

STRENGTHENING OF JOHOR FAMILY INSTITUTION

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Abstract

The family institution has undergone drastic changes as a consequence to changes of roles, family size, parent's level of education and system of family communication. Even though the importance of family institution roles cannot be denied, most families no longer adhere to their traditional roles. Their roles have been taken over by other socialization agents such as the schools, police, religious department, rehabilitation centers, maid and etc. Initially, transition aims to minimize the role of family institution. However, in the end, it causes family problems. The size and shape of the family also contribute toward the second-generation social problem. This problem level of severity varies across type of occupations, level of education and mass media influence. Uncomfortable household also has been suggested as a factor that causes weak family relationship. Weak family relations brings to the social problem faced by the second generation.

In this paper, five (5) prominent family problems in Malaysia will be highlighted. These Problems are: divorce, single mother, wife abuse, child abuse and juvenile. Discussion will focus on the factors that cause the problems and related issues to the problem. Solutions in term of counseling and other relevant approaches are recommended to reduce the problems.

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Background

In Malaysia, family is regarded as a basic social institution. Therefore family problems have always been the center of great concern. The family structure, values and traditions vary enormously with race or religion.

As Malaysia is a multi-racial country: all Muslim families are governed by the Muslim Family Law Enactment which is under each state authority and jurisdiction. For non-Muslim families, however, the law Reform (Marriage and Divorce) (Amendment) Act, 1980 (Act A498) applies. In the case of Johore, apart from this Enactment, the state has recently passed Enactment No.2, of 1997 Darul Ta'zim Family Development Foundation. It comes into effect on July 1, 1998 once it was assented by the ruler of Johore.

The main objective of this institution as stipulated under section 4 is....*to foster, assist and implement the objective of creating a harmonious, happy, peaceful and caring society by: Strengthening the family institutions and...(c) addressing social problems* (Enactment No 2,1997). In this case, the study mentioned in this paper is sponsored by this foundation.

Theoretical Review of Family Problems

A family is defined as a group of people converged by marriage, ancestry or adoption (J.W Coleman, 1993, p.110). A family, in normal circumstances, lives together in a common household. Murdock's classic study of 565 societies revealed that about one fourth followed the pattern of monogamy (having one wife), and 70% allowed polygamy. He also found four societies in which a woman is allowed more than one husband (G.P Murdock, 1957, p 664-687).

A problem family is a family besieged by serious crisis. Coleman and Cressey (1993) elaborates three theories surrounding family problems. The *functional theory* posits that family instability is caused by rapid social change cause by transition of society. Such transition reduce the necessity for an extended family. More families become nuclear and this has caused failure among family members to uphold their functions as husband, wife and children.

On the other hand, *conflict theory* defines a problem family as arising from conflict of friction of values and behavior. Differences in class or economic status could effect relationship among family members and leads to other social problems. If a husband for example, does not hold a good job to secure his family education, it may affect the development of skills or trades among the children. This situation leads to a family conflict which becomes a source of a negative social situation.

Psychological social theory concentrates on explaining the role of family in educating the children. This theory found that there is a positive correlation between the failure of parent to properly educate their children with mental disorder and juvenile delinquency. Even healthy family often fail to socialize their children effectively.

Coleman and Cressey (1993), listed down not less than seven types of family problems: Divorce, birth outside marriage, child rearing, child abuse, family violence, single parent, work and family inequality, and family conflicts. The existence of problem families demand institutional interventions as family problems can result in family chaos.

In 1986, Harris Poll found that 43% of American families were convinced that a better marriage is one where the husband and wife share equal responsibilities when both are working. The poll also reported, when asked who is happiest 65% of American agreed that marriage people are (L.Harris,1986, p. 130-131). The question is why many marriages fail or gets weakened?

Many family problems were caused by how family roles are defined. Traditionally, a husband assumes responsibilities for providing the family with food, lodging and financial support, while the wife runs the home and takes care of the children. This traditional family pattern is defended in many societies as it is said to provide strong family ties and social stability.

With improvement in education, transportation system and employment patterns changed. This traditional family pattern is no longer prevalent. More wives are working The new marriage pattern is based more equality, with the wife needing to work outside the household boundary so that the children could be brought up comfortably in a demanding industrialized society.

In instances where both husband and wife work outside the home, a lot of the family functions are carried out by other social institutions. Marriage therefore begin to be thought of as a means of satisfying desire and not as implying duty to the family or as an economy necessity.

In Malaysia and in many parts of the world, the number of youths staying away from home has been rising. This may be due to education or employment demands rather than running away from household duties. Many selection has also focused on finding a compatible partner and on 'falling in love' as it is look upon as a magic potion which can overcome almost any problem. So when couples 'fall out of love' the unhappy marriage is then dissolved.

According to Nijole (1996) divorce is defined as the end of a formal and legal marriage . The U.S Bureau of the Census estimated that the 1994 rate of divorce was double compared to the rate two decades earlier and more than half of the marriages ended with divorce (Wolf, 1996). Can divorce solve family problems ? Who will assume the responsibility of bringing up the children?. Is divorce mainly for the wealthy ? It was proven that poverty decrease the influence and the financial means for such decrees (Coleman 1993). Davidson and Moore, 1997 agreed that divorce can result in economic challenges to divorcees. They also pointed out that one of the reason for divorce that occur in the 60s, 70s, and the 80s, was the spouse involvement in employment. Other variables which influence divorce include: living requirements expansion, rising supports for women after divorce and high expectation from spouse According to Fisher (in Davidson & Moore, 1997) partners with high risk of a divorce are those in the first to three years after marriage took place. They failed to solve financial commitments, child care and child health problems.

In 1998 , there were 1351 cases of divorce, compared to 1161 cases the year before. Another agency in Johore reported to receive many applications for divorce is the Legal Assistance Bureau . In 1997 , the Bureau receive 32 cases and rose to 44 cases the year after . The Department of Family Law , Johore , asserts that the highest rate of divorce occurred during the first year to three years of marriage .

The causes which are stated in the application for a divorce include: unstable family income, frequent conflicts, the husband not providing financial support, or not fulfilling household duties, lack of domestic ability and religious knowledge,unmanageable family roles and lack of controls.

Factors contributing to family problem are many: economic; low level of education; employment; poor health; lack of communication skills; failure to perform

family duties differences in values; relationship with other family members (in laws, brothers, niece and nephews, grand children); urbanisation and globalisation.

Stable income is crucial in every family. An average household in Malaysia has five or more children and the average annual income of US\$ 3600 is not enough to manage all financial family needs in Johor. This is due to higher price of food items in Johore in to other states in Malaysia. Many low income families in urbans center of Johor still could not afford proper shelter for each family member. Squatter areas are crowded and with no proper lay-out plan for amenities and waste disposal system.

Unemployment is defined to be the case when an economically active individual (normally head of household) is is not working and serching for a job (Kamus Dewan, 1994). If the head of a family is out of job, the burden to earn income therefore is passed on to the spouse or children. Again the types of employment would depend on the level of education and experience. Knowledge is said to be the source of family's prosperity and success (Utusan Malaysia, Sept. 12, 1990:110). Without proper education and basic religious knowledge, parents cannot handle many family matters effectively which can turn to be the source of family conflict. (Mohamad Hussain, 1985:26).

Lack of communication skills can lead to a family facing problems such as failing to interact, and aggressive reaction (Foster & Robin, 1989:493) while lack of communication, Patterson and Kim (1991) found to be the cause of many cases of divorce.

Dickinson revealed that between 50-75% of American wives reported to have been abused by their spouses (Dickinson and Leming, 1995). Domestic violence is said to occur at all levels, rich or poor, less or well educated (Thorman, 1980).

The alcoholic drinking habit was also suggested to be responsible for this social problem (Muhamad, 1985). Coleman (1993: 292) also discovered that child abuse is frequently committed by family members, close friends or relatives. Improper household and living layout are cited as clauses leading to child abuse. According to Gullotan, Adams and Alexander, *et.al.* (1986) those who abused their spouse or children were reported to have been abuse when there were young, or had seen their parents abused a member of the family.

Domestic violence can take the form of sexual or pysical abuse. A small conflict could turn into violence when partners start to blame each other and when bad language or a hard object is used to hit a partner. Victims or physical abuse sometimes suffer bodily injury, burn or even death. In 1999, the Johore Welfare Department reported 50 cases of domestic abuse. The number varies with race (19 among Malays, 15 each among Chinese and Indians) and one case for other races. This figure has risen from 28 cases in 1996. The distric of Johor Bahru leads with 34 cases of domestic abuse.

In 1997, Johor reported 108 cases of child abuse and Malays ranked highest on the list (75 cases), followed by Indians (17 cases), while Chinese 16 cases. The Johore Bahru distric took the lead, having nearly half the cases.

Single parent was reported to suffer serious emotional stress, due to the spouse having to suddenly shoulder heavy household responsibilities (Wolf, 1996). In Johor, single parent are on the rise. This include divorcees (whose partner passed away) and divorcees (whose partner still alive), or singles who adopted children. The increase in single mothers raises extra family issues and problem: lost the source of income after the husband's death, the relationship with in-laws began to fade and society having negative views with regard to young widows moving to urban centers for more lucrative jobs to support family requirements.

A parent has exclusive duties for children's up bringing. Quality family provides full guidance, care and help. Behaviour, good or bad can be learned. If parents can inculcate positive values toward life in their children, it would help to reduce various kinds of behavioural problems among children (Burbach & Borduin, 1986:133-135).

In the case of juvenile delinquency, parents are always blamed for not providing proper guidance and discipline to their children. Juvenile delinquency is seen to be the result of emptiness in the mind of an under-age child. This empty feeling in turn, drags them to seek guidance from peers. However peers, will not take the responsibility as a result of their bad guidance. Many parents thus hope formal institutions such as schools could take over their duties. None of the formal or informal institution is said to be equal to parents, especially in the provision of spiritual relationship such as care and love.

Poligamy is blamed in relation to divorce and juvenile delinquency. When a husband could not care for or spend time with his family (Bandura & Walters, 1963), Lefkowitz, Eron, Waldert, & Huesman, (1977:57) pointed out that cases of juvenile delinquency such as shop lifting, running away from home and clashes were due to improper care from parents in relation to their children's whereabouts and activities. Past studies showed that children felt as though they did not receive enough encouragement and guidance from parents (Minuchin, 1974: 100). The issue may be seen small but could hurt the child in a big way.

With rapid changes in values through cultural and media, the nature and the seriousness of family problems has become wider and more diverse. Considerable attention has been directed towards industrialization and urbanization processes which are believed to have created new and different family problems. Urbanisation creates emotional stress while family tends to internalise different working and social cultures. Industrialisation has resulted in rapid changes in family function and values.

In an effort to reduce family problems, governments in many countries provide support in various forms; day care as reported in Stewart (1986) is to cushion the dual-earner parent. The study also found that day care children were more advanced in cognitive and social skill than children who stayed at home. A family full-paid leave in many European countries and in the United State, is another example to reduce family conflict. Although it varies country by country (from 12 to 16 weeks) it represents effort to strengthen family life, even at the expense of the firm's hardship. His paper suggests programmes and targets at specific family problem taking into consideration of family profiles.

Methodology

Primary data was generated using the questionnaire survey method. A structured questionnaire was being developed and pilot-tested, some of the items developed in the questionnaire were being dropped or amended. The reliability test was conducted on all nine factors (economic, employment, communication, relationship with other family members, values, education, health, function and responsibilities) listed in the questionnaire. These factors were perceived as contributing to the raising family problems in Johor. The alpha value for these factors ranges from 0.60 (employment) to 0.90 (values).

The population of this study was taken from the list of cases (single parent, divorce, juvenile delinquent and family violence) reported by various agencies in Johor. A 30% random sample was taken and the survey administered by a qualified

interviewer. Where a case was serious and confidential, the interview using the same questionnaire was conducted by the officer in charge of the particular case .

Measurement on a scale of 1 to 5 was used for each factor. Where the item is positive, 1 means '*strongly disagree*' and 5 means '*strongly agree*'. The scale for negative item was reversed to ensure consistency in scoring. To arrive at the mean score for each sub-scale, items were added and divided by the number of items. Thus, the minimum score is 1 and maximum is 5.

Problem Families: Profiles and Contributing Factors.

The ranking of family problems by percentage reveals that nearly half of the problem is associated with single parents. Divorce is second with 24%. Third in ranking is juvenile delinquency, followed by domestic violence.

Family Profile

Profiles of respondent are given in table 1 to allow for quick comparison. The following short analysis is arranged by types family problems.

I. Single Parent

The study showed that nearly half (48%) of the respondent fall under this category. Death of spouse (88%) is reported to be the major cause. The number who married again is small (0.5%). However, more than 75% of single parent are below 50 years old with 64% having more than 4 children. Among single parents in Johore, about half reported having other family members/relatives staying with them as divorcees in Malaysia will normally go back to their parents or relatives for shelter.

Our study also estimated that above 70% drew income below US\$ 1500 per annum. Although above 40% of single parents received secondary education, 15% of them had no formal education. Single parents claimed that they have some basic religious knowledge such as primary religious school which compulsory in Johore state. Almost all single parents (98%) reported having to cope with frequent emotional stress due to large number of dependents (67%), lack of income, could not get suitable job (65%), unemployed (20%), not owning a house where they live, and frequently sick (3%). The reason for not getting a job include: having to look after children or unhealthy parents.

II. Divorce

About 24% of the respondent were divorcees and from this, (21%) were Johorean. A large majority (98%) were Malays and 67% were of age below 40 years. In contrast to single parents, more than half of divorcees had secondary education. The percentage who derived income lower than US\$ 1500 p.a was nearly 25%, Above 70% drew income between US 1501 < US\$5000.

Consistent with the literature, for 44% of divorcees in Johore, divorces took place mainly at the early stage of family formation (between 1-5 years). Here in Johore, divorce however could also occur even after 21 years of marriage. Marriage

to be dissolved among 15% of the couple who had no children or after the couples more than 50%) had 1-3 children or even 4-6 children (22% of respondents). In Johore 90% of divorcees previously had one wife and 9% had two or more wives. Analysis showed that divorce could not be avoided even among families with good religious background, or who came from a cheerful home.

III. Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile Delinquency is the third on the list of family problems in Johore (16.5%). It should also be mentioned that this study found that one third of juvenile delinquents are female. In terms of race, 80% are Malays, 11% Chinese and 6% Indian. They come from parents of all ages: 35-39 year (20%), 40-49 (44%) an increase of 120%, age group 50-59 years (nearly 30%), and the parents over 60 years old (6.4%). Close to 20% had no formal education. Another one third had primary education. The study shows that nearly 60% of juvenile delinquents in Johore came from families with 4-6 children, and 71% parents of juvenile delinquent are married. Extended families record a very low percentage of juvenile delinquency, but 82% nucleus families encountered with this family problem.

Close to 36% of the families received an annual income of less than US\$ 500, while parents who drew US\$ 1500 – US\$ 5000 had more than 56% of the juvenile delinquency in the sample. The number of problems shrank markedly to 4% among families with income US\$ 5001 – US\$ 8000 and further down to 2.7% for family income greater than US\$ 8000 per annum. The reader should not to be misled by the lower figure for the higher income brackets because the total number of families who earned US\$ 8000 and more per annum is small; in fact the rate is over 6 times higher for the US\$ 5001- US\$ 8000 category than for the < US\$ 500 category.

Asked about their family background, the study found that a small percentage of respondents admitted that their parents had been involved in gambling (6%) or in alcoholism (3%). On the other hand, more than revealed to not having good religious background. They also suffer from emotional stress due to many dependents (43%), could not find a suitable job, lack of income, negative reaction among relatives (23%), and high cost living.

IV. Domestic Violence

Based on the reports brought forward by the victims of violence, domestic violence in Johore amount to above 10% of the sample. It includes child and spouse abuse. There seems to be more women involved in this problem; they were abusers or abused. Malays involved in child abuse (76%) were greater than those involved in spouse abuse (52%). The opposite is true, in the case of Chinese and Indians: 25 % spouse abuse and only 5% child abuse among Chinese, so as Indian (19% spouse abuse and 14% child abuse).

Overall, data in Table I suggest more domestic violence among Indians; respondents were below 40 years (nearly 60%), and almost half had secondary education. Even those who obtained college or higher education were reported involved in this problem.

More than half of respondents who abused their children received income below US\$ 1500, while in the case of spouse abuse only 7.3% of respondents in this

category of income. At another level of income (between US\$ 1501 to US\$ 5000), nearly 40% were involved in child abuse and 77% in spouse abuse.

One third of the cases occurred during the first 3 years of marriage . Domestic violence even occurred after 21 years of marriage. Close to half of abusers were reported having 4-6 children. Our study shows that 45% of married couples in the sample abused their children, another 30% among widows (the spouse passed away) and 15% among divorcees³. Divorcees, who abuse their children confessed that they had seen their brothers being and sisters being abused by parents. It could be hypothesized that parents who abuse their children in front of other children , tend to leave negative impact among children. Widows were also found to abuse children .

The analysis of why parents do abuse their children suggests these reason: Not enough income (67%), large number of dependents (25%) and the spouse did not assist in heavy household financial needs (21%), unemployed (22%).

Factors Contributing to Family Problems in Johore

Respondents were asked to indicate their perceptions of six variables/ factors contributing to family problems by type of problem. These variables are: *economic, unemployment, values, communication skills, health and urbanisation*. The score is measured on a scale of 1 to 5 signifying the respondents perception as to whether or not the variable contributes to the related family problems. Mean score is calculated as explained in section 3.

Table II (in the Appendix) suggests that single parents generally agreed to three variables: *economic, unemployment and urbanisation* as the major factors which had been bothering them most. The highest score is 4.0 (unable to spend on luxuries) and a minimum score of 1.4 (health). More illustrative insights was obtained when the reasons for their choice of variables were analysed. Although they admit that neither do they have an in dept religious background nor higher education, their moral obligations were strictly preserved. None of them confessed to being involved in alcoholism or gambling. They do not agree in educating children using force or violence. Their relationship with children, relatives and in-laws was good. However they admit having frequent emotional stress because they could not find suitable jobs, but having to support large number of dependents. A small percentage of them were unemployed due to old age or having to cope with health problems.

Next divorcees agreed to five factors: *economic, unemployment, values, communication and urbanisation*. The highest mean score is 3.8 and the minimum is 1.9 (health). With regard to values divorcees did not agree to violence as a method of educating children / spouse unnecessary comments from spouse can lead to divorce. They also perceived communication as a factor contributing to divorce as a result of children/spouse not fulfilling their expectation or disobedience; using bad language was not the factor leading to divorce. This is not the case when spouse/child refuse to negotiate. Urbanisation again is another contributing factor in divorce cases; respondents encountered high emotional stress due to difficulties in getting suitable employment in urban areas. However divorcees did not perceive these factors as important: jealousy, drug addiction, losing at gambling , drunkenness, lack of skills in educating children and style of urban life.

Sample families whose children was involved in juvenile delinquency agreed to the same three factors as suggested by single parents: *economic, employment and urbanisation* although the mean score for economic factor is a bit lower (3.2 low

income factor and 3.7, unable to spend on luxuries). Although economic is perceived as a factor, the rate of juvenile delinquency to the number of rich families is rather high. It is interesting to note even though the child is delinquent, this group of families did not agree to the following variables: using violence as a method of educating their children, disobedient child, usage of bad language, usage of bad language, child refuse to negotiate. In contrast to single parents, these families were not facing much emotional stress. They also rejected health being a factor contributing to juvenile delinquency. Urbanisation is again the common factor. Sub-urbanisation factors include: lessened family ties after migration to urban areas, frequent visits to entertainment centers, uncomfortable family life in urban area, difficult to find a suitable job, intense emotional stress due to unadaptable urban life style and heavy traffic congestion.

Problems relating to domestic violence in this study are associated with spouse/child abuse. Respondents to this problem perceived five major contributing factors: *urbanisation, communication, economic, - values and unemployment*. In comparison to single parents, responding families of this group placed urbanization as the leading factor. The second factor is communication. Husband of these families agreed to using violence if the spouse/children did not fulfill their expected roles and as a means of education. The respondents also revealed to have seen their parents abused members of the family and this shaped their violent act. They also agreed that bad language can lead to domestic violence. Family members facing with this problem found difficult to agree to each other. Sampled families were always under stress.

In conclusion, issues of family problems and contributing factors are summarized basically on the three common factors; that is economic, urbanisation and unemployment. In the case of divorce and domestic violence, two more factors had been identified: communication and values. These related issues and factors support theoretical background as pointed by Foster & Robin, 1989; Patterson and Kim (1991), Coleman and Cressey (1993). It is believed that programmes aimed at ameliorating family problems should target specific family profile identified in this study. Factors contributing to family problems in Johor could be tested elsewhere for verification.

Footnotes:

- 1 For further elaboration, see Jamilah Ariffin, *Women and Development in Malaysia*, Pelanduk Publication, 1992, p. 150-153.
- 2 Din S, Dora T, A. Rahman H, Mohd Mansur P K, Safar A, A Kadir H, *Strengthening of Johor Family Institution*, A Study sponsored by and submitted to The Darul Ta'zim Family Development Foundation, 1999. (We greatly appreciate the Fund allocated by this Foundation and the comments from the Advisor of this study, the Hon. Datin Prof. Jamilah Ariffin).

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Table I: Profile of Family by Type of Problem

(The State of Johor, 1999)

Family Profile (Respondent: Head of Family)	Issues / Types of Family Problem							
	Single Parent		Divorce		Juv. Delinquency		Dom. Violence	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
State of Origin								
• Johore	347	44.3	164	20.9	109	13.9	72	9.2
• Outside Joh ore	30	3.8	22	2.8	20	2.6	19	2.4
• N= 783	377	48.1	186	23.8	129	16.5	91	11.6
Race: (column total)								
Malays		92.5		98.9		82.2		7.4
Chinese		2.7		1.1		10.9		15.4
Indians		4.3		-		6.2		16.5
Others		0.5		-		0.8		4.4
Age (Parent): % clm tot)								
Below 30 years		2.2		27.5		-		18.6
30 - 39 years		29.3		40.3		20		40.6
40 - 49 years		44		35.3		44		26.4
50 - 59 years		29.6		9.2		29.6		7.7
Over 60 years		6.4		2.5		6.4		6.6
Level of Education: Parent: clm total								
None		17.0		6.0		18.0		5.0
Primary Sch		41.2		20.1		30.3		20.5
Lower Secondary		27.7		15.2		23.8		46.2
Upper Secondary		13.7		54.3		27.0		27.0
College, Univ		-		4.3		0.8		1.2
Annual Income (US\$)								
< 1500		71.5		24.7		35.7		26.4
1501 - 5000		26.9		72.8		56.3		59.7
8000		1.5		2.5		5.4		9.7
> 8001		-		-		2.7		4.2

Duration of Marriage							
< 1 year	-		1.6		-		-
1-5 yrs	7.8		42.9		-		31
6-10 yrs	21.9		21.2		4.3		21.8
11-15 yrs	19.2		10.9		12.2		17.2
16-20 yrs	15.7		9.2		43.5		14.9
> 21 yrs	35.4		14.1		40.0		14.9
Cont. Family Profile	%		%		%		%
No. of Children							
No. Child							
1-3	2.2		15.3		14.3		9.0
4-6	33.5		57.4		58.7		46.5
7-9	46.8		21.9		23.8		35.2
> 10	14.6		5.5		3.2		9.0
Extended family- others	3.0		-		-		-
	49.9		24.6		15.5		10.1

Table II: Response on Factors Contributing to Types of Family Problem

Factors	issues / Types of Family Problem							
	Single Parent N = 373		Divorce N = 182		Juv. Delinquency N = 129		Dom. Violence N = 84	
	MS	s.d	MS	s.d	MS	s.d	MS	s.d
Economic :								
- Income too low	3.5	1.13	3.2	0.78	3.2	1.03	3.2	0.92
- Unable to sepdn on luxuries	4.0	0.93	3.8	0.73	3.7	0.97	3.5	0.81
Unemployment :								
- Difficult to find suitable job	3.4	1.1	3.1	0.99	3.3	1.0	3.3	0.89
Values :								
- Using violence to educate spouse/child	-	-	2.6	1.2	2.6	1.1	3.3	0.83
- Unnecessary comments from spouse	-	-	3.1	0.97	2.1	0.86	3.3	0.80
Communication :								
- Did not fulfil expected roles	-	-	3.6	0.84	2.5	1.0	3.5	0.68
- Disobedient Child	1.7	0.90	3.5	0.85	2.8	1.0	3.3	1.5
- Using bad language when quarreling	-	-	2.6	0.93	2.3	0.97	3.2	0.85
- Spouse/child refuse to negotiate	-	-	3.1	0.93	2.5	0.92	3.3	0.77
- Always under stress	2.7	1.1	2.9	0.94	2.9	1.1	3.0	1.1
Helath :	1.4	0.52	1.9	0.70	1.86	0.77	2.6	0.86
Urbanisation :	3.4	1.2	3.4	0.96	3.4	1.0	3.8	0.71

Dom. Violence = Domestic Violence

MS = Mean Score; s.d = Standard Deviation. Mean score is measured on a 1 to 5 scale. For positive items, 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. The score is reverse for the negative items, where 1 = strongly agree and 5 = strongly disagree.