The Vulnerability of Community Capitals as a Threat to Orang Kuala Community Development in Malaysia

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Abstract
Community development emphasizes the utilization of community resources, also known as community capitals. However, it is often difficult for the community to access these resources; this difficulty retards development. Such is the predicament faced by the Orang Kuala, for whom coastal changes have resulted in greater difficulty in accessing their community resources. Nor is that the only threat that they face. For affirmation of these threats, this article lists two objectives, that is, to identify the accessibility of marine resources and to explain the types of threats faced by the Orang Kuala. To achieve these objectives, a study was conducted involving 51 household heads and 5 Orang Kuala informants, all of whom are residents of Sungai Layau village in Johor, Malaysia. This study uses a mixed-method approach, the concurrent embedded design, and also interview-based questionnaires and in-depth interviews simultaneously. For the first objective, the results show that the Orang Kuala can still attain community resources in the form of marine products. However, the Orang Kuala faced three types of threats: trends, shocks, and seasonal changes. The most significant threat to the Orang Kuala is the trend, that is, cost of living and social problems. These threats can reduce their chances of acquiring benefits from these community resources. This condition is called “vulnerability of community capitals.” The objective of this article is to put forth proposals on how to increase the capacity of community resources for the Orang Kuala so that their community can attain sustainable development. This proposal is based on the reality that the threats facing the Orang Kuala are at a critical level and that they are ready to accept changes.

Keywords
Orang Kuala, community capitals, forms of threats, trend factors, shock factors, seasonal factors

Introduction
In community development, the approach generally focuses on leveraging the community resources as a basis to develop the community. This follows the bottom-up principle and is consistent with the objectives of community development. According to Diacon and Guimarães (2003), the aim of community development is to empower marginalized communities. This involves building confidence, building the capacity and sustainability of networks available in the community, and restoring its physical, economic, and social structures. According to Brennan and Barnett (2009), community development is a reflection of the local population’s ability to mobilize and manage the resources available to meet the needs of local communities. Both definitions refer to community resources and their importance to community development.

However, this does not mean that it is necessary to set aside elements that pose a threat to community development. For example, Payne (2006) observed that if less cohesiveness is present, communities can become paralyzed. Meanwhile, Pyles and Harding (2012) discovered that an activity that displays the intimate relationships among community members is an element that aids in the success of community development. On the other hand, if community cohesion decreases, anomie symptoms will be evoked in the community, from which loneliness can result in suicides.

Amir Zal, Samah, and Redzuan (2012) consider the threat of community development from a different angle; that the problem cannot be involved in the community, which leaves the side effects to the youth and known victims of disempowerment. Disempowerment is a condition that is contrary to empowerment. As a result of disempowerment, the community cannot develop because community resources in the form of human capital cannot be utilized by the youth. Utilization of community resources for community development is the key to sustainable development.

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development can be explained through the Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) approach. ABCD is an alternative approach to replace the needs-based approach (Boyd, Hayes, Wilson, & Bearsley-Smith, 2008). It includes strategies to identify and mobilize community “assets” for a change (Boyd et al., 2008). The assets in the context of the ABCD do not refer to purely economic factors but include the capacities of the community (Kretzmann & McKnight, 2005), such as natural, human, social, cultural, political, and financial assets (Callaghan & Colton, 2008; Fey, Bregendahl, & Flora, 2006). Through those assets, communities no longer rely on foreign societies to solve their problems, using instead the maximal resources in their communities (Kretzmann & McKnight, 2005).

This approach, however, is not always right for all situations. A study by Mulligan and Nadarajah (2012) reviewed the lessons to be derived from community rebuilding in the wake of the 2004 tsunami that struck India and Sri Lanka. Those scholars found that the participation of community members in the beginning is not ideal, but remedial assistance from outside parties is necessary in the beginning. This assistance is not easy to implement. According to Islam and Morgan (2012), external organizations, particularly nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs), need social capital to achieve community empowerment. The forms of such empowerment are collective action, social trust, coordination and cooperation of mutual benefits, and sharing norms and values.

These resources are of great importance as a catalyst for community development. Threats to a community can be seen in terms of accessibility to community resources and occur when community resources that should be used for the purpose of incentivizing the community to achieve a better life, whether economic, social, or administrative, cannot be fully utilized. The situation becomes more serious when resource accessibility becomes difficult to achieve and communities are no longer free to use the resources. The failure to take advantage of community resources for community development is a big setback for any community. This situation puts the community in a vulnerable state and subtracts from its development.

The Orang Kuala is an indigenous Proto-Malay tribe, and they are noticed to be undergoing changes. They are distinctly different from the Orang Asli Darat, which depends on the forests. In contrast, the Orang Kuala tribe is known as Orang Asli Laut due to their total dependence on a marine environment (Amir Zal, Redzuan, Samah, & Hamsan, 2012). They catch fish in the watersheds by boat and lead a nomadic life (Yuszaidy Mohd Yusoff, Mohamad Nazri Ahmad, & Mohamed Anwar Omar Din, 2009). History indicates that the Orang Kuala play a significant role as pirates, robbing certain groups as a strategy to protect the interests of the Malay Sultanate. Their knowledge of the sea made them invaluable in these roles. However, after the fall of the Malay Sultanate, the Orang Kuala went back to living as fishermen, becoming completely dependent on the sea, where they could find and exploit marine resources for their survival.

A study conducted by Yuszaid Mohd Yusoff et al. (2009) found that Orang Kuala have greatly changed but have neglected their identity as the Sea Peoples. Similarly, a study conducted by Amir Zal, Redzuan, Samah, and Hamsan (2013) also found that the Orang Kuala are forgetting their identity with some of them assuming that they are the Malays. The denial of the original identity affects their community capitals as it induces less access to their community capitals. Consequently, this scenario is significant to the study because it can be a determining factor to the survival of the community.

The Orang Kuala Rhetoric of Threats

A study by Amir Zal, Redzuan, et al. (2012) shows changes in the Orang Kuala’s way of life. Current investigations show that they have become actively involved in business activities in which they have shown some measure of success. The history of Orang Kuala stated that their economic activity is based on the sea (Andaya, 2008; Carey, 1976), and the involvement dates back to the 15th century (Harper, 1997). Their participation in economic activities is not as minor characters but as a supplier of marine products to the Chinese market (Carey, 1976). However, in the 18th century, their economic activity was threatened due to the engagement of the Bugis Sulawesi community in the same economic activity (Harper, 1997). The vulnerability became more critical when the Malays from Indonesia in the mid-19th century migrated massively to the Orang Kuala economic activities and grabbed the same resources (Harper, 1997). The situation is deepened and further weakens the Orang Kuala through a political problem that marginalizes the role of Orang Kuala in the economy. Thus, the Orang Kuala economic activity is no longer a significant contributor to the whole of society.

However, in the 20th century, they reengage in the activities of the current economy. They are still focusing on the traditional economic activities as fishermen, but at the same time, they worked as traders, importers, and middlemen selling second-hand goods such as clothes from Singapore and exporting vegetables. Their participation in economic activities is not recorded properly, so it is difficult to obtain accurate data on the number of people who were involved in a new economic activity. Even so, they have not completely left their old ways behind. For the tribe, the sea still forms the core of their identity. They still remain close to the sea, even if only as a pastime or a hobby (Amir Zal, Redzuan, et al., 2012).

A variety of development activities have been implemented on the coast. Coastal developments are beneficial but
also pose a threat to the community. For example, surveys conducted by Stead (2005) and Er, Selvadurai, Ardieansyah, and Jusoh (2011) show that development in coastal communities has resulted in the destruction and loss of coastal marine resources and caused changes in marine ecology. This situation also affects the Orang Kuala, as their environment has also been exposed to development, and it raises questions about the accessibility of their marine resources.

So far, only developments on the coast have been associated with threats to coastal communities. However, there are other forms that can also pose a threat, such as natural disasters, shocks, and trends. Natural disasters refer to threats that cannot be controlled and therefore are not a conscious option chosen by the coastal community, such as seasonal changes with regard to monsoon circulations. Trend threats refer to changes in the economy, social situations, and leadership. Shocks are a form of threat that cannot be detected at an early stage and can occur suddenly. Not only is the irrelevant development to be associated with the threat to coastal communities, but there is a threat in other forms as well. These are the issues that have determined the objectives of this study, which are to identify the accessibility of marine resources and to explain the types of threats faced by the Orang Kuala.

**Coastal Communities and Strength of Marine Resources**

The survival of fishermen depends entirely on marine resources. However, it is not only fishermen who depend on these resources, for the general public is also dependent on the produce supplied by the fishermen. Therefore, the fisherman is a significant moderator of the access of marine resources and their distribution to the public. However, their role is often underestimated and viewed as second-class, despite the fact that the fisherman is able to generate a good income (Hassan, Shafiril, D’Silva, Omar, & Bolong, 2011). The generation of a substantial income shows that marine resources can propel economic growth. Fishermen play a crucial role in the economic development of the country (Siti Zobidah & Chhachhar, 2012). Thus, marine resources are important resources in the coastal community and to the general public.

Coastal communities are often faced with difficulty in accessing marine resources. According to Svensson, Rodwell, and Attrill (2010), reductions in the number of fish caught throughout the past decade is a problem that has been faced by all communities. According to Clay and Olson (2008), some fishing communities are threatened because they are directly affected by the shortage of marine resources. This reality is similar to that found in the study conducted by Pakpahan, Lumintang, and Susanto (2006) in North Jakarta. The study found that coastal communities face difficulties in increasing income, especially during certain seasons, which will determine whether the crop that they harvest is a bumper one or a dud. This puts them in a vulnerable situation and may even invite other problems, including political, social, and economic problems (Clay & Olson, 2008). These problems can result in poverty for the fishermen (Tzanatosa et al., 2006). Unfortunately, these particular problems are beyond the control of anyone in the coastal communities.

Vast coastlines have opened many opportunities for the development of economic-oriented profit. These include tourism, agriculture, aquaculture, housing, industry, ports, land reclamation, and other beach activities, as implemented in the Iskandar Malaysia development project at Danga Bay Waterfront (Rosniza Aznie, Abdul Rahim, Ahmad, Buang, & Zainol, 2011). Although this gives a good impression in terms of economic growth, the drastic changes brought on by rapid development can often result in an opposite effect. For example, impacts on coastal communities and their cultures can destroy whole livelihoods. These resources are so crucial to developmental activities that the communities would not survive if the resources were to be destroyed (Dahalan et al., 2012).

Coastal communities are deeply concerned with the advent of development that has forced them to change and adapt within a short time. The effects of development include depopulation and sociodemographic, physical, socioeconomic, and security threats (Omar et al., 2011). The negative effects of coastal development were further confirmed through findings by Er et al. (2011) in a study made on the coast of Dumai Jakarta, Indonesia. This study shows the increase of adverse impacts on the local community as a result of rapid economic development, which include marine pollution, deterioration of the livelihoods of fishermen, tourism, and coastal ecology.

A similar finding was made by Jamaluddin Jahi (2009), in which he reported loss of habitat, erosion, sedimentation, and extinction of natural habitats. These problems destroy and affect activities necessary to the daily lives of coastal communities (Marschiavelli & Niendyawati, 2007; Nur Hafizah & Aziz, 2010). Community-based experience and confirmation by scientific studies clearly demonstrate that the implementation of coastal development has a great impact on humans due to the fact that oceanic and coastal changes pose more complex problems than many may realize, and can cause a lasting impact on coastal communities.

Countless problems faced by coastal communities can be observed based on the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLA), which was introduced by the U.K. Government’s Department for International Development (DFID). SLA suggests vulnerability observed on three forms, namely, shock, seasonality, and trend. The shock is in the form of threats that occur suddenly, and the seasonality is a threat that occurs at certain seasons. Meanwhile the trend is phenomenon-based, it is not expected to be prolonged. However, the model was modified slightly to suit the concerns of this
study, which relate to the accessibility of community capital related to natural capital of Orang Kuala.

**Research Method**

The study was conducted by using a mixed-method, which is a combination of quantitative and qualitative approaches. The purpose of using this approach was that researchers could obtain as much data as possible. The data obtained not only have high reliability but also are persuasive in showing that the data collected truly reflect the reality of the subjects. This study uses concurrent embedded design. This study design allows researchers to gather qualitative and quantitative data in a balanced and simultaneous manner, as gathering all types of data is important (Andrew & Halcomb, 2009).

Quantitative data were collected from 51 household heads that live in Sungai Layau village, Johor. In addition, five informants were chosen for the qualitative approach. The selection of 51 household heads as the sample size is based on the census and not based on the sampling principle. Fifty-one is the total number of household heads who lived at the Sungai Layau village. In particular, they are composed of 49% male and 51% female. A total of 37.3% of them were aged between 41 and 56 years, followed by individuals aged 57 years and above, which were 33.3%, and 29.4% aged 26 to 40 years.

The five informants for the qualitative data collection are determined based on the principles of data saturation. Researchers stopped interviewing the fifth informant as he gave sufficient information to achieve the objectives of this study and the answer is very similar to other informants. The selection of the five informants is based on the maximum variation principle that assumed each informant selected has a different value from the other.

Researchers used two methods simultaneously, the interview-based questionnaires and in-depth interviews, based on semi-structured interview protocol. Data collection techniques applied by the researchers were conducted as follows. Researchers asked quantitative questions first, and each item in the interview was then interspersed with qualitative questions. The disadvantage of this technique is that it takes a long time, at an average of 2 hr for one-on-one respondents of the study.

Quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS software, using descriptive statistics only. Data were displayed as a percentage of each item in the questionnaire. The qualitative data were coordinated and analyzed using QSR NVivo software. Data were analyzed using basic qualitative data analysis techniques, namely, open coding, clustering, categorizing, and thematic method. The presentation of the results alternates between quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data are presented first, followed by qualitative data, which are presented based on descriptive techniques.

**Findings and Discussion**

**Accessibility of Resources From the Sea**

Table 1 presents data on the accessibility of marine resources. With respect to the accessibility of food resources from the sea, most of the respondents (80.4%) stated that there are still a lot of state resources and as much as 84.3% stated that these resources are easily accessible. This point is illustrated by the informants who stated that food sources in the form of fish, crabs, and other foods are still plentiful. Although they acknowledge that the sea is no longer as abundant as before, the quantity obtained is sufficient to sustain daily life. In fact, the excess still allows them to use it for their businesses.

Similarly, for the question of accessibility of relevant sources, informants said that they are still readily available. This fact is manifested in the statement of Informant C: “There is a normal range. Em, but if you want to appeal once, not multiply. But enough to sell shall be.”

Table 1 presents data on the accessibility of marine resources. With respect to medical resources from the sea, only 19.6% of the respondents expressed that they are at a high quantity and easily available. With apprehension to this matter, informants expressed some confusion concerning the medical resources. According to the informants, not many marine resources can be a source of medicine. This is because medicinal use of marine resources is not something that has been practiced by the Orang Kuala. Moreover, their lives now have changed and they have started to leave the traditional life and follow a modern lifestyle. This includes the use of modern medical practices:

| Statement                        | Quantity | Accessibility | Qualitative summary                                      |
|----------------------------------|----------|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| Food resources from the sea      | 80.4     | 84.3          | Readily available in a normal range                     |
| Medical resources from the sea   | 19.6     | 19.6          | Leave the traditional life and follow a modern lifestyle |
| Marine resources for commercial use | 96.1     | 94.1          | Settled near the sea get and high demand for sea products |
| Recreational resources of the sea/beach | 96.1     | 96.1          | Capacity to boost the local economic activity           |
| Non-economic resources of the sea | 19.6     | 19.6          | Difficulty adapting to non-sea environments             |
I ever hear the sea cucumber. But I did not know much Orang Kuala here know how to use it. But Orang Kuala there used to know. Orang Kuala now would no longer know. If you ask other boys they would not know. (Informant D)

Respondents were also asked about the use of marine resources for commercialization or for economic activities. Most respondents (96.1%) stated that marine resources for economic activities are still plenty. Even as much as 94.1% of the respondents stated that these resources are easily available. Although not all respondents use fishing activities as their primary source of income, they stated that the use of marine resources for commercial purposes is still able to provide income to them. They get high demand for sea products in foreign markets. This situation also puts informants in a better position because resources are easy to find. They settled near the sea, and that enabled them to access marine resources at any time. “That’s easy, near the sea. Chinese and Malay were waiting for fish. Just open our eyes, already saw the fish. Hahaha” (Informant A).

In addition, the question of the use of marine resources for commercial and recreational purposes also indicates that they are still plenty, with 96.1% of the respondents indicating that the resources are abundantly and readily available. For the informants, every sea or beach environment can be harnessed for recreational activities such as swimming, picnicking, and boat racing. Informants believe that the marine resources in the form of sandy beaches and calm seas can not only serve as a resource for recreation but can also boost the local economic activity. However, the informants and villagers have not commenced such activities seriously. The reality is shared by Informant B:

I (see) a chance. Look, beautiful place. It is Orang Kuala like to come. But this has not landed all of us, so who wants to go can go. The son can swim, boat was going ok. You can come to the sea with your family. But we do not know how to focus on tourism activities.

On the other hand, the non-marine sources are few and hard to come by. This is due to the fact that Orang Kuala are the Sea Orang Kuala and they are not skilled enough to explore the opportunities of non-sea-based resources. Instead, they focus on marine resources only. Although the Orang Kuala increasingly leave traditional activities such as fishing, they are less able to exploit other natural resources, particularly forest or land resources. These limitations give them the inability to make full use of parts of their environment that have nothing to do with the sea. Reality shows that the respondent had difficulty adapting to non-sea environments. See the statement represented by Informant D:

Normally, all changed. We also want to change, but it takes time. Before, everything we did in a boat . . . Eating, sleeping, marriage on a boat. The sea is very important to us. But when (locate in) land, gotta live by the sea too. Changing other work there, but have to working with other Orang Kuala.

In conclusion, the Orang Kuala’s marine resources are still plentiful and easy to obtain. This situation can be an opportunity for local communities to utilize marine resources for community development activities. In addition, the availability of resources to the community bestows on them the strength to make changes as suggested by Boyd et al. (2008). The studies from Amir Zal, Redzuan, et al. (2012) show that the ownership of community capitals enables economic empowerment. Community development could occur because local communities find it easier to take advantage of community resources that they have been familiar with for a long time. However, community development will be hindered if the community is satisfied with its current level of community resources without considering the potential for increased capacity of the resource. This point of view aligns with Brennan and Barnett’s (2009) suggestion that community development occurs when community members build a community capacity for existing resources.

The Threats to the Orang Kuala

Referring to Table 2, this study shows that there are three types of threats faced by the respondents: trends, shocks, and seasonal changes. The trends refer to changes that are assumed to occur in accordance with the progress of society and modernization. In the context of this study, the trends observed seemed to negatively affect the lives of the Orang Kuala. A shock refers to a sudden change in contrast to common expectations and is not expected to occur in the community. The seasonal changes were defined as the events that cannot be controlled, such as temperature, monsoon circulation, and so on.

The trends. The greatest threats faced by the respondents are changes in the cost of living and social problems, respond 92.2% of the participants. These threats include inflation of the prices of essential goods. The interviews with informants reveal similar and consistent responses, for example, the following statement by Informant E: “Hard, very hard . . . . We don’t have much money. But, goods price go up as well. More expensive. The day before are not like this, for fifty dollars a lot of goods can buy. Now can be gone an hour.”

The same is stated by Informant A on the trends in social problems, such as substance abuse and addictions to alcohol, drugs, gambling, and prostitution. These social problems disturb informants, despite the lack of their serious prevalence in Orang Kuala communities. The informant displays concern that a social problem has emerged in Orang Kuala communities although it is still manageable:

I do not want to accuse anyone, but this thing happened. Shame also wants to tell Mr. This is cause by the Orang Kuala from outside. Make friends with them, we get their disease. We worry about our children, but older Orang Kuala there too. Hehehe.
The other major threat is climate change, which 74.5% of the respondents had faced. This trend relating to climate change had been affecting fishing activities. This is not an obvious trend, but the change has been noticed by the Orang Kuala. This is explained by informant C: “Yes, there is. But not changed much . . . Yes, I noticed. How did . . . come increasingly strong wind, storm, big waves can suddenly come. But not tsunami. Hahaha.”

However, the informant could not say precisely whether changes that can be attributed to climate change have often been discussed in mainstream society or not. Nevertheless, they realize that climate change has occurred by comparing present sea conditions with previous sea conditions.

With respect to a change in the form of governance, only 56.9% of the respondents said that such an event occurred. The informants who stated that the event occurred detailed a description as follows:

To say it changed? The usual console . . . every leader sees other things. Here also same. But (change) has he brought, must we not feel comfortable. We support good, if not we will be angry. There is little bad, but our Orang Kuala must be angry, he scared too. (Informant D)

The statements from Informant D shows that any leadership conflict in their community is under control and can be tempered with a communal spirit. Although they realize that there is a conflict due to changes in governance or leadership in the community, they still feel a sense of belonging as the Orang Kuala prioritize community in such circumstances. Therefore, they do not consider a change in leadership threatening to their communities.

In addition, only 49% of the respondents said that the development of technological change threatens their lives. The informants stated that the development of technology is not something that threatens their lives but a phenomenon that can inspire them to live a better and more equal life up to mainstream society’s standards. In fact, they look to the development of technology to help them get out of a range of problems, such as the issue of poverty and the negative stereotypes imposed by society onto them:

We are as Orang Asli . . . The outsiders thought we’re backward, wear loincloth. We never wear loincloth. Hehehe. If developed, like some new tools, like going to the sea, with the boat engine, make easy we to find the fish. Fast, no need to paddle . . . Our lives so look like a plague, like the Malays too. So, be looking to eat more. Can have a car, house can be good. So, the other Orang Kuala are not saying us as Orang Asli anymore. (Informant E)

The tone of the informant’s statement reflects his valuation of development. The informants do not see technological development as a threat but as something that can motivate them to keep pace with development. As for the use of technology, it is not alienating to the Orang Kuala, who welcome it because it helps them to change and facilitate their lives.

In conclusion, there were three major trends threatening the Orang Kuala, that is, the rising cost of living, social issues, and climate change. Of the three trends, only social problems can be controlled by the Orang Kuala. The two other threats, which are the increasing cost of living and climate change, cannot be controlled by the Orang Kuala. A threat that cannot be controlled by humans has

### Table 2. The Threats to the Orang Kuala.

| The trend                                      | %     | Qualitative summary                                                                 |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Cost of living                                | 92.2  | The inflation of the prices of essential goods                                      |
| Social problems                               | 92.2  | Lack of prevalence in Orang Kuala communities                                       |
| Climate change                                | 74.5  | Climate change concerned by comparing present sea conditions with previous sea conditions |
| Changes in governance and leadership          | 56.9  | Leadership conflict in community is under control and tempered with a communal spirit |
| Development                                   | 49.0  | Inspire to live a better and equal to mainstream society’s standards                 |
| Changes in technology                         | 49.0  | Motivate to keep pace with development                                              |
| The shocks                                    |       |                                                                                     |
| Outbreaks of human disease                    | 51.0  | A few cases of plague existed                                                       |
| The economic crisis                           | 35.3  | Do not feel worried because of other sources of income                               |
| Catastrophe                                   | 13.7  | Familiar with natural disasters and accept as normal of life                         |
| The seasonal changes                          |       |                                                                                     |
| Deterioration of marine products due to change of seasons | 74.5  | The state of the tides                                                              |
| Job uncertainties according to season         | 72.5  | The high tides is easy to acquire fish                                              |
| Fluctuations in the prices of goods and products according to the season | 62.7  | The exploitative behavior of middlemen who manipulate seasonal conditions           |
| Volatile markets according to season          | 51.0  |                                                                                     |
been discussed by Pakpahan et al. (2006), that is, the threat of seasonal changes. This threat is a common threat faced by coastal communities. Coastal communities insist on making any changes that they need to prepare for climate change. This has to do with the Orang Kuala’s view on development. They do not consider development and technological change as threats but as aids to help them to join the mainstream society’s development. This is because the development on the coast is having a positive impact on the community in terms of promoting the growth of activity (Rosniza Aznie et al., 2011).

The shocks. The shock faced by 51% of the respondents is some form of epidemic disease. This percentage is not high because very few cases of plague existed among the Orang Kuala. This example is described by Informant B: “That’s disease is, like hives, stomach pain. Ha, abdominal pain first is our Orang Kuala were upset stomach. I do not know to what epidemic. But many are ill. But do not be cause for death.”

Only 35.3% of the respondents considered an economic crisis that causes cessation of work as a different kind of threat, and 13.7% of the respondents considered natural disasters such as hurricanes a threat. If an economic crisis happened, the Orang Kuala do not feel worried because they have other sources of income, such as working as fishermen. However, they still feel worried if the economic crisis affects their ability to repay debts monthly: “Never be afraid because of economic crisis, we can work the sea (fishing). Fish are also a lot . . . but if thinking the car debt, makes head pain” (Informant C).

With regard to the forms of the natural disaster shocks such as hurricanes, informants did not express much concern. This is because they are familiar with these natural disasters and accept them as normative of life as the Sea People. They also noted that natural disasters do not always happen and do not interfere with the routine of their lives. The following example is mentioned by Informant A:

Em, when it comes (the storm), that normal for strong wind. Live by the sea, was normal. If feel fear is not the Sea Orang Kualas. Shame. Hehehe. If come too (storm), we are not difficult it is, just sometimes.

In conclusion, the shocks do not comprise a threat to the Orang Kuala. This is because the form of the threats affecting them is familiar to the Orang Kuala. For example, in the event of an economic crisis, they possess knowledge and skills related to the sea to secure economic resources if they need to deal with economic problems. Natural disasters that occur in coastal areas are also not seen as a threat but are accepted as a matter that must be faced by those living on the coast.

Reality is different from the views of Elfindri et al. (2005, cited in Noviarti, Jahi, & Nor, 2011), who state that the problems of a particular season, including natural disasters, pose a threat to coastal communities. In the case of the Orang Kuala, their lives in the marine environment (Amir Zal, Redzuan, et al., 2012; Yuszaidy et al., 2009) allow them to accept the difficulties as the Sea Orang Kualas. They do not perceive those events as a threat but accept them as part of their lives. Therefore, their views on sea events are different from those of other communities.

The seasons change. The decline of marine resources due to the change of seasons is the greatest threat reported by the respondents (74.5%). The threat posed by the change of seasons was indicated by the informant to refer to the state of the tides. In all, 72.5% the respondents also said that they perceived threats related to the occupation with the uncertainty of the seasons. Both of these types of threat are interconnected with each other. Based on Orang Kuala experience, each state of the sea enables them to obtain a different type of marine resource. For example, at low tide, they may be able to get resources such as pumpun, sea worms, crabs, and others. In such a circumstance, fish totals are declining. When there are high tides, it is easy to acquire fish. However, in the event of a storm or rough seas, marine products are reduced: “Depend on a situation, if we can find the low-water other things, crabs there too. But if the tide, many fish we got. Storm? Fish to escape. Hahaha” (Informant A).

Concern for the threat of fluctuating prices (quantity of products in the seasons) was displayed by 62.7% of the respondents, and concern for market volatility with the seasons was displayed by 51% of the respondents. Informants described the threat of market uncertainty with regard to the seasons as making it problematic to acquire certain resources such as fish to meet market demand. This results in price increases. However, typically high prices are not caused by the Orang Kuala, but are associated with the exploitative behavior of middlemen who manipulate seasonal conditions:

Of course, if the storm, even fish can suck. We want to earn money, look for the fish also available. The price is high. We go up a bit. But many middlemen up (price). Pity also the Orang Kuala who want to buy. But they already know the season barring the unlikely even fish prices. (Informant C)

The seasons change, and the resultant decline in marine resources and uncertain employment are the highest forms of threat faced by the respondents. All forms of threat associated with nature are beyond the control of the Orang Kuala. In the case of a natural disaster, although it is a threat beyond their control, the Orang Kuala possess the knowledge and skill to weather the event. However, the questionnaire indicates a different attitude toward seasonal changes. The Orang Kuala feel a lack of control due to changing elements that pose a threat in each season. Both of these findings are inconsistent. It has been demonstrated that seasonal variation
poses a threat that results in socioeconomic changes. This view is consistent with the view of Pakpahan et al. (2006), who state that this problem occurs when connected with economic interests.

**Conclusion, Impact, and Recommendations**

Overall, community resources in the form of marine resources can still be obtained by the Orang Kuala. This allows them to continue life as usual. This reality can encourage the Orang Kuala to use the community resources as the basis for the development of their communities. This approach is consistent with the essence of community development.

The types of threats faced by the community are trends, shocks, and seasonal change. The study concluded that the types of threats that occur are related to events that cannot be controlled by the Orang Kuala. This includes the side effects of the threats, such as social problems caused by economic problems and indirect contact with other societies. However, the forms of community development need to be considered as the types of threat in terms of a reduction in the opportunity to take advantage of community resources, which can include economic, social, and political benefits. These resources should be tapped for community development purposes. This means that the forms of threat occur when an event reduces the resources and opportunities to access community resources. As summary, the most significant threat to the Orang Kuala is the trend, consisting of the cost of living and social problems. This situation can be labeled as a vulnerable community of capitals. However, in the context of the Orang Kuala, the problem is not of their choosing. It occurs beyond their control.

Thus, the Orang Kuala can choose to not depend solely on existing community resources. This does not mean that they have to stop using existing community resources. This action is not in accordance with the ABCD approach. Instead, they can increase the capacity of their community resources. The Orang Kuala can take a lesson from Loza (2004), who states how community capacity building is significant. This results in an increase in the economic power of the community. Even the act of increasing the capacity of the resources can promote the occurrence of sustainable development. This idea was seconded by Strigl (2003).

This effort is not difficult because there are findings showing the ability of the Orang Kuala to accept the changes necessary. For example, they do not consider technology a threat but believe that new technology helps them to adapt and overcome the negative stereotypes that have been imposed on them by mainstream society. This article suggests that the Orang Kuala could be supplied with new human capital (knowledge and skills), whether by increasing the capacity of existing human capital or by adding a different human capital. This proposal is based on the reality that life-threatening changes in coastal communities are a matter that cannot be avoided because it is not under the control of the Orang Kuala.

The action is, however, more effective when there is a consistent effort from the government. Through policies and programs, the government can encourage Orang Kuala to raise existing community capitals, for example, by introducing Orang Kuala specific courses and encouraging them to join the same to improve the capacity of their community capitals. In this way, they not only preserve their identity as the Sea People but also strengthen their economy with the economic remuneration. These efforts can produce a social innovation among Orang Kuala. As for a long-term recommendation, the efforts to develop Orang Asli potential should be evaluated based on the specific context, which is based on a different ethnic background. Each Orang Asli is living in different environments and has specific identity. This reality paved specific threat and need to be addressed based on the specificity of the Orang Asli background.

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Amir Zal et al.

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