

The Implementation Of Aboriginal People Act 1954 (Act 134) And Customary Law In The Appointment Of Tok Batin Kaum Jakun In Bekok, Segamat

Alizah Ali^{1*}, Rohani Jangga², Ahmad Nawawi Yaakob³

¹*Jabatan Undang-Undang Universiti Teknologi MARA Cawangan Johor Kampus Segamat, Malaysia*
aliza941@uitm.edu.my

²*Fakulti Pengurusan Perniagaan Universiti Teknologi MARA Cawangan Johor Kampus Segamat, Malaysia*

³*Akademik Pengajian Islam Kontemperori, Universiti Teknologi MARA Cawangan Johor Kampus Segamat, Malaysia*

Abstract: There are not many studies done on the guidelines that must be followed when an appointment for a new Aborigine tribe leader is to be implemented. Besides customary laws, there are also legal guidelines that must be adhere to. So, the present study purpose looks into the implementation of both customary law and the Aboriginal People Act 1954 in the issue of appointment of Tok Batin Orang Asli Jakun in Bekok, Segamat. A series of interviews were carried out for this fundamental study. Related information from books, articles, magazines, previous studies are used and supported by various case study and legal provision. The main findings are both customary law and the Aboriginal People Act 1954 complement each other and there is no contradiction between them. The Act provides the general application of appointment of a Tok Batin while the customary law discusses on the qualification, vote system, the ceremony to welcome the new Tok Batin and others. The study contributes to information about legal and customary procedures when appointing a selected Aborigine tribe leader.

Keywords: Appointment, Tok Batin, Jakun, Aboriginal People Act 1954, customary law, Segamat

Introduction

Article 169 of Convention On Aboriginal People And Free Nation, International Labour Organization define ‘aboriginal people’ as a community that has a different lifestyle as compared to the majority of the society in terms of social, culture and economy. This community is also concerned with their traditional way of life.

In Malaysia, the word ‘Orang Asli’(aboriginal people) comes from a Malay word that means ‘the first people’. They are a minority in society and usually live in remote areas (Nicholas, 1996). Article 160 of the Federal Constitution defines ‘Orang Asli’ as aboriginal people who lives in Peninsular Malaysia. Section 3 of Aboriginal Peoples Act 1954 defines Orang Asli as any person whose male parent is or was, a member of an aboriginal ethnic group, who speaks an aboriginal language and habitually follows an aboriginal way of life and aboriginal customs and beliefs, and includes a descendant through males of such persons.

The term ‘orang asli’(aboriginal people) in Malaysia can be categorized into two groups. The first category refers to the aboriginal people who live in Peninsular Malaysia and the other category refers to aboriginal people who live in East Malaysia, which are Sabah and Sarawak (Rohaida et al, 2013). The number of the aboriginal communities have increased annually . Basic First Quater Data 2018 from the Ministry of Rural Development records that as at 31 October 2018, there are 179,197 Orang Asli in Peninsular Malaysia. The state that has the highest number of Orang Asli is Pahang, which is 67,506, followed by Perak 53,299 and Selangor 17,587. The state of Johor has 13,139 Orang Asli and they live in the districts of Batu Pahat, Pontian, Kota Tinggi and Segamat.

Officially, there are eighteen Orang Asli tribes that can be categorised under three main groups based on their genetics and origin. The first group is the Semang/Negrito tribe (lives in the Northern states of Peninsular Malaysia), the Senoi tribe (lives in the central states of Peninsular Malaysia) and the Proto Malay/Melayu Asli tribe (lives in the southern states of Peninsular Malaysia)(Chua, Kim Wah Michael,1991). The language that they use is Bahasa Orang Asli (Austroasiatic Language) and Bahasa

Melayu Asli (Austronesia Language). Several beliefs that they follow are such as Animism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism dan Buddha (Chong Sheat Seang,1997). In Segamat, this study is carried out at the district of Bekok which is part of the Selai-Endau-Rompin National Park. There are six aboriginal people villages here and they are Kampung Orang Asli Tembayan, Kampung Orang Asli Kudong,

Kampung Orang Asli Tamok, Kampung Orang Asli Kemedak, Kampung Orang Asli Selai dan Kampung Orang Asli Lenek. The majority of the people living in these villages are from the Orang Asli Jakun tribe. The aboriginal people tribes practice a variety of rituals, culture, customs, beliefs, and a healthy way of life that is unique. They lead a harmonious and high-quality lifestyle alongside nature. This is because their economic survival is dependent on natural resources. This practice is largely due to the influence of Mother Nature and practices that they inherit from their forefathers (Faedah Kassim, et.al 2017).

Tok Batin is the chief of the tribe for a particular village and thus respected by all aboriginal people in that community. There is one Tok Batin for each village in Bekok. The appointment of each Tok Batin is in accordance with the customary law of the Jakun Tribe. This law is past down from one generation to the next generation. At the same time the Malaysian government has legislated Aboriginal People Act 1954 specifically in Section 16 and Section 19(1)(c) as a guideline for the appointment of Tok Batin. The aim of this study is to look into the implementation of both customary law and the Aboriginal People Act 1954 in the issue of appointment of Tok Batin Orang Asli Jakun in Bekok, Segamat.

Literature review

The head of an aboriginal tribe is known as Tok Batin. He has the highest ranking in the administrative hierarchy of the aboriginal people. This significant position is usually inherited from the paternal side which is from the father to the son or grandson or even to the great grandson. The role of Tok Batin is important in upholding all matters pertaining to rules, culture, and the traditional way of life for the Orang Asli under his care. Asmawi (2013) on the aboriginal people in Gua Musang, he stated that the roles of a Tok Batin in a community are (i) a person to refer to when having problems (ii) a person who can offer solutions (iii) a person that takes care of the welfare of his people in terms of health, medicine, marriage and divorce. However nowadays, the influence of Tok Batin has increases since it also includes socio economy, education and safety. Dato' Ibrahim Bin Muhammad, Head Director of Jabatan Kemajuan Malaysia (2011) mentioned that the role and duty of Tok Batin includes other social tasks such as preparing the profile of his village, registration of birth and death, registration of marriage, preparing reports on the visits of government officers, the migration of non-aboriginal people to the villages, report of programmes conducted by JAKOA and to report any current issues to state JAKOA Director on a monthly basis.

Due to the importance of this position, the government has taken the initiative to standardize the appointment of Tok Batin legally by providing the relevant Act and guidelines. This is to ensure that this position is kept respected, obeyed, and always honoured by the community. At the same time, it provides special rights to the Tok Batin in administering his people with full responsibility and dedication. With this power and authority, the community can claim their rights to their Tok Batin if he does not perform his duty well.

Itam Wali Nawan (1993) stated that there are two methods that can be applied during the process of appointing a Tok Batin, namely by the way of inheritance and/or by vote. The method of inheritance can be implemented when the eldest son of a Tok Batin is appointed as the new Tok Batin as soon as the death of a former Tok Batin occurs. If the deceased Tok Batin does not have any male children, this position will be offered to male siblings and/or nephews. In a situation where nobody is qualified to be appointed as Tok Batin, then other aboriginal people may be appointed as Tok Batin even if he has no blood relation with the deceased Tok Batin (William-Hant,1993).

The appointment of a Tok Batin can also happen by way of voting. Generally, those who has leadership character, has many supporters and are well liked by the community has the potential to be appointed as a Tok Batin (Redzuan & Emby, 2008). However, the government, through *Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli* (JAKOA) under the *Kementerian Pembangunan LuarBandar* has taken the initiative in improving the procedures of appointing a Tok Batin by legally providing a guideline which

can be applied in general by the aboriginal people in Malaysia. The guideline is named as The Guideline on Procedure of Appointment and Termination of The Service of Tok Batin/Penghulu Orang Asli. Apart from that, there is Section 16 and Section 19(1)(c) of Aboriginal People Act 1954 which mentions that the Minister has the authority to appoint a Tok Batin.

These two legal authorities are legislated in such a way as not to deny the appointment of a Tok Batin which is implemented using the conventional method. In fact, this effort can help to standardize the system and make clear the procedures on how a Tok Batin can be appointed legally. Clearly, with the guidelines introduced by JAKOA in the appointment of a Tok Batin, they would prefer to appoint a candidate that is young, educated and has the potential to perform his duty well. At the same time, priority should be given to a candidate that has sufficient knowledge on his own culture and traditional ways.

Legally, Section 16 and Section 19(1)(c) of Aboriginal People Act 1954 as well as The Guideline on Procedure of Appointment and Termination of The Service of Tok Batin/Penghulu Orang Asli guideline will be further discussed below. In conclusion, both legal provisions and the customary law are implemented concurrently in the appointment of Tok Batin. It is suggested that for future research, a study on the appointment of a new Tok Batin who is not a direct descendant of the deceased Tok Batin is carried out. What will happen if there are no eligible direct descendant? Who can be appointed as Tok Batin if all direct descendant are not qualified for the post.

Methodology

A series of interviews has been carried out with a senior Tok Batin whose name is Baya bin Maja. He is the present head of Kampung Kemidak, Bekok, Segamat, Johor. He is 82 years old and has been appointed as the Tok Batin for more than twenty years. The interviews are carried out at his house over the period of several months from January to October 2019. This study is open-ended in nature as the interview is categorized as an unstructured interview whereby there is no specific set of predetermined questions. Even though so, the interviewers do have selected topics in mind that they wish to cover during the interview. Related information from books, articles, magazines, previous studies are used and supported by various case study and legal provision.

Discussion

The appointment of Tok Batin under Aboriginal People Act 1954 (Akta 134) Section 16 and Section 19 Aboriginal People Act 1954 (Akta 134)

Section 16 and Section 19 Aboriginal People Act 1954 (Akta 134) is related to the appointment of a Tok Batin. The sections provides as below;

“Section 16(1): the hereditary headman of an aboriginal community shall be the headman thereof or, in the case of an aboriginal community in which the office of the headman is not hereditary, a person selected to be headman by the members of the community shall be headman thereof, subject in each case to confirmation by the Minister”.

“Section 16(2): the Minister may remove any headman from his office. Aborigines not to be excluded from any school”.

“Section 19(1): the Minister may make regulations for carrying into effect the purpose of this Act and in particular for the following purposes: (c) providing for the appointment of, and prescribing the qualifications of and the methods of appointing, any headman”.

Both provisions do not mention on the qualifications and the importance of the position of a Tok Batin. What can be construed under Section 16 is that there are two methods of appointment of headman or Tok Batin. The first method is by inheritance from the paternal side of Tok Batin and the second method is by not inheritance, where the community appoint among them, the most credible person through a voting system (Amat Simin, 2015). This appointment however is not final because the

Minister has to approve the candidate that has been chosen to be a Tok Batin. Subsection 2 provides that the Minister has the power to terminate the Tok Batin if he is unable to attain the specific criteria.

Again, Section 19(1)(c) of the same Act empowered the Minister to determine the qualification and the method of appointment of Tok Batin. This general provision also gives authority to a subordinate body such as Kementerian Kemajuan Luar bandar Dan Wilayah Malaysia, Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli (JAKOA), Majlis Pengurusan Komuniti Kampung Orang Asli (MPKKOA) and other authorities to come out with a framework or guidelines that discuss the appointment method in more detail. Among others, Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli JAKOA has emerged with a manual: Guideline On The Procedure of Appointment And Termination of Tok Batin/Penghulu Orang Asli 2011.

Guidelines of Appointment and Termination of Tok Batin / Penghulu of Aborigine 2011

This guideline is actually the continuity of Section 19(1)(c) of Aboriginal People Act 1954 which allows the Minister to determine several matters on the issue of a Tok Batin's appointment including the legal requirement to be in that position. The guideline came into effect in 2011. The objective of the guideline is to clarify the way a Tok Batin can be appointed as well as to be terminated. The guideline is applied in parallel with Aboriginal People Act 1954.

Several aspects are discussed clearly in this guideline where it concurred the need of a Tok Batin in a particular area, appointment method, condition of appointment, appointment process and things that can disqualify a Tok Batin from his job.

Conditions that meet the Need of a Tok Batin in Particular Area – Clause 3

Guidelines of Appointment and Termination of Tok Batin / Penghulu of Aborigine 2011

For a new village that needs their first Tok Batin, the village must be occupied by at least 200 people. For an older village that may have less than 200 people, the need for a new Tok Batin appointment will be decided by the Minister.

Appointment Method – Clause 4

Guidelines of Appointment and Termination of Tok Batin / Penghulu of Aborigine 2011

Clause 4 mentioned about the appointment method. The Tok Batin will be appointed in two ways, either by descendant or by election. In the same clause, 'appointment by descendant' means that a direct descendant can be appointed if and when the candidate fulfilled the conditions and terms as required by the customary law. Candidates for the post of a Tok Batin may come from the nearest male family member of the late Tok Batin. This includes his son/s, his male sibling/s, his uncle/s and his nephew/s. Clause 4.1.2 stated that Tok Batin can only be selected by an election process when there is no qualified direct male descendant but there are several qualified candidates from among the people living in the same village.

Appointment Conditions – Clause 5

Guidelines of Appointment and Termination of Tok Batin / Penghulu of Aborigine 2011

There are 6 conditions that must be met before a candidate can successfully be appointed as a Tok Batin according to Clause 5 in this guideline. First (i) the candidate must be a male of aborigine as defined under Section 3, Aborigine People Act 1954. Second (ii), must be 30 years old or more, healthy and mentally fit. Third (iii), if an appointment is made through the direct descendant method, the candidate must be from the nearest male family member of the late Tok Batin which is the son, the male sibling, the male nephew or the uncle of the late Tok Batin. Fourth (iv), the candidate must live with the community after the appointment. Fifth (v), at least the candidate can speak, write and read in Malay Language and is well versed with his tribe's tradition and finally sixth (vi), the Tok Batin candidate has never been terminated or resigned from Tok Batin's position and must be free from any criminal records.

Appointment Process – Clause 6

Guidelines of Appointment and Termination of Tok Batin / Penghulu of Aborigine 2011

Clause 6.1 stated that if there is any vacant or the need of a Tok Batin to be appointed, officers from the Department of Aborigine Development (JAKOA) is responsible to get the written majority from the whole community of the village. The decision made in the special meeting will be whether to appoint the new Tok Batin by an election process or through a direct descendant. At the same time, the JAKOA officer will issue the notice to inform the local community about the job vacancy (Clause 6.2). the next clause allocates that all candidates need to submit the fulfilled Form C1 (Nomination Form) to the district JAKOA officer within 14 days from the publication of the notice. After that, the officer will announce the names of the candidates who are qualified, and the election date will be announced within 30 days from the notice date (Clause 6.4).

Clause 6.5 stated that, the district JAKOA officer will chair the meeting to choose a new Tok Batin. The secretary and the polling center staff will be appointed by the chairman among the local villagers.

Clause 6.6 stated that, the district JAKOA officer will ensure that everything deemed necessary for the election process will be ready before the election day. Amongst them are the venue and time of election, voting papers, voting box, voting clerks, candidate representatives, list of confirmed voters and the necessary security control. Clause 6.7 stated that, the villagers that are 18 years old and older are qualified to vote.

Clause 6.8 stated that there is a need for the district JAKOA officer to supervise and prepare a report about the Tok Batin's election process to JAKOA's Director of State by using the specific format that indicates the type of appointment of the new Tok Batin which is either by descendant or by election. Later, the Director will come out with the election report and will give his comments about the election process and result. This report will be submitted to the Director General of JAKOA Malaysia within 5 days.

Clause 6.11 stated that the selected candidate for the Johor state needs to get a royal blessing from His Royal Highness The Sultan of Johor. Clause 6.12 then stated that the Director General of JAKOA Malaysia will acknowledge the proposal of the appointment of the Tok Batin by signing the 'Letter of Appointment'. This letter will then be given to the state JAKOA officer, then to the district JAKOA officer before it is given to the newly appointed Tok Batin.

At the same time, the new Tok Batin will need to sign a Letter of Undertaking. This letter will then be given to the state JAKOA director for record keeping purposes. Next clause mentioned that the appointed Tok Batin will be given an Authority Card and this card needs to be surrendered to the district JAKOA officer when the Tok Batin's appointment period ends either through his death or termination.

Service Termination/Resignation of Aborigine's Tok Batin – Clause 9

Guidelines of Appointment and Termination of Tok Batin / Penghulu of Aborigine 2011

Clause 9 listed nine conditions that can cause the termination of a Tok Batin. These conditions are (i) if the Tok Batin voluntarily resigns, (ii) if the Tok Batin is convicted for any crimes by any courts, (iii) if the Tok Batin is involved in any threats to the national security, (iv) if the Tok Batin is involved in any immoral activities such as alcoholism, misuse of drugs, protecting illegal immigrants, gambling and any involvement in prostitution, (v) if the Tok Batin is declared medically or mentally unfit by the Government Medical Officer, (vi) if the Tok Batin left his community for more than 3 months without any acceptable reasons, (vii) if the Tok Batin's leadership is rejected by the majority of his community in written, (viii) if the Tok Batin disobeyed official instructions by the JAKOA during his duty and his responsibility as a Tok Batin and finally (ix) if the Tok Batin reaches 65 years old or is unfit, however the extension can be considered and needs to be approved by the minister and JAKOA.

Termination/Resignation of Aborigine's Tok Batin Process – Clause 10

Guidelines of Appointment and Termination of Tok Batin / Penghulu of Aborigine 2011 Section 16 (2) Aborigine People Act 1954 (Act 134) gives authority to the minister to terminate a Tok Batin if it meets any one of the nine conditions as listed in Clause 9, Service Termination/Resignation of Aborigine's Tok Batin, Guidelines of Appointment and Termination of Tok Batin / Penghulu of Aborigine 2011. Clause 10.1 stated that a Tok Batin Termination Committee will be formed if there is a need to terminate a Tok Batin. This committee will be chaired by the State JAKOA Director where the District JAKOA Officer shall be the secretary of the committee. Committee members shall be from

Chief Section of State Research and Development. This committee is responsible for deciding on the reason behind the termination of the Tok Batin in their meeting.

Clause 10.2 stated the authority of the committee, where they are authorized to call for a meeting to decide on the termination of the Tok Batin. This decision must be informed to the Director General for his acknowledgement and to get validation from the minister. This committee can call the respective Tok Batin if the explanation from him is found necessary or for him to defend himself. With the minister's agreement and validation, the Director General will issue the termination letter to the respective Tok Batin. This termination is in effect from the date of issuance. A copy of the termination letter will be issued to the state JAKOA director and district JAKOA officer for further actions (Clause 10.8).

Convention Resolution of National Aborigine

This convention is implemented on 22 April 2019 at Putrajaya International Convention Center (PICC). The convention has established 136 resolutions that is divided into 7 focuses, and they are: land issue, education, health, economy, leadership, infrastructure and culture. In the 5th focus (leadership), 19 resolutions are established, amongst them are updating the Guidelines of a Tok Batin's Appointment and Aborigine Community Management Council known as MPKKOA, which includes the resignation of unfit Tok Batin, descendant appointment from the family member, considering the aborigine culture and beliefs, and Tok Batin candidates need to have knowledge and skills of their community's customs and traditions.

Among other resolutions is the appointment and termination of the new Tok Batin need to be referred to the aborigines through Aborigine Custom Institution and recognition traditional leadership according to their tribes through the empowerment role of Aborigine Custom Institution. This resolution can harmonized the appointment and termination of Tok Batin and the existing cooperation and relationship between Tok Batin institution, MKKKOA and Aborigine Custom Institution.

Appointment of Tok Batin Jakun Tribe at Bekok, Segamat (Customary law)

At Bekok, Segamat District, there are six villages for the Jakun tribe community. Village name, number of household and Tok Batin's name are as per Table 1 below. As of 22 July 2019, there are 367 houses and 1328 villagers that live in 6 aborigine villages at Bekok.

Table 1: List of Villages, Number of Household Leader and Number of Household and also Tok Batin's Name

Village Name	Household Leader	Household	Tok Batin
Lenek Village	36	122	Yaakob Bin Yusop
Tembayan Village	58	204	Aya Bin Doya
Kudong Village	117	432	Asoi Bin Lim Tian Chin
Tamok Village	61	210	Meja@Abd Rahman
Kemidak Village	53	190	Baya Bin Maja
Selai Village	42	170	Achai@Juti Bin Kais

According to Jakun Tribe Custom and Law at Bekok, Segamat, the appointment of Tok Batin can be done either by descendant or by election. The appointment by descendant means the Tok Batin post is inherited generation to generation. Traditionally, the eldest son of the late Tok Batin will be chosen to become the next Tok Batin. If he has no sons, his first male nephew can be chosen too. On the other hand, appointment by election vote is when the community decide who is going to be the next Tok Batin. However, the appointment by election or democracy is only applicable if the appointment by descendant is impossible due to no suitable and eligible candidates are available. From an interview carried out with Tok Baya, he confirmed that the appointment of Tok Batin Kampung Kemidak is done by descendant and by election simultaneously. If a Tok Batin passed away or his appointment terminated, his sons and his male nephews will be nominated for the Tok Batin post. The candidates will then be introduced to the community and the election process will be carried out. The community will be looking for the best candidate that they believe can serve them well in the future. Candidate with the highest number of votes will be officially appointed as their new Tok Batin. The appointment will then be informed to JAKOA for validation.

This appointment can only be deemed valid when permission is granted by the Sultan or Malay Kings (through District Officer and JAKOA officer). Previously, a newly appointed Tok Batin will be given an appointment certificate, badge and red head cloth as a sign of their appointment. Tok Baya said that for a Tok Batin's appointment in Johor, he will be given a staff (tongkat), a pair of Baju Melayu, a songkok and a pair of shoes. All these gifts are considered as a royal gift to the appointed Tok Batin. After that, a thanksgiving ceremony will be held to introduce the newly appointed Tok Batin to the community. Tok Batin will give his first speech, introducing himself, explaining his manifesto and his plan towards the development and welfare of his community within his jurisdiction. The ceremony will end with a banquet and rituals lead by their religious and custom figures of the community (interview with Tok Baya, 2019).

The nominees of Tok Batin must have caliber and strong leadership characters (interview with Tok Baya, 2019). Tok Baya is appointed as Tok Batin because of his leadership capabilities. At the age of 18, he was already appointed as an UMNO leader in his original village and on that reason, he became more popular because he frequently represents the aborigine community to fight for aborigine rights and facility development such as clean water and electricity supply, road lighting, subsidized home and everything else. His leadership continues when he got married and moved to Kampung Kemidak. His friendly and caring attitude was very appreciated by the villagers. Because of his good attitude and character, he was among 5 nominees nominated when the previous Tok Batin passed away. He was nominated by the late Tok Batin's wife who is also his aunt on his wife's side. After he was appointed, he has proven to his community over and over again that he is a just administrator and always put his tribe's welfare as top priority. Besides that, he has adopted five children and raise them as his very own children. He is very supportive on the government's efforts to develop and modernized his community such as in the areas of education, entrepreneurship, economy and socio-society. Every information that he gets from the meetings, or conferences held by the government will be communicated to every single villager in his community under his jurisdiction at Kampung Kemidak, Bekok.

Apart from Kampung Kemidak, Kampung Kudong has also appointed their Tok Batin by the election process. Tok Batin Asoi is Kampung Kudong's present Tok Batin. He has no blood relationship with the previous Tok Batin who passed away due to old age. However, he was nominated by the villagers to be among the five candidates because of his contributions and involvement in various local activities like sending villagers to the nearest hospital using his own vehicles and give donations for those in need in his community. (Tok Asoi 2019)

According to Tok Baya, the appointment of all five Tok Batins in the five respective villages at Bekok are the same as what is practiced at Kampung Kemidak. The appointment by descendant and election is still being practiced until today. However, the appointment by descendant is still a priority. Clearly the Aborigine People Act 1954 and Custom Law and also the enlightenment by the Guidelines of Appointment and Termination of Tok Batin / Penghulu of Aborigine 2011-JAKOA is still being

practiced in harmony and the main reference on any Tok Batin appointment and termination in the aborigine community at Bekok, Segamat.

Conclusion

To ensure this important position is respected, the government has prepared the details and specific laws regarding the appointment of Tok Batin through Aborigine People Act 1954 and Guidelines of Appointment and Termination of Tok Batin / Penghulu of Aborigine 2011. Consequently, the appointment that is made legally is respected by the local community. Section 16(1) in the same Act stated that the appointment of Tok Batin can be done either by descendant or by election, where somebody with the character, caliber and leadership will have the majority vote to be appointed as Tok Batin. These 2 ways of appointment is in line with the Custom Law implemented at Bekok, Segamat. Furthermore, this Custom Law stated more specific details regarding the qualification, celebration ritual for the newly appointed Tok Batin, period of Tok Batin appointment, termination and several other things as stated in Guidelines of Appointment and Termination of Tok Batin / Penghulu of Aborigine 2011. Unfortunately, this Custom Law is not written formally. It has only been told and practiced from generations to generations.

Section 16(2), Aborigine People Act 1954 illustrated that the leader's appointment system in the aborigine community is monitored by the authority when the minister has given full authority to terminate any leader appointed by the aborigine if they are found unsuitable. This legal requirement is still in line with the Custom Law which they believe in and it has been in their practice that the Tok Batin can be terminated at any time by the government when he is found to be unsuitable to hold the post for the specific and lawful reasons. It can be concluded here that the Aborigine People Act 1954 and the Custom Law practiced by the aborigine community at Bekok, Segamat is depending and complements one another.

Limitation and Study Forward

Since this is an experimental study, only one Tok Batin was interviewed. His experience as a Tok Batin is different from other Tok Batins in the surrounding villages. In our future study, we are going to conduct interviews with other Tok Batins from the same tribe but living in other districts in Johor.

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