an hour or a half hour before closing time. So almost from the beginning to the ending of the market day the traders would be occupied with unpacking, selling and packing such that they got little time to entertain people, other than the customers except, of course, during slackhours which in itself is of a short duration. Therefore the presence of the writer might be inconvenience to the trader and in order to get on with his trading as quickly as possible without any interference, the possibilities were that the traders might just rush of the interview without giving much thought to the questions asked.

In the formulation of the questionnaire,⁴ the writer got to bear in mind the different types of traders and their varied characteristics. It is impossible to draft a questionnaire to include the varying aspects of the various traders. The result was a 'general' questionnaire to include all these types of traders and in doing so the writer realises that certain aspects of certain traders might not have been entertained. For such things, the writer tried his best to recall on his memory (from the observations and the informal interviews made) to fill in the gaps wherever possible and necessary.

⁴See Appendix III and IV.

It is noticed that there are many problems that had to be faced in order to get the information required for this study. Since most of the information, if not all, were taken from its primary source, the writer has tried to sieve them by checking and counter-checking whenever and wherever necessary ~~necessary~~ and possible, to make certain that all the information and data collected are as accurate as possibly could be. It is on the basis of such materials that the rest of this study is made.

E. Definitions

The word 'market' or some similar one derived from the Latin mercatus always refer to the place of contact or method of contact between buyers and sellers. The contact may be relatively simple, direct and personal, as in a market place and farmer's roadside market. It may be a highly organised institution such as those for securities, rubber and grain; or it may be almost an abstraction, such as the labour market. For this study it is important to make the distinction between the institutions of market places and the principle of market.

In economic theory the word 'market' refers to the general conditions under which buying and selling are conducted. Several types of market are distinguished. At one extreme there is the perfectly competitive market and at the other extreme there is the perfect monopoly, and in between these two extremes there are a number of intermediate forms. However, the economist's usage of the word 'market' is specifically and clearly an abstraction which can be applied to empirical situations only approximately and with certain modifications. L.M. Fraser writes:-

"The word 'market' need not detain us long. In economics it means not a particular building or locality, but a state of affairs. There is a 'market' in a commodity (i.e. a commodity class) when there are a number of buyers and sellers and when the unit price offered and paid by each is affected by the decisions of all the others. The market is said to be 'perfect' when each buyer has full knowledge, and the ability to use it, of what every seller is demanding, and each seller has full knowledge, and the ability to use it, of what every buyer is offering.....

Both the concept of a commodity class and the concept of a perfect market are essentially abstract and 'functional' terms. An approximation to their realisation is to be found in the financial world..... But outside this circumscribed area the conditions envisaged by the theory of pure competition are not to be found in all their purity."⁵

⁵L.M. Fraser, Economic Thought and Language. (London: Adam and Charles Black, Ltd., 1937), pp. 131-133.

Where these conditions do not exist, there are imperfect markets of all sorts. But even then these are model-building abstractions obtained through the conceptual alteration of limited variables. At most they can be applied to small sectors of the economy but not to the real economy as a whole. XX

Paul Bohannon and George Dalton seem closer when they write of the applicability or inapplicability, as the case might be, of the 'market principle' to those institutions which they are empirically examining as market places.⁶ Market places are sites with social, economic, cultural, political and other referents, where buyers and sellers (or perhaps exchangers of other types) meet for the purpose of exchange. The degree to which they use market principles is highly variable, but it may be that market principles are seldom wholly absent.

For the purpose of this study, the writer choose to follow this view, that the market is taken to mean as a market place or sites with social, economic, political and other referents, where a number of buyers and sellers meet at fairly recurrent interval to do business, under certain rules and regulations, in or at the most a few kinds of goods and where the contact between buyer and seller is relatively simple, direct and personal.

Fairs and Weekly Markets

Meetings of buyers and sellers at intervals of three, six or twelve months are called fairs, while meetings at fairly frequent intervals are called markets.

Markets occur daily, at three or four days interval or at the most at a weekly intervals. It is the market that meets at a weekly interval that this study is concern with, as is explicit in its caption. The general name given to this weekly market is pekan/pasar sahari, which when literally translated into English means one day market, and it is implied here one day of the week. The most popular market day (or nite for that matter) is Sunday and the various markets are usually known by the days that they are held.

It was characteristic to the advantage of the landlord or feudal chief to build a market place on his land. Such a market place would not only serve the villagers but also give the chief social, political and economic benefits. It served the villagers the

⁶ Paul Bohannon and George Dalton, Markets in Africa (Evanston, Ill.: North-Western University Press 1962), pp. 1-2.

CHAPTER II

THE WEEKLY MARKETS: A GENERAL BACKGROUND

Origin

One of the oldest and most ubiquitous institutions in human society is the market.¹ Each society developed its own variety of markets, such as the cotton market and the sericulture market. One of the unique developments in this institution on the Malaysian scene is the weekly market. It is not clear when such a market system developed, but it is believed to have existed since the feudal ages.

It is only natural to assume that, in general, the weekly markets were established on the premise that there would be an exchange of goods. In ages when the volume of trade was small and transportation difficult it was good for sellers to know that if they took their wares to a certain spot on an appointed day they would find buyers gathered there. This knowledge centralised supply and demand, saved time and stimulated production for sale.

Produce which became available only at certain seasons such as certain fruits, young livestock, grains, etc., could be disposed off at the end of the productive period in an annual fair. Commodities which were being produced the year round such as eggs, fish, handicrafts, clothes, etc. would need to be sold daily or weekly at a market. Further, while a producer of seasonal commodities would not mind a long trip to a remote fair once a year, the seller of goods which were produced continuously needed some nearby market since he could not afford to spend more than one day a week taking his goods to market, selling them, buying what he required, and then returning home.

It was therefore to the advantage of the landowner or feudal chief to build a market place on his land. Such a market place would not only serve the villagers but also give the owner social, political and economic benefits. It saved the villagers time

¹ Shiba Yoshinori and Yamane Yukio, Markets in China During the Sung, Ming and Ch'ing Periods (Occasional papers of Research Publications & Translation, Institute of Advanced Projects, East-West Centre, Honolulu, 1960-62).

and money spend for trips to a far distant market place and encourage them to grow more for sales. For the sellers it served to centralise the customers at a point of time and space. For the owner it gave him prestige, power and income in the forms of stall dues, tolls and other charges that he might levied for the use of the facilities of the market place. Hence the weekly market system would not only centralised supply and demand but also save time and stimulate production for sales.

However, for such a market to work, the market place should be built on sites where they are accessible, for sellers and buyers alike. Generally, they are either held in village towns within rural communities or at important traffic centres such as the intersection of main roads, junctions, jetties or the confluence of two rivers.

While fairs are located relatively wide apart, the weekly markets have to be thickly sprinkled over settled areas. If, however, they became too numerous, the supply of goods or of buyers in each might be inadequate or uncertain and the owner of the market would suffer a severe decline in the income he receives from tolls, stall dues and other charges. Thus market places are usually held at a fixed distance from one another or on the basis of rotative days. In Malaysia the latter method is adopted so that sometimes in one area a market is held on each day of the week. A good example is in the Tanjong Karang - Sabak Bernam Area (see Table 1). As such these markets are known by the name of the day it operates. They are:

- (1) Pasar Minggu or Ahad (Sunday Market).
- (2) Pasar Isnin (Monday Market).
- (3) Pasar Selasa (Tuesday Market).
- (4) Pasar Rabu (Wednesday Market).
- (5) Pasar Khamis (Thursday Market).
- (6) Pasar Jumaat (Friday Market).
- (7) Pasar Sabtu (Saturday Market).

This rotative system is advantageous both to the sellers and the buyers. For the professional sellers it gives them the opportunity of doing business seven days a week. For the local part-time farmer-cum-trader it reduces transportation costs in the sense that he or she need not travel to a neighbouring market to dispose of his or her goods but can wait for the local market day. Furthermore, the customers too need not waste time and money involve in travelling to another market.

The Management of the market places were either in the

hands of the feudal chief or the owners, usually the owner of the land on which the market was situated. Sometimes a person might own the market place but not the land. In such a case a rent for the land space had to be paid to the landlord and sometimes a percentage of the income from the market place. The owner of the market place was therefore responsible for keeping peace and order in it and for the settling of any disputes that would arise.

Usually, the ownership of the market place were either in the hands of the feudal chiefs or the Sultans, for, in the feudal ages these were the people who were active in commerce and the monopolisation of any trading activities in the Malay States.²

Present Development

With new developments in the political, economic and administrative settings after independence, a gradual change was seen, in the weekly market system, towards adapting itself to these new changes. At the beginning the market places were placed under the charge of the Town Boards or the Local Councils, which were responsible for the collection of stall dues, repairs and renovations as well as the formulation of rules and regulations for their smooth operation. But there still exist markets owned by individuals or groups of individuals, who are earning an income from them as well as are responsible for their upkeep.³

However, the tendency today is towards centralisation. The government, in its pursuit to uplift the economic conditions of the rural population and to encourage and promote commerce and trade among the Malays, has seen in the weekly markets as one of the means to this end. MARA (Majlis Amanah Rakyat), formerly RIDA (Rural Industrial Development Authority), is today the body that is charged with the financing of the building of new weekly market places and replacing the old with new ones.

The management of the market places is then left to the discretion of the District Officer. But the general tendency is for the District Officer to appoint a special Committee to look over the affairs of the market place. This Committee is then responsible for

² Richard Winstedt, The Malays-A Cultural History (Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London 1961).

³ A colleague of the writer, making the same study in Kedah, revealed that some of the markets he studies were owned by individuals (landowners) and groups of individuals who called their undertaking as a cooperative one.

the formulation of guidelines as to how the market place should be run. The income from stall dues is not regarded as government revenue but is used to pay the necessary wages to the stall fees collector and any administrative cost therein incurred. The remainder is then used for repair or extension if necessary and the rest of the accumulated amount put into a fund for extensions of scholarships to needy Malay students, with the children of the frequent Malay traders in the market places as the first preference.

The centralisation and unification of the weekly market system is still in its initial stage as is evident from the existence of other markets which has yet to come under the sponsorship of MARA and the varying practices with regard to their management. The Sungai Buloh market for example, which is a MARA sponsored project, has been placed under the Town Council by the District Office and the dues collected are treated as government revenue. These inconsistencies and non-uniformity of practices can be attributed to the transitional process, which in the end would be solved.

Originally the market place was meant only for the exchange of goods. But today, other than for the exchange of goods, it is incorporated into the overall government policy of promoting commerce and trade among the Malays. Also incorporated in this new approach is the making of the market place as a place for the promotion of the arts and culture of the people. The first step taken towards this objective was the rehabilitation of the weekly market place in the federal capital itself. Here, a stage, of traditional Malay architecture, was specially set up for cultural performances. Other cultural facets of the market place in Kuala Lumpur is a restaurant specialising in Malay dishes and a showroom for industrial and handicraft developments.

Hence, it can be deducted that the purpose of the weekly market place system today is threefold:-

- (1) To facilitate the exchange of goods.
- (2) To promote commerce and trade among the Malays; and
- (3) To promote the arts and culture of the people and country.

So far only the first purpose has been fully realised. The second has its serious limitations and the third has yet to be seen as it is still in its infant stage.

Rules and Regulations

No fixed and fast rules could be discerned for the weekly market place system. It is usually the immediate authority - the

District Office, the Town Council, the Local Council or the Committee - that sets the rules. Such rules and regulations can be summarised as follows:-

- (1) No selling of imported commodities other than manufactured products in the market place.
- (2) Every trader has to pay a fee for the use of market facilities i.e. the space in the market.⁴
- (3) No trading outside the market place compound.

Of these three rules, the first two are strictly adhered to. The third rule, that no trader is allowed to trade outside the market place compound, however, is difficult to enforce. Lack of space in the market place proper or mere stubbornness on the part of certain traders has led the authority 'to close one eye' with the regard to the enforcement of this rule; and this has led to complaints as well as silent conflicts, for the traders in the market enclosure feel that those outside has been taking away a part of their business as they are in a more advantageous position. This will be discussed in another part of this study.

FACTORS INFLUENCING TRADING

The nature of the weekly market system, or any other market system for that matter, depends on the characteristics of the trading community: the size of the population, the size of the trading area, the density of the population, the development of communications, the amount of good produced and their variety, and the degree of specialisation. Also important but less easily analysed factors are those relating to the social structure of the community: the size of the family group insofar as it is an economic unit, the extent of the duties and obligations of an economic or other nature between families or other groupings within the society, and the attitudes towards production, consumption and investment. The other great variable is the level of 'economic development' of the society, which is generally considered to depend on the degree to which the society has adopted the commercial and industrial technology of the western world.

The first group of factors supply the framework within which the market system must operate and the needs which it must fulfill. The level of technological and commercial development delimits the resources which the society has at its command to meet these needs, and the social structure influences the choice or development of certain particular pattern rather than others equally possible on

⁴ See Appendix II.

purely economic grounds.

The first group of factors and the level of 'economic development' of the society, the writer will term as the 'infra-economic factors' and the latter the 'social factors' that influence trading.

CONDITIONS IN THE SELANGOR COASTAL DISTRICTS

The Infra-economic Factors

The Selangor Coastal Districts, comprising the districts of Sabak Bernam, Kuala Selangor, Klang and Kuala Langat, has an area of about 1,500 square miles and a population of nearly half a million scattered quite evenly over the whole area, mostly in rural villages and small towns. There are virtually no isolated homesteads, and the average village, which may have as many as 2,000 to 3,000 inhabitants, usually lies only a few hundred yards from its neighbour. Moreover, today, no village is more than seven miles from the nearest town (urban or village town) and is in daily contact with the towns. A network of paved roads brings the smaller towns and many of the villages into touch with the larger urban centres in and out of the area of study. There is only one rail line linking the towns of Port Swettenham and Klang to the federal capital, Kuala Lumpur. Between the villages and within them a constant stream of cars, busses, motor-cycles, bicycles and people on foot extend the transportation and communication network to the furthest corner of the remotest village.

The majority of the rural population is Malays, mostly immigrants and direct descendants of immigrants from Indonesia. It is a technologically simple peasant society with a largely illiterate agrarian population. However, the villages are not economically self-sufficient but depend on constant commerce with the larger society. The Chinese in these rural areas are either shopkeepers, middlemen or farmers specialising in cash crops such as vegetables. There are very few Indians around except in the estates.

For the urban area, chiefly Port Swettenham and Klang (and for the village towns in that matter), the Chinese forms the majority of the population, followed by the Malays and Indians respectively. In these urban centres and village towns the major activities are in commerce and industry, and in government departments.

With the exception of the urban centres, the economy of the area is mainly agrarian in character. Padi farming is prominent in the north, rubber and coconut farms in the centre and rubber and coffee farms in the south. Fishing is common throughout the area. In addition to these activities, one could also add mixed or village farming that is the growing of vegetables and fruits and the keeping of livestock, more for subsistence than for sale.

The soil is very fertile and can be made to produce more than is needed for the maintenance of those who work on it. At the same time, the widespread practice of cash cropping for both the internal and external markets means that the farmer is a highly specialised worker who grows a limited range of crops and so cannot hope to furnish his family with all the goods they needed from his own land. There are also a significant part of the population who are not farmers but rendered their services to some of these farmers and estates in return for a monetary wage. Thus, although the majority of the people are farmers, the word must be understood in much the same way that it is used in the western world, that is to say, these farmers are specialists in producing raw materials while others in the society specialise in turning the raw materials into consumer goods and finished products or in rendering their services, directly or indirectly, toward such performances. This highly developed division of labour means that no family or person is economically self-sufficient, everyone buys many of the things needed in daily life. Thus everyone depends on cash and the national currency is used in all phases of daily life to purchase a vast array of goods. Purchases consist of a great variety of things, some produced within the area of study or within the country itself and some imported from abroad and these purchases are made with the money received from wages and the sales of crops.

The average town dweller, who depends entirely on wages and salaries, must buy all his daily food and another necessary products. Even the farmer buys a remarkable array of foods: salt, sugar, coconut oil for cooking, spices as well as varying amounts of staples which he himself has not raised or which he has been forced to sell to obtain cash with which to meet more immediate needs.

Everyone must buy all the clothes he uses, some imported and some made locally. All tools including ploughs, hoes, sickles, knives and kitchen utensils from iron frying pans and copper kettles to coconut shell dippers, spoons and forks, are bought. Many of these things are produced in small industries or are made by artisans in cottage industry establishments. There is also a great demand for imported products such as buttons, threads, pins, soap and toys from all over the world.

The magnitude of the problem presented by the need to collect and distribute these goods is appreciated when one considers the distribution of the population. Industrialisation is still in its infancy stage and this means that there are few concentrations of consumers (such as concentrations of consumers in urban centres) and centralized production points. Production of handicraft goods is done by small, scattered unmechanised units, and these goods must be distributed to an equally scattered population. Thus, this difused society must be held together by a distribution system or mechanism which lacks much of the advanced technology, the transportation and

TABLE II

DENSITY OF POPULATION IN THE

SELANGOR COASTAL DISTRICTS

District/Area of Study	Density of Malay population per sq. mile	Density of Chinese population per sq. mile	Density of Indian population per sq. mile	Density of Total population per sq. mile
Tanjong Karang - Sabak Bernam Area	100 - 200	25 - 50	10 - 20	100 - 200
South Kuala Selangor District	100 - 200	25 - 50	10 - 20	100 - 200
Klang District	50 - 100	100 - 200	over 80	300 - 400
Kuala Langat District	50 - 100	50 - 100	40 - 60	200 - 300

Source: 1957 Population Census of the Federation of Malaya (Kuala Lumpur - 1958 - 1959)

communication network, the capital resources and the commercial techniques available to the western world. Our community, though composed of small, scattered units, produces and consumes large quantities and a wide variety of goods.

The weekly market system, as a supplement to the other existing market systems, accomplishes its task by substituting plentiful resources, cheap unskilled and semi skilled labour and local knowledge for the expensive and inaccessible resources which demand heavy capital investment.

This substitution is made possible by the breaking down of the total task into a series of much smaller tasks, each of which can be done by a single person or a small group of persons, working with only the simplest tools and a minimum of capital. Each person or group does a small portion of the total task and then passes the goods on to the next person or group. In this way, what available resources are used to substitute the more sophisticated ones as exists in the western world, to collect and distribute the goods from scattered production points to an equally scattered consumption points.

The Social Factors

The social structure of the community affects the economic structure just as the economy affects the community's social aspects of life.

The Malay community lacks large, stable 'corporate'⁵ groups which might serve as a basis for large-scale economic cooperation. There are no classes, age grades or castes; and the neighbourhood groups, social classes and other groupings do not join people into mutually exclusive groups set in opposition to other similar groups. Kin ties are too diffused to make the extended family an effective group, so the nuclear family is the almost universal economic unit. The average household is composed of husband, wife, their unmarried children and occasionally another dependent, a divorced daughter, a widowed parent or an aunt.

The Malay family is neither patriachal nor matrilineal. It is bilateral and the kindred is an ill-defined unit. Outside the nuclear family, kinsmen are only important if other ties reenforce the kin link. Most common of these other ties are those arising from the

⁵The writer is using a simple definition of 'corporate' group, to denote a number of people who have common rights in some sort of property and who carry out some sort of activity in relation to this property under the guidance of one (or more) of their number who has authority over all of them for the purposes of this joint activity.

same neighbourhood, labour exchange, casual help and visiting; though among traders business associations may maintain relations with kinsmen living at a distance. Ties with a wealthy or influential kinsmen are kept up, even when the relationship is fairly distant, because of the desire to receive patronage. But even where ties are maintained they are of interest only to the individuals concerned and do not become the basis for corporate groups or actions.

Extended kin ties and neighbourhood groupings are more stable and more important in the rural villages than among townsmen. Farm land is worked in common by members of the nuclear family, and even after the parents die the sons may work it jointly for some time. After the land is divided labour will be exchanged among the members of the younger generation. Such labour is also exchanged among neighbourhood or village groups, especially during time of harvest. Thus the need for workers in itself helps to strengthen kin and neighbourhood ties. Nevertheless, corporate groups do not emerge, even in rural areas.

Among traders the economic situation offers no such basis for building a corporate group. Competition among all merchants is virtually free and the control of capital, the major scarce resource, is not concentrated in the hands of one person or any one group of persons. The trader has a larger number of contacts than the farmer and the ties formed tend to be highly individualistic. The demands of business, which forces many traders to travel to other markets from time to time, staying away for days, weeks and even months, further broken local ties. Thus among traders there are no stable groups larger than the nuclear family. In fact, since in many sorts of trade an individual can operate more effectively alone, the economic base of the nuclear family itself is weakened.

Islam is the common religion professed by the Malays. Many writers view common religion as a factor for the strengthening of neighbourhood organisations. Nevertheless, it does strengthen ties and organisational activities but it is ineffective in pooling capital, securing loans and the like. In fact it has a reverse effect in these fields, especially when they are related to usury and interests.

The Chinese community on the other hand present an interesting contrast. They maintained close relationship with the extended family and have various types of corporate groups based on dialects and clanship.⁶ Family ties are the main force in the moulding of corporate

⁶ T'ien Ju-Kang, The Chinese of Sarawak: A Study of Social Structure (Monographs on Social Anthropology No. 12, The London School of Economics and Political Science, London, 1953).

groups in this community. They are reenforced with dialect and regional relationships. Within the various groupings which forms the Chinese community as a whole, ties of kinship and comembership in the various types of associations reenforce and are reenforce by the commercial relationship so that a series of closely knit communities is created, with connections reaching all over the country and often beyond. Thus the Chinese dialect, clan or regional associations are used as a basis for extending commercial relations beyond the nuclear family and local group.

This lead to an important observation. Many people, believing that the Malays to have large extended families, feel that this is detrimental to economic progress since the profits from a family business have to be shared out even to those who have not help earn them. This is said to hinder individual initiative and prevent the formation of capital. But the Chinese have turned these groupings, also based on non-commercial criteria, to advantage in trade. Through them capital is pooled, credit extended and favoured treatment given to fellow members - important advantages when competition is fierce and profit margins narrow. Thus the presence of social groupings based on difuse ties may not be detrimental to business under certain conditions.

The solidarity of the tightly organised Chinese groups is further reenforced by social sanctions and isolations if a man is found irresponsible and dishonest. A merchant who has promised to deliver a certain amount and quality of goods on a particular date will make every effort to fulfill his commitments. This assures the buyer from uncertainty of supply, and therefore free him to go ahead with the resale of goods knowing fully well that they will be available. A man asking for credit normally gets it, and the creditor knows that he will be repaid. This ethical code therefore lower costs, free the flow of goods and reduces risks.

Such ethics is enforceable since the relationship extends out to other groups. Thus few defaulters can escape the sanction that he will face wherever he tries to escape in the country. But for the Malay defaulter he can easily run away to another village and start anew since the ties are not as widespread as those of the Chinese. This lack of effective social sanction among the Malay community therefore resulted in the reluctance to pool capital and extend credit to others. "*Downy: Peculiar Marketing*"

THE WEEKLY MARKET PLACES UNDER STUDY

The market places in the rural areas are built on sites fringing the village towns. (See Maps III, IV and VI). This is a positional advantage in the sense that they serve as a convenient converging place for customers and traders alike. Furthermore, it

should be noted that these weekly markets is merely a supplement to the other existing market systems, and as such should be placed in a place or near a place where the people usually do their purchasing. However, for the urban centre, the market place is situated somewhere in the midst of the town itself. It is meant to serve the town at large and a central position is advantageous as it would be easily accessible from all quarters. (See Map V).

The most prominent structures in these weekly market places, urban and rural, are the rows of shed on raised wooden platforms with tin roofs held by steel or wooden poles but otherwise open. For the Port Swettenham and Sungai Buloh market places, wooden platforms on the ground between the sheds is another permanent feature. These wooden platforms on the ground are uncovered and are laid against the sheds on non-market days. The straight row of sheds vary in arrangement in the different market places but they do not exceed more than 25 yards in length. Spaces on the platform as well as on the ground in the market enclosure are rented at a rate of 20 cents, 50 cents and one dollar for each market day, the fees determined by the amount and kind of goods the traders bring into the market place. However, for the Port Swettenham market place the rate is a flat 50 cents.

Legally, traders trading outside the market enclosure would not be subjected to rental fees of the spaces occupied, but practically this is not workable and unfair to those in the enclosure because for them there might be lack of adequate space in the market enclosure. Normally the fee collector subjects them to the same treatment as those inside.

One important point to note that the physical size of the market place is no measuring rod of the size of the market in terms of traders and customers. For example the Port Swettenham market place is about half the size of the Sungai Buloh market, physically, but the number of traders, in and outside the market place, do not significantly vary.

When one walks into any of the market places, it is soon obvious that they are roughly divided into areas or sectors each specialising in a particular kind of product. This is not a hard and fast rule but it is the general tendency. No doubt certain sectors are allocated for the sales of certain goods but when it comes to the spaces on the open ground in the market enclosure this is the general tendency. Furthermore, especially in the Banting and Sungai Buloh market places the traders prefer to sell in the open spaces on the ground rather than on the raised platforms provided, thus leaving one or two rows of the platform empty. There are also a few strays who for their own reasons choose to operate outside the area where their product is normally found. There are no regulations forbidding this, the clustering being purely a voluntary response to the demand of trade

as it is advantageous for all traders to be easily accessible. Once areas are established ties of friendship and neighbourhood among the traders tends to perpetuate the clustering.

Market Days

The terms weekly market implies that these markets operate on a weekly basis. One day of the week is chosen for the operation of the market place and beside the general name, pekan/pasar sahari, to denote these market places, each market place, on the other hand, is known by the day it operates. As such the Tanjong Karang market place is known as Pasar Isnin (Monday Market); Sungai Buloh and Banting, Pasar Ahad/Minggu (Sunday Market) and the Port Swettenham market place as Pasar Jumaat (Friday Market). The market day is fixed so that it does not clash with other market days in neighbouring areas, as far as possible, so as to maintain the number of travelling merchants available to operate in each market.

Market Hours

The three rural markets operate in the first half of the day, beginning from 6.30 in the morning and ending around 2.30 in the afternoon, with the exception of the Banting market which is a very brisk market and ends somewhere around noon. However, even after the normal market hours one could still find a few traders in the Tanjong Karang and Sungai Buloh market places till late in the afternoon. Others would have either packed up and gone home or moved (specially the cake sellers) to a place in the village town to dispose the remainder of their goods not sold in the market place.

The morning hours are suitable for the rural areas in the sense that even if the market day do not fall on a holiday, the villagers would still find time to pay a visit, as most of them are self-employed. Further, to hold a market at night would not be feasible as transportation between villages after dark virtually ceased to exist. But for the urban market, consideration is given to the above two factors. As such, the market is held late in the evening, to cater for the people after a hard day's work in the office. The Port Swettenham market opens between 5.00 p.m. to 11.30 p.m.

Comparison between Urban and Rural Markets

The difference in the market hours between the rural and urban markets, plus the fact that the economic activities of the communities are of two extremes - one is agrarian and the other commercial and industrial, clearly implies that differences exist in other aspects as well. In the first place, the urban market rarely deals in daily necessities such as fish and vegetables. What is prominent in the urban market place is the sales of manufactured goods, especially textiles, and cakes. Thus the rural or agrarian flavour is missing. This can

be further attributed to the fact that such goods as fish, vegetables and groceries are easily available in the town itself and their needs only arise in the morning rather than in the evening.

The racial composition of traders further reflects this urban difference. Other than the cake sellers and prepared-food vendors, the majority of the sellers in the urban market place are Chinese as opposed to the Malay majority in the rural markets. This results more from the racial composition of the trading areas and population itself, which lacks Malay shopkeepers and traders, either as full-time or part-time businessmen.

Thus in this study, when the writer discusses about vegetables, fish and fruit traders the writer is specifically concerned with the rural traders in the rural market places as opposed to the discussion on other types of traders.

Traders do the transportation and labour supply with demand, freeing producer and consumer from risk bearing and much heavy labour, and assuring a constant supply of goods to the consumer and a constant market for the producer. The average person may not conceptualize the system in this way, but they do know that the traders are performing a useful and productive function.

TYPE OF TRADERS

Within the market place one could possibly define as many types of traders as there are traders. But for practical and convenience purposes, the writer will discuss the types of trader according to circuit and type of goods sold. In addition, a separate chapter will be allocated for the medicine traders for the writer believes that these traders are unique in the sense that they are a special type as opposed to the others and therefore deserve special mention. In fact, the classification of traders by circuit and types of goods sold would, to a lesser or greater extent, overlap. This is exactly the writer's aim for he believes that this would give a much clearer perspective. On the surface the traders seemed to be relatively simple and uncomplex, but if one really goes deep into them they are as varied and complex as the goods sold.

The Itinerant Trader

From table 1 page 4 one can see that in the Selangor District there are at least nineteen weekly market places in operation, at least one on each day of the week. Furthermore, it could be clearly discerned that for the Tanjong Karang - Sabak Bernam area alone a market place operates every day of the week. It can

Therefore be said that the weekly market system gives the traders, especially the roving traders, ample opportunity to move around every day of the week. But from Table III below it is seen that many traders operate on a fairly restricted circuit.

CHAPTER III

THE TRADERS

Trading is a legitimate way of making a living. This attitude is held by traders and non-traders alike, and the society as a whole recognises the right of those who wish to make money from the manipulation of the forces of supply and demand to do so. Everyone accepts that transporting and trading must be done if produce is to be sold and consumer goods provided. The fact that people recognises the significance of the services done by the traders provided a basis for the recognition of trading as a legitimate occupation, even though the profits are not seen as wages for the work done.

Traders do the transportation and balance supply with demand, freeing producer and consumer from risk bearing and much heavy labour, and assuring a constant supply of goods to the consumer and a constant market for the producer. The average person may not conceptualise the system in this way, but they do know that the traders are performing a useful and productive function.

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therefore be said that the weekly market system gives the traders, especially the roving traders, ample opportunity to move around every day of the week. But from Table III below it is seen that many traders operate on a fairly restricted circuit.

TABLE III

ITENERANCY OF TRADERS

Day/s of circuit	No. of Traders
7	22
6	5
5	5
4	8
3	11
2	9
1	64
Total number of traders	124

Table III includes only those traders with a limited geographical circuit. It does not include five other traders interviewed whose circuit is of a national character. These are the medicine traders and they do not operate on a day to day basis. For them it is more of a seasonal or monthly circuit. When the season is ripe and the month is young and the people's pockets burst with money, the medicine peddlers would then gather in the market places. As such, it is difficult to find these medicine traders during the off-seasons. During the padi harvesting season in Tanjong Karang for example, one usually see pockets of small crowds gathered around these medicine traders, listening to their tales and jokes and finally ending up with a bottle or a packet of medicine in their hands.

Furthermore, out of the 124 traders interviewed, half of them (64) trade only once a week. These are the peasant traders in

fish, vegetables and cakes, and the 'professional' fish and vegetable traders from the daily market place. For these traders trading in the weekly market place is just a supplementary activity. For the peasant traders it is either for the disposal of surplus agricultural produce to add to their income or for the need of a few more dollars of income for the purchase of luxury goods or for entertainment or other miscellaneous items. Further, the small amount of goods and commodities carried by these traders do not economically justify the additional cost of transportation and time involve in travelling to other market places, where the keen competition from the large number of similar traders there would place them at a disadvantage. As for the 'professional' traders in fish and vegetables, trading in the market place once a week is merely a continuity of their professional trading in the daily markets, the only difference being in the shift in places. Other days they would be found in the daily markets attending to their normal business.

Very few of the peasant traders dealing in fish, vegetables, fruits and cakes has a circuit of two or more market places, and even then it would only be two or three nearly market places. The grocers and dried fish traders are included in this latter group.

It is only the cloth merchants and manufactured goods merchants who can afford a wider circuit of more than three days. But here too, not all can afford a full six or seven days circuit. Much depends on the volume of business, the distance between one market place and another, the nature of the trade itself that is whether it is a full-time occupation or a part-time occupation and other ~~trading~~ activities outside the weekly market place system.

The majority of the clothes and other manufactured goods merchants operating in the Tanjong Karang and Sungai Buloh market places considers trading in the weekly market places as a full-time occupation and furthermore, the existence of other easily accessible weekly market places in the area perpetuates the permanency of trading in the weekly market places as an occupation and extends the days of circuit to as many as six and seven days a week. Even if the volume of trade is small, the returns would justify the small costs incurred in travelling from one market place to another. Furthermore, even if the traders do own farm land, the fact that the market places operate in the morning hours leave them the afternoon free to attend to their farms. In most cases, however, those traders with farms either leave them to be operated by other members of his family or rent them out so that they can fully concentrate on their trade. Thus in the various

markets operating in the Tanjong Karang - Sabak Bernam and South Kuala Selangor areas, one will come across the same clothes and other manufactured goods merchants, the only difference being in their number which varies from one market place to another depending on the response of the local population. For the few richer merchants, their activities spread out to other areas as far as Klang and Port Swettenham.

The situation in the Klang and Kuala Langat districts, however, is different in the sense that in these districts the number of market places are fewer and do not spread out through the week. (See Table I page 4). The traders in these districts are therefore at a disadvantage in terms of the availability of easily accessible market places (in terms of transportation cost) as compared to their counterparts in the other two areas of study. Fewer of the traders (i.e. clothes and manufactured goods merchants) in these areas have a circuit of more than three market places and furthermore the number of these traders in these districts is comparatively less than that found in the northern districts. (See Appendix II). Those without shops, a major portion of this type of traders, trading in villages, estates and along sidewalks in the towns is the only alternative open to them rather than take the risk of an additional cost of transportation to distant market places and a keener competition, knowing fully well that in such a trade the profit margins are narrow.

It can be concluded, therefore that the circuit of the traders is confined to certain areas or districts. The number of circuits (in terms of days) on the other hand, depends on the volume of trade, the number of easily accessible market places and their distances from one another and the nature of the trade itself. Only the richer merchants with a larger volume of goods and resources have a circuit spread throughout the whole area of a particular district and outside it.

Types of Traders by Goods Sold

The traders in the weekly market places can be further classified according to the goods that they handled. All of them will come under one of the following general categories:-

- (1) Traders of manufactured goods.
- (2) Traders of agrarian products.
- (3) Traders of cottage-establishment goods.
- (4) Traders of cakes.
- (5) Traders of prepared food.
- (6) Traders of medicine.

PLATE I



A TRADER OF READY-MADE
WEARS

PLATE 2



A TEXTILE TRADER: 'SPECIALIST'
IN BATEK AND SARONG

The above classification is a general categorisation. Under each general category of traders further sub-division is possible. For example the ^{of}traders manufactured goods can be further sub-divided into traders of textiles, traders of ready-made wears, traders of hardware and kitchen utensils, etc. However, this does not mean that every trader specialised in one kind of goods only. In fact the majority of them handles two or three kinds of goods, for example a clothes merchant might be selling ready-made wears as well as textiles by the yards and a cake seller might also be selling prepared food or vegetables. But this does not mean that the general categorisation and the sub-divisions is invalid.

The majority of the traders of manufactured products such as clothes, textiles and mixed goods such as threads, powder, pins, etc. are full time traders. Out of a number of forty-eight interviewed, 15 have shops of their own, seven were part-time traders. Therefore more than 50 per cent of these traders depends greatly on the market places for their livelihood. This is especially true in the Tanjong-Karang and Sabak Bernam area where the majority of them have a seven day circuit covering almost all the market places in operation in the area.

However, this type of traders formed around 25 per cent to 40 per cent of the total number of traders in the market places. This is because the capital and resources needed for this type of trade is relatively large as compared to the others. It is time consuming and leave little time to the traders to attend to other kinds of supplementary occupation.

The largest amount of goods held by any trader in the market place was quoted as \$4,000.00 and the lowest \$150.00. Very few traders hold goods worth more than \$1,000.00. The few who hold such large amounts are either traders owning a permanent shop outside the market places or those with capital available outside the market place such as the income received from rentals of houses and land. Usually for traders in manufactured goods, depending on the types of goods handled, their value of goods handled fall into two, the first ranging from \$500.00 to \$1,000.00 and the second ranging from \$150.00 to \$500.00. Traders in textiles, and hardware fall into the first range, and a few above it; while traders in ready-made wears and 'mixed' goods fall in the second range.

Since the investment in stock is small, these traders have to work on a rotating capital basis. They have to replenish their stock at least once a week and as such this trade calls for a full-time participation in order to have as large a turnover as possible and from this turnover the money is used to travel to distant urban centres for the purchase of further goods to replenish the decreasing stock. The larger the turnover, the more the earnings, so only those who can afford the capital, which in itself is scarce, and the time can indulge

TABLE IV

TYPES OF TRADERS BY GOOD SOLD

General Grouping	Specialised Grouping	
	(1)	(2)
1) Traders of manufactured Goods	a) Traders of textiles by yards b) Traders of textiles by piece c) Traders of ready-made wears d) Traders of second-hand clothes e) Traders of hardware and kitchen utensils. f) Traders of 'mixed' goods	(a - i) Fresh Fish (a - ii) Dried Fish (b - i) 'cash' crops (b - ii) 'village' crops (c - i) seasonal (rambutan) (c - ii) daily (e.g. bananas)
2) Traders of Agrarian Products	a) Fish b) Vegetables c) Fruits d) Livestocks e) Grocers	
3) Traders of Cottage-made goods	a) Cakes b) Prepared-Food	
4) Traders in cakes and prepared food.	a) Promoters	
5) Traders of medicine	b) Vendors	

PLATE 3



A CHINESE TEXTILE TRADER

PLATE 4



A TRADER IN KITCHENWARE

in it. Very limited number of the total traders in the market places can afford these two factors, especially the former.

Next we have the traders of agrarian products such as fish, vegetables, fruits, livestock and the like. Firstly, there are the Chinese traders. There are few of them in the market places - about 12 in the Tanjong Karang market and five in the Banting market. Their absence in the Sungai Buloh market is due to the fact that the weekly market place is situated beside the daily market and as such there is no need for such traders to enter the weekly market place. For these traders, trading in the weekly market place is merely a continuation of their daily activities from the daily market.

However, the majority of the traders of agrarian products are Malay peasants, mostly women. For most of them trading is a once-a-week occupation and the products sold reflects the non-market orientation of the village economy. Such produce as chilli, chekor, yam, bananas, mango and lime are merely produce of backyard gardens of either the traders themselves or their neighbours from whom they purchase the produce for resale. The volume of trade is very small, the highest amount of produce held by a trader worth about \$20.00. On the average each trader holds about \$5.00 to \$10.00 worth of goods. Such a trade needs small or no capital at all. Furthermore, the attitudes of these peasant traders toward trading as merely a supplementary occupation that is done only once a week and more for the purpose of earning a few extra dollars rather than a source of regular income hinders them from accumulating stock and further growth to compete with the 'professionals'.

The same argument as above can be applied for the cake and prepared-food vendors.

Traders of cottage products such as rattan baskets, mats, tudong saji (food cover), rattan sieves, etc. are very few indeed. This might be attributed more to the availability or supply of the goods rather than the lack of incentives on the part of the traders to deal in them. Production of these goods usually is a part-time activity and this caused the irregularities in supply. Furthermore, cottage-industry establishments are very few in the area of study and as such the majority of these goods such as mats and mengkuang food covers which are produced outside this area come only during certain periods of the year, when there are people who are willing to bring them in. Traders in these goods usually deals in additional goods such as second-hand clothing and hardwares and would only sell cottage products when available.

The Medicine traders

One of the major attractions, if not the major one, in the weekly market places is the presence of the medicine traders. For the simple kampong folk and the ordinary town dweller these traders is a

PLATE 5



A TOBACCO TRADER

PLATE 6



A BANANA TRADER

VEGETABLE TRADERS

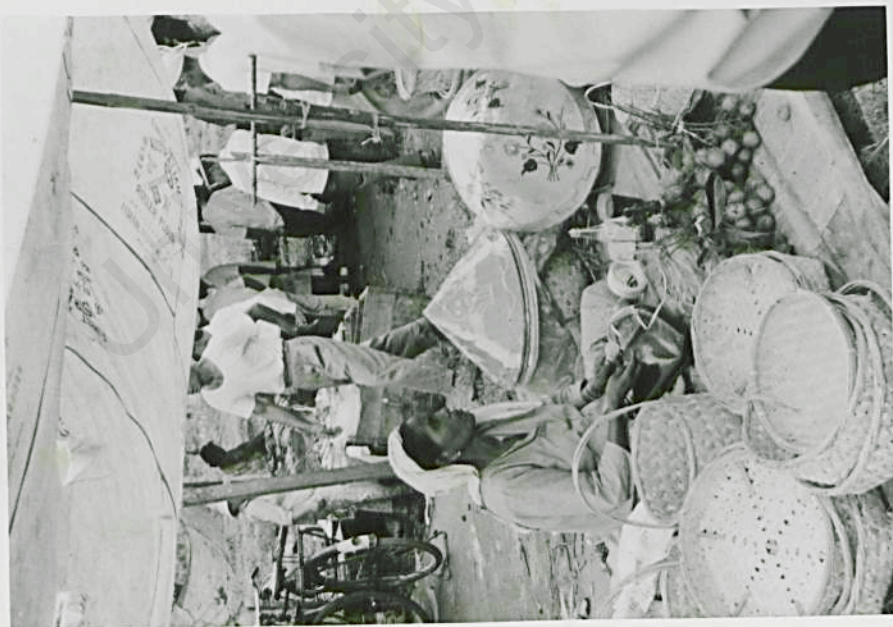


CHINESE LADY SELLING VEGETABLES



MALAY LADY SELLING VEGETABLES

PLATE 8



MALAY LADY SELLING COTTAGE-MADE PRODUCTS

PLATE 9



CHINESE LADY SELLING READY-MADE WEARS

source of entertainment. For the businessmen, they are an example of good salesmanship. Many considered as vendors.

According to their methods or techniques of selling, the writer will discuss them under the following names, namely:-

PLATE 10

(1) The Silent-Jernsey

(2) The Smooth Talker

(3) The Jester



A TRADER OF 'MIXED' GOODS

source of entertainment. For the businessmen, they are an example of good salesmanship. Many considered as orators.

According to their methods or techniques of selling, the writer will discuss them under four types, namely :-

- (1) The Silent-Pouncer
- (2) The Smooth Talker
- (3) The Prover
- (4) The Story Teller

The silent-pouncer usually sets himself in the midst of the market place where the people come and go in continuous flow. In front or beside him would be his medicine either on a collapsible table or on the ground and he would sit silently watching the passers-by, like a scavenger waiting for its prey. Suddenly he would lurked forward toward his prey and said, "Look here, Sir. What is this? (pointing to the ringworm on the person's hand). Come let me help you." OR "Hey, look at your eyes. They are turning yellowish. You got to do something about it. This you know why....." The 'prey' is normally taken aback and submits himself or herself to the examination or free-treatment offered, which usually ends in the conclusion of a sale. However, when such a call is ignored the trader could be heard to mumble, "Look, when there is a person who tries to help him, he runs away. Stupid."

The Smooth Talker, usually with a loud-speaker, is one who blares out all the qualities and merits of his medicine. What the medicine composed of, what it cures, its price, how to take it and the like. This type of traders are mostly sale-promoters of certain medicines, either self-made or manufactured, which are available in the local drugstore. The point that is usually stress in this kind of sale is the price. What is offered is said to be at a lower price than what is available in the local drugstore and usually a free sample of another medicine is given away with every purchase.

As the term itself implies, the prover is one who proves what he said the medicine he is selling can cure. Amidst talks and jokes, the trader would call upon anyone from among the crowd with a toothache or tooth pain or any other pains that his medicine could cure, to come forward for free treatment to prove that what he says is not merely talk. After the treatment the 'patient' is asked whether the pain is cured or not and the answer is always a 'yes'. "Ah!", "exclaimed the trader," I told you, don't listen to me. Listen to him. Don't believe me, but believe what you see." He usually ends with a pocketful of notes.

It is the story-teller who intrigues and awes the crowd with

PLATE II

MEDICINE TRADERS



THE SALES PROMOTER
(the smooth talker)



THE PROVER

his fanciful talk and stories and jokes. The trader usually start off^h telling stories of his experiences in other places of sales and performing amazing feats such as bending nails with his teeth and claiming that he would eat the carbide in front of him to attract the crowd. In such sales talk sex is the spice to keep the crowd intact and happy. The talk would slowly lead to his medicine, what cure it can give a person, what strength a person can get from it and the like and at the end of the talk he will start making his sales and the crowd would diminish.

These medicine traders have a way of attracting a crowd. The medicine and a number of curiosities such as stuffed birds, winding rattans and photographs of diseases would be laid out and in the midst of all these he would throw his notes giving the impression that he has made many sales.

However, these medicine traders are very few and hard to come across except during certain seasons where the spirit is high and the money is plentiful. They have a wider circuit. They would concentrate on one state for two or three months and then move on to another or they would, using their knowledge of the country, move to places of plenty, especially places of celebrations and harvesting times.

Specialisation in Trade

From the above discussion it is clear that there is a marked specialisation in trade according to goods handled. A trader would at the most, except for the mixed goods traders, handle two or three variety of goods. This specialisation among traders arise from the need for division of labour in a task as large and complex as that done by the weekly market system and the limited capital and other resources available. These are variations in the marketing patterns due to the characteristics of the goods, the amount being handled, the degree of concentration in production and the perishability.

Resources

Traders, other than those having shops of their own, normally get their supplies on a cash-credit basis from the large urban centres such as Kuala Lumpur, Klang, Telok Anson and even as far as Penang and Singapore. Small-scale trading needs frequent restocking and the unstable nature of the trade, especially when the traders are not permanently settled in one place, make the availability of loans and credit difficult. As only small amounts of capital are needed in such ventures, they are usually financed from personal savings, the sales of property and in a few cases borrowings from friends and kinsmen. Credit from the suppliers are only available after a long period of acquaintance and even then it is partially offered, that is, the trader have to put down a cash down payment for any supplies needed. Therefore the need for ready cash is great, especially with the new-

comers, and a partial solution to this is not to give credit to customers, i.e. trading on a cash basis.

However, for the peasant traders the goods sold are either theirs or that of their neighbours. When selling their own goods the only things that they require is transportation which usually comes from the trader himself in the forms of bicycles and when the market place is near the goods can be carried on their heads or in baskets. Only when the goods are purchased from their neighbours or from others who come to the market places early in the morning just for the purpose of selling their produce to the traders would it involve the commitment of capital in terms of cash. Even then the amount is very small and the risks undertaken can be considered as nil. Nevertheless, for the cake and prepared food vendors an initial outlay of \$10.00 to \$20.00 is needed to purchase the mixture or raw materials necessary.

Ease of Entry into Trading

The ease of entry into trading gives opportunity to people having other occupations to take part in trading activity. If a producer feels that he is not receiving a proper price for his produce from the wholesalers he can always do his own selling in the market place. This fact blurs the distinction between traders and non-traders (that is among the peasant traders) because some traders bringing only small amounts of produce would dispose of it in the early hours of the market and then hang around among the traders and people in the market talking and gossiping and sometimes helping their fellow traders.

However, the ease of entry is more acceptable to traders of agrarian products rather than to traders of manufactured goods. For the farmer the capital needed is very small indeed as compared to the latter. So is the need for other resources such as transportation and storage. Thus ease of entry assures all those concerned that no one side is taking exorbitant profits, and such idea as that traders do make such profits is unlikely to exist for the person who believes this will himself become a trader.

Traders' Positions, Rights and Conflicts

An important feature of the market place arrangement is that each of the trader has a definite spot which he or she occupies every market day. Although by legal sanction one can choose any of the spaces allocated for a kind of product, no one challenges the right of the trader to his or her favourite spot. This is because there are enough space in the market place for all traders and furthermore it demonstrates that traditional attitudes sanction a kind of partial "ownership through occupation."¹ However, positions not regularly

¹ Alice Dewey: Peasant Marketing in Java (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1962) page 60.

PLATE 12



TRADERS LINING THE ENTRANCE INTO THE
SUNGAI BULOH MARKET PLACE

PLATE 13



A TRADER OF COTTAGE-MADE PRODUCTS

occupied by established traders are on a first-come-first-serve basis.

Furthermore the practice of occupying a definite spot in the market place is advantageous in the sense that the customers can easily locate their favourite trader. In addition, these traders after establishing themselves will have friendly relationships with neighbouring traders and they will not prefer to move away from the spot because such relationship can also be used for mutual help.

Nevertheless, antagonism and accusations of abuses are not uncommon. The main source of antagonism and accusations of abuses comes from the existence of the Chinese traders in the market place. This is further reinforced by the belief that, other than the traders of manufactured goods, the non-Malays are not allowed to trade in the market places because the market places are built mainly for the purpose of encouraging the Malay peasants to participate in trade. Accusations of abuses are levied at these Chinese traders and the authority alike. In addition, as one trader puts it, positioning themselves at the entrances give the Chinese traders a positional advantage over the Malay traders who are mainly concentrated further inside the market place. Such practices were claimed to sweep away a major part of the business that ought to go to the Malays if the Chinese were similarly placed. Thus at the end of the market day, the Malay traders would be left with a major portion of the produce brought in the morning and want it or not he has to dispose them to the over-willing Chinese traders at a very low price.

Even among the Chinese traders of vegetables and fish a silent conflict is in process. A fish-cum-vegetable seller in Tanjong Karang said that if it was not for the other traders from Sabak Bernam, Sekinchan, Kuala Selangor and Sungai Buloh coming to trade in the Tanjong Karang weekly market he would not have left his stall in the daily market. As he saw it, these outsiders were there to subvert the trading activities of those from the daily market and finally pushing them aboard and taking over their places.

The Proliferation of Traders

The usual pattern of trade in the market places is characterised by extremely labour-intensive methods. There is a great proliferation of individual traders using only their own limited capital, and neither employing others nor being employed by others. The proliferation of traders partly reflects the serious unemployment and underemployment problem in this country. There are no restriction on entry into market place trading and many fall back on trading who do not have enough land to support themselves and cannot find paid employment. This is further perpetuated by the low literacy rate as reflected among the traders.

Much of the proliferation constitutes, in effect, the substitution of plentiful resources (in the industrial sense) of un-

TABLE V

LITERACY AMONG TRADERS

No. of Trader	Years of Schooling
62	-
50	1 - 6
15	7 - 12
2	12 and above
Total 129	

skilled labour and self-motivated labour for scarce resources such as skilled labour, equipments, communication and transportation facilities and experienced managerial personnel. Some of these resources are virtually unavailable because of the lack of education and the requirement of heavy investment of scarce capital.

To utilise labour-intensive techniques, heavy complex tasks must be broken into smaller simpler units. The work must be organised so that it can be done by one-man units. Each task must be simple enough to be readily learned. The total complex task has to be subdivided into a number of simplified tasks; and then a large number of people has to engage in each sub-division, so that the achievement of the total task can be hastened. When a task is complex and requires as much energy (in the technical sense of the word) as that of the weekly market system, it is obvious that many individuals are needed.

The lack of communication facilities and the low literacy rate mean that the circulation of market information alone is complicated. Most information is in fact transmitted from trader to trader as an incidental part of their contact. This limits the area over which the trader can operate successfully. Poor communication also means that certain tasks, such as searching out goods in rural and urban areas cannot be done simultaneously by one person, even though the task is technically complex, nor the immediate energy requirements too heavy, for a single person. Difficulties of communication increase the total number of people needed. They also reduce the chance of achieving an efficient centralisation. Independent traders

operating within a restricted area can gather their own information individually, and need no over-all supervision or direction to coordinate their separate information and activities; and so they have a competitive advantage over centralised organisations.

There are also the problems caused by lack of standardised and universally-accepted grades for most commodities. Farm products are not graded, and goods from cottage-industry establishments vary widely in size and quality. In the market place, however, buyer and seller meet face-to-face and handle small quantities, and therefore it is not difficult to inspect each purchase thoroughly. There is, therefore, little need for grading or standardisation. In this sense, the labour intensive weekly market system overcome certain difficulties associated with technological underdevelopment with poor communication facilities - difficulties which pose serious problems for the more developed capital-intensive and large-scale enterprise.

There is a further factor which draws more people into trade than is necessary just to supply the labour effort for the physical performance of the marketing tasks: this is the need for capital. Although the trade in the weekly market places is labour intensive, money is still needed to buy goods and to meet other costs such as stall dues, transportation charges and so on. Individuals savings are small, credit is used in only a few type of trade and each trader works independently with his own capital resources. Thus the individual trader can handle only a small amount of goods. To increase the total amount of capital available for trading purposes, the number of traders must be increased.

Thus, to conclude, the proliferation of traders is a result of the technological under-development of the economy, the unemployment and underemployment which makes self-employed labour cheap, the ease of entry into market place trade, and the need to attract many small individually-owned amounts of capital to finance those aspects of trading for which self-employed labour cannot be substituted for capital and other factors of production.

Social Grouping Among Traders

As mentioned earlier stable corporate groups are lacking among the Malays. Even among the Chinese their corporate groups do not have much influence in the market place - what more when their number is few. Nevertheless the traders recognise the fact that they are members of an occupational category and through their frequent acquaintances in the market places there developed loosely knit groups for mutual help, gossiping, and talks on politics, business and other issues of common interest.

From such acquaintances and reenforced with ties of kinship, race and neighbourhood small groups are evolved. Such groups are mainly concerned with mutual help. When a trader, for example, owns

PLATE 14



AN AGED WOMAN TRADER

a van or a lorry he would have around him a few of his fellow-traders having the same circuit to share the petrol bill in return for transporting their goods around. Both sides benefit - the owner of the van or lorry does not have to foot any money for petrol and his friends will save time and transportation costs.

In the Tanjong Karang market place a few traders have taken the initiative to form a corporate group to be either in the form of a limited body or cooperation. Each week one of them would collect a dollar from the member traders and other outside members, mainly farmers and the writer was informed that it has by then more than \$7,000.00 in the bank. It is a multi-purpose organisation (still in its formation process), composed mainly of traders, meant to help those in trade as well as farmers who are members, especially for productive purposes.

It is therefore clear that the opportunity to form corporate bodies is there but due to the lack of education, capital and administrative as well as managerial abilities, the opportunity is difficult to be turned into a reality. What is needed is expert guidance from outside and educating these traders in the various forms of corporate groups or organisation for their mutual benefits. Only then can the idea of a corporate group become a reality in these market places.

The goods available are products of the agriculture folk and fishermen, and manufactured consumer goods. For the purpose of this study the goods available are classified according to the categories given in Table VI.

Agriculture Products

Vegetables, fish, fruits and chickens are examples of agriculture products which are primarily non-processed in nature. The farming folks, farmers and fishermen as well as ordinary housewives, would once a week put their fruits of labour to the market places for sale. These people consider trading in the market places not a week's work as a means of gaining a few dollars for their pocket money rather than an important source of supplementing their income and the nature of the products that they sell reflects this attitude. Products such as English cucumbers, eggplants, long beans and tomatoes are not vegetables that are grown for the market but rather vegetables that grow wild (examples: gourd, melon and pumpkin) or that are grown for home-consumption. Also fish and shellfish are examples of fish that are caught in the past fields during ploughing seasons or in muddy drains. Such products are clearly not market-orientated.

Following from the non-market orientation of the products sold as well as the purpose for selling these products, it goes to a great length to affect the transaction and the quality of the business. The goods sold are not weighed nor separated according to

CHAPTER IV

MARKET EXCHANGE AND PRACTICES

Goods Sold in the Market Places

It is necessary to examine the kinds of goods exchanged in order to find out in detail the transaction which took place in the market places, the quality of the business, the practices that go along in such a type of business and the people engaged in it. A list of the goods available in the market places has been arranged at the end of this work (given in Appendix I). The list is not meant to be complete for on every market day there is the great possibility of a few items appearing on the market scene, and there is also the great possibility of a few items to disappear from the scene temporarily or permanently. Nevertheless the list given is exhaustive enough as to include almost all the goods that are available on every market day.

The goods available are products of the agrarian folk and fishermen, and manufactured consumer goods. For the purpose of this study the goods available are classified according to the categories given in Table VI.

Agrarian Products

Vegetables, fish, fruits and chickens are examples of agrarian products which are primarily non-processed in nature. The kampong folks, farmers and fishermen as well as ordinary housewives, would once a week gather their fruits of labour to the market places for sale. These people consider trading in the market places once a week more as a mean of raising a few dollars for their pocket money rather than as a permanent source of supplementing their income and the nature of the products that they sell reflects this attitude. Products such as puchuk manis, puchuk paku, kangkong and bananas are not vegetables that are grown for the market but rather vegetables that grow wild (example: puchuk paku and kangkong) or that are grown for home-consumption. Ikan keli and ikan sepat are examples of fish that are caught in the padi fields during ploughing seasons or in muddy drains. Such products are clearly not market-orientated.

Following from the non-market orientation of the products sold as well as the purpose for selling these products, it goes to a great length as to affect the transaction and the quality of the business. The goods sold are not weighted nor separated according to

size or quality. Each trader tends to stock only a few dollars worth of these products and to sell them as quickly as possible, in the course of which they are willing to reduce the price whenever selling in bulk in order to encourage more quick sales. Such traders lack price and value judgement. For example a bundle of vegetable would cost ten cents but when pressed for a few times, sometimes no pressure is needed, by the customers, he or she would let them go at fifteen cents for two bundles, which mean a reduction of 25 per cent in gross income. The explanation is found in the attitude of these traders to trading plus the fact that the majority of them sell their own goods and therefore would not know how to value them properly.

In contrast to these kampong folk traders, are the Chinese traders. For them trading is their main source of livelihood. All the Chinese traders operating in the market places have on the other hand permanent stalls in the daily markets. The products sold, that is vegetables and fish, are bought from wholesalers in Sekinchan, Port Swettenham and other producing centres. These products are of better quality when compared to those sold by the kampong traders. Furthermore, being full-time traders they are much aware of the business conditions and practices as is evident from their use of weights and measures and the setting of the prices of their products according to the national quoted prices.

The availability of domesticated animals such as chickens, fowls and ducklings; and fruits such as pineapples, rambutan and maize points to the fact that there is the existence of specialised traders who collected and sell these goods.

Manufactured Products

However, it would be contrary to the actual picture if the exchange of goods is interpreted from a one-sided point of view based solely on the principle of the natural economy. As already indicated, the widespread availability of such goods as textiles, hardware, medicine and luxuries such as bracelets and bangles which are not produced within the vicinity of the market area points to the fact that there exist travelling traders. In fact the existence of these goods in large quantities tends to over-weight the manufactured goods brought by these travelling merchants in favour of the market places being branded as mainly agricultural.

Textiles and ready-made wears such as batak, coloured fabrics, blouses, brassiers, shorts, singlets, etc points to the fact that the availability of these kinds of goods in large numbers and among large number of traders in the market places are oriented for sales to females or for the use of females rather than males. This fact is further reenforced when it is noticed that men's wear such as trousers and shirts are negligible. The only things that are available for men are sarong (palekat), singlets, second-hand trousers and second-hand

PLATE 15

PREPARED-FOOD & CAKES



PLATE 16

CAKES



TABLE VI

TYPES OF GOODS SOLD IN THE MARKET PLACES

A. AGRARIAN PRODUCTS:

- i) Daily necessities (vegetables, fish and groceries)
- ii) Fruits
- iii) Domesticated animals (chicken, fowls and goats)

B. MANUFACTURED PRODUCTS:

- i) Textiles (including ready-made wears)
- ii) Hardware (pens, knives, plates, changkul, etc.)
- iii) Mixed goods (hairpin, powder, thread, needle, toys, pen, etc.)

C. FOOD

- i) Cakes
- ii) Prepared-food (fried mee, laksa, pechal, etc.)

D. MEDICINE

- E. MISCELLANEOUS (mats, tudong saji (mengkuang food cover), songkok, books, bangles, bracelets, etc.)

shirts. Thus it can be said that the types of textiles and ready-made wears available are more to appeal to women than men.

Beside textiles and ready-made wears, there is also a range of other goods such as hardware (e.g. knives, parang, sickles, etc.), kitchenware (e.g. saucers, plates, tiffin carrier, trays, frying pans, etc.), pins, threads, powder, songkok, religious books and razor blades, being sold in small quantities to meet the appeal of the customers.

Then there are specialists in cakes and prepared foods. The dominant group of such traders in the rural markets are Javanese women and as such it is natural to find such Javanese specialties such as keropok, pechal (Javanese rojak), lotong, and tempeh. However, in the Port Swettenham market place, where the majority of the cakes and prepared-food sellers are Malays such Javanese specialties are few. More cakes are sold and the prepared-food consists of laksa, fried mee and the like. The variety of cakes sold is greater in the urban market than in the rural markets.

Medicine available in the market places are of two types, namely 'industrial' made and home made. Examples of industrial made medicines are vitamin-pills, tonic and skin ointment. Home made medicine are maajun, ointments such as minyak kambing gurun and minyak chenderewaseh. Many of the industrial-made medicine are available in local drugstore but not the home-made ones.

All the types of products outlined in Table V are available in all the market places except that of Port Swettenham. The absence of agrarian products such as fish, vegetables, domesticated animals and groceries is distinct in this urban market place, as had been mentioned earlier.

Arrangement of Goods

In a market place where the people come with nothing specific to purchase it is necessary to display one's goods to catch the eye of the prospective customer, to create curiosity and to facilitate physical examination.

A person coming into any one of the market places would never miss the colourful scene of multi-coloured textiles, batik, blouses, scarfs, brassiers and sarong hanging around. Then there are those that are heaped on the platform or ground with the trader sitting or standing right in the midst of it all. Others are piled in straight rows.

Then there is the mixture of mixed goods spread on the ground in small boxes intermittently. Then there are small heaps of vegetables, fruits and cakes with the trader cross-legged on the raised platform or standing behind it.

As for the medicine traders, curiosity is the best way to attract customers. Stuffed birds, photographs of diseases, a plastic model of the human anatomy and other curiosities are usually spread out before the medicine traders call for a crowd.

Trade Profit

The amount of small trading which takes place in the market places is fantastic, so much so that one gets the impression that some people trade simply for the sake of trading. Everyone tries to get money so that he or she can add to his or her income or buy some desired object. It is quite impossible for one to obtain a clear idea of what kind of profit, if any, people make from their commerce in the weekly markets places. In fact the idea of profit does not seem to be important when people are selling their own products. Most people only think about profit when they buy things to re-sell -- whether these things are agrarian produce or factory made goods. This, incidentally, is why the price of certain vegetables, fruits and cottage made goods is much lower than those found outside the market places.

The majority of the traders who buy things to re-sell are the textiles and clothes traders, and traders of other manufactured goods such as plates, pans, scissors, hairpins, etc. These are the trader who are profit-conscious as opposed to those who are 'money-conscious', that is, those traders trading for the sake of getting money rather than making a profit. However, in a place where competition is free and very keen and the products sold are widely available, the profit margin or mark-up (to be more accurate) set by these traders is just nominal.

TABLE VII

MARK-UP LEVELLED ON MANUFACTURED GOODS

<u>No. of Traders</u>	<u>Mark-up</u>
2	50%
7	30%
23	20%
13	10%
4	below 10%
49	
=	

PLATE 17



CUSTOMERS ENJOYING THE FOOD AT A PREPARED-
FOOD STALL

It is seen from Table VII that only two out of the 49 traders of manufactured goods set a mark-up as high as 50 per cent. These two traders were selling mixed goods ranging from wares such as scissors, knives, toys, cosmetics, hairpins, needles and thread. At the other extreme there were 4 traders setting a mark-up below 10 percent. However, the majority of the traders have their mark-up set between 10 per cent and 20 per cent.

No one trader can set a definite mark-up on all the different goods sold. The usual practice being that the mark-up imposed varies between one single item and the other but generally the mark-up quoted to the writer varies from 10 per cent to 20 per cent. There are instances where the mark-up are greater than 50 per cent, but such instances are few and occurs only when the goods sold are either scarce or in great demand, and when the traders would then be able to manipulate the forces of supply and demand to his advantage. It is the medicine sellers who usually have a mark-up on their products well over 50 per cent.

Taking the general mark-up as 20 per cent, out of a turnover of \$10.00 the trader would receive a gross income of \$2.00. The average income per trader of manufactured products is \$30.00 per market day, giving an average gross profit of \$16.00. If one is to calculate the other costs involved, such as the wage for labour, rental of trading space, cost of transportation, etc, the trader would be left a nominal sum, thus justifying many writers conception of the market place system as being the nearest example to the concept of the perfect market. But one must bear in mind that \$30.00 is an average figure and this average income can only be received in market places of the size as those under study. Many of the other market places are of much smaller size and such the average income quoted cannot be received from these markets. So, in effect, the average income for the traders per market day is lower than this figure if we assumed that he has a seven day circuit, including the smaller markets.

The above generalisation can also be applied to the 'professional' fish and vegetable traders in the market places. Although the ordinary part-time peasant traders are not profit conscious, for those who buy produce for re-sale or sell the produce of others for a commission, the principle of profit making might be different for them but the above generalisation can be also applied to them. For these type of traders their system of mark-up is in term of money rather than in terms of percentages. Generally, for every item sold a 'profit' of one or two cents is received from every ten cents worth of sale. This principle also applies to cakes, vegetable and fruit sellers alike. Thus it can be said that a general mark-up of 20 per cent is prevalent among the practices of these traders. The only difference being that their scale of business and the average turnover of such trader per market day is between \$8.00 and \$10.00 giving them a gross income of between \$1.60 and \$2.00. But

these types of traders are not many and even among the few of them many of them do in addition sell their own produce.

It is for the traders who sell their own products that the calculation of the profit, if any, and the mark-up is impossible. If we are going to work on the above principle the true picture would not be projected because for those who buy to re-sell what is involved is just the cost of their services but for these type of traders one must bear in mind the cost of production and transportation since the goods have to be transported to the market places. Any arbitrary estimates for the cost of production would not give a true perspective of the case.

For the cake sellers, the margin of profit varies with the different types of cakes sold since different types of cakes incur different cost, with regard to the inputs of materials. Table VIII (a), (b) and (c) illustrates the variation in the gross profit received from selling three different types of cakes giving different returns in relation to costs of input or production.

TABLE VIII(a)

A CAKE GIVING LOW RETURNS

(KUEH LOPES)

<u>Inputs</u>	<u>Cost of Inputs</u>
1 gantang of pulut	\$ 2.00
2 pieces of brown sugar	1.00
2 coconuts	.50
Strings	.10
Banana leaves	.30
Firewood	.50
Total cost of inputs	\$4.50
Yield: 80 pieces @ 10 cents	<u>8.00</u>
Gross profit	<u>\$3.50</u>
Gross profit as percentage of cost of inputs	= 78%

TABLE VII(b)

A CAKE GIVING HIGH RETURNS

(KUEH BINGKA UBI)

<u>Inputs</u>	<u>Cost of Inputs</u>
5 kt. of tapioca @ 6 cents	\$.30
1½ kt. of sugar	.45
2 coconuts	.50
Firewood	.30
String	.10
Paper	<u>.20</u>
Total cost of inputs	\$1.85
Yield: 50 pieces @ 10 cents	<u>5.00</u>
Gross profit	\$3.15
	<u>=====</u>
Gross profit as percentage of cost of inputs	= 170%

TABLE VIII(c)
A CAKE GIVING MEDIUM RETURNS
(ONDEH2/BUAH MELAKA)

<u>Inputs</u>	<u>Cost of Inputs</u>
1 gantang <u>pulut</u>	\$2.00
2 kt. brown sugar	1.00
3 coconuts	.75
Banana leaves	.50
Firewood	.50
String	.10
Miscellaneous	<u>.50</u>
Total cost of inputs	\$5.35
Yields: 120 packets of 4 @ 10 cents	<u>12.00</u>
Gross profit	\$ 6.35
Gross profit as percentage of cost of inputs	<u>118%</u>

It is clear therefore that the profit margin received by cake sellers vary greatly with the type of cake sold, since some can give greater returns than the others. The usual practice is to sell the cakes which can give a greater amount of profit. Nevertheless there are ladies who still insist on selling the cakes which cost more and bring less profit because the demand is encouraging as shown by the sales of such cakes. In fact, we can say that the cake seller receives a better profit margin than any other sellers in the market place.

Traders do seek profit, in one form or the other, but profit margins cannot be too high since it is always possible for the producer to sell directly to the consumer. It can therefore be generalised that the profit margin is held to a minimum. Since profit is held to the minimum so too is capital accumulation. Indeed it may be questioned, both theoretically and practically whether capital accumulation is possible under conditions of pure competition where the profit margin is just a nominal sum.

Credit Practices

Credit practices will be treated at two levels - credit practices between trader and trader, and credit practices between trader and consumer. The former the writer terms as trade credit and the latter as customer credit.

Trade is done through the medium of cash, but cash is in short supply. Transaction between traders are therefore largely handled through credit, the cash being used to establish down payments. With the exception of the traders with their own shops, who are negligible in number, the rest of the traders of manufactured goods (including professional fish and vegetable traders) get their supplies from the larger urban centres such as Telok Anson, Klang, Kuala Lumpur and even from places as far as Penang and Singapore. For the professional fish and vegetable traders their supplies usually come from wholesalers in nearby producing areas such as Sekinchan and Port Swettenham.

For the newcomer the opportunity of getting goods on credit from their suppliers is nil. Credit is granted only after an established relationship is made with the suppliers and even then these traders are unable to get 100 per cent credit purchases. The normal practice is for the traders to get their supplies with a heavy down payment.

The credit system does several things. It enables a debtor and creditor to establish a wide network of commercial contacts, spreading his risk over many relationships. It binds the small trader to the large, and they to the larger, and this it seems gives an element of the patron-client situation. And contrary to the popular believe that usurious indebtedness is damaging, it puts the debtor in

a strong bargaining position.

This last point is extremely important. Sanctions may be unenforceable either because the court of law is ineffective or because it is against the interest of the creditor to proceed against the debtor. This is the case where the creditor needs the business of the debtor. Furthermore, the creditor-debtor situation implies that there is a time dimension to the relationship; while the situation continues, both parties are in contact with one another, and the flow of goods continues between them. This ensures that both parties are established in the flow of trade; while they want trade, credit makes sure that it will come.

Extension of credit to the customers, on the other hand, is not widely practiced. Out of a total of 129 traders interviewed only 31 extend credit to their customers and even then not to all the customers whom they know but to certain known customers only. It would not seem wrong to generalize that customer credit is non-existent.

The reluctance on the part of the traders to extend credit to the customers can be attributed to two factors, namely, the scale of the business and the impersonality of the business. Small scale business require a constant flow of cash income in order to maintain a constant stock to meet the demand. Supplies are only available when the trader is able to pay off a portion of his debt to the wholesaler and a down payment for his new purchases. Further, the customer meets the trader once a week in the market places and come to know each other only by face, unless they live in the same village or town. Therefore, the traders are not in a position to judge the credit reliability of the customers. Another factor may also be added, this is the small purchase that are made in the market places which make it more acceptable to trade in cash rather than on credit.

Bargaining

The general market custom is for the seller to name a price higher than what he or she expects to get and to reduce it, if necessary, after an interval of bargaining. Bargaining is the accepted method of setting prices for most of the goods available in the market places, for the simple reason that no two comparable items are equivalent in quality, size or unit of measure. Uncertainty about the quality of the goods is further reinforced by the fact that most of the items available such as shoes, textiles and clothes, toys, etc. are of doubtful made and brand. The notion that the practice is pursued because the people enjoy it is exaggerated.¹ Actually some things are

¹ Sol Tax, Penny Capitalism: A Guatemalan Indian Economy.
(Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institute, No.16,
Washington, D.C.)

never bargained for: such commodities as cakes, prepared food, medicine and the like have fixed prices, bargaining over them would not amuse anybody.

Bargaining is so common and natural that the traders when asked: Why do you allow bargaining?, would give a stereo-type answers as: "Oh, it is just natural. If I don't allow the customers to bargain, they won't buy my goods. To make sales I have to allow them to bargain." This reply might have been prompted by what has been experienced by the traders and observed by the writer. A purchaser approaches a trader and asks for the price of a certain goods and if not satisfied he will walk away without much ado. What happen is that, the purchaser first examines the quality and price of similar goods of the various traders, in order to be in a better position to evaluate the reasonableness of the first price asked, and thus may be seen walking away from the trader without bargaining. But when ready to buy, the purchaser does offer less than the trader's price, and in anticipation the trader asks more to begin with than he is ready to take.

Bargaining has a genuine commercial function. With respect to commodities that cannot have fixed values, only by the bargaining experience of the particular market can the buyer and seller determine how much they are worth. So values are fixed for a given time and place.

From observations made, the writer was able to discern two distinct types of bargaining, viz. hard bargaining in terms of words and hard bargaining in terms of money, in addition to the ordinary bargaining procedure. An illustration would further distinguish these two types of bargaining.

PLATE 13



BARGAINING IN THE MARKET PLACE

ILLUSTRATION A

HARD BARGAINING IN TERMS OF WORDS

A woman customer approached a textile trader, picked up a piece of batak and the ensuing dialogue followed:-

- Customer: What is the price of this batak?
- Trader : Only \$3.80, sister.
- Customer: Anah.... what about \$3.50
- Trader : Like that I won't profit. (and in laughter)
I would not be earning enough for my fare home.
- Customer: Where are you from?
- Trader : The 18th milestone.
- Customer: Then I come further away than you. Please reduce the price by 30 cents, eh?
- Trader : Alright, I will reduce it by 10 cents since you came further away than me.
- Customer: Ooch.... 20 cents also you want.
- Trader : This is reasonable sister. If I am not looking for profit, how am I going to live in this business.
- (Silence as the customer examines the material)
- How?
- Customer: Less?
- Trader : Cannot. \$3.70 is reasonable indeed.
- Customer: Ah, what is this. You can't even cut the price by 20 cents. (pretended to walk away and was immediately called back by the trader)

Trader : Come, come back sister. (The customer came back). Alright for your sake, I don't mind losing another 10 cents. \$3.60, alright. That is my last price, I am already losing.

Customer: (Ponders for a moment) Alright

ILLUSTRATION B

HARD BARGAINING IN TERMS OF MONEY

Picking up a copper basin and pointing it towards the trader, the customer (an Indian man) asked:

Customer: How much?

Trader : \$3.00

Customer: \$1.50

Trader : Are you crazy? How can you get such a thing for \$1.50. Even with \$2.00 you cannot get it. If you want one for \$1.50 you can take that small one (pointing to another basin).

Customer: Alright, towkey, what about \$2.00?

Trader : If you want, you can take it for \$2.80. If no, you can go. You are only disturbing me doing my business.

(Placing back the basin the customer walked away).

Illustration A represent a type of bargaining where the skilled customer argues a lot for a 30 cents reduction in the price and finally managed to get a 20 cents reduction. Much talking is involved to get a small reduction in the price. It is usual for the customer to pretend to be dissatisfied with the bargaining and walk away. This trick is well-known to the trader, who when willing to depart with his goods for the price asked would naturally call back the customer and conclude the sale, otherwise the customer is not call back. Such bargaining is lively in the course of which laughter and smiles prevails on both sides and it usually ends in both parties being satisfied.

Illustration B, on the other hand, represents hard bargaining in terms of money. The unreasonable reduction asked would only raise the temper of the trader, especially when he or she is busy attending

to a number of other customers. More often than not such bargain ends without the conclusion of any sale.

It is the first type of bargaining that is prevalent in the market places. Very few instances of the second type were encountered by the writer. The majority of the customers therefore more or less indulge in a 'war' of word for a few cents reduction in price. The customers who indulge in the second type, asking for unreasonable reductions are usually men. This is either because they were pulling the traders' legs or may be they are very doubtful of the quality of the product.

Discounts

There are some indications that a mechanism of this sort is in operation, restricting competition among those who feel themselves to be members of the 'in-group'. There is an obligation on the part of the trader to give another trader a discount when selling to him so that he may make a higher profit even though it means less profit for the trader who is selling. In one sense, the lower price can be seen as the difference between wholesale purchase and a retail one, since, though the trader has a small stock, he does buy more than the average customer. The average trader is not unaware of this difference, but when asked why the price is lower for another trader than for a non-trader, they said it is proper to cut the price when selling to a fellow trader so that he will have a better chance to make a profit himself.

Perhaps this idea is simply a rationalisation and the lower price is really a result of the wholesale nature of the transaction. To decide this question one would need a carefully controlled series of cases, between trader and trader, and between trader and non-trader, with equal quantities of goods for each. Such data are not available, the writer can only say that the practice exists whether or not it affects prices. The important thing is perhaps not whether it influences the setting of prices in any particular cases, but rather the statement is made at all; for it indicates a self-conscious feeling of group identity among traders which under other conditions might become strong enough to have a real influence on the freedom of competition and price setting.

However, this sort of operation among traders in the market places is not widespread. It usually occurs when a trader stock is depleted and in need of immediate restocking in order to cope with the demand of the customers. Only in such instances would a trader approach another with a larger stock.

Discounts offered to customers happens only in relatively large purchases and are arbitrary. In contrast to discounts offered between traders, discounts offered to customers are not out of the

feeling of obligation or consciousness of being a member of the 'in-group', but rather as a technique of sale with the prime objective of persuading the customer to make a larger purchase. A customer is always tempted to make larger purchases with such offers as: "One bundle of this vegetable is ten cents, but if you take two I will charge you only fifteen cents." or "Take two more extra yards and I will reduce the price." Discounts are sometimes given not in terms of price reduction but in terms of additional quantity of the goods purchase. It is common for the cake seller to add one or two extra cakes or the vegetables and fish sellers to add a few more tahils and for the textile trader to add a few more inches of textile to any purchaser purchasing more than what is usually done.

It is noticed that trade discounts that operate in the market places serves two functions, social and economic. The former being more prevalent in the relationship between traders and traders and the latter between traders and customers.

Records

Most of the traders are illiterate and few keep any sort of written records. Even those who read and write numbers and a few words prefer to do calculation in their heads and to rely on memory for accounts.

Keeping accounts is simplified by the practices of making immediate cash payments for most purchases. When large sums are involved there is a tendency to round off the figures. This is done both in the calculation of prices, to simplify the arithmetic, and in setting final prices, where it makes the sums easier to remember.

Price and Price Fluctuations

Prices collected cannot be accurate because the prices of many items vary, to a smaller or greater extent, from week to week, from one market to another and from trader to trader on the same market day, fixed in particular cases by bargaining. It is therefore difficult to say what the exact price of many a commodity is. The only satisfactory means of determining the price of an item is to interview a sample of the purchasers and to calculate the average of what they pay. Nobody has done this. Consequently, it is not possible to report in detail on prices and their fluctuations. All that the writer is able to do after having visited the four markets eight to twelve times, talking to traders and customers who are price conscious and after observing the purchases in these markets is to give the average prices and their approximate limits.

Nevertheless, since there is freedom of competition in the market places and most of the traders as well as the customers have a fair knowledge of the range of prices, the prices are fairly

PLATE 19



CUSTOMERS INSPECTING THE GOODS OF A TRADER

consistent at any one time. Only for commodities which are sold ~~only~~ by a limited number of traders such as fruits (during low seasons) and songket are the prices exorbitant enough. But this merely follow the principles of the market. Such traders may be term as oligopolists (in reference to the goods held) and the prices set for these goods are naturally high but not high enough as to loose customers since most of the customers come from the low income group and cannot afford goods at fantastic prices.

The widespread practices of bargaining indicates that there is a small degree of inconsistency in prices within the market place at any one time, but is it the practice of traders to increase or decrease prices during peak hours and slack hours, respectively? All the traders queried gave a definite no and this answer was well substantiated by one trader who said, "Look, during peak hours I have to cope up with an average of one customer every minute. I can only attend to one for three or four minutes and if I was to increase the prices of my goods there will be a lengthy bargaining which take more than five minutes and if I was to attend to the customer, I will lose the others."

To the small trader what is more important to him is the turnover not the increase in price. The larger the turnover the better he will be. In fact, if the trader expects a brisk sale during the peak hours, it is much more profitable for him to reduce the price of his goods. Let's assume that during normal hours a textile/trader sell his textile at \$1.50 per yard. Now if he was going to sell it at the same price during the peak hours he would sell only twenty yards, but if he was to allow a 20 cents decrease he would double his sales. Assuming that the mark-up is 20% in the first place he would earn a gross income of \$6.00 but if he was to reduce the price by 20 cents he would double his sales and receive a gross income of \$10.20, almost double the gross income of the first instance. Hence, it is not unusual for certain traders to 'relax' their prices during peak hours.

But this is not to say that there is no price fluctuations in the market places. The fact that the prices are inconsistent due to bargaining points towards price fluctuations. But to pin point such phenomena would involve a lot of time and energy which were not available during the course of this study.

Units of Measure

Various units of measure are used by the various types of traders. They range from the most crude to the most modern.

For the peasant traders dealing in vegetables and fruits, simple units of measure such as the longgok (lump) and ikat (bundle) are used. One longgok of fruits might differ in amount from another.

and the price too might differ. One ikat of vegetable weighs around a kati. Such crude measurements are used because for these traders trading is just a simple procedure of disposing surplus produce and as such do not need measuring equipments such as the lachings and dachings which would need cash investment. Only the 'professional' fish and vegetable traders used the katis and tahlil units.

As for the textile traders the yardstick is used, while for others the pieces is more convenient. The hardware and kitchenware traders however would try to create a special appeal by selling a few mixed items as a group at a tempting price. There was one perfume seller who sell perfume by the grams.

It is clear therefore that the units of measure used differ with the types of traders, depending upon the nature of their businesses.

who are playing the appropriate role. Otherwise, the word people used is all inclusive.

PEOPLE IN THE MARKET PLACES

It is impossible to take an accurate count of all the people found the market places or for that matter the number of people found in a market place at any point of time. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to conduct a census of the number of people entering a market place on one particular market day. This census was conducted for the Benteng Market place and the result is laid out in Table IX. Even though this census was conducted only for one market place, the generalization that follows, supported by observations made, are applicable to the other three market places under study.

It is noticed that a total number of 3,144 people entered the Benteng market place between the period of census, that is, between 7.30 a.m. to 12.30 noon, the normal period of operation for the market; at an average of 10 persons per minute, 113 persons per half hour and 430 persons per hour. Of the 3,144 people entering the market place, 2,220 were males (about 70%) and 924 were females (about 30%).

As shown in Diagram I, the rate of the number of people entering the market place increased sharply between 7.30 a.m. and 9.30 a.m., a period of two hours, and thereafter decreases at a lesser degree than the increase. It can be seen therefore that, assuming that a person stays at an average of one hour in the market place, there are more than a hundred people in the market place at any one hour, and there are more than one thousand people at any one point of time during the peak hours, giving a market daily turnover of several thousand dollars.

CHAPTER V

PEOPLE AND SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE MARKET PLACE

By the word 'people' the writer means all those, other than the traders (dealt with in Chapter III), found in the market place. To term all the people found in the market places as customers or purchasers would be inappropriate because quite a large number of them do not fall into this category, in the real sense of the word. The term 'customer' or 'purchaser' will only be used to denote the people who are playing the appropriate role. Otherwise, the word people used is all inclusive.

9.00 a.m. - PEOPLE IN THE MARKET PLACES

Census

It is impossible to make an accurate census of all the people found the market places or for that matter the number of people found in a market place at any point of time. Nevertheless, an attempt was made to conduct a census of the number of people entering a market place on one particular market day. This census was conducted for the Banting Market place and the result is laid out in Table IX. Even though this census was conducted only for one market place, the generalisation that follows, supported by observations made, are applicable to the other three market places under study.

It is noticed that a total number of 3,144 people entered the Banting market place between the period of census, that is, between 7.30 a.m. to 12.00 noon, the normal period of operation for the market; at an average of 10 persons per minute, 315 persons per half hour and 630 persons per hour. Of the 3,144 people entering the market places, 2,210 were males (about 70%) and 934 were females (about 30%).

As shown in Diagram I, the rate of the number of people entering the market place increases sharply between 7.30 a.m. and 9.30 a.m., a period of two hours, and thereafter decreases at a lesser degree than the increase. It can be seen therefore that, assuming that a person stays at an average of one hour in the market place, there are more than a hundred people in the market place at any one hour, and there are more than one thousand people at any one point of time during its peak hours, giving a market daily turnover of several thousand dollars.

TABLE IX

NUMBER OF PEOPLE ENTERING THE
BANTING MARKET PLACE
ON ONE MARKET DAY

<u>Time</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
7.30 a.m. - 8.00 a.m.	120	48	168
8.00 a.m. - 8.30 a.m.	224	99	323
8.30 a.m. - 9.00 a.m.	403	201	604
9.00 a.m. - 9.30 a.m.	652	249	901
9.30 a.m. - 10.00 a.m.	393	151	544
10.00 a.m. - 10.30 a.m.	269	131	400
10.30 a.m. - 11.00 a.m.	100	39	139
11.00 a.m. - 11.30 a.m.	36	12	48
11.30 a.m. - 12.00 noon	13	4	17
Total	2,210	934	3,144

DIAGRAM I

GRAPH SHOWING THE RATE OF NUMBER
OF PEOPLE ENTERING THE BANTING
MARKET PLACE ON ONE
MARKET DAY

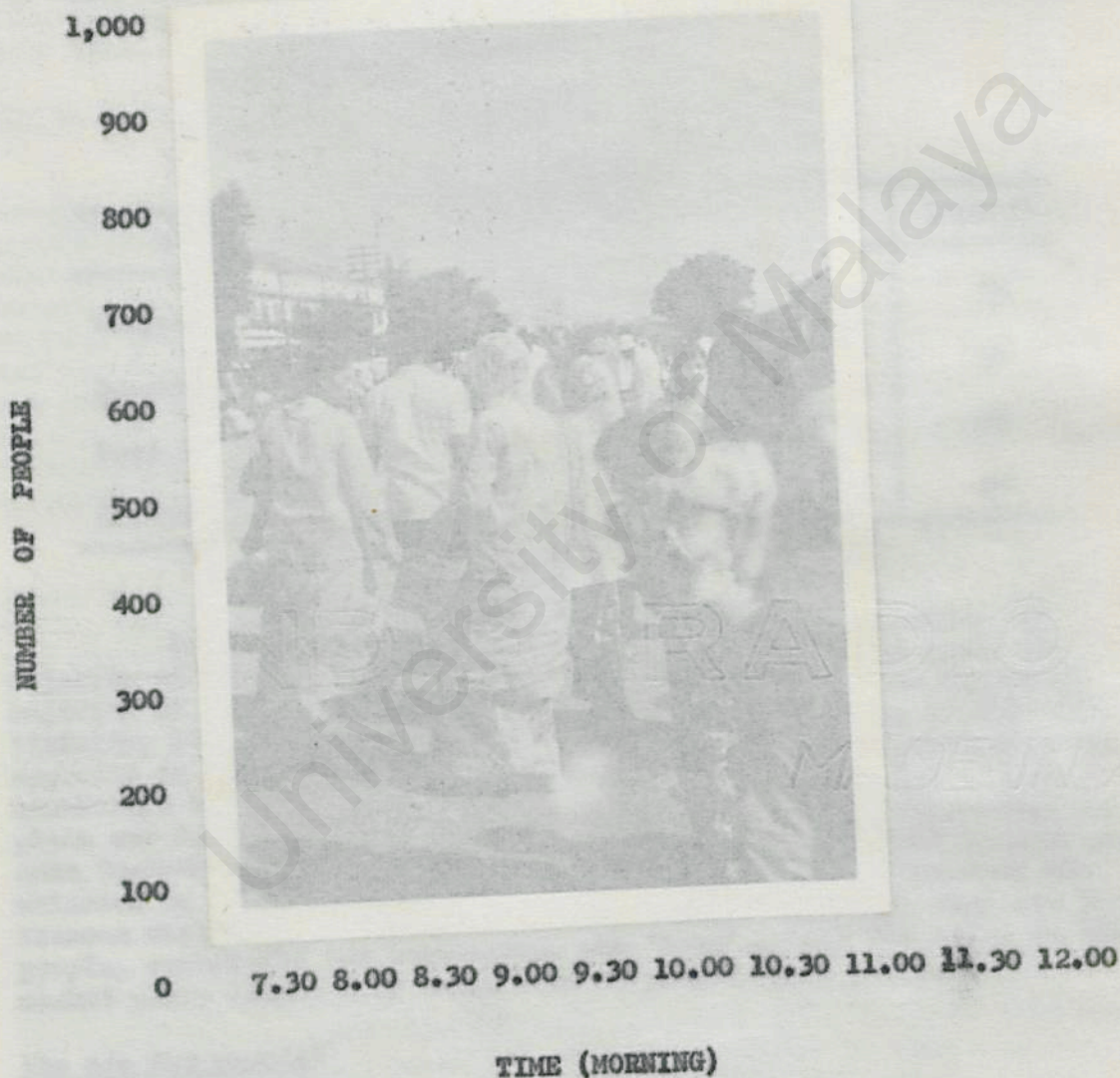


PLATE 20



PEOPLE COMING INTO THE SUNGAI
BULOH MARKET PLACE

Racial Composition

The majority of the people who frequents the market places are Malays. This is particularly distinct in the rural areas where they form more than 80 per cent of the three major races who frequent the market places. In fact in the Tanjong Karang and Sungai Buloh market places the number of Chinese and Indians visiting the market places is negligible. Even in the urban market place of Port Swettenham the Malays forms the major part of the people who frequent it. Such a finding would give basis to the popular notion that the Malays are more attuned to places of public gatherings than the other races. There might be some basis for this notion, but the fact that they form the majority can be attributed to several factors.

TABLE IX

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF PEOPLE IN THE MARKET PLACES

MARKETS	MALAY	CHINESE	INDIANS
Tanjong Karang	97%	2%	1%
Sungai Buloh	95%	3%	1%
Port Swettenham	50%	40%	10%
Banting	80%	12%	8%

Note: Estimates made on observations.

In the first place, taking the rural market places, the majority of the population in these areas are Malays and since the majority of the people in the market places come from the immediate vicinity, it is therefore coincidental. But the case is exactly the opposite in the urban market, here the majority of the population are non-Malays but yet the majority of the people visiting the market place are Malays. It might be that since the traders, especially the cake traders are Malays, so the appeal of the market place is much more oriented to the Malays rather than to the non-Malays. Whatever the reasons might be, the Malays still form the majority and they are the people, especially the teen-agers, who 'hang' around for hours in the market place idling away their time as people do in fairs.

Who are the people?

The majority of the people who come to the weekly market places are either villagers or town dwellers from the lower and middle class status. Since people of the upper class status have their

shopping and entertainment in more sophisticated surroundings, they are seldom found in the market places.

Farmers and villagers are the most frequent visitors of the market places in the rural areas, while those in the town consists of labourers and clerks.

Where are the people from?

As the market places are situated to serve the local inhabitants, naturally the large majority of the people coming to these market places are people from the local town and nearby villagers. 'Outside' visitors are those either passing through or coming from other places just to visit the market place. These outsiders form a very small majority of the people in the market.

Why do they come to the market places?

Two or three thousand people visit the weekly market places every market day, and the majority of them are either peasants or people from the lower and middle income groups. This is because the atmosphere and methods of trade are more familiar to them and also because there are price advantages. Indeed, the majority of them who visited the market places do finally purchase one thing or another but the volume and value of purchases are small. The major purchases are done through the shops in the towns and villages. Consequently, it can be said that they come to the market places, not only to buy things but with other reasons as well. This can be shown by the type of people who frequent the market places.

Firstly, there are those who came in the early morning hours to do their daily purchases for the day. They include men and women, but the majority of them are men, coming with empty baskets and going off filled with fish, vegetables and may be a few other items such as cakes, fruits and kitchenware. For these people it is just a transfer of the daily activities from the daily market to the weekly market, especially when (as in Tanjong Karang) the daily market 'move' into the weekly market. And it is in the course of doing these daily chores that they might wonder off to other sections of the market place ending up with more than what they expected to purchase.

Secondly, there are those who come to purchase a few pieces or yards of materials or other manufactured products. These are the people who come at a later hour than the first category of people. The young ladies would come in their best dresses with their friends, family or chapron, and would tour the whole market in search of the items which would appeal to them most.

Finally there is the large number of people coming to the market place just for the sake of coming, to look around, meet friends

PEOPLE IN THE MARKET PLACES



YOUNG MEN IN THE MARKET PLACE



YOUNG LADIES IN THE MARKET PLACE

PLATE 22



GOSSIPING IN THE MARKET PLACE

and talk or gossip in the market places. The majority of them are of course men, especially the teen-agers. For these people, and to a certain extent for the rest, the market place is a place of celebration and entertainment. Here, once a week the young men would have the opportunity to set eyes on the village girls parading about in their best dresses, an opportunity which is hard to come under normal situations in the villages. The elder generation, on the other hand, would finally end up in small groups, with a trader or two, discussing politics, business and other topics of common interests. These are the people whom one can see hanging around in the market places from morning to the closing hours.

Nevertheless the majority of the people visiting the market places does finally end up purchasing one thing or the other. But it seemed that they come with more than the intention to buy. To them the market place is a place for social gathering and cheap entertainment where they can go and forget for some time their work and worries. It is a kind of a fair where once a week, with friends or families, they would join others and give it the air and atmosphere of an entertainment place, the alternatives of which are either scarce or expensive for them to afford. Here they would listen to the tall tales of the medicine traders, the lively bargaining between traders and customers, the traders calling out to customers, talk to friends and meet new ones, and go home with something to tell others as to what they have seen, heard or experienced in the market places.

SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE MARKET PLACE

Many writers seemed to conceptualise the market place system in underdeveloped countries as being the nearest example of a perfect market. As such the impersonality of the market place, an element in economic theory, is presumed to prevail. Traders are assumed to be rational and motivated towards the making of maximum profit. The contacts between traders and customers are merely transactional and do not involve any extraneous considerations which can create bonds of social relations which might work against the profit motive.

Contrary to such conceptualisation, it is precisely the creation of personalistic social bonds that make the market place system works. Cyril S. Belshaw writes:-

"But if exchange is thought of as a primary form of interaction, exchange pattern can define group composition, the relation between group members, and the interaction across boundaries..... Trade and marketing constitute one concrete form of exchange and hence give one major indication of social structure."¹

¹ C.S. Belshaw, Traditional Exchange and Modern Markets (Modernisation of Traditional Societies Series, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.) page 78 - 79.

As mentioned earlier the majority of the people, if not all, in the market places are local residents either from the towns or nearby villages; and they form more or less the permanent group of visitors to these market places. On the other hand, the majority of the traders too, conducted their businesses in the market places week in and week out. It is obvious therefore that the existence of these two groups, the market goers and market traders, for over a considerable length of time, would one way or the other, create personalistic social bonds. The result of this interaction overtime are the establishments of social relations or bonds between traders, traders and customers, and between the people in the market place itself.

The relationship, and its outcome, between traders has been discussed in Chapter III. Here the writer is concerned with the social relations between traders and customers, and between the people frequenting the market place.

The search for enduring relations as a matter of confidence and security is a major feature of the market place system. One set of link is between buyer and seller.² A dominant manipulable technique could be ^{the} use of credit, but since the scale of business is small and the risk is great, the manipulation of this technique is limited only to certain traders and customers. Even then only when the two parties have acquainted with each other to such an extent as to create trust and confidence between them, which of course implies the existence of a social bond. The trader therefore has to resort to other means in their pursuit of confidence and security in their relations with the customers.

Since the manipulation of credit is limited, the traders therefore have to resort to other means in their pursuit of confidence and security. In a place where competition is keen, it is essential for the traders, in order to create a permanent set of regular customers, to create a friendly relationship with their customers; so that when confidence and trust is established the trader will have a patronising group of buyers to ensure him or her a stable flow of income.

For traders from the local vicinity, such relationship might have been established outside the market place, with friends, neighbours and fellow-villagers. For others, the first step towards the creation of this relationship is taken once they set foot in the market places. It is an advantage to the trader to keep track of his customers and their friends. Confidence in a new customer is much more easily created if one was to mention the name of his friend or

²The phrase 'between buyer and seller' used in this context does not refer to the differentiation of roles played in transactions between producer and trader, and between trader and trader, but refers to trader-consumer transactions.

PLATE 23



TRADER & CUSTOMERS HAVING
A CHAT OVER A SMOKE

friends doing business with the trader. A network of relationship is therefore created between buyers and sellers in the market places. It is common for a visitor to see one or two customers squatting in front of the trader or sitting beside them gossiping or talking about their work and the like.

CHAPTER VI

On the other hand, social relation among the people who frequent the market places are relations created outside the market place. Such relationships as based on marriage, neighbourhood, work and common residence are noticed in the interaction of the people visiting the markets. These people usually come in small groups, either with their own family, friends, neighbours or workmates. When one group meet another in the market place the conversation that follows clearly indicate their relationships. People of the same village would talk about ^{village} politics and affairs. Youngsters meeting each other would talk about parties, dances and girls. Work-mates would talk about their work. Families would ask the health of the other, and so on.

Then there is what the writer would call horizontal and vertical relationship, the latter being relationship between persons of a superior-inferior status and the former between equals. Such a relationship appears when there are contacts between townsmen and the villagers and between the villagers and persons of a superior social status such as the headmen, teachers and the rich landlords. It is in the urban market, when the sellers are from the rural areas and the customers from the urban areas, that the folk-urban continuum is largely based upon the vertical exchange relations, whereas the rural markets represent horizontal linkages.

It is noticed that there is a criss-cross of social relationships operating in the market places. Social bonds or relations exist at all levels - between traders, traders and customers, and between the people visiting the market places. It is this wide-network of social relationships that integrate the market place system and gives it existence and flavour.

CHAPTER VI

MARKET TURNOVER AND EXPENDITURE

The market turnover for the weekly market system varies between different market places, and between different market days. It depends on the number of traders of the various types, the number of customers and the seasons or the period of the month, such as pay day, harvesting season, Chinese New Year, Hari Raya and the like. No estimates of market turnover and expenditure can be said to be representative of any market place at any one time without a census of the turnover of every trader found in it. To collect a complete data on expenditure one should ask every customer coming out of the market place how much he or she has spend. Nobody has done this. Furthermore, difficulties arise from the fact that the turnover per trader vary each market day and the general tendency is for them to quote round figures. To a certain extent this difficulty can be overcome by asking the traders the lowest and highest turnover that they normally received.

This chapter is aimed at giving a general picture of a market turnover, the turnover per type of trader and the pattern of expenditure of the customers. The market chosen for this study is the Banting market. This market is fairly constant in terms of number of traders and customers. Nevertheless the income received by the traders are counterchecked with those in the other three market places and no marked difference is found, so that any generalisation as to the turnover of the traders in the Banting market place is also applicable to the others in the other market places under study.

Traders' Turnover

It is noticed that (see Table XI) the turnover for traders vary widely both between traders of the same type and between traders of different types. Much, however depends on the scale of trade - the larger the goods offered the more the turnover. The difference of turnover between traders of similar type is not as marked as the difference between the different types of traders. There are times when the large scale traders, the traders of manufactured goods and the professional fish and vegetable traders, receive a turnover of a few hundred dollars. Such windfalls ~~is~~ occurs only during certain occasions and even then all the traders will benefit from it. There are even occasions when a trader receive nothing. This is especially true with certain peasant traders who sell only one type of product

TABLE XI

TURNOVER BY TYPE OF TRADERS

Type of Traders	TURNOVER		
	Minimum	Average	Maximum
Manufactured goods traders	\$20.00	\$80.00	\$140.00
Vegetables (peasant traders)	4.00	12.00	16.00
Vegetables & Fish (Chinese 'Professionals')	40.00	50.00	60.00
Cakes and prepared-food traders	10.00	20.00	30.00
Cottage-made goods traders	10.00	15.00	20.00
Medicine Traders	20.00	40.00	80.00

TABLE XII

MARKET TURNOVER FOR THE BANTING
MARKET PLACE ON ONE MARKET DAY

Type of Traders	Number of Traders	TURNOVER	
		Average	Total
Manufactured Goods traders	16	\$80.00	\$1,280.00
Vegetables (peasant) traders	96	10.00	960.00
Vegetables (Chinese 'professionals')	3	50.00	150.00
Cake and Prepared Food traders	14	20.00	280.00
Cottage-made goods traders	1	15.00	15.00
Medicine Traders	2	40.00	80.00
Total	132		\$2,765.00

only, for example bananas and mango. A trader might come with twenty combs of bananas and at the end of the market day will remain with the same amount as he or she had brought.

What the writer has been discussing about is the turnover per trader. If we want to know the net income or profit, then we must take into consideration and calculation such costs as transportation costs, stall dues, payment for labour and the like. Such computation is tedious and any criteria used would not be accurate in determining the net income or profit for the trader. Firstly the traders lack written record concerning their stocks and purchases. Secondly for traders selling their own produce such calculations would be arbitrary and would not present the true picture of the costs involved. Sufficient here to say that the net income for most of the traders is 'normal' - that is just enough to encourage the traders to continue trading - resulting from the free competition which could give only narrow margins of profits.

Market Turnover and Expenditure

The market turnover per market day varies from about \$1,000.00 to \$5,000.00, with an average of about \$2,500.00; varying the average turnover per trader from \$8.00 to \$40.00. Assuming that an average of 2,500 persons visits the market, it means that each person spends about \$1.00 only. But this would not give a true picture of the expenditure pattern for not all who visit the market place make purchases. A survey of the customers showed that a single customer spends an average of \$3.00 and this means that about 40 per cent of the people who frequent the market place really purchase some goods. A number of them, however, would spend a few cents on cakes and prepared food. This would increase the number of customers up to a maximum of 70 per cent (taking that the latter forms about 30 per cent of the total number of people in the market place). It seemed that the other 30 per cent are just 'market-loafers' and the fact that 70 per cent of the people are males, a large majority being teen-agers, justify the use of such a term, because for these group of people they look upon the market place as a very good alternative to the other idling resorts such as the streets of the village towns, the cinemas, coffee shops and the like. The potentiality of extracting a few dollars out of the pockets of these 'market-loafers' is there, but such potentiality would call upon the sales of goods such as gents shirts, trousers, belts and the like. This kind of goods call for a greater investment of capital in stock on the part of the traders. Furthermore, the risk taken would be greater for such goods are shopping goods and the selling of which would involve holding them in large quantity and a range of variety. Their prices are quite high and their sale is not guaranteed. Many traders believe that such goods are bad sales in the market place and stocking them would only tie up their much needed capital.

Of course, during certain high seasons, the turnover figure

will be inflated as to double or treble the maximum. The figure collected was for one market place. Looking at it from the point of view of a market place will not place much importance to it. But if one is to look at it as a system of numerous market places, then the economic significance of such market places is revealed. It is a two-way system, at one end large quantities of goods and produce are sold to the consumers and at the other end thousands of dollars are passed over to the traders to perpetuate the system. Therefore one cannot discard the importance of this weekly market system even though it acts more as a supplement to the other existing market systems in the country.

The weekly market system which still exists in the country is far from ideal in itself. Since profit is held to the minimum, as far as capital accumulation. Indeed, it may be questioned, both theoretically and practically, whether capital accumulation is possible under conditions of perfect competition. Capital accumulation is further hindered by the fact that a large portion of the profit does not find its way into the weekly market place at all, but goes into the hands of the producers of goods and services for the market.

Again, this system which results in the accumulation of limited funds is less efficient than the other capital accumulation in the country.

A factor which has most been in mind is that the weekly market system is today merely a supplement to the national system which contains industrial and commercial sectors which depend upon the market place but yet are separated from them. These sectors do most of their selling through commercial stores and shops. Buying is either done through the shops and stores or through other means as by mail or by telephone.

The question is not why has this weekly market system persisted in this country, where the country is in contact with the western world and its technology. There are three major reasons for this.

In the first place, this system makes the most economical use of the resources by substituting cheap and plentiful man for scarce and expensive ones. Capital that might be used to improve methods of transportation and communication, or to buy the necessary equipment to manage a large business, can be profitably used elsewhere. As long as the states of unemployment and underemployment, scarce resources (especially capital) and low technology persist, this system will remain in one form or the other. But this does not mean that the existence or survival of this system will help solve the problems of unemployment, underemployment, scarcity of capital and the low state of technology. The narrow capital market is a hindrance to capital accumulation, and this capital with other socio-economic factors

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The Economic Aspect of the Weekly Market System

The weekly market system works well when the requirement is for trading in small lots. Since profit is held to the minimum, so too is capital accumulation. Indeed, it may be questioned, both theoretically and practically, whether capital accumulation is possible under conditions of perfect competition. Capital accumulation is further hindered by the fact that a large portion of produce does not find its way into the weekly market places at all, thus reducing the volume and variety of produce for the traders.

Anyway, this system which results from the adjustments of limited means is less efficient than the other capital intensive ones in the country.

A factor which one must bear in mind is that the weekly market system is today merely a supplement to the national system which contains industrial and sophisticated sectors which impinge upon the market place but yet are separated from them. These sectors do most of their selling through departmental stores and shophouses. Buying is either done through the shops and stores or through other means as by mail or by telephone.

The question then is: Why has this weekly market system survived in this country, where the society is in contact with the western world and its techniques? There are three major reasons for this.

In the first place, this system makes the most economical use of its resources by substituting cheap and plentiful ones for scarce and expensive ones. Capital that might be used to improve methods of transportation and communication, or to buy the necessary equipments to manage a large business, can be productively used elsewhere. As long as the states of unemployment and underemployment, scarce resources (especially capital) and low technology persist, this system will remain, in one form or the other. But this does not mean that the existence or survival of this system will help solve the problems of unemployment, underemployment, scarcity of capital and the low state of technology. The narrow profit margins is a hindrance to capital accumulation, and this coupled with other socio-economic factors

(explicit and implicit in this study) plus the fact that the weekly system is just a mere cog in the whole economic wheel, does not make this system a developmental factor in the solution of such problems.

Secondly, if a company was to establish the thousands of small scattered collecting and distributing units now provided by the weekly market system, the capital needed would be enormous and the operating costs so high and the problems to be faced so complex that many of these units could only be maintained at a loss.

Last but not least is the sponsoring of the market places by MARA, in line with the government's pursuit to encourage commerce and industry among the peasant Malays. It is a sad undertaking in the sense that even with the favourable support it gets from the Malay peasants in filling the market places, its ultimate aim is not taking effect. The Malay peasants seem to look upon the market place more as a mean for the disposal of produce of their backyard gardens rather than as an incentive to grow cash-crops or to participate in the business, full-time or part-time, in the real sense of the word. The setting up of weekly market places would not help this disposition, for even without the weekly market places, the Malay peasants can dispose their produce elsewhere. What is needed is a more positive step in other directions such as educating these peasants in the techniques of trade, the provisions of credit and loans, the formation of cooperatives for the collection and distribution of produce, for the pooling of capital, and the like. Nevertheless, the building of the market places by MARA facilitates the gathering of peasants and 'professional' traders alike, the latter giving them life and vitality.

However, one cannot doubt the economic significance of the weekly market system in terms of the centralisation of collection and distribution of a wide range of goods and produce from scattered producing areas to a much more scattered population. This significance is easily seen in the volume of trade that is done by the system as a whole. Other than this the system cannot be said to be a developmental factor.

The Social Aspect of the Weekly Market System

The theory of perfect competition posits a social system in which market actors, are innumerable, and in which there are large groups of buyers who are interchangeable among themselves and sellers who are interchangeable also. The structural relations between differing groups of sellers, and those who deal in differing commodities and between differing group of buyers are not investigated. Further such a system also assumed impersonality of contact between buyers and sellers. But if exchange is thought of as a primary form of interaction, exchange pattern can define group composition, the relation between group members, and interaction across boundaries. Trade and marketing constitute one concrete form of exchange and hence give one major indicator of social structure and social relations.

Normally, investigations on social relations start outside the market place. A class system may be defined using criterias such as wealth, style of living and status judgements. A lineage segmentation system is identified by reference to descent procedures, marriage rules, and the symbolic and legal definition of groups within the society. Existing exchange relations may then be classified by reference to the obligations and duties of members of groups to one another, and interaction across boundaries of groups.

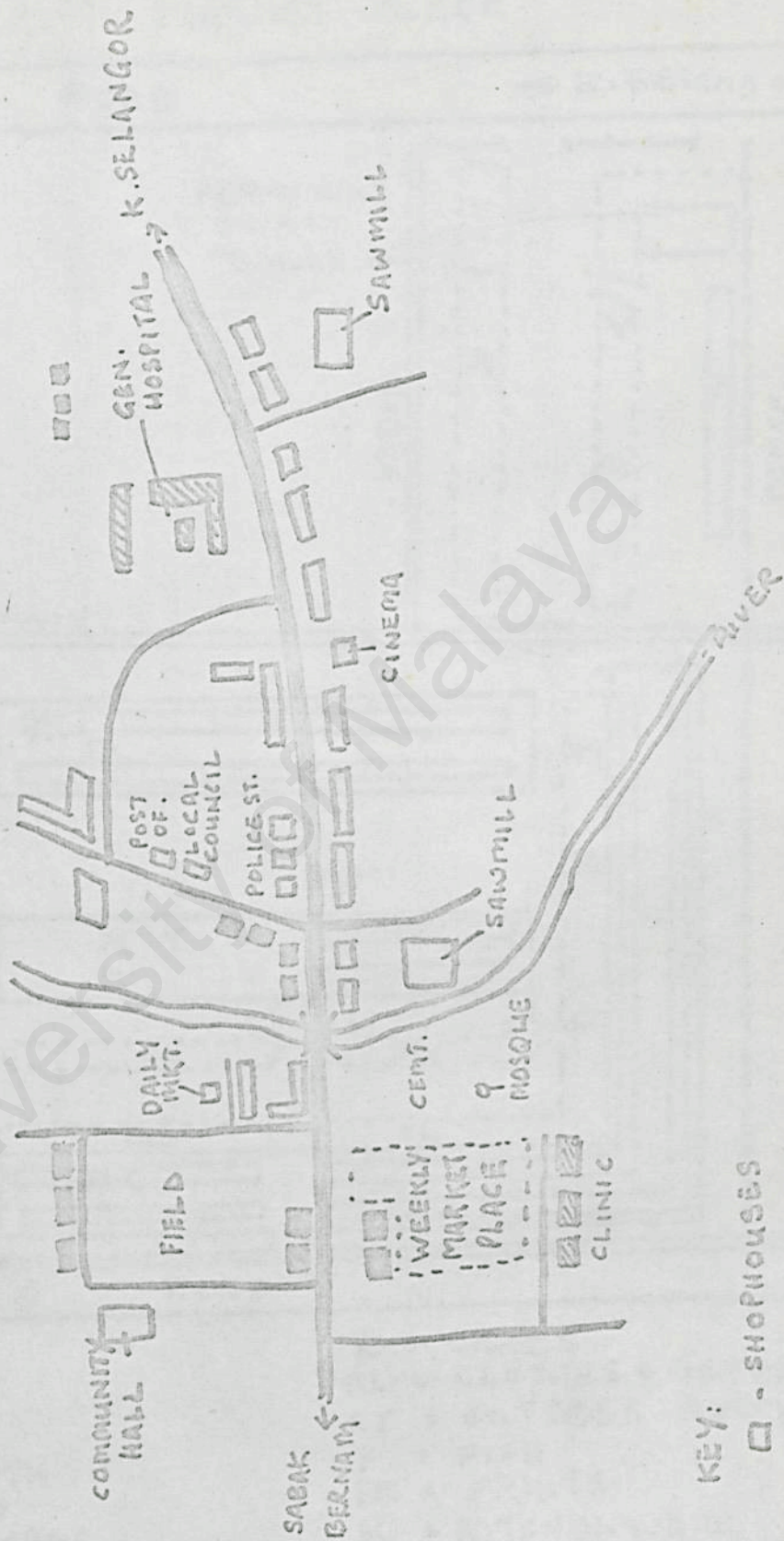
Since the interest of this study in social structure is less taxonomic and classificatory then a step towards the examination of the workings of a system, categories based initially on status classification are, therefore, of limited use. What is needed is a generalisation about more complex maps which delineate the relationships between differentiated social and economic roles. Little work has been done which would lead to schematic models of relation emerging from exchange.

The element of impersonality in the market place is economic theory requires modification. Confusion arises because impersonality in exchange relations has been equated with rationality and the pursuit of profit maximisation. To the economist, to pursue profit one must ideally put aside all other extraneous considerations of an emotive character which might create bonds of social relations working against the profit motive. Yet, on the basis of materials in this study, one might argue that it is precisely the creation of personalistic bonds that gives 'existence' to the market place and makes it work.

Furthermore, the fact that people frequent the market place not merely for the purpose of buying but also for entertainment and pomp has made it a place for social gathering than an economic one. This factor plus the network of social relationships created through the process of exchange has turned the market place into a colourful socio-economic system.

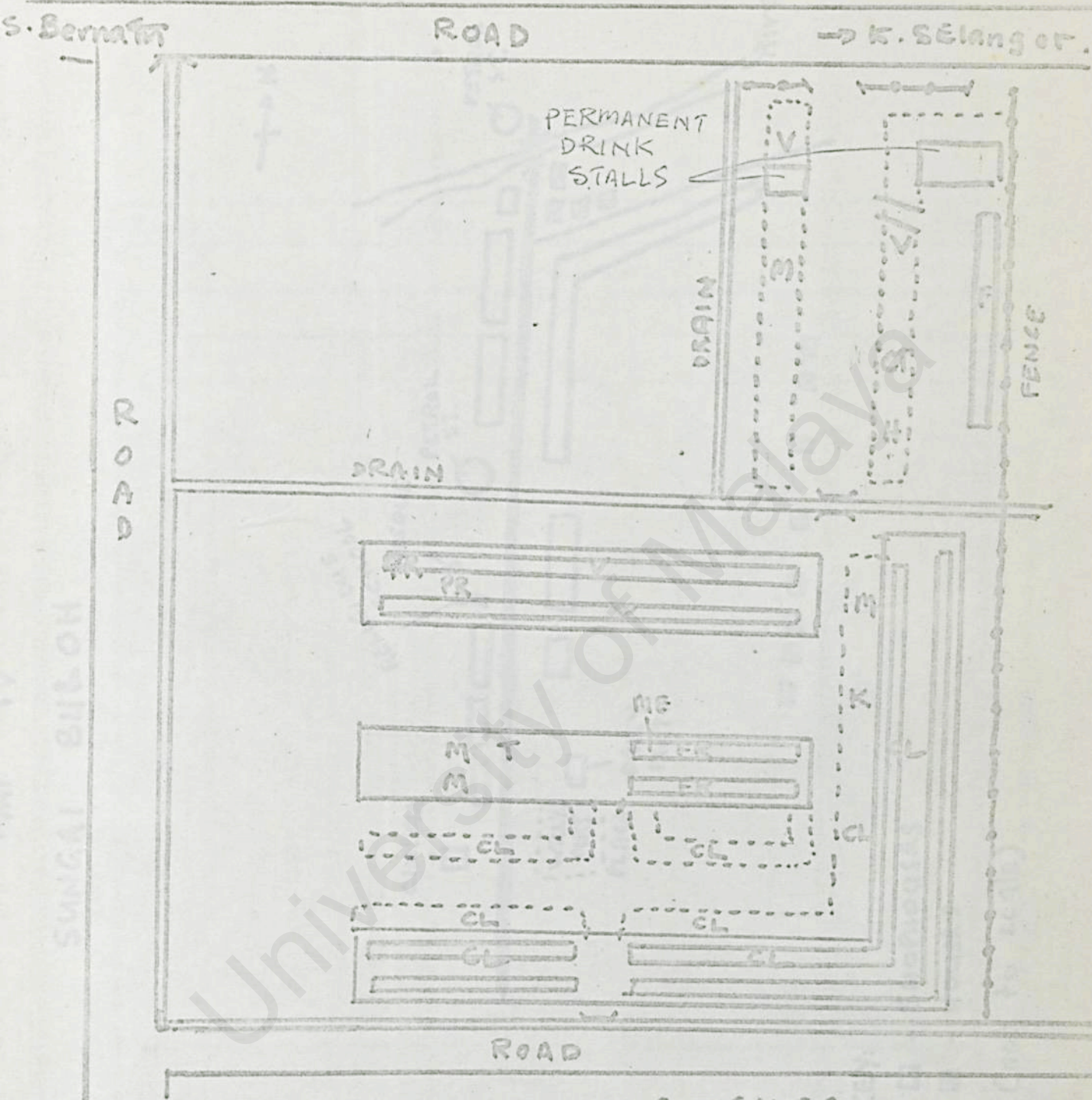
E N D

TANJONG KARANG



KEY:
 □ - SHOPHOUSES
 ■ - HOUSES

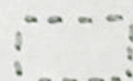
DIAGRAM II TJ. KARANG MARKET PLACE



KEY:



SHED WITH
TWO ROW
PLATFORMS

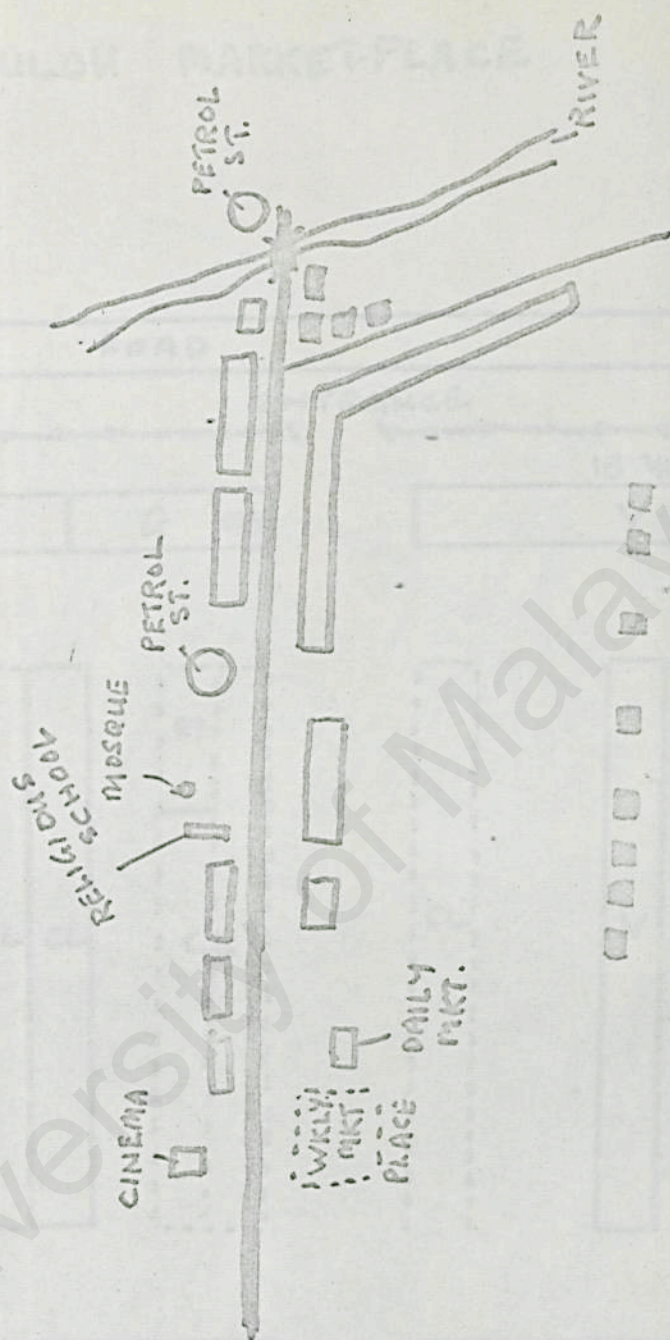


GROUND TRADING
SPACE

C = CAKES
CL = CLOTHES & TEXTILES
CT = COTTAGE GOODS
F = FISH
FR = FRUITS
K = KITCHENWARE
M = MIXED GOODS
ME = MEAT
PR = PREPARED FOOD
T = TOBACCO
V = VEGETABLES

MAP IV

SUNGAI BULOH



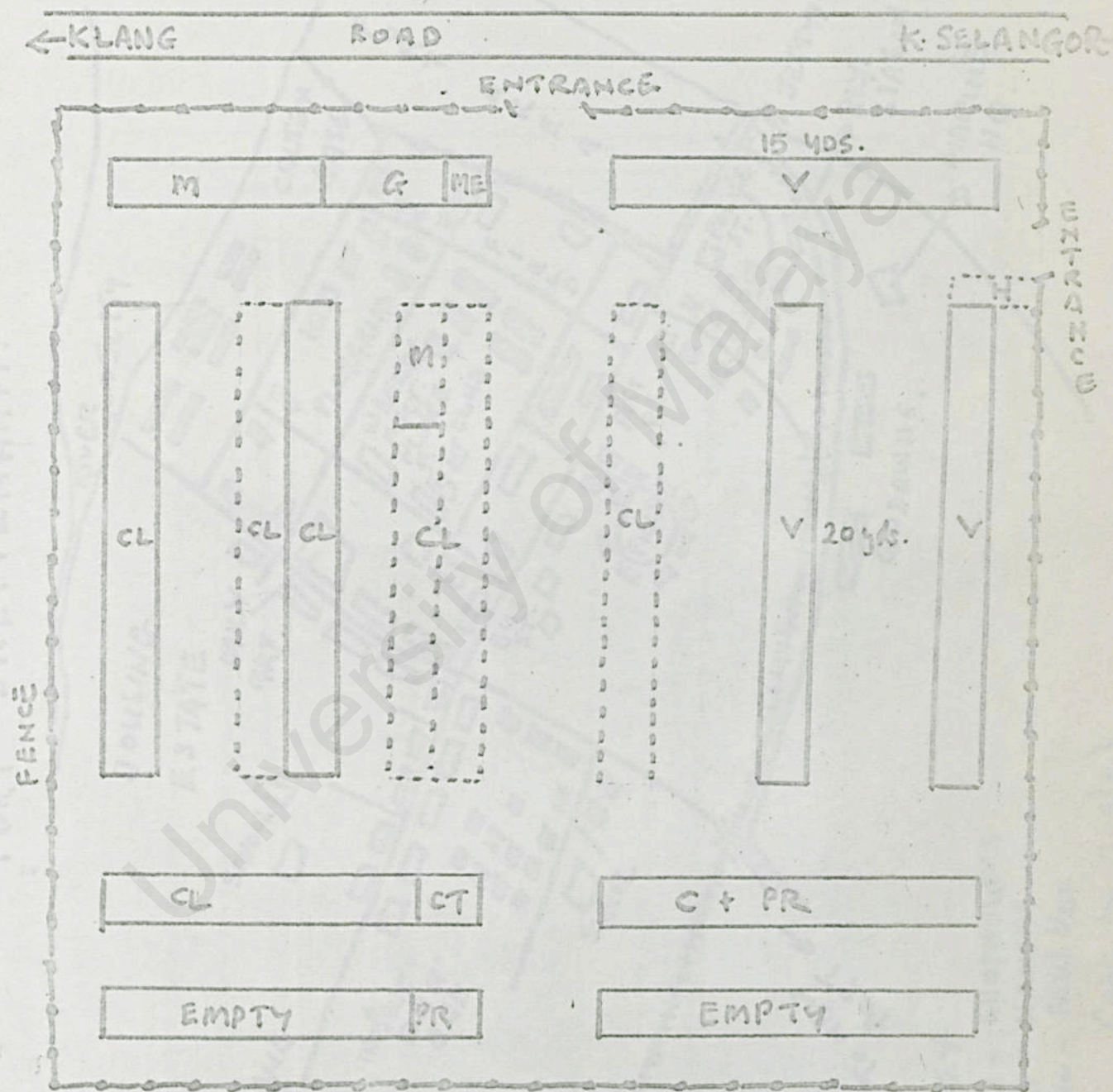
KEY:

□ - SHOPS/HOUSES

■ - HOUSES

(not to scale)

DIAGRAM III SG. BULOH MARKET-PLACE



KEY:

SHED WITH ONE-ROW PLATFORM

GROUND TRADING SPACE

C = CAKES

CL = CLOTHES + TEXTILES

CT = COTTAGE GOODS

M = MIXED GOODS

ME = MEAT

PR = PREPARED FOOD

V = VEGETABLES

MAP V PORT SWETTENHAM.

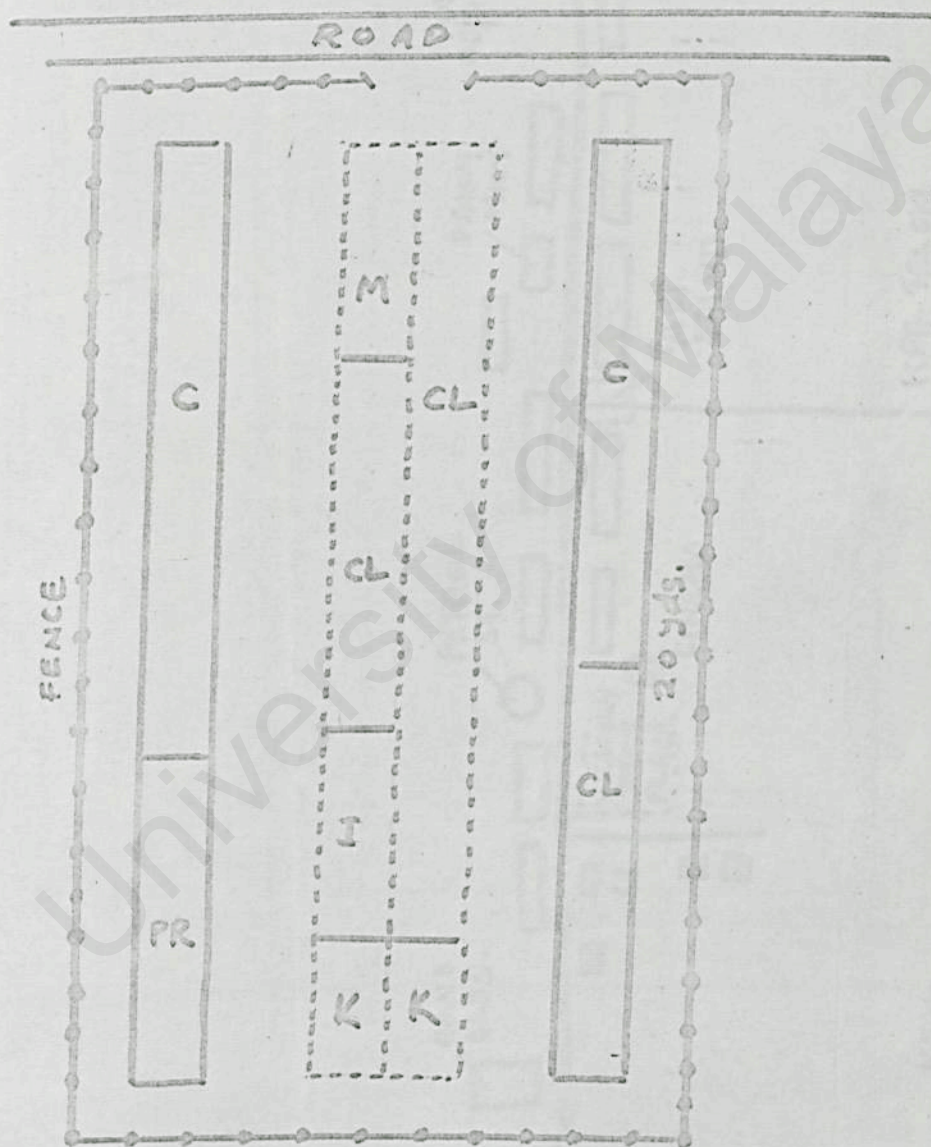


KEY:
 □ - SHOPS
 ■ - HOUSES
 --- Rail line


(Not to scale)


DIAGRAM IV

PORT SWETTENHAM MARKET PLACE



KEY:

 SHED WITH ONE-ROW PLATFORM

 GROUND TRADING SPACE

C = CAKE

CL = CLOTHES + TEXTILES

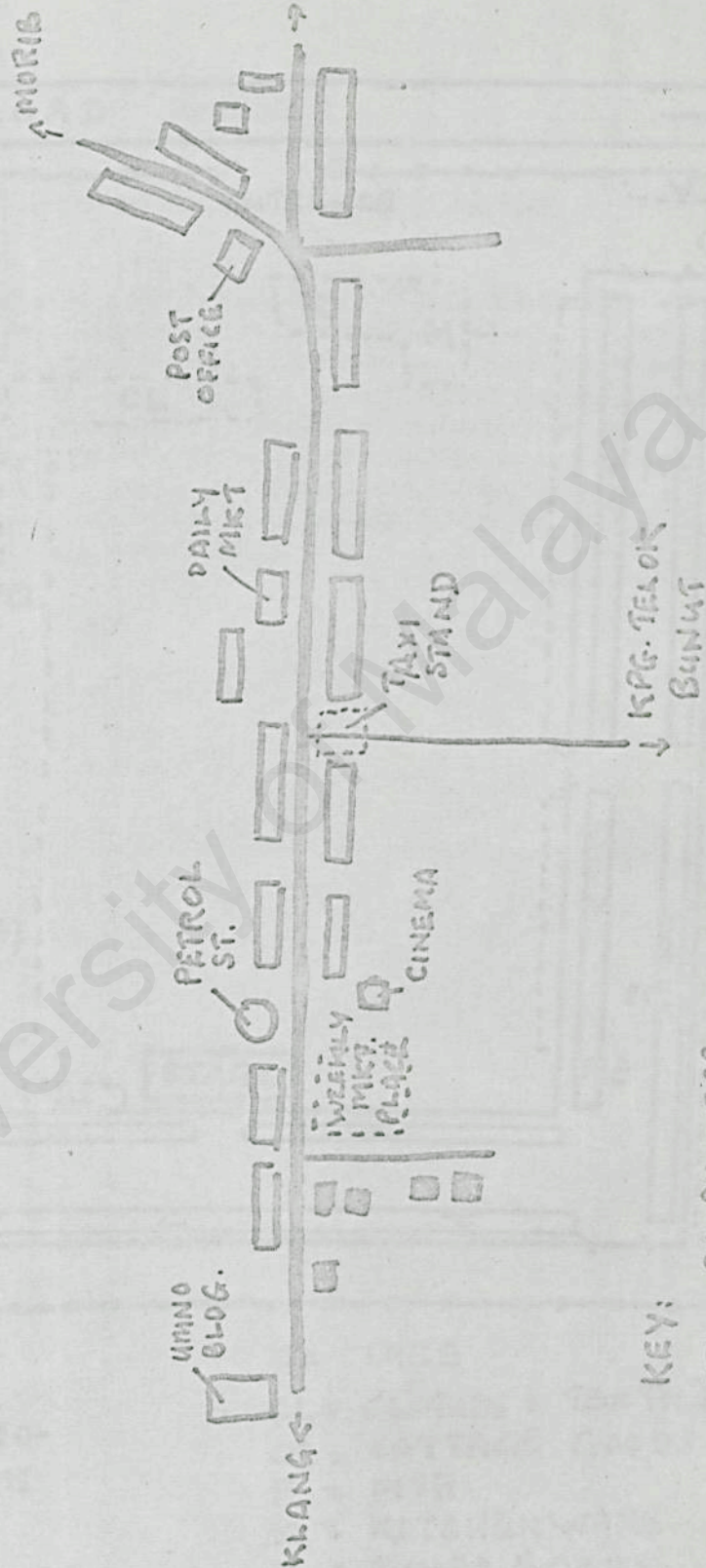
K = KITCHEN-WARE

H = HARDWARE

PR = PREPARED FOOD

MAP VI

BANTING



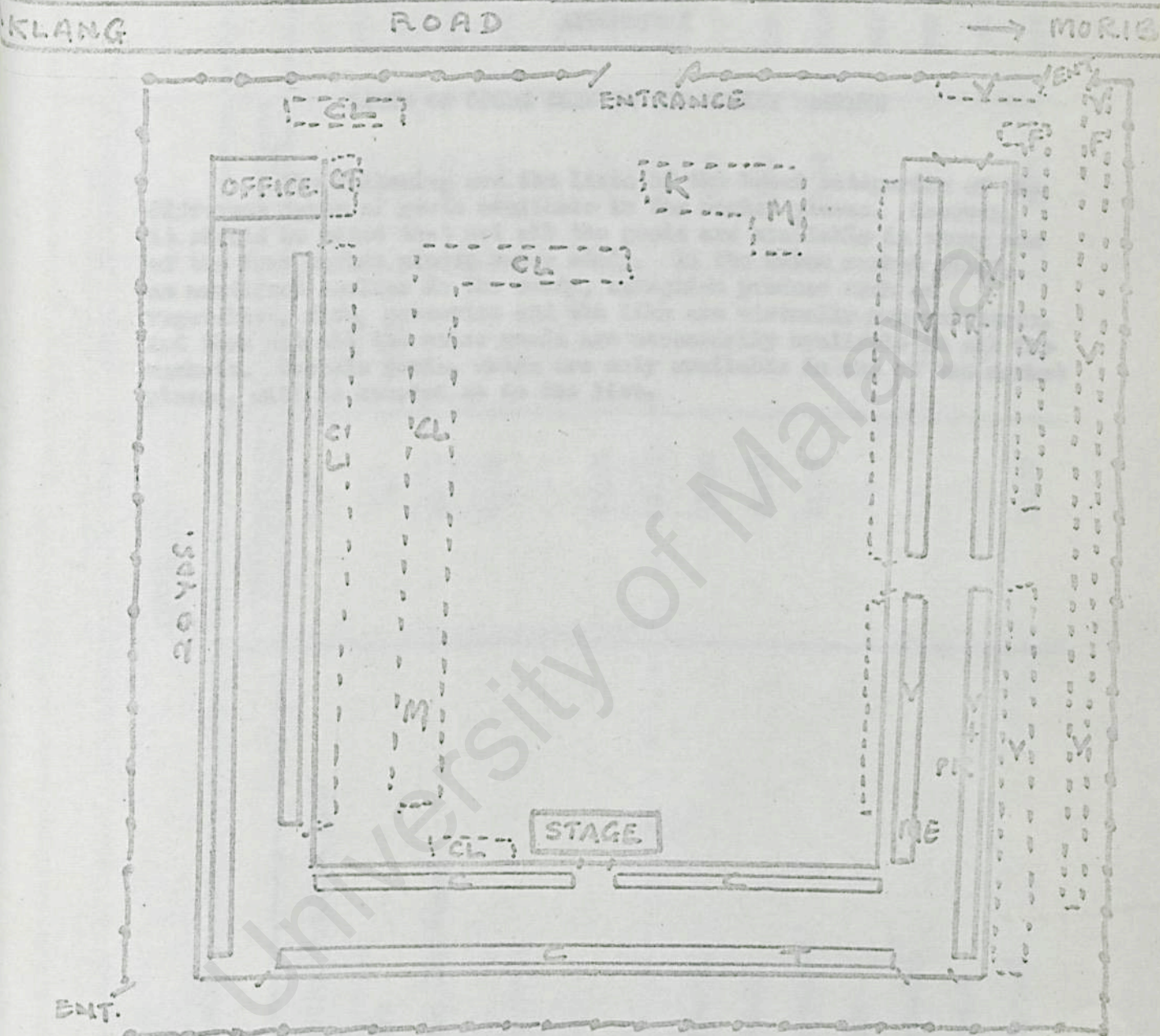
KEY:

□ - SHOPHOUSES

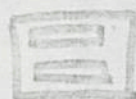
■ - HOUSES

(not to scale)

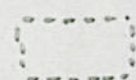
DIAGRAM V BANTING MARKET PLACE



KEY:



SHED WITH TWO-
ROW PLATFORMS



GROUND TRADING
SPACE

C = CAKE

CL = CLOTHES + TEXTILES

CT = COTTAGE GOODS

F = FISH

K = KITCHENWARE

M = MIXED GOODS

ME = MEAT

PR = PREPARED FOOD

T = TOBACCO

V = VEGETABLES.

APPENDIX I

LISTS OF GOODS SOLD IN THE WEEKLY MARKETS

The following are the lists of the broad categories of the different types of goods available in the market places. However, it should be noted that not all the goods are available in every one of the four market places under study. In the urban market place, as mentioned earlier in the study, agrarian produce such as vegetables, fish, groceries and the like are virtually non-existence. And then not all the other goods are necessarily available in all the markets. Certain goods, which are only available in one or two market places, will be denoted so in the list.

TEXTILES

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
American cotton material (for trousers)	-	1.40	-	per yard
Baby's wears	-	0.50	-	per piece
Batek shirts (for boys)	\$0.70	-	1.80	each
Batek	\$2.00	-	13.00	per piece
Bed sheet	-	5.00	-	per piece
Blouse	\$2.00	-	5.00	each
Brassier	\$0.90	-	1.20	per pair
Broquet material	\$3.00	-	4.00	per yard
Cotton material	\$0.50	-	2.20	per yard
Gowns (for girls)	\$1.20	-	3.00	each
Hankerchiefs	-	0.20	-	per piece
HB Line material	-	1.30	-	per yard
Nylon material	-	1.80	-	per yard
<u>Palekat</u> (sarong)	\$2.50	-	4.00	per piece

TEXTILES (Cont'd)

Type	P E I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
Pillow Cover	\$2.80	-	4.00	each
Poplin material	-	1.00	-	per yard
Scarf	\$1.00	-	2.50	each
Shirt (for boys)	\$0.90	-	3.80	each
Shorts (for boys)	\$0.40	-	2.50	per pair
Singlets	\$0.50	-	1.70	each
Stockings	\$0.50	-	1.00	per pair
Tetoron material	-	1.50	-	per yard
Tobacco (coat)	-	1.00	-	per yard
Underpants	\$0.90	-	1.20	each

HARDWARE

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Batu asah</u> (sharpening stone)	\$2.00	-	3.50	each
<u>Basin</u>	\$0.50	-	3.00	each
<u>Changkul</u>	-	3.50	-	each
<u>Chetek Kueh</u>	-	0.50	-	each
<u>Chisel</u>	-	1.50	-	each
<u>Glasses</u>	-	-	-	each
<u>Glass cups</u>	-	-	-	each
<u>Handle</u> (for parang)	\$0.50	-	1.00	each
<u>Knives</u>	\$0.80	-	1.20	each
<u>Kuali</u> (frying pan)	\$1.80	-	3.00	each
<u>Kukus</u>	-	-	-	each
<u>Mouse-trap</u>	-	0.40	-	each
<u>Mug</u> (Large)	-	4.00	-	each
<u>Parang</u>	\$3.50	-	5.00	each

HARDWARE (Cont'd)

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Pengerat padi (sickle)</u>	-	0.80	-	each
<u>Perick</u>	-	-	-	each
<u>Plates</u>	\$0.30	-	0.50	each
<u>Plastic Glasses</u>	-	-	-	each
<u>Player</u>	-	1.40	-	each
<u>Plough</u>	\$2.50	-	4.00	each
<u>Rake</u>	\$1.50	-	2.50	each
<u>Rattan sieve</u>	-	-	-	each
<u>Sabit</u>	-	2.00	-	each
<u>Scissors</u>	\$1.00	-	1.50	each
<u>Sieve (metal)</u>	-	-	-	each
<u>Talsi (string)</u>	-	-	-	each
<u>Thermos Flasks</u>	\$2.00	-	3.00	each
<u>Tin cups</u>	-	-	-	each
<u>Trays</u>	\$1.00	-	2.50	each
<u>Wooden dippers</u>	-	0.50	-	each

MIXED GOODS

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
Ball-pen	\$0.10	-	1.50	each
Belt	-	1.00	-	each
Brush	-	-	-	
Buttons	-	-	-	
Comb	\$0.05	-	0.30	each
Elastic band	-	0.10	-	per yard
Hangers	-	-	-	
Hair band	-	0.15	-	each
Hair clips	-	-	-	
Hair cream	-	-	-	
Locks	-	-	-	
Mirror	\$0.30	-	1.50	each
Moth-balls	-	0.10	-	per packet
Plastic bangles	-	0.05	-	each

MIXED GOODS (Cont'd)

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
Powder	\$0.30	-	1.00	per tin/ bottle
Purse	-	-	-	
Safety pins	-	0.05	-	per wrapper
Sieve	\$0.50	-	1.00	each
Thread	-	-	-	
Tin opener	\$0.30	-	2.00	each
Tooth-brush	-	-	-	
Tooth-paste	-	-	-	
Toys	\$0.20	-	1.00	each
Wallet	-	-	-	
Washing clips	-	-	-	
Clips buttons (colored shanks)	-	-	-	
Buttons	-	-	-	
Buttons (cotton sugar)	-	-	-	
Buttons (cotton)	-	-	-	
Buttons (cotton)	-	-	-	

GROCERIES

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Assam Geluger</u>	-	0.80	-	per kati
<u>Assam Java (small packet)</u>	-	0.10	-	per kati
<u>Assam Java (big packet)</u>	-	0.20	-	per kati
<u>Aji-no-moto (varying packets)</u>	\$0.10	-	0.10	per packet
<u>Bawang merah (onion)</u>	-	0.40	-	per kati
<u>Bawang putih (garlic)</u>	-	1.00	-	per kati
<u>Belacan</u>	-	0.80	-	per kati
<u>Cencalok</u>	-	0.60	-	per bottle
<u>Cendawan kering (dried mushroom)</u>	-	1.20	-	per kati
<u>Cili kering (dried chili)</u>	-	1.20	-	per kati
<u>Coffee</u>	-	0.60	-	per kati
<u>Gula tuak (brown sugar)</u>	-	0.60	-	per kati
<u>Halia bara</u>	-	0.30	-	per packet
<u>Halia putih</u>	-	0.50	-	per kati

GROCERIES (Cont'd)

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Kunyit</u> (powder form)	-	0.10	-	per packet
<u>Kunyit basah</u> (fresh)	-	0.40	-	per kati
<u>Regi</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Tempoyak</u>	\$0.30	-	0.50	per packet

CAKES

Type	P I E C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Ale derem</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Apam</u>	\$0.05	-	0.10	per piece
<u>Apam balek</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Badak</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Bau-hilu-kemoda</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Bengkang</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Bideran</u>	\$0.05	-	0.10	per piece
<u>Bingka beras</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Bingka pulut</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Bingka ubi</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Cakar ayam</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Curry puff</u>	\$0.05	-	0.10	per piece
<u>Cueur udang</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Dadu</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Dengi</u>	\$0.05	-	0.10	per piece

CAKES (Cont'd)

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Gertas</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Gading kaloh</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Genggang (lapis)</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Kacang dal</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Kasturi</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Keladi goreng</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Kelodek goreng</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Kepek ubi</u>	-	-	-	per piece
<u>Kepek pisang</u>	-	-	-	per piece
<u>Keria</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Kesui</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Keropek</u>	-	-	-	per piece
<u>Koci</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Kutu piring</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Lenang</u>	\$0.10	-	1.00	per piece
<u>Lem talam</u>	\$0.05	-	0.10	per piece
<u>Lemak</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece

CAKES (Cont'd)

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Lempeyeh</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Lepat kacang</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Lopes</u>	\$0.05	-	0.10	per piece
<u>Ondeh2 (Bauh Meleka)</u>	-	0.10	-	per wrapper
<u>Pau/Kemohong</u>	\$0.05	-	0.10	per piece
<u>Pisang goreng</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Popia</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Pulut panggang</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Pulut teter</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Pulut sekaya</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Pulut udang</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Rengas</u>	\$0.05	-	0.10	per piece
<u>Roti Jala</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Salak</u>	\$0.05	-	0.10	per piece
<u>Sukon</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece
<u>Tapai ubi</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Temperek</u>	-	0.10	-	per piece

CAKES (Cont'd)

Type	P K I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Tepung kerona</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Tepung telam</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece
<u>Tepung telam</u>	0.10	-	0.20	per mg
<u>Tepung telam</u>	0.10	-	0.50	per plate
<u>Tepung telam</u>	0.10	-	0.50	per plate
<u>Tepung telam</u>	0.10	-	0.50	per plate
<u>Tepung telam</u>	0.10	-	0.50	per wrapper
<u>Tepung telam</u>	-	0.50	-	per plate
<u>Tepung telam</u>	-	0.10	-	per stick
<u>Tepung telam</u>	0.10	-	0.30	per mg
<u>Tepung telam</u>	0.10	-	0.10	per piece
<u>Tepung telam</u>	-	-	-	per mg
<u>Tepung telam</u>	-	0.05	-	per plate

PREPARED-FOOD

Type	P E I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Bubur</u>	-	0.10	-	per mug
<u>Laksa</u>	\$0.10	-	0.20	per mug
<u>Lotong</u>	\$0.30	-	0.50	per plate
<u>Mee Goreng</u>	\$0.30	-	0.50	per plate
<u>Mee Rebus</u>	\$0.30	-	0.50	per plate
<u>Pechol</u>	\$0.10	-	0.50	per wrapper
<u>Rice (in Tanjong Karang only)</u>	-	0.50	-	per plate
<u>Satey (in Sungai Euleh only)</u>	-	0.10	-	per stick
<u>Soto</u>	\$0.20	-	0.30	per mug
<u>Sotong</u>	\$0.05	-	0.10	per piece
<u>Soup</u>	-	0.30	-	per mug
<u>Tahu sumbat</u>	-	0.05	-	per piece

FISH

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Fresh Fish</u>				
<u>Beval hitam</u>	-	-	-	per kati
<u>Beval putih</u>	-	-	-	per kati
<u>Cencaru</u>	-	-	-	per kati
<u>Gelama</u>	-	0.30	-	per kati
<u>Kembong</u>	-	-	-	per kati
<u>Ketam laut (orab)</u>	80.40	-	0.50	per kati
<u>Pari</u>	-	0.40	-	per kati
<u>Puput</u>	-	0.60	-	per kati
<u>Prawn, red (big)</u>	-	3.00	-	per kati
<u>Prawn, red (small)</u>	-	0.50	-	per kati
<u>Prawn, white (big)</u>	-	2.30	-	per kati
<u>Prawn, white (small)</u>	-	0.80	-	per kati
<u>Selangat</u>	-	0.25	-	per kati

FISH (Cont'd)

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Selagin</u>	-	-	-	per kati
<u>Sotong (scuttle)</u>	-	0.40	-	per kati
<u>Tamben</u>	-	0.35	-	per kati
<u>Tenggiri</u>	-	-	-	per kati
<u>Tapah (head)</u>	-	0.70	-	per kati
<u>Tapah (flesh)</u>	-	0.60	-	per kati
<u>Ikan bilis (big)</u>	-	0.90	-	per kati
<u>Ikan bilis (small)</u>	-	0.80	-	per kati
<u>Ikan duri</u>	-	0.60	-	per kati
<u>Ikan gelama</u>	\$0.30	-	0.40	per kati
<u>Ikan tamban</u>	-	0.40	-	per kati
<u>Prawn</u>	-	1.20	-	per kati
<u>Udang kepai</u>	-	0.60	-	per kati
	-	-	-	per bundle
	-	-	-	per bundle
	-	-	-	per cask

VEGETABLES
(SOLD BY MALAYS)

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Bayam</u>	-	0.10	-	per bundle
<u>Belimbing</u>	-	0.10	-	per heap
<u>Bunga kantan</u>	-	0.20	-	for five
<u>Cekor/pucuk manis</u>	-	0.10	-	per bundle
<u>Cendawan (mushroom)</u>	-	0.20	-	per heap
<u>Ceremai</u>	-	-	-	
<u>Jering</u>	-	0.20	-	for six
<u>Kangkong</u>	-	0.10	-	per bundle
<u>Lada (chili)</u>	-	0.30	-	per heap
<u>Labu ayer (water-melon)</u>	\$0.20	-	0.50	each
<u>Ladyfingers</u>	-	0.30	-	per bundle
<u>Pengaga</u>	-	0.10	-	per bundle
<u>Petola</u>	-	0.20	-	per bundle
<u>Pisang hijau (green bananas)</u>	-	0.10	-	per comb

VEGETABLES (Cont'd)
(SOLD BY MALAYS)

Type	P E R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Pucuk gelinjan</u>	-	0.10	-	per bundle
<u>Ranti</u>	-	0.10	-	per bundle
<u>Sawi</u>	-	0.10	-	per bundle
<u>Ubi kayu (tapioca)</u>	-	0.15	-	per bundle
<u>Ubi keladi (yam)</u>	-	0.50	-	per bundle

**VEGETABLES
(SOLD BY CHINESE)**

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Bayam</u>	-	0.30	-	per kati
Bitter gourd	-	0.10	-	each
Cabbage	-	0.60	-	per kati
Chili (fresh)	0.15	2.00	0.30	per kati
<u>Dauu bawang</u>	0.30	0.40	0.40	per kati
<u>Dauu sop</u>	-	0.40	-	per kati
<u>Halia</u>	-	0.30	-	per kati
<u>Kangkong</u>	-	0.15	-	per kati
<u>Ketola</u>	-	0.35	-	per kati
<u>Kundur</u>	-	0.10	-	each
<u>Lobak</u>	-	-	-	
Ladyfingers	-	0.25	-	per kati
Long beans	-	0.25	-	per kati
Long gourd	-	0.20	-	each

VEGETABLES (Cont'd)
(SOLD BY CHINESE)

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
Pumpkin	-	0.10	-	per kati
Sawi	-	0.20	-	per kati
Timun (cucumber)	-	0.30	-	per kati
Terong (brinjal)	-	0.35	-	per kati
Tahu	-	0.05	-	each
Togay	\$0.15	-	0.20	per kati
Tomato	\$0.30	-	0.40	per kati
... (faint)	-	0.05	-	each
... (faint)	\$0.15	-	0.20	each
... (faint)	-	0.15	-	for five
... (faint)	-	0.20	-	for five
... (faint)	-	0.25	-	for five
... (faint)	-	0.30	-	per each
... (faint)	-	0.15	-	per each
... (faint)	-	0.15	-	per each
... (faint)	\$0.15	-	0.20	each

FRUITS

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Bacang</u>	-	0.05	-	each
<u>Belimbing (Star fruit)</u>	-	-	-	
<u>Berangan</u>	-	0.20	-	per heap
<u>Ceremai</u>	-	-	-	
<u>Ciku</u>	-	0.60	-	for ten
<u>Jagung (maize)</u>	-	0.05	-	each
<u>Kelapa (coconut)</u>	\$0.15	-	0.20	each
<u>Lime</u>	-	0.10	-	for five
<u>Mango (ripe)</u>	-	0.20	-	for five
<u>Mango (green)</u>	-	0.15	-	for five
<u>Pisang awak</u>	-	0.05	-	per comb
<u>Pisang embun</u>	-	0.15	-	per comb
<u>Pisang emas</u>	-	0.15	-	per comb
<u>Pisang nangka</u>	\$0.15	-	0.20	each

FRUITS (Cont'd)

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
<u>Pisang sejon</u>	-	0.10	-	per comb
<u>Pineapple</u>	\$0.05	-	0.20	each
<u>Rambutan</u>	\$0.10	-	1.00	per bundle
<u>Citrus tablet</u>	-	-	-	per bottle
<u>Cynocin elixir</u>	-	1.30	-	per bottle
<u>Radio skin elixir</u>	-	0.60	-	per bottle
<u>Radio skin tablet</u>	-	0.30	-	per packet
<u>Jacob Nadi (Tonic)</u>	-	1.30	-	per bottle
<u>Kidney pills</u>	-	-	-	per bottle
<u>Radio</u>	-	-	-	per bottle
<u>Radio skin elixir</u>	-	1.30	-	per bottle
<u>Radio skin tablet</u>	-	0.30	-	per bottle
<u>Pine tablet</u>	-	-	-	per bottle
<u>Vita protein yeast</u>	-	-	-	per bottle
<u>Vitex pills</u>	-	-	-	per bottle
<u>Vitex pills</u>	-	-	-	per bottle

MEDICINE

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
Blood pill	-	-	-	per bottle
B-Tonic	-	1.20	-	per bottle
Claret tablet	-	-	-	per bottle
Cynmolin ointment	-	1.80	-	per bottle
Emirco skin ointment	-	0.60	-	per bottle
Emirco worm tablet	-	0.30	-	per packet
Jagoh Turki (Tonic)	-	1.50	-	per bottle
Kidney pills	-	-	-	per bottle
MaaJun	-	-	-	per bottle
Minyak chenderavaseh	-	1.00	-	per bottle
Minyak pendekar	-	0.30	-	per bottle
Pince tablet	-	-	-	per bottle
Vila protein yeast	-	-	-	per bottle
Virone pills	-	-	-	per bottle
Vitamin pills	-	-	-	per bottle

MEDICINE

Type	P R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
Blood pill	-	-	-	per bottle
B-Tonic	-	1.20	-	per bottle
Claret tablet	-	-	-	per bottle
Cynmolin ointment	-	1.80	-	per bottle
Emirco skin ointment	-	0.60	-	per bottle
Emirco worm tablet	-	0.30	-	per packet
Jagoh Turki (Tonic)	-	1.50	-	per bottle
Kidney pills	-	-	-	per bottle
Maa Jun	-	-	-	per bottle
Minyak chenderavaseh	-	1.00	-	per bottle
Minyak pendekar	-	0.30	-	per bottle
Pince tablet	-	-	-	each
Vila protein yeast	-	-	-	per bottle
Virone pills	-	-	-	each
Vitamin pills	-	-	-	each

MISCELLANEOUS

Type	P E R I C E			Unit
	Minimum	Normal	Maximum	
Bangles	-	-	-	
Beef	\$2.00	-	2.20	per kati
Bracelets	-	-	-	
Cow (in Banting only)	\$60.00	-	160.00	each
Goat (in Banting only)	\$30.00	-	60.00	each
Kopiah	\$1.00	-	5.50	each
Mats	-	-	-	
Metal rings	-	-	-	
Perfume	-	-	-	
Religious books	-	-	-	
Shoes	-	-	-	
Songkok	\$1.00	-	8.00	each
"Stones"	-	-	-	
Tobacco	\$3.00	-	5.00	per kati
Tudong saji (mengkuang food cover)	\$5.00	-	8.00	each

APPENDIX II

WEEKLY, MONTHLY AND YEARLY VARIATION IN THE VOLUME OF TRADE AS SHOWN BY THE ISSUE OF ONE-DAY LICENCES

The data available are for the Tanjong Karang and Banting market places for the year 1967 and 1968. The data for the Sungai Buloh and Port Swettenham market places could not be given because the records that are kept by the authorities concerned are monthly records and furthermore they include the issues of one-day licences to other market-places (as for the Sungai Buloh market place) and traders who come to trade in the market place every day of the week (as for the Port Swettenham market place, where every morning one can find Malay peasant traders selling agrarian products). As such the data given would not be accurate and representative of the weekly nature of the market.

Nevertheless from observations made during the writer's several visits to these two market places, he can safely say that for the Sungai Buloh market place the number of traders vary from 120 to 200, and for the Port Swettenham market place the number of traders vary from 100 to 150.

The one-day licences issued are of three denominations:-

\$0.20	:	For small-scale peasant traders and traders of cakes and prepared-food.
\$0.50	:	For the traders of manufactured goods, 'the professional' fish and vegetable traders, and other traders of such scale.
\$1.00	:	For the relatively larger traders, especially certain clothes traders.

The Port Swettenham market place is an exception. Here only the \$0.50 one-day licence is issued.

Denominations	Aug. 1	Aug. 11	Aug. 21	Aug. 31
\$0.20	107	113	116	119
\$0.50	37	25	30	28
\$1.00	114	116	113	112
TOTAL	158	154	159	159

Denominations	Mar. 1	Mar. 8	Mar. 12	Mar. 22	Mar. 29
\$0.20	308	119	117	116	111
0.50				29	29
1.00					
TOTAL	140		156	145	140

ISSUE OF ONE DAY LICENCES

TANJONG KARANG

1967

Denominations	Jan. 3	Jan. 9	Jan. 16	Jan. 23	Jan. 30
\$0.20	193	165	49	115	127
0.50	38	39	16	35	32
1.00	10	11	1	6	8
TOTAL	241	215	66	156	167

Denominations	Feb. 6	Feb. 13	Feb. 20	Feb. 27
\$0.20	118	108	121	105
0.50	30	30	33	36
1.00	6	7	9	3
TOTAL	154	145	163	144

Denominations	Mar. 6	Mar. 13	Mar. 20	Mar. 27
\$0.20	118	120	131	102
0.50	30	29	27	34
1.00	8	9	7	4
TOTAL	156	158	165	140

Denominations	Apr. 3	Apr. 11	Apr. 17	Apr. 24
\$0.20	107	112	116	110
0.50	27	26	30	26
1.00	4	6	5	8
TOTAL	138	144	151	144

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>May 1</u>	<u>May 8</u>	<u>May 15</u>	<u>May 22</u>	<u>May 29</u>
\$0.20	108	119	117	116	111
0.50	24	29	32	29	29
1.00	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
TOTAL	140	154	156	149	146
	===	===	===	===	===

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Jun 5</u>	<u>Jun 12</u>	<u>Jun 20</u>	<u>Jun 26</u>
\$0.20	116	119	125	127
0.50	32	28	23	35
1.00	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
TOTAL	153	154	155	168
	===	===	===	===

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>July 3</u>	<u>July 10</u>	<u>July 17</u>	<u>July 24</u>	<u>July 31</u>
\$0.20	114	124	110	119	137
0.50	28	33	34	30	28
1.00	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
TOTAL	148	163	150	155	172
	===	===	===	===	===

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Aug. 7</u>	<u>Aug 14</u>	<u>Aug 21</u>	<u>Aug 28</u>
\$0.20	136	129	136	135
0.50	32	36	34	32
1.00	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>
TOTAL	176	174	179	176
	===	===	===	===

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Sept 4</u>	<u>Sept 11</u>	<u>Sept 18</u>	<u>Sept 25</u>
\$0.20	144	130	140	131
0.50	31	41	38	28
1.00	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>
TOTAL	184	180	189	168
	===	===	===	===

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Oct 2</u>	<u>Oct 9</u>	<u>Oct 16</u>	<u>Oct 23</u>	<u>Oct 30</u>
\$0.20	117	153	195	123	108
0.50	57	62	66	32	32
1.00	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
TOTAL	182	226	277	159	147
	==	==	==	==	==

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Nov 6</u>	<u>Nov 13</u>	<u>Nov 20</u>	<u>Nov 27</u>
\$0.20	146	198	136	150
0.50	51	50	37	33
1.00	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>
TOTAL	203	258	178	191
	==	==	==	==

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Dec 4</u>	<u>Dec 11</u>	<u>Dec 18</u>	<u>Dec 26</u>
\$0.20	137	153	162	191
0.50	32	33	30	30
1.00	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>
TOTAL	175	195	201	230
	==	==	==	==

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Dec 4</u>	<u>Dec 11</u>	<u>Dec 18</u>	<u>Dec 26</u>
\$0.20	170	137	147	143
0.50	43	34	36	43
1.00	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>
TOTAL	226	180	189	193
	==	==	==	==

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Jan 1</u>	<u>Jan 8</u>	<u>Jan 15</u>	<u>Jan 22</u>	<u>Jan 29</u>
\$0.20	132	134	134	134	146
0.50	33	32	34	30	39
1.00	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
TOTAL	171	171	171	175	191
	==	==	==	==	==

Denominations	Mar 5	Mar 11	Mar 18	Mar 25
\$0.20	134	89	144	136
0.50				42
1.00				8
TOTAL	118	180	161	186

ISSUE OF ONE DAY LICENCES

TANJONG KARANG

1968					
<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Jan 8</u>	<u>Jan 15</u>	<u>Jan 22</u>	<u>Jan 29</u>	
\$0.20	89	134	114	136	
0.50	28	44	43	42	
1.00	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	
TOTAL	118	180	161	186	
	==	==	==	==	
<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Feb 5</u>	<u>Feb 12</u>	<u>Feb 19</u>	<u>Feb 26</u>	
\$0.20	134	124	144	185	
0.50	37	42	44	48	
1.00	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	
TOTAL	178	174	198	242	
	==	==	==	==	
<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Mar 4</u>	<u>Mar 11</u>	<u>Mar 18</u>	<u>Mar 25</u>	
\$0.20	170	137	147	142	
0.50	48	34	36	43	
1.00	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	
TOTAL	228	180	189	192	
	==	==	==	==	
<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Apr 1</u>	<u>Apr 8</u>	<u>Apr 15</u>	<u>Apr 22</u>	<u>Apr 29</u>
\$0.20	132	134	136	138	144
0.50	33	32	34	30	39
1.00	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
TOTAL	171	171	175	175	189
	==	==	==	==	==

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>May 6</u>	<u>May 13</u>	<u>May 20</u>	<u>May 27</u>
\$0.20	134	89	146	108
0.50	35	30	35	22
1.00	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	175	123	186	132
	===	===	===	===

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Jun 3</u>	<u>Jun 10</u>	<u>Jun 17</u>	<u>Jun 24</u>
\$0.20	145	150	146	158
0.50	33	30	30	28
1.00	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
TOTAL	185	189	183	191
	===	===	===	===

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>July 1</u>	<u>July 8</u>	<u>July 15</u>	<u>July 22</u>	<u>July 29</u>
\$0.20	159	167	166	172	176
0.50	35	51	50	38	51
1.00	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
TOTAL	202	222	221	215	233
	===	===	===	===	===

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Aug 5</u>	<u>Aug 12</u>	<u>Aug 19</u>	<u>Aug 26</u>
\$0.20	191	79	185	77
0.50	55	67	70	39
1.00	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>
TOTAL	253	153	272	128
	===	===	===	===

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Sept 2</u>	<u>Sept 9</u>	<u>Sept 16</u>	<u>Sept 23</u>	<u>Sept 30</u>
\$0.20	250	271	235	230	193
0.50	58	56	30	30	30
1.00	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
TOTAL	316	335	273	266	230
	===	===	===	===	===

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Oct 7</u>	<u>Oct 14</u>	<u>Oct 22</u>	<u>Oct 28</u>
\$0.20	167	164	164	151
0.50	31	33	27	27
1.00	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
TOTAL	206	205	197	188
	===	===	===	===

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Nov 4</u>	<u>Nov 11</u>	<u>Nov 18</u>	<u>Nov 25</u>
\$0.20	153	147	140	144
0.50	30	36	29	30
1.00	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>
TOTAL	189	186	178	181
	===	===	===	===

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Dec 2</u>	<u>Dec 9</u>	<u>Dec 16</u>	<u>Dec 30</u>
\$0.20	166	180	178	112
0.50	32	33	33	29
1.00	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	207	222	218	142
	===	===	===	===

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Dec 3</u>	<u>Dec 12</u>	<u>Dec 19</u>	<u>Dec 26</u>
\$0.20	162	113	104	81
0.50	8	3	10	3
1.00	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>
TOTAL	170	116	114	84
	===	===	===	===

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Jan 2</u>	<u>Jan 9</u>	<u>Jan 16</u>	<u>Jan 23</u>	<u>Jan 30</u>
\$0.20	80	104	81	90	101
0.50	6	6	5	3	5
1.00	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>
TOTAL	86	110	86	93	107
	===	===	===	===	===

Denominations	Nov 1	Nov 14	Nov 21	Nov 28	Dec 5
\$0.20	109	100	88	89	107
0.50					
1.00					
TOTAL	119		97	100	107

ISSUE OF ONE DAY LICENCES

Denominations	Jan 1	Jan 8	Jan 15	Jan 22	Jan 29
\$0.20	100	100	45	81	91
0.50	40	43	2	8	7
1.00	7	5	2	-	-
TOTAL	147	148	49	89	98

BANTING

1967

Denominations	Jan 1	Jan 8	Jan 15	Jan 22	Jan 29
\$0.20	100	100	45	81	91
0.50	40	43	2	8	7
1.00	7	5	2	-	-
TOTAL	147	148	49	89	98

Denominations	Feb 5	Feb 12	Feb 19	Feb 26	Mar 5
\$0.20	79	94	100	85	107
0.50	7	3	7	6	10
1.00	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	86	97	107	91	117

Denominations	Mar 5	Mar 12	Mar 19	Mar 26	Apr 2
\$0.20	102	113	104	81	101
0.50	8	3	10	5	5
1.00	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	110	116	114	86	106

Denominations	Apr 2	Apr 9	Apr 16	Apr 23	Apr 30
\$0.20	80	104	81	90	101
0.50	6	6	5	5	5
1.00	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	86	110	86	95	107

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>May 7</u>	<u>May 14</u>	<u>May 21</u>	<u>May 28</u>	<u>May 28</u>
\$0.20	109	100	88	89	107
0.50	6	5	9	11	8
1.00	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	115	105	97	100	115

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Jun 4</u>	<u>Jun 11</u>	<u>Jun 18</u>	<u>Jun 25</u>
\$0.20	96	91	101	85
0.50	6	7	6	8
1.00	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	112	98	107	93

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>July 2</u>	<u>July 9</u>	<u>July 16</u>	<u>July 23</u>	<u>July 30</u>
\$0.20	129	121	100	100	104
0.50	6	8	7	5	8
1.00	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	135	129	107	105	112

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Aug 6</u>	<u>Aug 13</u>	<u>Aug 20</u>	<u>Aug 27</u>
\$0.20	98	98	55	95
0.50	7	7	—	5
1.00	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	105	105	55	100

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Sept 3</u>	<u>Sept 10</u>	<u>Sept 17</u>	<u>Sept 24</u>
\$0.20	100	100	100	100
0.50	6	8	6	6
1.00	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	106	108	106	106

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Oct 1</u>	<u>Oct 8</u>	<u>Oct 15</u>	<u>Oct 22</u>	<u>Oct 29</u>
\$0.20	100	100	100	100	107
0.50	7	7	7	6	8
1.00	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	107	107	107	106	115

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Nov 5</u>	<u>Nov 12</u>	<u>Nov 19</u>	<u>Nov 26</u>
\$0.20	84	109	88	112
0.50	9	10	3	13
1.00	—	—	—	2
TOTAL	93	119	91	127

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Dec 3</u>	<u>Dec 10</u>	<u>Dec 17</u>	<u>Dec 24</u>	<u>Dec 31</u>
\$0.20	100	100	100	100	78
0.50	11	28	17	33	21
1.00	3	4	3	3	—
TOTAL	114	132	120	136	99

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Mar 3</u>	<u>Mar 10</u>	<u>Mar 17</u>	<u>Mar 24</u>	<u>Mar 31</u>
\$0.20	84	82	84	93	100
0.50	8	4	6	4	5
1.00	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	92	86	90	97	105

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Apr 7</u>	<u>Apr 14</u>	<u>Apr 21</u>	<u>Apr 28</u>
\$0.20	100	100	100	100
0.50	6	4	8	6
1.00	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	106	104	108	106

Denominations	Mar 2	Mar 12	Mar 19	Mar 26
\$0.20	100	100	83	110

ISSUE OF ONE DAY LICENCES

Denominations	Mar 2	Mar 12	Mar 19	Mar 26
0.50	—	—	—	—
1.00	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	114	100	83	110

BANTING

1968

Denominations	Jan 7	Jan 14	Jan 21	Jan 28	Jan 30
\$0.20	77	100	100	85	100
0.50	5	3	5	8	—
1.00	—	—	—	—	105
TOTAL	82	103	105	93	—

Denominations	Feb 4	Feb 11	Feb 18	Feb 25
\$0.20	95	120	100	100
0.50	6	4	5	5
1.00	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	101	124	105	105

Denominations	Mar 3	Mar 10	Mar 17	Mar 24	Mar 31
\$0.20	84	82	86	98	100
0.50	8	4	6	4	5
1.00	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	92	86	92	102	105

Denominations	Apr 7	Apr 14	Apr 21	Apr 28
\$0.20	100	100	100	100
0.50	6	4	8	6
1.00	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	106	104	108	106

—133 —

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>May 5</u>	<u>May 12</u>	<u>May 19</u>	<u>May 26</u>
\$0.20	100	100	83	110
0.50	14	5	4	-
1.00	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	114	105	87	110

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Jun 2</u>	<u>Jun 9</u>	<u>Jun 16</u>	<u>Jun 23</u>	<u>Jun 30</u>
\$0.20	107	100	100	100	100
0.50	13	9	4	7	5
1.00	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	120	109	104	107	105

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>July 7</u>	<u>July 14</u>	<u>July 21</u>	<u>July 28</u>	<u>Aug 4</u>
\$0.20	100	100	100	100	100
0.50	6	7	10	5	2
1.00	-	-	-	2	-
TOTAL	106	107	110	107	102

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Aug 4</u>	<u>Aug 11</u>	<u>Aug 18</u>	<u>Aug 25</u>
\$0.20	100	100	100	100
0.50	8	8	4	8
1.00	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	108	108	104	108

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Sept 1</u>	<u>Sept 8</u>	<u>Sept 15</u>	<u>Sept 22</u>	<u>Sept 29</u>
\$0.20	100	100	77	111	103
0.50	7	7	7	6	8
1.00	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	107	107	84	117	111

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Oct 6</u>	<u>Oct 13</u>	<u>Oct 20</u>	<u>Oct 27</u>
\$0.20	109	113	90	84
0.50	5	5	7	7
1.00	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	114	118	97	91
	==	==	==	==

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Nov 3</u>	<u>Nov 10</u>	<u>Nov 17</u>	<u>Nov 24</u>
\$0.20	100	92	91	87
0.50	8	10	18	12
1.00	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	108	102	109	99
	==	==	==	==

<u>Denominations</u>	<u>Dec 1</u>	<u>Dec 8</u>	<u>Dec 15</u>	<u>Dec 22</u>	<u>Dec 29</u>
\$0.20	93	100	100	15	56
0.50	30	30	33	2	2
1.00	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL	123	132	136	17	58
	==	==	==	==	==

APPENDIX III

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY
OF THE WEEKLY MARKETS

(QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TRADERS)

Name of interviewer: _____

Date of interview: _____

Time of interview: _____

1. PERSONAL BACKGROUND

a. Name: _____ b. Date of birth: _____

c. Race: _____ d. Sex: _____

e. Place of residence: _____

f. Place of birth: _____

g. Marital status: _____

h. Occupation of spouse: _____

i. Number of children: _____

j. Whom do you live with? _____

2. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

a. Educational achievement:

<u>School</u>	<u>No. of Years</u>	<u>Level Passed</u>
Malay	_____	_____
English	_____	_____
Chinese	_____	_____

<u>School</u>	<u>No. of Years</u>	<u>Level Passed</u>
Tamil	_____	_____
Others:	_____	_____
	<u>dialects</u>	<u>Others</u>
b. Ability to speak in: Malay/ English/Chinese	_____	/Tamil/_____
c. Ability to read in: Malay/ English/Chinese	_____	/Tamil/_____
d. Ability of write in: Malay/ English/Chinese	_____	/Tamil/_____

3. OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND

- a. Is trading in weekly markets your main occupation? Yes or No
- b. If no, what is your main occupation?: _____
- c. Supplementary occupation(s), if any: _____
- _____
- _____
- d. Last occupation (if trading in weekly markets is your main occupation): _____
- e. Reasons for taking up this occupation (i.e. trading in weekly markets): _____
- f. Any desire to find another occupation (away from trading in weekly markets): Yes or No
- g. Why? _____

4. TRADING ACTIVITIES

- a. Do you sell in any other weekly markets? Yes or No.
- b. If yes:-

(1) Where is your shop? _____

<u>Place</u>	<u>Day</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Regularity</u>

c. If no, why? _____

d. Do you trade in other kinds of places other than weekly markets?

(All) When do you get your goods (i.e. regularly or purchase)? Yes or No

e. If yes: Where, when and how often? _____

f. If no, Why? _____

g. How long have you been in this occupation (i.e. trading in weekly markets)? _____

h. How long have you been trading in this ~~same~~ market? _____

i. Do you trade here every week? Yes or No

j. If no, Why? _____

5. RESOURCES

a. Do you have a shop of your own? Yes or No

b. If yes:-

(i) Where is your shop? _____

(ii) Who look after your shop while you are trading? _____

(iii) Why do you sell in weekly markets? _____

(iv) Do you sell the same goods in your shop? Yes or No
(If no, proceed with question c(iv) and c(v))

(v) Are these goods taken from your shop? Yes or No
(If no, proceed with question c except c(iv) and c(v))

c. If no:-

(i) Where do you get your goods? _____

(ii) How do you get your goods (i.e. term of purchase)? _____

(iii) When do you get your goods (i.e. regularity of purchase)? _____

(iv) Any intention of opening a shop? Yes or No

(v) Why? _____

d. What do you do with the unsold goods (for perishable goods vendors only)? _____

e. Where do you store your goods? _____

f. What is the value of your stock here? _____

g. What is the value of your stock in storage, if any? _____

6. TRANSPORT

a. What is the distance of your place from this market? _____

b. How do you transport your goods? _____

c. Is the mean of transport yours? Yes or No

d. If no. What is the rent or fare? _____

- e. If selling in other weekly markets, how do you transport your goods to these places? _____

7. PRICING

- a. What is the percentage of profit that you take from your goods (i.e. the mark up)? _____
- b. Are the prices of your goods the same as those available in the shops? Yes or No _____
- c. If no. Are they cheaper or dearer? _____
- d. Do you increase your prices during peak hours and decrease them during slack hours? _____

8. BARGAINING

- a. Do you allow people to bargain for your goods? Yes or No _____

b. Why? _____

c. Who bargains the hardest?:-

- (i) In terms of words -
Men or women: _____

Among Malays: men or women: _____

Among Chinese: men or women: _____

Among Indians: men or women: _____

Of all races: Malays, Chinese or Indians (place them in the order of first, second and third):

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

- (ii) In terms of money:-
Men or Women: _____

Among Malays: men or women: _____

Among Chinese: men or women: _____

Among Indians: men or women: _____

Of all races: Malays, Chinese or Indians (place them in the order of first, second and third):

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

(ii) In terms of money:-

Men or women: _____

Among Malays: men or women: _____

Among Chinese: men or women: _____

Among Indians: men or women: _____

Of all races: Malays, Chinese or Indians (place them in the order of first, second and third):

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

9. CREDIT

a. Do you give credit to people? Yes or No

b. Why? _____

10. HELPERS

a. Does anybody help you to sell? Yes or No

b. If yes. Number of helpers? _____

Relationship? _____

Wage, if any, or
other rewards? _____

Are they regulars? _____

c. If no. Why? _____

11. INCOME

- a. From trading in market _____ per day
- b. From main occupation _____ per day/month
- c. From supplementary occupation(s) _____ per day/month
- d. Total income _____ per day

12. ITEMS ON SALE

- a. Type of trade: _____
- b. Assortment of goods, prices, quantity and total value:-

<u>Goods</u>	<u>Price/Unit</u>	<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Total Value</u>
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			
9.			
10.			
11.			
12.			
13.			
14.			
15.			
16.			
17.			
18.			
19.			
20.			

GENERAL REMARKS

Name of Interviewee _____
 Date of Interview _____
 Time of Interview _____
 1. Name _____ 2. Age _____
 3. Race _____ 3. Sex _____
 5. Occupation _____ 6. Marital Status _____
 7. Place of residence _____
 8. How do you come to this market? _____
 9. How often do you come to this market? _____
 10. Do you always come alone, with friends or with your family? _____
 11. Do you come here to buy things or just to look around? _____
 12. What are the things that you usually buy? _____
 13. Before coming to the market do you make up your mind as to what to buy or you just come and buy the things which attract you? _____

APPENDIX IV

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY
OF THE WEEKLY MARKETS

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CUSTOMERS

Name of interviewer: _____

Date of interview: _____

Time of interview: _____

1. Name: _____ 2. Age: _____
3. Race: _____ 3. Sex: _____
5. Occupation: _____ 6. Marital Status: _____
7. Place of residence: _____
8. How do you come to this market? _____
9. How often do you come to this market? _____
10. Do you always come alone, with friends or with your family? _____
11. Do you come here to buy things or just to look around? _____
12. What are the things that you usually buy? _____
13. Before coming to the market do you make up your mind as to what to buy or you just come and buy the things which attract you? _____

14. Are the goods here cheaper, dearer, or of the same price as in the shops? _____
15. How much money do you have on you now? _____
16. How much have you spent here today? _____
17. How much more will you spend? _____
18. How long do you usually stay in the market? _____
19. Have you ever visited other weekly markets? Yes or No
20. If yes. What are the market(s) that you have visited? _____

21. What are the things that attract you in the market(s)? _____

22. GENERAL REMARKS: _____

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