

Subjective Well-Being of Elderly Proto-Malay in Malaysia: A Thematic Analysis

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Abstract

Indigenous people's concept and understanding of well-being differ from the mainstream community as they have unique values, cultures, and belief systems. Thus, this study explored the concept of subjective well-being among elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay. 32 elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay group, aged 60 and above, participated in this study. It was conducted qualitatively using an exploratory case study design. In-depth interview was used for data collection. The data was analysed using thematic analysis. The findings show that there are seven concepts of subjective well-being among the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay, which are (i) tranquility, (ii) awareness, (iii) comfort, (iv) sufficiency, (v) satisfaction, (vi) happiness, and (vii) favourite. Additionally, there are eight domains of subjective well-being among elderly Orang Asli Proto Malay, which are (i) spirituality, (ii) physical health, (iii) mental health, (iv) economy, (v) land, forest and sea, (vi) cultural preservation, (vii) family and community, and (viii) education. Although the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay group is lagging based on economic measurement, the well-being of the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay group is subjectively good and shows some changes. Instruments used to measure the well-being of Orang Asli should contain dimensions relevant to Orang Asli and be informed by their value and preferences.

Keywords: Subjective Well-being, Elderly, Orang Asli, Indigenous People, Proto-Malay.

Introduction

Malaysia's preparation to become an ageing nation by 2030 is an urgent issue to ensure that all elderly can live well as a response to the third Sustainable Development Goal (SDGs), which is to ensure a healthy and prosperous life for all ages. Therefore, the elderly Orang Asli have the right to enjoy a prosperous life despite being a minority group in this country. However, the concept of well-being among Orang Asli is still vague as there are no specific measurement tools or instruments to evaluate the well-being of Orang Asli (Syaabih et al., 2021). Based on

the economy, the poverty level among Orang Asli is still high at 31.16% (Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli, 2016). They are still impoverished even though Malaysia's government has initiated numerous transformational and development programs to improve their livelihood (Roslan et al., 2019). This shows they are still lagging and do not benefit from the development compared to mainstream society (Roslan, 2016; Roslan & Asnarulkhadi, 2018; Roslan et al., 2021). In other words, they have a low level of well-being based on objective well-being measurement.

Measuring well-being is important because it helps the government evaluate the benefits of policies (Nizam et al., 2017). Sulaiman et al (2015) state that the well-being of individuals or groups of individuals is affected by the socioeconomic, cultural and socio-political environment in their place. Therefore, measurement and evaluation of the well-being of the Orang Asli needs to consider their social and cultural aspects. Butler et al (2019) state that the instrument used to measure the well-being of Indigenous People should contain dimensions relevant to Indigenous People and be informed by their value and preferences. It is important to prioritize Indigenous people's values and worldviews to develop a meaningful and culturally relevant measurement of Indigenous well-being (Butler et al., 2019). Various interpretations are made to understand the concept of well-being. Well-being can be seen objectively (New Economic Foundation, 2013) and subjectively (Sulaiman et al., 2015). Objective well-being looks at quantitative calculations such as income and ownership. In contrast, subjective well-being is the individual's perception of his life experience through the individual's psychological assessment of sufficiency, satisfaction, favorite, comfort and happiness in a certain dimension of life such as health, economy, environment and so on (Sulaiman et al., 2015; Diener et al., 2018). Therefore, this study aims to explore the concept of subjective well-being for the elderly Orang Asli, which focuses only on the Proto-Malay group.

Literature Review

Orang Asli Proto-Malay

Orang Asli is one of the minority groups in Malaysia, apart from other minority groups like the Baba Nyonya, Chetty, etc. Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli (2022) stated that the population of the Orang Asli community in 2020 was 209,575 people, which is only 0.06% of Malaysia's total population, approximately 33.2 million people. 'Orang Asli' is a Malay term that means 'indigenous people' or 'first people' (Nicholas, 2000). Act 134 in the Malaysian Constitution provides detailed explanations of the criteria and qualifications to be considered as Orang Asli under the law. Based on Sections 3a, b, and c, a person can only be considered an Orang Asli when they speak the Orang Asli language and follow the Orang Asli way of life, customs, and beliefs (William-Hunt, 1998; Hasan, 2000; Wan Zawawi, 2004). Generally, the Orang Asli in Malaysia consist of 18 tribes and are divided into three main groups: Proto-Malay, Senoi, and Negrito. Each of these groups comprises six tribes as shown in Table 1. The classifications of the tribes were based on morphology, culture, language and geographical locations for the convenience of administration (Masron et al., 2013). Based on Carey (1976), each of these tribes has its own languages, cultures, economics, religion, social organisation and physical characteristics.

Table 1

Group and Tribes of Orang Asli in Malaysia

| Groups | Tribes | |
|-------------|--|---|
| Senoi | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semai • Temiar • Jah Hut | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semoq Beri • Mah Meri • Che Wong |
| Proto-Malay | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Temuan • Semelai • Jakun | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Orang Kanaq • Orang Seletar • Orang Kuala |
| Negrito | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kentsiu • Kintak • Jahai | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lanoh • Mendriq • Bateq |

According to the Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli (2022), there are approximately 87,545 people of the Orang Asli Proto-Malay group in Malaysia. The Jakun tribe is the largest population in the Proto-Malay group, with 39,594 people, followed by the Temuan tribe with 33,572 people, and the Semelai tribe with 7,524 people. While in term of tribes, the Orang Kuala tribe consists of 4,914 people, the Orang Seletar tribe consists of 1,837 people, and the Orang Kanaq tribe has only 100 people. They live near the forest and sea areas of Peninsular Malaysia as they have a strong relationship with nature (Roslan, 2016). Most are in rural areas in Selangor, Pahang, Negeri Sembilan, Melaka, and Johor (Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli, 2022). Traditionally, they hunt animals, collect seafood, and gather plants for a living. Changes in socioeconomics have changed their way of life. Even though they started using modern equipment and working in the industrial sector, they still practice hunting and gathering activities in the forest (Sarjit & Roslan, 2018). Regarding the belief system, Norhafizah et al (2022) stated that some of the Proto-Malay groups continue with their traditional belief, animism. At the same time, others have chosen to profess Islam, Christianity, and Buddhism.

The well-being of Orang Asli

Various interpretations are made to understand the concept of well-being. Some view well-being objectively (New Economic Foundation, 2013), while others see it from a subjective standpoint (Sulaiman et al., 2015). Azizah et al (2014) stated that well-being is a dynamic process that provides value to people regarding how their lives progress, whether getting better or worse. Traditionally, it is measured through economic indicators such as income levels, which are measurements of objective well-being. For subjective well-being, it considers actual feelings and experiences in its measurement (Rabobank, 2011). According to Sulaiman et al (2015), subjective well-being measures individuals' perceptions based on their life experiences in various dimensions. Measurement is carried out through sufficiency, satisfaction, favourite, comfort, and happiness experienced by individuals regarding various aspects of their lives. The measurement of well-being should not be solely oriented towards objective elements but should consider subjective elements (Vivien et al., 2020; Fariz et al., 2021). Understanding subjective well-being can provide a holistic picture of the well-being status of a society because it considers individuals' personal life experiences. The dimensions of well-being can be measured from various perspectives and are not limited to economics alone. It can involve various dimensions such as economic, social, educational, and so on, as seen in the Malaysian People's Well-being Index Report (IKRM) (Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia, 2020).

Several studies are exploring the well-being of Orang Asli. Fauzi and Aini (2012) constructed a weighted quality of life index for the measurement of the well-being of Orang Asli. The index has eight domains: (i) access to clean water, (ii) access to electricity, (iii) comfortable housing, (iv) sanitation, (v) vehicle ownership, (vi) ownership of durable household equipment, (vii) community and (viii) health. The study findings also show that Orang Asli has problems with access to water, electricity, and ownership of houses and vehicles, affecting their well-being. Next, Ruzainy et al (2019) conducted a qualitative study on the well-being perspective among Orang Asli Jakun. There are three main components of well-being for Orang Asli Jakun, which are physical, mental-emotional, and spiritual. They describe the physical as the ability of Orang Asli Jakun to perform daily physical activities, while component mental and emotional is the ability of Orang Asli Jakun to cope with stress and have positive thoughts. They describe the component of spirituality as strengthening Orang Asli Jakun's relationship with God. According to Junaidi et al (2020) who conducted a quantitative study on the well-being of the Orang Asli community living in urban, suburban and rural areas found that two aspects influence the well-being of Orang Asli: (i) the standard of living and (ii) political. Standard of living is described as the ability to meet basic needs while politics is described as political stability. In contrast, Vivien et al. (2020) show that the well-being of Orang Asli can be measured by eight dimensions: (i) standard of living, (ii) health, (iii) education, (iv) personal activities, (v) political voices and governance, (vi) social connection and relationship, (vii) environment and (viii) insecurity. Roslan et al (2021) show that culture and language are very important to the well-being of Orang Asli as it was their identity. Khaled et al (2021) conducted a quantitative study on the well-being factors of Orang Asli. They stated that the economic, social, health, education and environment can affect the well-being of Orang Asli. Economy factor refers to income and employment status, the social factor refers to a relationship with the community and the health factor refers to health status and access to health facilities. The education factor refers to education level, education facilities and skills while the environment factor refers to access to water, electricity and forests.

Based on the past studies, many aspects influence the well-being of Orang Asli such as health Fauzi & Aini (2012); Ruzainy et al (2019); Vivien et al (2020); Khaled et al (2021), mental and emotional Ruzainy et al (2019), economy Fauzi & Aini (2012); Vivien et al (2020); Junaidi et al (2020); Khaled et al (2021), environment Vivien et al (2020); Khaled et al (2021), social Fauzi & Aini (2012); Vivien et al (2020); Khaled et al (2021), education Vivien et al (2020); Khaled et al (2021); Roslan et al (2021), spiritual Ruzainy et al (2019); Norhafizah et al (2022) and culture (Roslan, et al., 2021). However, there is no standard measurement in measuring and evaluating the well-being of Orang Asli. Therefore, this study gives an overview of using the subjective approach to understand the concept of subjective well-being of Orang Asli, which focuses on the elderly Proto-Malay group.

Methodology

This study used a qualitative approach to understand the concept of subjective well-being among the elderly Orang Asli of the Proto-Malay group. The research design used in this study is an Exploratory Case Study. This study was conducted in several villages around Selangor, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang and Johor. Temuan tribe at the state of Selangor, Semelai tribe at the state of Negeri Sembilan, Jakun tribe at the state of Pahang and Orang Seletar, Orang Kanaq and Orang Seletar at the state of Johor. Interviews were conducted at the Orang Asli community halls and their homes. The locations were chosen due to the highest population of elderly Orang Asli from the Proto-Malay group. Furthermore, the Jabatan Kemajuan Orang Asli (JAKOA) lists and approves the villages. This study's population comprises the elderly

Orang Asli community from the Proto-Malay group. The informants involved in this study are individuals aged 60 years and above.

The sample for this study involved 32 informants who were elderly Orang Asli from the Proto-Malay group, aged 60 years and above, able to communicate, sane and not deaf. The number of informants involved was determined until data saturation was achieved. The sampling technique used in this study was Snowball sampling. This sampling method was carried out using the first informant to get the second informant interviewed. Then, the researcher used the second informant to get the next informant. This process continued until the data reached saturation point. Discussions and meetings with informants were conducted more than once. Additionally, the researcher used in-depth interviews and non-participant observation as data collection methods. This flexible interview method lets the informants say what is relevant to the researcher's questions. This interview was conducted based on interview guidelines prepared by the researchers. The questions asked were also in the order of storytelling of the informant. The researcher recorded the interview using a voice recorder. Next, researchers transcribed the interviews and used thematic analysis to develop the concept of subjective well-being of the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay group.

Result and Discussion

Based on the study's findings, there are seven themes in measuring the concept of subjective well-being among the elderly of the Orang Asli Proto-Malay group as shown in Table 2, which is (i) tranquility; (ii) awareness; (iii) comfort; (iv) sufficiency; (v) satisfaction; (vi) happiness and (vii) favourite. The themes are based on the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay group's psychological assessment of their dimension of life. Every tribe have different themes of subjective well-being. Table 2 shows the concept of subjective well-being for six tribes of the Proto-Malay group.

Table 2

Concepts of Subjective Well-being of Elderly Proto-Malay Group.

| Concepts of Subjective Well-being | Proto-Malay Tribes | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-------|---------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Temuan | Jakun | Semelai | Orang Seletar | Orang Kanaq | Orang Kuala |
| Tranquility | / | | | / | / | / |
| Awareness | / | / | / | / | / | / |
| Comfort | / | / | / | / | / | / |
| Sufficiency | / | / | / | / | / | / |
| Satisfaction | / | / | / | / | | |
| Happiness | | / | / | / | / | / |
| Favourite | | | / | / | | / |

In addition, the study's findings show that there are eight domains considered in the concept of subjective well-being among the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay group as shown in Table 3, which are (i) spirituality, (ii) physical health; (iii) mental health; (iv) economy; (v) land, forest and sea; (vi) cultural preservation; (vii) family and community and (viii) education. Based on Table 3, the elderly Jakun, Orang Seletar and Orang Kuala tribes have all eight concepts of subjective well-being. In comparison, the other tribes have seven concepts of subjective well-being. For the elderly Temuan, Semelai, and Orang Kanaq tribes, education does not exist in

subjective well-being. Table 3 summarises the domains and concepts of subjective well-being of the elderly for all tribes in the Malay-Proto group.

Table 3

Domains and Concept of Subjective Well-being Elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay Group

| Domains of Subjective Well-being | Proto-Malay Tribes | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | Temuan | Jakun | Semelai | Orang Seletar | Orang Kanaq | Orang Kuala |
| Physical Health | Tranquility | Comfort | Happiness , Comfort | Comfort | Happiness | Happiness , Comfort |
| Mental Health | Tranquility | Comfort, Happiness | Comfort | Happiness , Awareness | Tranquility , Happiness | Tranquility , Comfort |
| Spirituality | Tranquility | Awareness | Awareness | Awareness , Tranquility | Awareness | Awareness , Tranquility |
| Economy | Sufficiency , Awareness | Comfort, Sufficiency | Sufficiency | Sufficiency , Comfort | Sufficiency , Awareness | Happiness , Comfort, Sufficiency |
| Land, Forest and Sea | Awareness , Satisfaction | Satisfaction | Satisfaction | Favourite, Satisfaction | Awareness , Comfort | Happiness |
| Cultural Preservation | Awareness | Happiness | Happiness | Tranquility | Tranquility , Happiness | Happiness |
| Family and Community | Comfort | Happiness , Satisfaction | Happiness , Sufficiency | Happiness | Awareness , Happiness | Happiness |
| Education | | Awareness | | Favourite | | Favourite, Comfort |

Based on Table 3, the physical health domain is described as the ability to do physical activities and not suffer chronic diseases. They feel healthy as long as they can do their daily activities and do not suffer from chronic diseases. Based on Martin et al (2019); Ruzainy et al (2019), physical health refers to the functionality of body parts that are more significant than the medical health status. The concept of subjective well-being of physical health among the elderly Proto-Malay tribes is the feeling of tranquility, comfort and happiness. The findings show that the elderly Proto-Malay feel tranquil because they do not experience chronic illness and lay down in bed. They feel comfortable with their body function in physical activities requiring physical strength. Then, they feel happy and can walk to meet their friends and community. This shows that the interpretation of well-being for physical health among the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay group differs from the mainstream. The study informants agreed that they feel happy, comfortable and tranquil with their health even though they are

aware that they have various diseases such as diabetes, high blood pressure and so on. As long as it does not stop them from doing what they want, they will state that they are in good health. This is supported by Dudgeon et al (2017), who stated that physical health is fully participating in life. Feeling tranquility, comfort and happiness in the physical health domain shows the subjective interpretation of the elderly Orang Asli Proto Malay group in the concept of well-being.

Next, the mental health domain is described as having a positive thought and coping with stress. Informants acknowledge that they have experienced stress in their lives but accept it as part of life and experienced by everyone. This domain is also influenced by other dimensions of life such as relationships with family and community, culture and belief, connection with land and nature and spiritual activities. According to Butler et al (2019); Ruzainy et al (2019), mental health refers to managing thoughts and feelings in life challenges. The concept of subjective well-being of mental health among the elderly Proto-Malay tribes is the feeling of tranquility, comfort, happiness and awareness. The findings show that the elderly Proto-Malay feel tranquil because they can live peacefully with their family and community. They feel comfortable living in the rural area despite lacking facilities and services. They also feel happy with their current livelihood. They feel aware that they need courage to face new challenges in life. This shows that the interpretation of well-being for mental health among the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay group differs from the mainstream. The study informants agreed that they feel tranquil, comfortable, happy and aware of their mental health even though sometimes they have misunderstandings with family members or the community, land invasion and are denied a life of deprivation. They were traumatized by the invasion and taking of their land, which has affected their mental health negatively. Gall et al (2021) stated the experience of abuse and ethnic dispossession of Aboriginal people in Australia had an impact on their mental health. However, their attitude that we are okay and are used to it has made them resilient to face all the challenges. Feeling tranquillity, comfort, happiness and awareness towards the mental health domain shows the subjective interpretation of the elderly Orang Asli Proto Malay group's concept of well-being.

While the spiritual domain is described as believing in a higher power, which refers to the creator or mother nature. Informants acknowledge that as they get older, they need to get closer to spiritual activities such as prayer, ceremonies or dances, depending on their religion. Ruzainy et al (2019); Norhafizah et al (2022) stated that having a good spiritual connection and reliance on God will improve their well-being. The concept of subjective well-being spirituality among the elderly Proto-Malay tribes is the feeling of tranquility and awareness. The findings show that the elderly Proto-Malay feel tranquil when they pray for guidance and protection from their God. They feel aware that they must stop having fun and leave the rest of their life to fate. This shows that the interpretation of well-being for spirituality among the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay differs from the mainstream. The study informants agreed that they feel tranquil and aware of having a good relationship with their god and ancestor spirit. They need to take care of their behaviour and make preparations before they die. Halata et al (2019) stated that maintaining a good spiritual relationship is the basis for the well-being of Indigenous people in Canada. Feeling tranquillity and awareness towards spirituality domain shows the subjective interpretation of the elderly Orang Asli Proto Malay group in seeing the concept of well-being.

The Economy Domain is described as fulfilling basic needs and having a source of income. Informants agreed they only need food, clothes, roads, houses, electricity and water to live well. They also still go to work even though they are already old. Based on Fauzi and Aini (2012); Vivien et al (2020); Junaidi et al (2020); Khaled et al (2021), the financial need of Orang

Asli is just to get essential goods and basic services. The concept of subjective well-being of economy among the elderly Proto-Malay tribes is sufficiency, happiness, comfort and awareness. The findings show that the elderly Proto-Malay can sufficiently eat and drink and have clothes and a house to live in. They also feel happy that they can fulfil their family's needs and feel comfortable with what they already have. They know they need to work to generate income to buy essential goods. This shows that the interpretation of the economy for the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay differs from the mainstream interpretation. The study informants agreed that they feel sufficient, happy, comfortable and aware of their economic status even though they are poor in the eyes of the mainstream. They adhere to a lifestyle of simplicity and moderation in their daily practices. Furthermore, they can find sources of protein and vegetables around their settlements that do not require them to spend money. This is supported by Fariz et al (2021), who state that the economic needs of the Orang Asli are at a minimum level, which is focused on basic needs only. Feeling sufficiency, happiness, comfort and awareness towards the economy domain shows the subjective interpretation of the elderly Orang Asli Proto Malay group in the concept of well-being.

Meanwhile, land, forest and sea domains are described as recognizing their land's rights and being able to stay and do activities in the forest or sea. Informants mentioned that customary land is their dignity and pride. At the same time, the forest and sea are not just a place to live and a food source, but also for spiritual connection and their identity as Orang Asli. According to Butler et al (2019); Vivien et al (2020); Khaled et al (2021), the environment is a symbol of peace, identity, caretaker and sense of belonging for Orang Asli. The concept of subjective well-being of land, forest and sea among the elderly Proto-Malay tribes is the feeling of awareness, satisfaction, favorite, comfort and happiness. The findings show that the elderly Proto-Malay feel satisfied because they live near forests and the sea. They know they need to take care of the forest and sea. They also feel fishing and hunting wild animals is a favorite. They feel comfortable living in a clean environment and happy when there is no violation on their customary land, forest and sea. This shows that the interpretation of well-being for land, forest and sea among the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay group differs from the mainstream. The study informants agreed they feel aware, satisfied, favorite, comfortable and happy living near the environment. They have a strong relationship with the environment because it is the source of their energy, soul and blood. This shows that development initiatives undertaken for them must consider environmental factors. Christiansen et al (2019) stated that Indigenous people in the United States feel suffer and unhealthy when they live away from the environment. Feeling awareness, satisfaction, favorite, comfort and happiness towards land, forest and sea domain shows the subjective interpretation of the elderly Orang Asli Proto Malay group in the concept of well-being.

The cultural preservation domain is described as passing down cultural knowledge to the younger generation to avoid the loss of their values and cultural ways. Informants agreed that it is the elders of Orang Asli's role and responsibility to educate the younger generation about their culture and tradition. Cultural preservation will strengthen their identity, family and community unity (Gall et al., 2019; Roslan et al., 2021). Besides, Roslan (2018) stated that language is the main component of culture and tradition that must be preserved. The concept of subjective well-being of cultural preservation among the elderly Proto-Malay tribes is the feeling of awareness, happiness and tranquility. The findings show that the elderly Proto-Malay feel happy that the younger generation still practices their culture and tradition. They are aware that culture is their heritage that needs to be preserved. They also feel tranquil and responsible as the elders to pass cultural knowledge to their children. This shows that the interpretation of well-being for cultural preservation among the elderly Orang Asli Proto-

Malay group differs from the mainstream. The study informants agreed that they feel aware, happy and tranquil with the preservation of their culture as it is an identity that needs to be handed down to the next generation. It becomes a challenge for them when the younger generations have started to leave the village to improve their family's standard of living and then do not want to inherit cultural knowledge from the elders. However, they do not give up on passing down their cultural practices to the younger generation. Feeling awareness, happiness and tranquility towards the cultural preservation domain shows the subjective interpretation of the elderly Orang Asli Proto Malay group in the concept of well-being.

Next, family and community domains are described as being able to stay connected with children and the community. Informants acknowledge that they have a high level of collectivism. Based on Fauzi and Aini (2012); Vivien et al (2020); Khaled et al (2021), having good relationship with family and community is important as it acts as social support and a form of identity. The concept of subjective well-being of family and community among the elderly Proto-Malay tribes is the feeling of comfort, happiness, satisfaction, sufficiency and awareness. The findings show that the elderly Proto-Malay feel happy because they have big family members and can live independently. They feel comfortable their children take care of them during sickness. They also feel aware their children need to move away from their village to get better job opportunities and improve their standard of living. They feel sufficient to stay single rather than find a new partner. They feel satisfied and able to interact and attend social engagement during community events. This shows that the interpretation of well-being for family and community among the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay group differs from the mainstream. The study informants agreed that they feel comfortable, happy, satisfied, sufficient and aware of their relationship with family and community. Positive communication with the community and family members and active social involvement have built strong relationships among them. Feeling comfort, happiness, satisfaction, sufficiency and awareness towards family and community domain shows the subjective interpretation of the elderly Orang Asli Proto Malay group in the concept of well-being.

Lastly, the education domain is described as the willingness to expand and gain new knowledge or skills through informal education. This concept only exists in elderly Jakun, Orang Seletar and Orang Kuala tribes. According to Vivien et al (2020); Khaled et al (2021); Roslan et al (2021), knowledge increases their opportunity to improve their standard of living. The concept of subjective well-being of education among the elderly Proto-Malay tribes is the feeling of awareness, favorite and comfort. The findings show that the elderly Proto-Malay feel comfortable learning new things although old. They feel favorite to learn about religion and skills, weaving *mengkuang* mats, rattan baskets, sewing, cooking and farming. They also feel aware that they need to seek knowledge as long as they are still alive. This shows that the interpretation of well-being for education among the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay group differs from the mainstream. The study informants agreed that they feel aware, favorite and comfortable with getting a non-formal education, which is a skill that can be used only to fill their free time but, most importantly, can be a source of income. Feeling awareness, favorites and comfort towards the education domain show the subjective interpretation of the elderly Orang Asli Proto Malay group in the concept of well-being.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the findings of this study provide a fundamental understanding of the concept of subjective well-being among the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay group. Moreover, based on a subjective perspective, the well-being of the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay group is good and shows changes over time. Based on the study's findings, the concept of subjective well-

being for the elderly Orang Asli Proto-Malay group is based on their perception of life experiences through their psychological estimates of tranquility, awareness, comfort, sufficiency, satisfaction, happiness, and favorite in dimensions of life such as spirituality, physical health, mental health, economy, land, forest and sea, cultural preservation, family and community, and education. Overall, each tribe in the Proto-Malay group has a different concept of subjective well-being. This is because each tribe has its unique customs and cultures. Although they live in scarcity and simplicity based on the perspective and measurement of mainstream society, it does not reflect what they feel. Social and economic development must continue to be a focus in the development of the Orang Asli to ensure that the Orang Asli community continues to enjoy the benefits of development. Thus, this concept can provide a holistic understanding of the well-being of the Orang Asli and serve as a guide for the government in planning development for the Orang Asli, especially the elderly.

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