

POPULATION MOBILITY IN NEGRI SEMBILAN, PENINSULAR
MALAYSIA: EVIDENCE FROM THREE VILLAGES IN
KUALA PILAH,

By

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SUMMARY

This thesis is concerned with Malay population movement to, from and within Negri Sembilan Peninsular Malaysia, the processes producing the patterns and the impacts of the movement on the sending village. Based on fieldwork in three villages in Kuala Pilah Negri Sembilan and on an urban tracer survey in Seremban and Kuala Lumpur the study attempts to establish whether the movement of the Negri Sembilan Malays is circular or permanent. To achieve this several theories are used to explain the movement patterns. This way we hope to come to grips with mobility in the survey villages.

The study begins by analysing the historical evolution of mobility patterns in Negri Sembilan. We found that although some types of movement in Negri Sembilan tend to change as the society undergoes socio-economic progress the people are still found to go merantau. In the past going merantau was for a short duration. Since the colonial time until the present going merantau has become more permanent because the perantau are employed in permanent occupation. Despite this we cannot preclude the idea that these people will return to the home village some day. The way the migrants adjust to the city and the links that the migrants maintain with the home village suggest this likelihood.

Examining migrant adjustment to the city shows that the migrants move to the cities in a familiar channel provided by kinship and friendship networks, resulting in the migrants facing little problem of urban adjustment. These networks can be traced back to the village, suggesting that the migrants are tied somewhat to the village of origin. Studying individual migrant adaptation to the city in turn shows that a sizeable proportion of the traced migrants adapts marginally to the city, implying that this group of traced migrants will move back to the village one day. If the traced migrants can be taken to represent the total migrants in Seremban and Kuala Lumpur (and since most migrants from the survey villages are found in these cities) then a sizeable proportion of the migrants will return eventually to the village.

While in the city the migrants return at least once a year for social visits. They remit money, send news and receive visitors from the village. These links suggest the circularity of the move and of the relation between the village and the city. Due to the 'circular' move-

ment migrant households in the village gained from migration. In terms of investment for the whole village the benefits from migration are somewhat minimal.

" I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any University; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text. "

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Pisang emas dibawa belayar
Masak sebiji di atas peti
Batang emas dapat dibayar
Batang buai dibawa mati.

PART II

POPULATION MOVEMENTS AND URBANISATION

CHAPTER 8

THE DECISION TO MIGRATE

8.1. INTRODUCTION

The previous two chapters have surveyed various mobility patterns at the level of the village. A majority of the people in the survey villages chose to go merantau to towns, a few to pindah, several maintained their homes in the villages but commuted to work, while others preferred to stay in the villages. This chapter will examine the people's motivations, and will discuss the subjective and objective elements that influence the people to move or not to move via a decision making framework with the emphasis on rural-urban migration.

8.2. A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE.

There are several approaches which can be used to examine the decision to migrate, such as the human capital model (Da Vanzo, 1979; Speare, 1971), and the behavioural model (Wolpert, 1965). Since our study focused on the village, in which a complex combination of social, cultural and economic factors was important in influencing population movement, it was felt that Wolpert's behavioural theory could provide more insight into the decision to migrate. To put this model simply, with the assumption that people make choices within bounded rationality, an individual (or a group) will perceive his present location against other alternative places. Should he feel that his present location offers him less advantage than other places he will make adjustments to the present location, stay or migrate (Wolpert, 1965, 161). Movement is seen as a reaction to stress, which is determined by the characteristics of the individual as well as the cultural, social and economic environment. Some people accept the stress and decide that their present location is better than other places. Other people make an in-situ adjustment while some people move from their present location. Information flows are important in ensuring that the people can make an evaluation of the other places.

Wolpert's theory was formulated in a Euro-American social, cultural and economic setting which is different from that of the Third World. It is important, therefore, to understand the setting in which the decisions of the individuals in the survey villages were made. Unlike the

West, the fundamental factor that influences migration in Malaysia, as in other Third World countries, lies in regional imbalances and structural inequalities existing in the country. These inequalities are the result of colonialism as well as of the internal structure of class relationships in the country (Baharuddin, 1979).

British colonialism organised the country to produce tin and rubber for the use of the metropolitan countries. Like most Third World countries, the local people did not have sufficient control over their resources to enable them to get better terms of exchange with the Western powers or to maintain a balanced economic development in the country (Amin, 1974, 15 - 20; Roberts, 1979). Thus, capitalist penetration into the country, as in other Third World countries, exploited and kept the country underdeveloped. Colonialism created enclaves of modern economy and settlements in the country which continued to attract growth and development. Foreign labour was imported in large numbers to work in these economic enclaves and the Malay peasants were largely excluded from the mainstream of the colonial activities. Baharuddin (1979) showed that the colonial policy of divide and rule, a land policy which encouraged private ownership, and an education policy that kept the Malay peasants on the land reduced the Malay peasants to a state of underdevelopment.

Spatial and structural inequalities in the country were also the result of the internal structure of class relationships. Amin (1974) argued that the metropolis provided the markets for the mineral and agricultural exploits of the Western capitalists. The foreign merchants, financiers and the local elites in turn used the resources to purchase luxury goods. Amin (1974, 16) showed that the various sectors in the periphery engaged marginally in exchange with each other. In Peninsular Malaysia the local elites were well provided for by the colonialists, such that the gap between the peasants and the elites became pronounced. After Malaysia achieved its independence, many of the structural and spatial inequalities still persisted (Richards, 1977; Baharuddin, 1979).

In recent years, the independent government has attempted to redress these inequalities through various measures that were contained in the various Malaysia Plans. These measures were based on the New Economic Policy that has two aims: first, restructuring the Malaysian society, and second, eradicating poverty irrespective of race. As far as the Malays were concerned, various agencies were set up to help reduce poverty and to urbanise them (Richards, 1977).

In the light of the discussion above, we developed a generalised framework of decision making for the survey villages in Negri Sembilan incorporating Wolpert's ideas, and the suggestion by Wiseman and Roseman (1979) of viewing the decision making of potential migrants as a two-step process, namely, the decision whether to move and the decision where to move, and our focus here is mainly on the decision whether to move. This division is made mainly for convenience. With reference to Figure 8.1, a potential migrant in the survey villages grows up in an environment where there are complex kinship ties and mutual help is governed by a mixture of traditional adat and westernised values. Economic life in these villages is based on subsistence agriculture and small scale rubber production (Ho, 1967; Swift, 1965).

On approaching a critical stage in his life cycle, such as adulthood, the potential migrant develops new needs and preferences, such as a job and marriage, which may change his perception of the advantages and disadvantages of the village. In the diagram, we show this stage as having 'problems'. The potential migrant searches for solutions to his problems locally and in other areas. We assume that he will evaluate the advantages and the disadvantages of his village and the city. The existing problems of the village can be viewed as a form of "environmental stress" to which the potential migrant reacts. Movement, in Wolpert's (1966) idea, can also be seen as a reaction to the stress. Section 8.4 of this chapter will examine the perceived advantages and disadvantages of the village and the city, and also the existing environmental stress in the village.

Population movement results from the individual (or group) deciding that the perceived benefits from a move are greater than the opportunity cost at other locations. In Figure 8.1 moving to the towns is one solution to the problems of the potential migrants. If the new needs can be satisfied by opportunities in the village, the potential migrant will make an in-situ adjustment by modifying the present environment or changing his needs. Should he feel satisfied with the village he stays in the village, otherwise he has to decide between leaving the village, going merantau, or working in the towns while maintaining his residence in the village.

Several subjective and objective elements of the environment also influence the decision making of the potential migrant. In Figure 8.1, these elements are shown under the term "context". One set of ele-

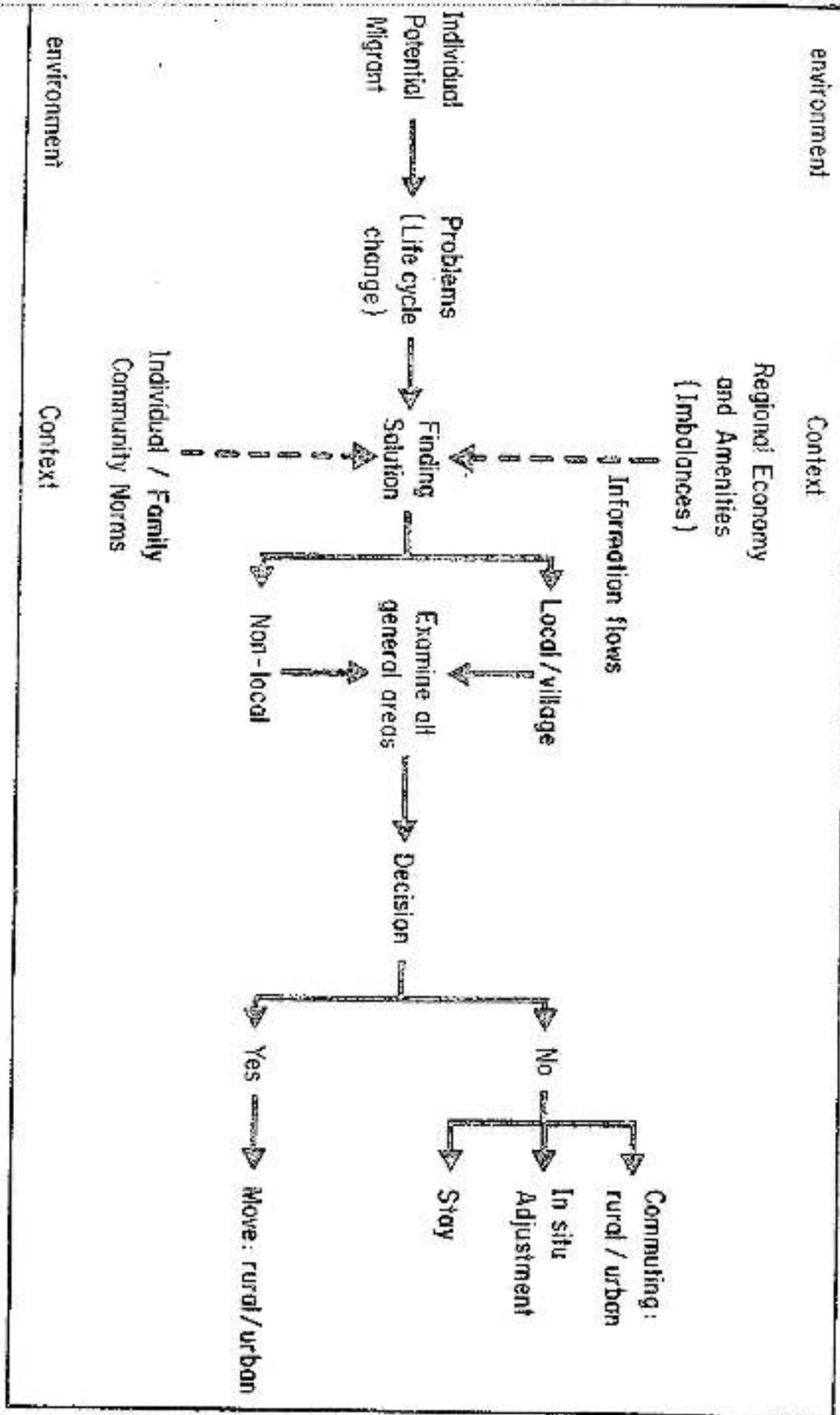


Figure 8-1: A Generalised Decision Making Process of a Potential Migrant in the Survey Villages.

ments influencing the potential migrant consists of regional differences in opportunities and income level, and the availability of modern transport technologies. Another set of factors refers to the cultural situation in which the potential migrant grows up. Unlike society in the West, the community in our survey villages is a close knit matrilineal society. It has its own norms and values that tend to encourage migration (Swift, 1965; Lewis, 1962). Note that the decision to migrate or to stay also depends on the personal traits of the individual, which include his education, social and economic background. These objective, subjective and personal trait factors can be viewed via Germani's (1965) model in which he recognised three levels in the analysis of migration, namely the objective level referring to such factors as the availability of transport technologies; the normative level that deals with the community norms and expectations; and the psycho-social level encompassing the individual characteristics. In addition to all these factors, information flows are also important in the decision making, as well as the media through which information about the city is gathered and the types of information received.

However, the behavioural model has several shortcomings, and its application to the Third World has been criticised (Amin, 1974; Forbes, 1980). The fact that it deals with the individual views and attitudes may lead us to detailed examinations of what Mitchell (1978, 11 - 18) has described as the "situation" of mobility and not the "setting". "Situation" of mobility refers to a specific set of conditions in which mobility occurs whereas "setting" refers to the overall societal change in which mobility is only a part. We can say, for example, that the lack of opportunity to earn sufficient wages in the village and that ancestral property passes down through the female line in the system of Adat Perpatih are some of the situational factors encouraging outmigration from rural Negri Sembilan. However, that colonial rule induced social changes in the Peninsula and that these changes tended to be perpetuated in the post-independent period can be said to be the "setting" in which mobility is only a part of these changes. The behavioural model at best enables us to appreciate the details of factors that motivate people to move or not from these survey villages. The explanation of mobility then becomes only partial and is limited to the social and economic conditions in which mobility in the survey villages takes place, and it will not help us to grasp the grass-root cause of population movement. Due to this, the development of a theory of mobility, according to Forbes (1980, 5 - 15), would lead to a cul-

de-sac. One way out of this circumstance is to view mobility in relation to the changes taking place in the society. In recent years, Amin (1974), Roberts (1979) and Forbes (1980) have suggested that we examine population mobility in the Third World in terms of the "setting". We agree that the "setting" for the mobility is important, and it helps us to view 'the whole mobility tree' and not merely 'the leaves and the branches of it'. The setting, therefore, offers an holistic view of mobility. However, the 'setting' has its own shortcomings in that it is somewhat less concerned with specific solutions to the daily problems confronting decision makers. Due to this, it creates a theoretical vacuum which may be filled with less comprehensive explanatory theory of population movement. As such an understanding of the 'situation' of mobility is also useful especially in our study area and Malaysia at present.

Our generalised decision framework hopefully will illustrate the complexity of the 'situations' in which the decision to stay or leave the village takes place. At the micro-level of investigation we found that the economic factors were not the only elements that influenced movement. These include social and cultural factors which may be ignored in a study using purely the "setting" of mobility.

8.3. THE POTENTIAL MIGRANT AND LIFE CYCLE CHANGE.

In our generalised diagram of the process of decision making, we begin by considering the potential migrant having a problem as a result of changes in his life cycle. These changes produce new needs and preferences which stimulate thinking about moving or not moving (Leslie and Richardson, 1961; Rossi, 1955).

Several writers have attempted to identify life cycle stages that result in a move (Simmons, 1968; Rossi, 1955; Rowland, 1979). Rowland (1979), for example, has proposed the various life cycle stages producing internal migration in Table 8.1. Note that these life cycle stages are based on the Australian experience. Rowland noted that even in Australia an individual need not experience all these stages in the same sequence. In our survey villages only a few of these stages, such as 1, 2, 4 and 9, seem likely to produce a move. A person in the survey villages has to move if, after finishing secondary school in a nearby town, he decides to

go to a college; he has to move again when he gets an occupation. In much of phase B, life cycle changes need not lead to a move. An additional child, for example, may lead to an expansion of the existing house (it is the same, I am sure, with families in the West), rather than a move. Further, once the person is employed in an occupation, (most of the people in these survey villages were in the formal sector - see Chapter 9), he may move several times due to transfer. At retirement age (usually in the forties for those in the army and at 55 years for most public occupations), the person may move back to the village.

Table 8.1. Life Cycle Stages Producing Internal Migration.

	A. Phase of Independence.
Stage	1 Completion of secondary education. 2 Completion of tertiary education. 3 Completion of occupational training.
	B. Phase of Family Formation.
Stage	4 Marriage. 5 Birth of the first child. 6 Birth of last child. 7 First child reaches secondary school age.
	C. Phase of Family Dissolution.
Stage	8 Last child leaves home. 9 Retirement. 10 Death of spouse.

Source: Rowland (1979, 101).

Despite the problems above, the concept of life-cycle change is still useful to identify the events in a person's life which increase the likelihood of his moving or not moving. Our observations in the survey villages showed that at least the first move by most people might be attributed to one of the stages in phase A of Table 8.1.

With reference to Chapter 6.6 suffice it to say that those

who went merantau were young, within the working age-group, and included slightly more males than females. Studying the age at first move from the survey villages for the 100 traced migrants in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban provides further information on the age of movers. It was found that 44 percent were in the 15 - 19 age-group, 35 percent in the 20 - 24 years age-group and the rest in the 25 - 29 age-group. This age distribution pattern has also been shown for other Third World societies (Adesoji, 1974 for Africa; Elizaga (1966) for Latin America; Connell et al, 1976 for India).

What is suggested by the age distribution above is that the movers left the survey villages mainly to find work, some to continue their studies, while others, especially some of the females, left after marriage to follow their husbands. Some support for these suggestions was found in the types of occupations that these migrants were engaged in. Since the occupations of the migrants from these survey villages will be examined in some detail in the subsequent chapter, suffice it to say at this point that the bulk of the male and female migrants were employed in various types of modern sector occupations, a few had joined educational institutions and some females remained as housewives.

It can be suggested that as these people moved into the phase of independence (or marriage for some) in their life cycle they faced mounting problems arising from new needs and preferences. Beyond the point of endurance the people have to make a decision either to move or not from that location. It is important then to examine the peoples' views on the advantages and disadvantages of the village in contrast to the city.

8.4. PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE VILLAGE,

From Figure 8.1, the potential migrant will search for a solution to his problems, which can be local or non local. He will do this by evaluating the advantages and the disadvantages of his village in contrast to the city.

Wolpert (1965), 161) argued that migration was not merely a direct response or reaction to the objective economic circumstances which might be incorporated, for example, within a normative transportation model. What the villagers perceived to be the advantages and disadvantages of village life in contrast to the city reveals some of the subjective factors that influence the decision making of a potential migrant. Note that an expression of the perceived advantages of the village is not neces-

sarily a reflection of wanting to stay, nor is an expression of the disadvantages of the village an admission of wanting to move from the village. In this situation people in the survey villages are, therefore, not as mobile as some models, for example the pull-push model, lead us to believe.

Adults who were largely heads of households in the survey villages were asked to list a first and second advantage, and also disadvantage, of village and city life. The pattern from Table 8.2 shows that there are more disadvantages than advantages listed for the village. This pattern of response is similar to what Caldwell (1969) found in Ghana and Hugo (1978) in West Java. The major advantages were that the village was not a busy place; it was quiet and peaceful; it was cheaper to live in the village; and kerja kampung (village work) gave them enough freedom to pursue what they liked to do and when to do it. The farmers mentioned the advantage of unregimented life in the village; they could go to work and return at any time since their work had no specific opening time nor any closing time. Many said that they were their own bosses and decided things accordingly without having to please anyone. We were told too that living in the village was peaceful since it experienced no traffic congestion, nor overt social problems such as those that were commonly reported in the city. The villagers maintained too that they could diversify their work by doing a bit of everything: they could grow vegetables, rear domestic animals, and produce rice for subsistence. They could earn cash from tapping rubber or village odd-jobs.

The perceived disadvantages of the villages were many and covered several socio-economic factors. As in the situation in the villages of Ghana (Caldwell, 1969) and West Java (Hugo, 1978), it seems that our survey villages had an insufficient number of jobs for the people. Available village based jobs were limited to subsistence food production, rubber tapping and odd-jobs involving a variety of activities. Rice production was mainly for subsistence; rubber, according to the people, was an important source of cash income; and odd-jobs could supplement their income but such jobs were not available to all people all the time. We were told by these people that they had to face many uncertainties working in these village based occupations. Earnings from rubber tapping, for example, were not constant throughout the year. Their income declined during prolonged rainy or hot months since tapping was stopped on rainy days and production usually declined during continuous hot days.

Careful probing revealed that these people perceived also a lack

Table 8.2. Kuala Pilah Survey Villages : Perceived
Advantages and Disadvantages of Village Life.

a) Advantages.	Migration HH		Non-Migrant HH	
	1 st	2 nd	1 st	2 nd
Peaceful	14(8.6)	11(6.8)	5(12.2)	—
Cheaper	27(16.8)	14(8.6)	13(8.1)	5(12.2)
Free to farm and to do what one wants	68(42.2)	16(9.9)	17(10.6)	7(17.1)
Good neighbours	32(19.8)	20(12.4)	2(4.8)	4(9.8)
Others	3(1.8)	4(2.48)	1(2.4)	2(4.8)
n.r. & none in part	17(10.6)	97(60.2)	3(7.3)	23(56.1)
b) Disadvantages.				
No job for all	12(7.4)	1(0.6)	3(7.3)	0
Too quiet	38(23.6)	11(6.8)	11(26.8)	1(2.4)
Sombre life	20(12.4)	6(3.7)	5(12.2)	3(7.3)
Income uncertain	16(9.9)	—	3(7.3)	1(2.4)
Not enough money/land etc.	6(3.7)	2(1.2)	2(4.8)	—
Many people in small area	4(2.48)	3(3.7)	1(2.4)	1(2.4)
Not enough econ. support	20(12.4)	3(3.7)	4(9.8)	—
Nothing wrong	9(5.5)	—	1(2.4)	—
n.r. & none in part	36(25.5)	135(83.8)	11(26.8)	39(85.4)
N	161		41	

Source: Village Survey, 1978.

Figures in bracket are percentages.

of variety of occupations in these villages. A similar finding was reported in villages in West Java (Hugo, 1975) and some villages in India (Connell *et al*, 1976). The choice of village based occupations was limited to producing food and to earning cash from tapping rubber and doing odd-jobs. The people also mentioned that working in the rice field had no end (one had to keep on wearing one's working clothes). Yet for the average family what was produced was enough for family subsistence until the next season.

In addition to these disadvantages, these people also perceived that the absence of young adults turned village life into setengah mati (literally half-dead), that is sombre and unexciting. Many compared the situation with that of pre-War times when many young people stayed in the village; village life then seemed to be full of activities, and it was easier to organise gotong-royong work.

It should be noted also that a small percentage of people in the survey villages perceived "nothing wrong" with the village, implying that they were satisfied with village life. A similar observation has been made by Hugo (1978) in crowded villages of West Java.

8.4.1. Perceived Advantages and Disadvantages of City Life.

The perceived advantages of city life embody many socio-economic factors that these people perceived to be lacking in the survey villages. Similar to what has been reported by Caldwell (1969), and Connell *et al* (1976) in other parts of the Third World, economic related factors dominated the perceived advantages of city life. From Table 8.3, the city was perceived to house many factories that were capable of providing various wage-jobs. These jobs ensured migrants fixed salaries and provided them with a sense of security which village based occupations failed to give. The city was seen as a more prosperous place compared to the villages. A striking pattern in the Table is the emphasis given to "entertainment" for the young as a perceived advantage, of city life. On the surface this finding formed a direct contrast to most findings regarding the "bright lights" theory of migration in the Third World (Connell, *et al*, 1976; Caldwell, 1969) that in most Third World countries people do not move because of the social amenities in the city. However, by careful probing, the villagers elaborated on this point by saying that there were all sorts of amenities and facilities in the city that would be attractive to young people. One could use the city to learn about various aspects

Table 8.3. Kuala Pilah Survey Villages: Perceived Advantages and Disadvantages of City Life.

a) Advantages.	Migrant HH		Non-Migrant HH	
	1 st	2 nd	1 st	2 nd
Many jobs	16(9.9)	3(3.7)	6(14.6)	2(4.8)
Many factories	11(6.8)	9(5.5)	4(9.8)	2(4.8)
Fixed salary	11(6.8)	0	0	1(2.4)
Look Prosperous	22(13.7)	8(4.9)	10(24.4)	2(4.8)
Entertainment	36(34.8)	23(14.3)	10(24.4)	10(24.4)
Happier, many people	11(6.8)	5(3.1)	1(2.4)	1(2.4)
Others, education etc.	17(10.6)	10(6.2)	4(9.8)	2(4.8)
No response - none in particular	17(10.6)	103(63.9)	6(14.6)	21
b) Disadvantages				
Noisy, bad influence	23(14.3)	10(6.2)	6(14.6)	3(7.3)
Expensive	14(8.6)	7(4.3)	8(19.5)	2(4.8)
All have to be paid for	48(33.7)	20(12.4)	14(34.1)	4(9.8)
Cannot farm	6(3.7)	1(0.6)	0	0
Other people's place	2(1.2)	0	1(2.4)	0
Social problems	30(18.6)	11(6.8)	7(17.1)	2(4.8)
People keep to themselves	10(6.2)	4(2.5)	2(4.8)	1(2.4)
No response - none in particular	22(13.7)	108(67.1)	3(7.3)	29(70.7)
N	161		41	

Source: Village Survey, 1978.

Figure in bracket are percentages.

of life and how to get on with people. It was also possible to learn many skills and to develop one's talents. For relaxation, young people could go to a cinema or visit the zoo. Since there were so many alternative choices in the city there should not be a dull moment for the young people.

In contrast, city life was perceived to be expensive because everything had to be paid for. It was bustling with social and economic activities, and consequently it housed a host of social problems; the most feared ones were drug abuse and criminal offences. A small percentage regarded the city as "other peoples' place", that is, alien to them. This is consistent with Nelson's (1976) observation that in Malaysia the rural migrants found themselves as aliens in a city dominated by a non-Malay population. The people perceived also that city people tended to be impersonal and to keep to themselves; everybody seemed to be busy and on the move all the time.

Note that the traced migrants were also asked about the perceived advantages and disadvantages of the survey villages and the city. Although the information suffered from post-hoc rationalisation, we noticed some similarities in their answers to those above. They perceived, for example, that the survey villages lacked economic opportunities (37 percent), and friends (8 percent), while the rest (55 percent) were not sure of the disadvantages of the village. The advantages of the village were that it was perceived to be a cheaper place to live in and more peaceful (70 percent) and the rest pleaded "not sure". In contrast, the bulk of these migrants (66 percent) perceived that the city had many economic opportunities; 25 percent perceived no special advantages; a small proportion (3 percent) had no views on the matter; and the rest (6 percent) perceived the advantage of having large number of people in the city, making it very useful for business pursuits.

8.4.2. Reasons For Leaving the Village.

Pryor, (1975a,21) observed that "motives may be very difficult to define, to attribute and generally to conduct research into ..." Despite that, some insights into people's motivations for leaving the village may also be understood by studying the reasons given by villagers as to why their household members had left the village for the city, and also the stated reasons of those migrants in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban towns whom we traced. Note that the problem with respect to 'stated reasons' is that often they are merely an expression of the triggering factor which acts as the 'last straw' in influencing the potential migrant to move.

Table 8.4. Survey Villagers Views on Village People's Motivations for Moving to the City, and for People Remaining Permanently in the Village.

	Sungai Dua		Juassah		Ibol	
	Migrant HH	Non- Migrant HH	Migrant HH	Non- Migrant HH	Migrant HH	Non- Migrant HH
a) Motivation for moving to the city						
For job and experience	4(9.3)	2(11.0)	15(21.7)	2(14.2)	13(27.0)	3(11.3)
Looking for job	28(63.1)	12(61.0)	30(43.4)	6(42.8)	23(47.0)	1(11.1)
School / Training	1(2.3)	0	3(4.3)	1(7.1)	0	0
Following people	1(2.3)	0	0	0	0	0
Kampung life not satisfactory	3(6.9)	1(5.6)	5(7.2)	1(7.1)	1(2.0)	2(22.2)
More jobs in town	3(6.9)	0	9(13.0)	2(14.3)	6(12.0)	1(11.1)
Conditions today encourage it	3(6.9)	3(15.7)	7(10.1)	2(14.3)	5(10.2)	1(11.1)
b) Motivation for remaining in village						
Do not like urban life	4(9.3)	4(22.2)	6(8.6)	1(14.3)	10(20.4)	2(22.2)
Parent discouraging	3(11.0)	2(11.0)	7(10.1)	1(14.3)	10(20.4)	0
Having reasonable means	13(30.2)	4(22.0)	7(10.1)	0	6(12.0)	1(11.1)
No education, little means	9(20.9)	6(33.0)	21(30.4)	5(35.7)	12(24.5)	3(33.3)
Nona to follow	2(4.6)	0	3(4.3)	0	3(6.1)	0
Not interested	10(23.3)	2(11.3)	25(36.2)	7(50.0)	8(16.3)	1(11.1)
N	43	18	69	14	49	9

Source: Village Survey, 1978.

Figures in bracket are percentages.

They may also be a rationalisation of motives acceptable to the society. What has accumulated before this point will not surface sufficiently if one simply asks the question, 'why did you move?'. Responses to such a question will be understood if they are viewed in the situations in which they are made (and this point will be elaborated on at the end of the chapter, section 8.7).

From Table 8.4, job-related factors were the main reasons that motivated individuals to move from the survey villages. To a lesser degree unsatisfactory life conditions in the village also contributed to this. Concerning the view as to why people like to remain in the village economic and other social factors seem to be important (panel b). The job-related reasons as to why people left the village receive further support from the retrospective reasons given by the traced migrants for their first move from the village (Table 8.5). The table shows that job-related factors and education¹ formed the main reasons for their first move. Some, however, moved as dependents, such as housewives accompanying their husbands (indirectly these dependents moved because of job-related factors as well, because their spouses were working in the cities).

Generally, economic factors dominate the reasons given for the people in the survey villages leaving for the city. Selvaratnam and Dissanayake (1976) have reported a similar pattern of response amongst potential migrants in the eastern parts of Negri Sembilan. Elsewhere in the Third World, Adepoju (1979), Connell *et al* (1976) and Yap (1977) have reviewed numerous studies which found economic reasons as the main factor for people leaving the village.

Thus, examining the peoples perceived advantages and disadvantages of their village in contrast to the city, and the reasons stated by people migrating out of the village, reveals certain negative utilities about the village. These adverse feelings towards the villages focus on the economic and, to a lesser extent, the social aspects of life in these villages. These adverse economic and social features of the village may be viewed as parts of what Wolpert (1966) called the "environmental stress" in these survey villages.

8.5. ENVIRONMENT STRESS IN THE VILLAGE.

The previous section has implied the presence of environmental

1 In fact education may be considered as a job-related reason because to these people education was the means to an occupation in the city.

Table 8.5. Migrant's Stated Reason for First Move and for Coming to Kuala Lumpur - Seremban.

a) Reason for First Move	Male	Female	Total	%
Follow family	3	5	8	
Follow husband	-	18	18	
Follow relative	4	2	6	
Education	11	9	20	
Looking for job	6	2	8	
Taking a job	24	12	36	
On transfer	3	-	3	
Retiring	1	-	1	
Total	52	48	100	

b) Reason for choosing
Kuala Lumpur - Seremban

Follow husband	-	17	17
Follow sibling	1	1	2
Follow father	2	3	5
Follow friend	1	-	1
Relative here	1	1	2
Children here	2	-	2
Easy to get job here	4	4	8
Job here	29	18	47
On transfer	6	1	7
All people flow here	1	-	1
Close to village	1	1	2
For experience	1	-	1
Education	1	1	2
Got a house here	1	-	1
Preferred here	1	1	2
Total	52	48	100

that farming was graded very low by his respondents. The views of the household heads above seemed to be in accord with Alatas' finding. Aspiring youths, therefore, would find the opportunities in the villages unattractive. It was no surprise to find in 1978 that about 30 percent of the total rubber small-holdings owned in Sungai Dua, 40 percent in Juasseh and 35 percent in Ibol had not been tapped for at least six months. The situation in the survey villages was remarkably different to that in Java where village based jobs were scarce (Bugo, 1978; Montra, 1978). A major problem faced by landowners in the survey villages was the difficulty of finding people to hire or rent out their rubber lands to. Most able bodied individuals had left for the cities. In the 1960s, Ho (1967) observed similar difficulties faced by rubber small-holders in the Terachi valley.

Another source of stress in the survey villages was the problem of land. As is the case in many Third World countries (Connell, *et al*, 1976; Lipton, 1977), not only was the average agricultural holding in the survey villages smaller than what was normally regarded as an economic size, but there were also households that had stayed on in these villages without any land (see Chapter 6). To be without land in these villages was to remain always marginal in the village socio-economy. In addition, as pointed out by Mabogunje (1975) about some of the problems of rural areas in Third World countries, the land tenure system was also a problem in our survey villages. In the matrilineal social system, ownership of traditional land is restricted entirely to females although, as explained by Lewis (1962), male siblings administered and could utilise it³. Due to this practice, land subdivision (but not involving an official survey) was widespread in the villages (Salim, 1959). Conflicts were unavoidable especially amongst the females. As for the males, they felt less committed to the ancestral land. The in-marrying orang semenda⁴ essentially viewed their position in the village as none better than a care-taker⁵, especially when they had no harta (property) of their own (Lewis, 1962; Swift, 1965).

A related problem concerns the environmental uncertainties af-

3 The operation of the Adat is governed by the Customary Tenure Enactment, 1935 (Ho, 1967, 189).

4 Males who marry and live in their wives' village.

5 Four orang semenda (in marrying males to a clan; it can mean females at their husbands clan) had this to say: "Why should we work hard to improve our wives' land; it is not ours; should we leave we have to go with nothing".

affecting the use of the rice land. Being situated in a rain shadow area (Sani, 1976) East Negri Sembilan is a relatively dry place. The villagers mentioned that in the last few years the area had become much drier than it used to be⁶. Lack of irrigation water affected subsistence production. In Sungai Dua the rice fields had been neglected for more than four years because there was no water. Although Ibol and Juasseh enjoyed modern irrigation facilities, the villagers mentioned that they could not follow the double-cropping calendar for rice cultivation every year due to irregularities in water supply⁷.

We can summarise the problem of the survey villages by stating that the lack of a variety of opportunities and of a secure income with which to meet expenses when compared to urban occupations, made these villages less attractive than the city.

What has been highlighted as the sources of stress in the survey villages generally corresponds with what has been reported by other studies in the Third World. Adepoju (1979, 218) showed that the major motivation for migration in rural Africa was the search for better employment and higher income. Various factors have contributed to the problems in the rural areas, including poverty, underemployment and stagnation. Similarly, Connell *et al* (1976) isolated numerous situation - specific push factors that sent rural population out of the village amongst which economic problems were the major ones. In his study, Hugo (1978, 185) concluded that a classic 'overpopulation' situation existed and meant that

- 6 The Director of Agriculture for Negri Sembilan explained this as follows ;

Being in a rainshadow area, the area is normally comparatively dry. Disturbances in the catchment area due to logging was an additional factor that reduced water level in rivers.

Most padi fields in East Negri Sembilan are located in the middle or up-valley area of the main rivers. When the Department of Drainage and Irrigation widened and deepened the natural river channels in some areas, the water then flowed below the sown surface (Personal communication with Encik Hamzah Chin, 1978).

- 7 In one village the situation was also unsatisfactory with regard to the water and electricity supply. Several men made a cynical remark; "we asked for pipe (water) the authority gave us the pipe (but no water because apparently the water supply was irregular). Again when we asked for electricity the authority sent us the poles; we had to wait until the next election to get the wire fixed".

within villages in West Java there was an all pervasive 'not enough' predicament. Our survey villages were far from overpopulated, but to an extent they also suffer from the pervasive 'not enough', especially in relation to salaries incomes.

8.6. ADJUSTMENT TO ENVIRONMENTAL STRESS.

The reactions of individuals in the survey villages to stress vary and they do not necessarily lead every one to decide to move. The fact that not all people, upon whom the forces impinged, decided to leave the village suggests the varying impact of environmental stress and also the different resilience shown by people in coping with increasing stress.

One alternative form of reducing stress is to make an in-situ adjustment (Wolpert, 1966; Hugo, 1978). As shown in Chapter 6 a major proportion of the survey village population, especially females, had elected to stay in the village. For these adult non-movers, their livelihood was based on kerja kampung (that is doing village based work) by participating in both subsistence rice farming and small scale rubber production. They diversified this base by participating in a wide range of short-term odd-jobs slotted between their sawah and rubber tapping activities. In Sungai Dua several adults formed a partnership to take on small contract work such as felling trees, house repairs and weeding kebun getah (rubber small-holdings). In all villages, it was common too, to find adults specialising in taking upah work (literally, upah means a wage, and in the village it could be paid in kind or money), such as plucking coconuts from the trees. Individuals with some specific skills such as carpentry found part-time work building extensions to houses. One man gathered selected tree roots used in traditional medicine from which he could get over M\$150/- per month. Several conducted tertiary activities such as barber shops or making products from rattan and bamboo. A striking form of diversification was that almost every household engaged in rearing domestic animals, ranging from a few chickens to several cattle. One was also struck by the diversity of trees grown in a house compound as much as by the variety of animals reared, suggesting that these households were self-sufficient in food production.

Another adjustment noticed was the sharing of ancestral property which has also been observed amongst the fishermen in Kelantan (Firth, 1946). It was the common practice for the family to share the use of the ancestral property amongst the children (Lewis, 1962). In cases

where the ancestral property was limited in amount elderly persons in the households would help the young members rent land from their relatives or friends in nearby villages. In the face of persistent merantau by young people it was not uncommon in 1978 to find rubber land and sawah for rent often on favourable terms. A widespread practice was to divide the produce into equal halves between renter and landlord. It was found too that when the landlord did not supply other inputs the usual practice was to increase the renters' share to 1:3 for owner and renter respectively. This arrangement was widespread amongst those renting sawah but for rubber, bahagi dua (divide into two equal parts) was the normal practice⁸. A more generous arrangement was usually made between close kin whereby the land was 'given to use' (diberi untuk diguna) to the renter. Should the renter want to reciprocate (usually he did) he would give some of the output depending on the total amount produced. Various forms of sharing were also present with respect to domestic animals, but the common one was bahagi dua. Hugo (1978) has also reported the presence of similar practices in West Java. Reciprocal help between the patron and the client was seen in the survey villages and the situation was no different from other Third World countries such as in Africa (Skinner, 1950).

An adjustment that was widespread in the three villages was the adoption of double-cropping and high yielding rice varieties, and the replanting of old rubber trees. In-so-far as double-cropping is concerned, the villagers certainly had improved their output⁹. This was made possible by the use of modern fertilisers and mechanisation which had helped families to overcome the local shortage of labour due to outmigration. During fieldwork, owners (N, 146) of rubber lands with old trees had all taken advantage of the government's rubber replanting scheme. Old rubber trees were replaced with high yielding varieties. In addition, many of those without rubber lands participated in a fringe alienation scheme introduced by the government¹⁰. In this scheme unused government lands on the fringe of existing villages were opened up for rubber (Bahrin, 1969). Each participant received about 1.5 hectares for which he had to pay as soon as the trees started to produce. In spite of all these adjustments, money was still hard to earn and families had only cukup makan (see Chapter 12).

8 See Fujimoto (1980) for the various forms of rent in villages in Malaysia.

9 Average yield 400 gantang per acre (about 0.42 hectare), which is about the State average yield in 1978.

10 For example, 47.5% of households in Sungai Dua, i.e. 29 families; 17.6% in Juasseh (N, 15), and 20.3% in Ibol (N, 12).

8.6.1. Non-Village Based Adjustment.

Referring again to Chapter 6 a small proportion of adults in the village travelled daily to the towns to work. Commuting¹¹ may be viewed as a non-local solution to the problem of increasing stress. At the same time the presence of commuting illustrates the failure of the village economy to cope with the diversified interests and skills of their members, and it also suggests the inadequacy of the various job alternatives for earning cash in the village.

Commuting is a useful strategy for those who want the security of urban jobs but who are unprepared to leave their house and the cheaper living in the village. This strategy enables the individual to engage in village activities as well as earn a wage income. For many young, active and slightly better educated villagers, however, this alternative was somewhat limited. Consequently, a few households migrated to Felda villages as the final solution to their increasing stress. As discussed by Bahrin and Perera (1977), these people were usually individuals who met the selection criteria of the Felda; they were young, with families and without land in the village.

Note that absent from the alternatives adopted as measures to reduce stress was circular migration involving a temporary absence from the village to work, a phenomenon commonly reported in many parts of the Third World (Eikan, 1967; Bedford, 1973; Hugo, 1978). For this movement the absence is a temporary one coinciding (not necessarily always) with slack seasons in village activities (Forbes, 1978). The absence of circular migration of this type in the survey villages could be attributed to the nature of these villages and the population we were dealing with; many had education and some skills (see Chapter 6). In addition, the Malaysian government's intervention in recruiting Malays into the government services had helped to attract youth from these villages to the city. Thus, the majority of the people in these villages were found to go merantau, but with the declared intention of returning to the village some day. From Chapter 7, circulation by the people in these villages showed that they went merantau to take a formal sector occupation; this necessitated them to maintain a more 'permanent' residence at the place of work. Despite the stability of residence at the destinations these

11 For some, especially teachers, the nature of their job necessitates them to travel daily.

people maintained personal links with the villages, giving rise to oscillatory moves between the city and the villages. Eventually, many of these people made a return move to settle or retire in the village.

It seems contradictory that these people left the survey villages to go makan gaji because the villages lacked social and economic opportunities, yet later some of them returned to live in the area. This apparent contradiction can be explained in two ways. First, we can look at the level of the "situation" of migration. It was noticed from the perceived advantages of the village earlier that these villages were a peaceful and cheap place in which to live. It can be suggested that at the end of their working life these migrants returned to live in a cheaper place. Second, we may turn to the "setting" of migration. As noted in Chapter 7 those who returned were mainly individuals working in low paid and somewhat marginal occupations in the modern sector economy during the colonial times and the post-independence period. These people could not afford to live in the towns and cities with a lower income after they "retired" from their occupations. More importantly, they had no stake, such as property, in the city and there were no welfare services like those in the West to maintain them in the city. Thus, the most sensible action to take was to return home.

8.6.2. Environmental Stress and Individual Reactions : Some case studies.

Differences in personal traits and pressures influencing individuals lead to differences in coping with and in the reaction to stress, and the alternatives taken to reduce the stress. In the following examples the end product of the decision to migrate is similar, a move to Kuala Lumpur or Seremban, although the forces impinging on the individuals were different.

1. Case 1 drawn from village 1.

A 28 year old married man. He came from a large family of five brothers and three sisters excluding the parents. At the time of the survey three brothers and one sister were in Kuala Lumpur either working or studying, while two younger brothers and two younger sisters were still in the kampong. His parents used to run a village shop but during the survey they worked a small plot of rice and tapped rubber. The family was relatively poor and what was produced was enough only for the daily sus-

tenance of the family.

The subject attended an English school in Kuala Pilah town but failed his government form five examinations. Since his younger days he was unhappy with the way his parents had treated him. He felt that his parents favoured his younger brothers and sisters. At one stage during his primary school days he left the village to follow his aunt to a nearby town. He later returned home to complete his education at Kuala Pilah despite his adverse feelings towards his parents. Dejected by his failure in the final examinations he moved to join an uncle in Kuala Lumpur.

When asked for the motivation for coming to Kuala Lumpur he responded by saying that there was no suitable job in the village. At the time of moving he was 19 years old and he was deeply concerned with his future. Thus, his answer to the question 'why did you move from the village?' was an economic one, reflecting the factor that triggered his move while ignoring other factors influencing him. The answer illustrates the type of response that one will get when one asks a migrant 'why did you move?'. To get more insight into the motivation, one has to ask more questions.

2. Case 2 drawn from village 2.

A 28 year old married female who held a good job in Kuala Lumpur. She also came from a large family of seven sisters and two brothers. Her father ran his own taxi and the earnings, although small, enabled him to give the children a good education. At the time of the survey all the children, except the youngest, were away either working or attending educational institutions in the cities.

She had a story of success. Motivated by her elder siblings' success coupled with unceasing parental encouragement she did well in school. On leaving school she attended one of the local universities and later proceeded overseas for further education. Her reason for moving to Selangor was based on the urge to succeed in her studies and to pursue higher education.

3. Case 3 drawn from village 3.

A 46 year old married man. He came from a small (three brothers) family and a relatively poor background. The family had no rubber land but had five acres (about 2 hectares) of padi fields (customary land) 'owned' by the mother and jointly held with a few cousins. With two other

brothers he moved to the Kelang Valley in early 1970s. At the age of 20 during the Emergency (1948 - 1960) he had joined the special constabulary to fight the communist insurgency and in 1960 he opted to be pensioned off. On returning to the village he remarried after divorcing his first wife. He married for the third time towards the end of the 1960s when his second wife died. At the time of the survey he had ten children. Three by the second marriage and seven by his present wife. From his savings he ventured into the commercial world by operating a sundry shop in the village after returning from his military service. This business did very well at first, but towards the end of 1960s the shop was in financial crisis. This was partly because most of his patrons had moved to the cities, and partly also due to bad debts because people took goods on credit but failed to pay up. To maintain his growing family he turned to some odd jobs and rubber tapping in the village. Tensions also started to grow between him and his in-laws. When a village friend returned for a home visit with the news that there were vacancies in a fertilizer factory in the Kelang Valley, he decided to follow the friend and to try his luck in the city. His main motive for moving was that after his shop in the village failed his earnings became uncertain. The "last straw" came when another child arrived. The stress was enhanced by a growing strain between him and his mother-in-law. He tried to adapt to the situation at first by looking for jobs in nearby towns. He failed to secure one. He also applied for rubber land under the government fringe alienation scheme. Although he possessed all the necessary attributes to merit consideration he failed to secure the rubber land. Then he received information through his friend about a job in the city. Without any further thought he moved.

These three case studies illustrate that at the level of the individual the factors shaping his decision are complex. It is not possible to gain a full insight into these factors when one asks a migrant simply, 'why did you move?'.

8.7. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF THE DECISION MAKING.

Various factors operate in the background to influence potential migrants in their decision-making. These factors may be viewed through Germani's (1965) three levels of migration analysis, namely, the objective, the normative and the psycho-social level.

The first set of factors is the objective level which according

to Germani (1985, 161) consists of 'pull and push' factors, and the nature and conditions of transport technology. All these factors determine whether it is possible or not for the potential migrant to move if he chooses to go. With respect to the latter, Lainbach (1974) has analysed the growth and development of the transport network in the Peninsula. Several points about transportation and communications can be made here. First, the Peninsula is well served by transport routes and travelling is reasonably cheap. In 1978, from the survey villages to Kuala Lumpur was only two to three hours on the bus, costing about M\$3.00 per person or equivalent to about half a day's work for the average household in the village. Second, in 1978 there were several modes of travel that the people could choose from when they wanted to travel (Johnston, 1977). Third, developed transport technology had reduced the time of travel and distance friction between places. Consequently, no place was very isolated from another in 1978.

With respect to the pull and push factors, the increasing literature analysing the Malaysian economy (Lim, 1973, 1975) agrees that the national economy was strong and the country comparatively wealthy in the Southeast Asia context in the 1970s. Despite that, there was still growing concern about regional imbalances in socio-economic development in the Peninsula. The GDP per capita in 1975 showed that Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Pulau Pinang and Johor in that order were above the average for the Peninsula (\$1,234 M); the rest of the states were below this level (Salih, 1977). Not only were certain regions expanding much faster than others but stereotypes about rural-urban contrast in economic development were still true. At the district level, Singh (1976) in her analysis has shown that districts with higher than the national average in their GDP per capita tended to be concentrated in Selangor, and in districts that had major cities as well as in districts with industrial estates. Thus, a higher than average GDP per capita was found in such districts as Georgetown, Ipoh and Johor Baharu. Despite efforts to diversify the economy and the various rural development projects, many rural areas in the Peninsula were still poor (Anand, 1977).

It has been suggested that the present economic imbalances in the Peninsula are due to differences in "access" to development (indicating that some states are more favoured to receive more development projects) due to different resource endowments or initial advantage in their locations and infrastructures (Salih, 1977). A suitable location has made the Kelang Valley a fast developing conurbation (Aiken and Leigh,

1975). Likewise, vast unutilised public land as well as "good access" to development has made Pahang, Johor and to a certain degree Trengganu (and lately other states too) a frontier region for land colonisation. In Negri Sembilan, similar regional imbalances between regions were also noticed. Port Dickson and Seremban evolved as the industrial centres, and the eastern part of the state as the land colonisation frontier. Other areas remained relatively less developed despite the industrialising efforts pursued by the State Development Corporation (Norconsult Report, 1974).

Another important element in this set of factors that may be included in this level of migration analysis were the increasing opportunities open to the Malays, as a result of government policies designed to "sponsor" Malay mobility and urbanisation, (in which the government took the responsibility to uplift the Malays to the levels of the non-Malays).

One of these opportunities is education. Loh (1975) has analysed the problems of Malay education during the colonial time. At best the average peasant could get only Malay primary education. This situation was changed in the post-War years when the Malays were given opportunities to pursue secondary and tertiary education in Malay and English. After Merdeka more educational opportunities were given to the Malays so that more Malays could get post-primary education. As in the situation in New Guinea (Young, 1977; Dram, 1968); Africa (Amin, 1974) and in villages in India (Connell, et al, 1976), educational opportunities provided the means for upward mobility for the people in the survey villages.

The regional and racial socio-economic imbalances are some of the signs of underdevelopment in Malaysia (Richards, 1977). These imbalances could be traced back to the activities and policies of colonialism several decades ago. We have elaborated on this factor at the beginning of this chapter and suffice it to say that these inequalities may be regarded as the fundamental "setting" in which the various "situations" of mobility in our survey villages took place.

Germani (1966) also stated that the objective conditions above do not operate in a vacuum. What the community expects, encourages or discourages will also determine whether the potential migrants become more inclined to move or not from the village. Thus, the normative influences are important, especially amongst the Minangkabau society that has been known for its Adat.

Table 8.6. Village Survey Respondent Consensus on a) Agreeableness on Sons, and Daughters Moving to the City; b) 'Attention' Given to Migrants.

	Sg. Dua Kechii		Jussseh		Ibol	
	Migrant HH	Non- Migrant HH	Migrant HH	Non- Migrant HH	Migrant HH	Non- Migrant HH
1. Agree to son moving to city*						
% agreeable	68.37	94.4	75.82	92.86	89.79	89.89
% not agreeable unless the son obtains jobs etc.	9.30	3.5	17.39	7.14	6.12	11.11
2. Agree to daughter moving to city*						
% agreeable	41.86	77.78	42.03	42.86	51.22	55.56
% not agreeable unless daughter obtains job, not living alone.	53.49	72.22	49.25	57.14	28.57	44.40
3. 'Attention' given to migrant.						
% yes	55.61	66.67	65.22	50.00	61.22	66.70
% No	23.26	22.22	20.29	21.43	23.45	11.11
% other (depending on behavior of the person)	20.93	11.11	14.49	28.57	15.33	22.22
N	43	18	69	14	49	9

Source: Village Survey, 1978.

* Figures do not add up to 100 - other responses including 'no response' not included.

From Table 8.6 it is clear that the villagers agreed to let their sons go merantau. The majority of villagers stressed, however, that they would agree to let their daughters go merantau only when the daughters were certain to get a job or they had a place to stay. Such parental approval tended to encourage a potential migrant to move. At the normative level this response pattern may be better understood if it is related to the prevailing Adat. There are two aspects of the Adat that are relevant to migration motivation. First, in the matrilineal society of Negeri Sembilan ancestral properties pass down through the female line. Although the male siblings administer the property, the males seemed to feel less happy to live in these conditions. Second, is the institution of merantau, in which the society accepts and encourages merantau as a way of life.

Rahim (1960), in his analysis of Minangkabau writers' views of their society, states that in the traditional villages in West Sumatra there are limited possibilities for advancement. On growing up the young men in the village leave the surau (prayer house) to get married, to attend a religious school in another territory or to work. The society has institutionalised merantau as an alternative to merely staying in the village. In this the young men are expected to leave the Minangkabau cultural area to work, to gain experience and to widen their vision. Merantau is also undertaken for prestige because the traditional society recognises the young men's merantau as making them more acceptable as husbands for females in the society. This is, perhaps, an expression of the society's recognition of the personal success achieved and the difficulties encountered when going merantau. Rahim concludes that in Minangkabau society hard work brings not only personal success but also social rewards in the form of prestige (see also Swift, 1971). It may be suggested therefore, that this social recognition of hard work (hence indirectly valuing hard work itself), together with proper discipline during childhood in religious as well as in secular teachings, are basic factors in making the Minangkabau people comparatively more successful amongst the 'Malaysian' peoples (See also Ye Gee's review, 1968, 288).

Anthropological studies have suggested that today the people in rural Negeri Sembilan are not practicing Adat as strictly as before (Swift, 1965; Lewis, 1962; Ibrahim, 1977). Our observations in the survey villages also confirmed this. In the matrilineal social system, one would expect to find households consisting of extended families (defined here as those families having at least two generations of people staying to-

gether) in the villages. Instead we found only about 40 percent of households in Sungai Bus (N, 59), 30 percent in Juasseh (N, 85) and 45 percent in Ibol (N, 59) were extended families. It was noticed that informal leaders had almost disappeared in these villages, although the patron-client relationship between the young people and the elders was still operating. In spite of that, there is no reason to doubt that due to the cultural links between Negri Sembilan and Minangkabau, some of the Minangkabau traits may hold true for the Negri Sembilan Malays. In direct contrast to some societies (for example the Mossi-Skinner, 1960) the village population encouraged their children to move from the village. The society recognised migration by providing those who went makan gaji with rewards in the form of 'prestige'. Thus, for example, from Table 8.6, bottom section, the respondents in the survey villages mainly agreed that the villagers gave "attention" to the migrants. As in Ghana (Caldwell, 1969) and Java (Hugo, 1978), the survey villagers accorded prestige to those who went merantau. For the man, merantau certainly made him more independent of his in-laws. Otherwise he would be continuously encapsulated into a marginal position in the village. This is not to suggest that those who did not go merantau were misfits. There were those who remained who attained position of prestige through hard work in the village. But for the ordinary individuals makan gaji becomes essential ingredient for gaining prestige in the village. Thus, all the Adat chiefs (we met only four) in the survey villages and mosque officials (N, 3) had gone merantau and returned. Further, an impression was gained from 39 form five school children that they were being strongly influenced to go and makan gaji. With education it was 'malu' (shameful) to remain 'jobless' in the village, especially in a situation when other friends had gone makan gaji.

In the survey villages the society, therefore, has provided the mechanism for their members to migrate. Modernisation, chiefly through education, has certainly made inroads into the Adat, and consequently in recent years it was common to see single females going merantau for makan gaji, which would not have occurred in traditional times. In the past, it was mainly men who went merantau in search of wealth and education.

Most females remained home to work on the ancestral property, or went merantau only to follow their husbands. But with the wide spread of education, it seems that both males and females have become more independent and leave the village to work in the city.

The third level of Germani's (1965) model refers to the individual's traits. This level is hard to explore because it requires an in-depth socio-psychological study into the Negri Sembilan Malays, and into other Malays for comparison. Based on what has been discussed by Rahin (1960) and Swift (1971) regarding the Minangkabau people of West Sumatra, it may be suggested that the Negri Sembilan Malays appear to have developed a favourable attitude towards risk taking, at least with respect to merantau. Upheavals associated with travelling into other cultural areas and leaving one's own society were minimised by the encouragement and approval of the home community. Since migration has become a way of life, the people in these villages seemed to come and go with ease. In his examination of the psycho-social level of analysis of migration in West Java, Hugo (1975) found examples in which a migrant blazed the trail to a profitable business venture in another community area. In contrast, we found no such example in these survey villages, partly because virtually all the migrants were a "later" generation of migrants and were working in the 'formal' sector, especially in government services which involved movement through channels that were mainly established.

8.8. THE ROLE OF INFORMATION

It has been recognised in some theoretical statements in migration studies that information is an important element not only in decision-making but also in the search for a place to move (Hagerstrand, 1959; Brown and Moore, 1968). Evaluation of a place is made possible only when there is information available (Wolpert, 1965; Wiseman and Roseman, 1979), and choice is made after the different places have been assessed. Thus, Brown (1974, 2) asserted that to measure place utility, that is the total advantages of a place compared to other places, attention must be given to the subjective evaluation of site factors by the migrant, not the researcher's objective evaluation. An important factor in this is information that is available to the potential migrant. There are basically two aspects of information that are relevant here: first, the types of information received and second, the sources from which it is received.

At the village level, the villagers seemed to have knowledge about the city, especially Kuala Lumpur and Seremban. To our question, all the heads of households in these villages (N, 205) were aware about Kuala Lumpur and Seremban. From probing and observation, these people

could provide such details as the main areas of ethnic concentration, the main industrial areas and government office locations, and hence were aware of the general socio-economic opportunities in the cities. From Table 8.7, their knowledge about the two cities was gained from a variety of sources. Personal visits seemed to be dominant. In contrast to Hugo's (1978, 187) observation in West Java, secondary information received from friends about the city was less important in our survey villages.

Table 8.7. Sources of Information about Kuala Lumpur and Seremban: Villagers' Views.

Sources	(Percent)	
	Migrant Households	Non-Migrant Households.
Visit	84.80	72.50
Village Friend & Kin in city	3.2	7.5
Newspaper	0.6	0
Radio and t.v.	0	5
"Stayed there before"	3.8	2.5
Others	3.1	5
None in particular	2.5	7.5
N	158	40

Source: Village Survey, 1978.

It is noticed from the table that more migrant families received information through visiting than non-migrant families. This reflects, perhaps, the fact that migrant families had more reasons to visit the city because their kin and friends were working in the cities. Informal discussion with the respondents, however, revealed that these people seemed to combine several of the information sources in Table 8.7 to gain specific information on such items as the types of opportunities available in the city. As an example, while on a visit to the city, they usually called on their kin, and often they would talk about job opportunities in the cities for their kin still in the village. Indirectly, secondary information through kin and friends, as shown by Caldwell (1969) in Africa or Hugo (1975) in Java, was also important to the people in these villages.

From careful probing and observations, it seems that the villagers' contacts with the city were strongly oriented towards Seremban and Kuala Lumpur. Apparently, the media, such as the radio, television and newspaper, carried mainly Selangor slanted news. Since Seremban is located directly on the route to Selangor from these villages, every visit to Kuala Lumpur by these villagers would take them through Seremban. More importantly, over 90 percent of the households in the survey villages (N, 205) knew someone in Kuala Lumpur or Seremban, and the 'distance' to Kuala Lumpur was small.

Examining the retrospective responses of traced migrants reveals a large proportion (39%) of migrants mentioning no information source. This is probably a reflection of the problem of ex-post rationalisation as much as it suggests that a large proportion of migrants from the village moved without consciously using information. For those who mentioned that they made use of information, relatives and friends in the city, together with personal visits, form the two major sources of information (Table 8.8). With respect to the types of information about the city (bottom part of Table 8.8) 55 percent reported no particular type of information. Those who stated the types of information singled out mainly the positive and negative aspects of city life as well as job vacancies in the cities.

Through informal discussions with the traced migrants in Seremban and Kuala Lumpur, and observations while visiting several major towns (with migrants from the survey villages) in the Peninsula in 1978, it appears that the migrants in the city, before moving, had paid particular attention to gathering information pertaining to the socio-economic opportunities in the various towns. Since Selangor seemed to them to house almost all types of opportunities, their inclination was to move to Selangor first. Sometimes, certain occupations could be obtained without their having to move to Kuala Lumpur or Seremban first. Such federal occupations as the army and police were sometimes advertised, and recruits were selected at small urban centres. Those who got into such occupations, such as the army, would move to places often by-passing Seremban and Kuala Lumpur.

It seems also that migrants in the other towns in the Peninsula went there because they had their relatives and friends already in those places. Thus, although those migrants thought about moving to Selangor first, as did every other individual, they chose to go to their kin and friends. Because of the situation above, it was no surprise that the respondents (N, 205) in the survey villages reported that their members were not involved in an intensive evaluation of alternative places before they

From careful probing and observations, it seems that the villagers' contacts with the city were strongly oriented towards Seremban and Kuala Lumpur. Apparently, the media, such as the radio, television and newspaper, carried mainly Selangor related news. Since Seremban is located directly on the route to Selangor from these villages, every visit to Kuala Lumpur by these villagers would take them through Seremban. More importantly, over 90 percent of the households in the survey villages (N, 205) knew someone in Kuala Lumpur or Seremban, and the 'distance' to Kuala Lumpur was small.

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Table 8.8. Sources and Types of Information gathered by Traced Migrants in City - A Retrospective View.

	Male %	Female %	Total %
a) Sources			
Newspaper	11.53	10.41	11
Visit	19.23	14.58	17
Radio & t.v.	3.84	-	2
Relatives & Friends in city	21.15	25.00	23
School & other, e.g. story	9.61	6.25	8
Indirect/none e.g. follow spouse	34.61	43.75	39
Total	100	100	100
b) Types of information about city.			
Job related	25	10.42	18
Life in city (good & bad)	19.23	20.63	20
Housing	1.92	-	1
Education	1.92	6.25	4
None, follow husband, transfer etc.	51.92	58.33	55
Total	100	100	100
- N	52	48	100

Source: Urban Tracer Survey, 1978.

moved. There was no necessity to do so since friends and relatives provided the base to introduce them into the city and consequently to sources of jobs. Note also that those who moved without having to make the decision, such as housewives and students, had little say in the search for alternative towns.

As a whole, it can be said that the potential migrant in the survey villages had access to a variety of information sources. All these sources seemed to carry information biased towards Selangor. Not only did the media carry mainly Selangor slanted news but also most of the contacts that the villagers had were strongly oriented towards Kuala Lumpur and Selangor. The information that was of interest to them concerned socio-economic opportunities.

2.9. CONCLUSION.

This chapter has highlighted the motivations of migrants, and the objective and subjective factors that influence the decision of the potential migrant in our survey villages to stay or to move. It is shown that the people have more options than merely to move or not to move. It appears throughout the chapter that economic factors are important in motivating the people to move. This observation supports the finding of macro-studies of internal migration that there is usually a strong relationship between internal migration and economic factors (Da Vanzo, 1979). These economic factors reflect mainly the structural inequalities and spatial imbalances initiated by colonialism and perpetuated to the present. However, it has been shown also that non-economic factors, and individual's attitudes and views, are equally important in influencing the decision-making process. It seems that to explain population mobility purely in terms of the structural and spatial inequalities alone is not sufficient to understand the motivations of people in their decision to move or not to move at the micro-level.

If we accept that both the macro-factors and the micro-factors are of importance in influencing the people to move, we then come face to face with one major problem in using the behavioural model. It has become apparent that there is no direct way in which one can relate the micro-level elements to the macro-level factors. The behavioural model concerns the views, attitudes and perceptions of the individual persons. As in other Third World societies, the individual views and attitudes are also shaped by the community values and norms; in our survey villages kinship and friendship ties are still important in daily life. At the macro-level, the overall background in which these views and perceptions are made lies in the underdevelopment of Malaysia, created by colonialism and persisting to the present day. It has been suggested lately that the problem of relating the behavioural elements to the inter-regional inequalities in opportunities can be overcome via analysing the role of the family or community in decision-making (De Jong, 1979¹²). Another suggestion is to examine what Hugo (1979) described as the 'contextual' factors within which the decision is made, such as the village ties, village norms, and social networks. For future research these suggestions should be incorporated to gain a better insight into the decision-making process.

12 Personal communication, 1979.

CONVENTIONS

1. Malay words, unless they are names, have been underlined and the English equivalent is given in bracket at their first usage only.
2. Spelling of place names, is based on Atlas Kebangsaan, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1977. This spelling has been used for the historical period, except quotations where the author's spelling has been conformed to.
3. Acronyms are explained at their first usage only. The Glossary provides additional information for many, and a point for continuous reference.
4. The dollar sign (\$) indicates Malaysian dollars (which in December, 1978 \$1 Australian = \$2.70 Malaysian ringgit).
5. Measurements are generally given in Metric. In some cases the Malaysian system is used such as gantang with the metric conversion in bracket because they have specific meaning to the people.
6. The present or at field work time refers to 1978, the year in which field work was undertaken.
7. Bibliography. Some difficulty was encountered in trying to standardised references to names in the bibliography. The system chosen refers to surname and initials of European authors, the full name for Chinese, Indian and Malay authors, unless when these authors have used a certain style in which case we will follow that style; the names that are cited in the text are underlined to help readers to identify them.

ABBREVIATION (ACRONYMS).

FELDA - Federal Land Development Authority.

FELDA was established under the Land Development Ordinance 1956 (as FLDA) to assist other local bodies in land development. Since 1960 FELDA has undertaken land development directly. It acquires title to State land, clears and develops it for mono-crop cultivation (usually rubber or oil-palm) and recruits settlers to come and live in FELDA village on-scheme. By 1977 FELDA has developed over 900,000 acres (360,000 hectares) (Bahria and Perera, 1977).

FIDA - Federal Industrial Development Authority.

IUSSP - International Union for the Scientific Study of Population.

MARA - Majlis Amanah Rakyat.

In line with the New Economic Policy, MARA encourages and trains bumiputra, especially the rural dwellers, to participate actively in trade and industry. This is achieved by producing trained manpower, providing a consultant service on management and technical aspects, and providing credit and other facilities to assist bumiputra in trade and industry.

Negri Sembilan, Timur - the eastern part of the state of Negri Sembilan which is here taken to include the districts of Jelebu, Kuala Pilah and Tampin.

NEP - New Economic Policy.

"The (Second Malaysia) Plan incorporates a two-pronged New Economic Policy for development. The first prong is to reduce and eventually eradicate poverty by raising income levels and increasing employment opportunities for all Malaysians, irrespective of race. The second prong aims at accelerating the process of restructuring Malaysian society to correct economic imbalance, so as to reduce and eventually eliminate the identification of race with economic function. This process involves the modernization of rural life, a rapid and balanced growth of urban activities and the creation of a Malay commercial and industrial community ..."

(Malaysia, 1971: 1)

The target is to achieve 30 percent bumiputra ownership of the economy by 1990 (cf. 2.4 percent in 1970 and 7.8 percent in 1975), whereas other Malaysians should own a 40 percent share, and foreign interests 30 percent (cf. 63.3 percent in 1970) by 1990.

(Malaysia, 1976: 88)

Pahang Tenggara - means south-eastern Pahang and refers to a major regional development programme administered by DARA.

PERNAS - Perbadanan Nasional Berhad/National Corporation Limited.

PERNAS is a government sponsored company incorporated in 1969 to further the financial and managerial participation of bumiputra in the industrial, commercial and financial development of Malaysia within the context of the NEP.

RISDA - Rubber Industry Smallholder Development Authority.

RISDA was created in 1973. It inherited the functions of the Rubber Industry (Replanting) Board, but as well as administering the replanting fund it aims to co-ordinate and implement the government's long term programmes for modernizing the smallholder sector.

SEDC - State Economic Development Corporation, also known as Perbadanan Kemajuan Negeri.

SEDC, in this thesis, refers to the Negri Sembilan SEDC.

UDA - Urban Development Authority is a government body to help Malays in urban participation.

UMNO - United Malays National Organisation - the senior partner of the ruling party in Malaysia.

GLOSSARY

Adat	- Malay word for custom; customary behaviour and law.
Adat Perpatih	- The matrilineal custom named after the culture hero Dato Perpatih nan sebatang.
Anak buah	- Nephews. In <u>Adat</u> the term refers to the people in a <u>kampung</u> under the jurisdiction of the <u>penghulu</u> or village head.
Atap	- Thatched roof.
Bahagi Dua	- Split into two equal halves.
Balik dapur	- Behind the kitchen.
Barah	- Low country.
Batin	- Headman of <u>orang asli</u> .
Bekerja	- To work; working.
Bekerja kampung	- Working in the village.
Bekerja opis	- Working in the office.
Bekerja gudang	- Working in a factory.
Bersawah	- Working on <u>padi</u> fields.
Biduanda	- The superior (original 7) clan.
Bomoh	- Traditional medicine man.
Buah tangan	- Presents.
Bumiputra	- 'Son of the soil' - a noun or adjective referring to Malay and other indigenous ethnic groups of Malaysia.
Cukup makan.	- Just enough to eat.
Dadah	- Drugs; the Malaysian connotation at present indicates that these are illicit drugs such as marijuana.
Durian	- Tropical fruit, thorny skin and strong-smell flesh.
Dusun	- Small plot used for fruit cultivation, orchard.
Gantang	- A unit of measurement.
Gotong-royong	- Informal work co-operation.
Habis sign	- End of service or contract.
Harta	- Property.

Harta pusaka	- Ancestral property.
Tanah pusaka	- Ancestral land.
Haj	- The pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the Five Pillars of Islam.
Haji	- Someone who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, an honorific title.
Hari Raya Puasa	- Feast day to celebrate the end of fasting, and the day of sacrifice during the pilgrimage is known as Hari Raya Haji.
Imam	- Prayer leader.
Kampung	- Malay village.
Kampung asal	- Village of origin; natal village.
Kati	- Unit of weight approximately equal to 2.3 pounds or 900 grams.
Kebun getah	- small plot under rubber.
Khenduri	- Religious feast.
Lebai	- A religious specialist, generally one has not yet made the pilgrimage.
Lembaga	- Clan chief.
Luak	- <u>Adat</u> district.
Makan gaji	- 'to eat one's salary', working/earning a living.
Makan angin	- Holiday travel; 'eating the wind'.
Malu	- Shame (a broad and important concept) - swift (1965)
Melancung	- Makan angin - recreational travel usually involving long distant travel.
Membeli-belah	- Shopping.
Mendreh getah	- Tapping rubber.
Merdeka	- Independence - August, 1967 for the Peninsula formerly Malaya.
Merantau	- Temporary movement.
Mukim	- Area surrounding a mosque from which the minimum congregation of 40 is drawn; nowadays, a division of an administrative district.
Negeri	- State.

Orang kaya	- Rich people.
Orang miskin	- Poor people.
Orang Semenda	- Man in role of affine towards wife's kin.
Padi	- Rice in the husk.
Pajak	- Rent; to rent.
Penghulu	- Official in charge of a mukim.
Perantau	- An individual who goes <u>merantau</u> .
Pesisir	- Littoral.
Pikul	- A unit of weight equivalent to one hundred katis, 133.3 pounds or sixty kilograms.
Pindah/hijrah	- To migrate.
Pindah rumah/daerah	- To change house; migrate to another district.
Pondok	- A small house; a religious school in the context used here.
Rantau	- The place where a person goes <u>merantau</u> to; destination.
Rozeki (mencari)	- One's economic fate - (search for).
Sakai	- A group of <u>orang asli</u> .
Sawah	- Field in which wet-rice is cultivated.
Sepakraga	- A local game using a rattan ball.
Suku	- Clan; quarter.
Tanah tebus	- Land that is bought over.
Tanah mengandung	- In <u>Adat</u> , "enclosed land".
Tukang kayu	- Wood worker.
Undang	- Law giver, head of <u>luak</u> .
Upah	- Remuneration.
Waris	- The rightful heir of the state.
Yang di-Pertuan Besar (Yam Tuan)	- Ruler of Negri Sembilan.

APPENDIX A1: THE KUALA PILAH POPULATION MOBILITY SURVEY AND
THE 'URBAN' TRACER SURVEY.

A Summary of Fieldwork Procedures.

1. Fieldwork calendar.

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| January 1978 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meeting researchers on population mobility at the local universities to gather information on works on population movement. - Gathering secondary information on population redistribution; Library work. Studying reports, archival materials and government files on Negri Sembilan at the National Archives. - Establishing initial contacts with government officers at various administrative hierarchies in Negri Sembilan. - Initial visits to the villages in Negri Sembilan. - Recruiting survey assistants and training them in interview survey. |
| February | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Collecting secondary materials. <u>Jabatan Statistik</u> for census data. - Visits to Department of Agriculture at Seremban. - Reading <u>Felda</u> Reports. - Travelling rural/urban Negri Sembilan. |
| March - April | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishing the postal base at Seremban. - Gathering information from the State Secretariat on economic development in the State. - Gathering information on population and development at district offices. - Contacts with villages. - Developing village questionnaires. - Narrowing the choice of the districts and <u>mukims</u> for study. - Choice of villages for the survey. - Contacts with survey villages. - Developing questionnaires. |

- Pilot study and modifications of questions.
- Beginning of village survey in Sungai Dua Kechil - Kuala Sungai Dua, henceforth called Sungai Dua.
- April - June
 - Village Survey continued.
 - Developing codes, and coding.
- June - July
 - From June 21st to July 21st, 1978, village survey suspended for the general election.
 - Coding continued.
 - Preparing lists of migrants.
 - Preparing and testing out questionnaires for urban tracer survey.
 - Recruiting and training of three helpers for the urban "tracer" survey.
 - Tracing of migrants started.
- July - August
 - Finishing village survey - (alone)
 - As soon as this was over, interviews of the traced migrants were started.
- September-December
 - Urban Tracer Survey.
 - Coding
 - Punching and verifying data
 - Revisiting the survey villages.
 - Preparation to return to Adelaide.
- 6th January, 1979
 - Returned to Flinders.

2. Fieldwork Procedures.

The duration of the fieldwork was about one year starting from 21st December, 1977 to 21st December, 1978 during which a village and an urban 'tracer' survey were conducted.

Although the researcher was born in Negri Sembilan it was felt that before the village study could be conducted we needed to have an extensive reconnaissance survey of the state not only to determine the basis for the selection of villages for the survey but also to construct a village questionnaire that was meaningful to the villagers. The

reconnaissance survey was also important in establishing links with government officials, village elders and the villagers on whom we had to depend for the success of the survey. Although the researcher grew up in Negri Sembilan, he found a lot of things had changed in the village from the situations he was so familiar with in the early fifties. In this context the reconnaissance survey was very useful to the researcher because it gave a lot of insights into the varying conditions prevailing in the various parts of Negri Sembilan. Thus, from January to early April in 1978 the researcher travelled constantly throughout the State. During that time the researcher met government officers at the various administrative hierarchies, village elders and individuals in the village of Negri Sembilan. By conducting informal interviews the researcher could gain a lot of insights into the feelings of people in the village with respect to population migration, poverty and development.

In support of the information, the researcher also gathered and analysed a diverse range of reports, published information and bulletins about economic development and population redistribution in the State. It was found that population statistics especially with regard to population movements were almost absent at the village level. However, there were some statistics on population based on household counts conducted by the village headmen throughout Negri Sembilan about a year earlier than our survey for submission to the District Development Officer, who compiled them for the State which later sent the information to the Prime Ministers' Department. Apparently the Prime Minister's Department was attempting to classify villages in Malaysia according to socio-economic status for the purpose of development. Studying the reports done by the village headmen revealed the diverse quality and accuracy of information submitted to the Prime Ministers' Department. In one village for example, the number of households listed was far greater compared to the total that we found. And when the particular headman was asked about the large discrepancy he could not give any satisfactory explanation. Nonetheless, in the absence of any other information on population at the village level the reports were useful in giving some insights into population structure in the village.

Three villages in Kuala Pilah district were finally chosen for the survey and the choice was based on the presence of strong rural-urban population movements that included rural-urban migration and

circulation in the form of commuting. The three villages were :

1. Sungai Dua Kechil - Kuala Sungai Dua.

Situated adjacent to Kuala Pilah town, the district capital. Its economic activities were mainly based on rubber small-holdings. Its narrow valley sawah had not been utilised for several years because of water shortage. In the situations above the people migrated to the city or commuted to Kuala Pilah for work.

2. Juasseh.

Situated about 11 kilometers to the East of Kuala Pilah town on the plain in the east. The village was the collecting point for the produce in that part of the district. Consequently in past census it was regarded as a 'town'. The economy centred on rubber small-holdings and padi subsistence. A well-developed modern irrigation system ensured that the padi-fields were always in production. Apart from these activities the villagers also could find employment in nearby rubber estates owned by the multi-national corporations or individual estate owners who were not from the village. The village was connected to Kuala Pilah town and other small towns by a good all-weather first class road. Many of its active and young people had moved to the city to work.

3. Ibol.

Situated about 11 kilometers West of Kuala Pilah town on the road to Seremban, the State capital town. Its economy was based on rubber small-holding and padi-subsistence production. Like the second village, Ibol enjoyed a good modern irrigation system which ensured the continuous production of rice. A socio-economic survey conducted by Ho (1967) in the area found that the people there were amongst the poorest compared to other rubber small-holding villages in the State. The village was linked to Kuala Pilah and Seremban by a main road served by quite reliable bus services run by a private company. A great proportion of the young and active population in the village had moved to the city.

2.1. Preparation of the Village Survey.

Ten field assistants (all students from the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Bangi, Selangor) were recruited in January to undergo training in interviewing and coding of simple demographic data and

responses to questions on attitudes and opinions. One of them was an Honours student in Geography who several months earlier had conducted a transport survey for his B.A. (Hons.) thesis in Kuala Pilah. The other nine students were either in their second or third undergraduate years in either Geography, Sociology or Economics. All of them had some experience in conducting interviews since they had been exposed to survey techniques. Every weekend from January to March we held discussions on the research; held mock interviews and exchanged ideas on the manner that the interview was to be done.

Five male assistants were finally selected. We selected only males to avoid problems of accommodation in the village and also to avoid any unnecessary problems relating to boy-girl relationships in the village. As soon as the University exams were over we had a long briefing at the University, and then proceeded to the survey villages for initial contacts and familiarisation with the village population. We travelled together to the survey villages and discussed with village elders many things relating to the village economy and population movements. The assistants showed enthusiasm for the project and they quickly appreciated its importance and relevance to their own training at the University. They were keen to learn all facets of the survey for possible adaptation to their own research in the future. We informed them that we could not pay them a reasonable amount compared to what they could earn elsewhere for the same period of time. But we emphasised to them that the experience they could get would be an important reward in itself.

Several other students visited us at the base in Kuala Pilah enquiring, if they could join the team. But we kept the number of assistants to five so that we could co-ordinate and check their work easily. More importantly, we did not want to introduce new assistants to a group already well on its way in the survey. Towards the end of May one assistant left us for a permanent appointment in a bank in Kuala Lumpur, and five of us went on to finish the village survey.

We remained in each survey village for the whole duration of the survey; shared the same daily chores and living conditions. A strong esprit-de-corp developed, and genuine co-operative work evolved.

In the meantime a village questionnaire was developed and tested in a village which seemed to have sent many people to the urban areas. The questionnaire was consequently modified.

2.2. The Village Survey.

We began the village survey in Sungai Dua Kechil - Kuala Sungai Dua, henceforth referred to simply as Sungai Dua. Since we could not find a house to live in in Sungai Dua we stayed in Kuala Pilan town, but spent most of the day in the village using the village retail shop as our base of operation during the day. (For Juasseh and Ibol, we lived in the villages for the duration of the survey). Like in all of the survey villages, after a few days in Sungai Dua the villagers became aware of our presence and accepted us in the village. The Ketua Kampong, whom we visited first, helped to broadcast our presence at the village surau (prayer house). We also joined the people at prayers; mixed with them, and had afternoon tea at the Kampong coffee shops. Our assistants also contributed some social work in between time such as helping the village children with their school work and organised a village game for the children.

With the help of the Ketua Kampong the boundary of each survey village was determined. This was necessary because the villages in Negri Sembilan were strung out along the padi-fields or along the road. Thus, in some ways the boundary to a kampong was rather arbitrarily defined although we asked the villagers to describe to us what they felt was the boundary of their village.

Since the unit of observation was the household, we defined a household for the survey as all the people living in the same house having the same eating arrangement. In some cases, two families shared the same eating arrangements but lived in separate houses. This arrangement was seen in a family where the wife's or the husband's parents were still alive and stayed in a separate house but had their meals together with the children. For such a case we counted them as one household.

The interview was slow at first but picked up speed in the following month. Interviews were conducted at a time convenient to the people who were busy with their daily work. We were asked to come in the morning; some asked us to come in the afternoon while others in the evening. To all we complied. It was planned from the beginning that we would do a two-stage survey. After we had gone through a few households it was decided that we adopted a more flexible procedure whereby families who preferred to go through all the schedules at one sitting were granted their wishes. This was necessary since in many

households the adults to be interviewed were often busy with their daily work.

For each interview we directed our questions to the heads of households. Failing to get the heads of household we interviewed the wives or the next adults. In most cases we managed to interview the heads since in almost all households most other adults had left for the city leaving behind only younger and school-age children whom we could not interview.

As soon as we had finished interviewing families in Sungai Dua we moved to Juasseh and then to Ibol. As a whole the village survey was interesting for it gave us opportunity to meet the people and probe their reactions to changes taking place in the State and in the country with respect to the changes in the village.

In using the village survey data several problems have to be borne in mind. The main ones include;

1. The first difficulty was to locate a grown up in a household for the interview. As most of the young adults had gone Merantau, the housewives were often busy and could not answer (or refused to be interviewed in the absence of their husbands) and where the heads of households were busy working we had to wait to make an appointment. Often several revisits were made to see them. As a result we had to be around the village almost from 8 in the morning to about 8 in the evening to see them. They were very cooperative, friendly and answered the questionnaires willingly.

2. A more important issue was the post hoc reconstruction of information about individuals who had left the households for the various destinations. Difficulties were encountered with regard to specific information concerning migrants who had moved from the village for some time. We found problems, for example, in determining the first occupations of migrants that had moved for over 10 years. To overcome this we tried to trace these migrants in the city.

3. Problems also were encountered in reconstructing information regarding households that had completely left the village. Although we could ask the neighbours and relatives for information, often we could get only general information such as on their whereabouts, but

not specific information such as the age of the migrants or the age of their children.

As a whole the village survey was successful in interviewing most households (including those which had left completely from the village) in each village. Refusals were low. In Sungai Dua one household was left out because the head of household was sick and hospitalised and the rest of the family did not wish to be involved in answering our questions. In Juppah three households were left out; one of them was because the household had only one old man who was too sick to be able to answer our questionnaires, and the other two refused to participate.

We had to suspend the village survey during the election weeks in July, 1978 because the federal government called a snap election. In this election mass rallies were banned for security reason. In their place the government encouraged house to house campaign or small group meetings or what was popularly called during that time the 'whisper campaign'. The situation would affect us because the villagers might have regarded us to be doing campaigns for certain political parties if we were to persist staying in the village doing the interviews.

3. The Urban Tracer Survey.

A list of outmigrants from the survey villages was prepared as the village survey progressed, and from the list a decision was made to concentrate the tracing of migrants in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban, since the bulk of the movers went to these cities.

While the parliamentary election was taking place we prepared for the urban 'tracer' survey. An urban questionnaire was developed and tested amongst a few Negri Sembilan migrants in Seremban and Kuala Lumpur. The questionnaire was finalised towards the end of July. Three assistants were recruited to help with the urban survey; one for Seremban and two for Kuala Lumpur. The helpers for the urban surveys were chosen from individuals who came from Negri Sembilan and who were familiar with Seremban or Kuala Lumpur. These assistants were mature working men who had an extensive friendship network that proved valuable in tracing the migrants. One of them had an extensive experience in urban surveys when he helped with a mobility survey of flat dwellers in

Kuala Lumpur several years earlier.

The three assistants started the tracing in July. At first we thought of tracing all migrants but soon we found that this was not feasible. Addresses of migrants obtained in the village survey were often inadequate, out of date or difficult to locate especially when the addresses were not specific. To overcome this, after the researcher had completed the village survey, we travelled at any convenient time to visit the migrants at their place of work; to visit friends who knew the people from the survey villages and sometimes we returned to the village to update the addresses. In order to reduce the problems and at the same time to spread out the source of migrants from the survey villages we decided to trace at least one migrant from each household in the village. In cases where a household had more than one migrant we thought of taking a random sample of the migrants to be interviewed from that household. As this was also difficult we settled in the end for tracing any migrant from each household that we met.

Interviews were conducted during weekends and at night during weekdays and those traced migrants gave their cooperation fully. Although the tracer survey was difficult to do, it was rewarding in that it gave us insights into migration processes at the city end in relation to the situation at the village end.

4. Editing and Coding of Village and Urban Questionnaires.

For the village survey, we spent several hours every evening editing and checking all questionnaires completed during the day. We discussed any problems and noted any difficult interviewees. At the same time codes for the questionnaires were progressively developed.

Coding was started after the second village had been surveyed. The assistants helped to code mainly the questions relating to opinions and views since they knew the context of those opinions expressed by the respondents. Coding of the rest of the village survey was completed by two assistants recruited and trained specifically for the purpose after the four survey assistance had left for the University in the new term.

Coding for the urban tracer survey was progressively done when the interview was underway. The two coding assistants helped to check the finished coding sheets. In November, we sent the finished coding sheets to the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia computing centre to

be punched on to computer cards and cleaned. We ran some simple tabulations to check on the accuracy of information that had been transferred to the computer cards.

As a whole both the village survey and the urban tracer survey were useful in giving us insights into the state of the migration process in the survey villages.

APPENDIX A2: QUESTIONNAIRES.

The main instrument used to collect data in our survey was questionnaires. These questionnaires were formulated in Bahasa Malaysia and the questions were spoken to the respondents in Negeri Sembilan dialect. We present below the approximate translation of these questions that were grouped into 8 schedules. Schedules 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 were used in the village Survey, schedules 7 and 1 (which was known as schedule 9 in the Urban Tracer Survey) were used in the Urban Tracer Survey whilst schedule 8 and parts of schedule 8 (i.e. questions with *) were used in the Urban Tracer Survey and in the village survey respectively.

Schedule 1: Life History

1. Migration history

- B.1. Main Towns: More than 70,000 population today
such as Kuala Lumpur, Kelang,
Melaka, Johor Bahru, Pulau
Pinang.
1. Self
2. Wife
3. Friends
4. Relatives
- 3.2. Small town - 1,000 - 69,999
- 3.3. Kampung - below 1000.

Year	Age Years	Address	With Whom	Size of Place			Dist.	Reason	Family History Such as Marriage	Educational History Such as Primary, Secondary, University	Health History Treatment Outside Village Continuously for 1 Month	Occupational History		Age	Year
				B1	B2	B3						Type	Occupation		
1920															1920
1921															1921
1922															1922
1923															1923

Schedules 2 and 3: Migration and 'merantau'.

Schedule 2:

1. We would like to know about the members of your family.

(a) Currently staying together (including children, nephews, etc.)

Number, Relation to HHE (head of household), Sex, Age, Education, Marital Status, Occupation, Place of Work, Mobility Status
Commuting.

(b) Members of family not staying together (inclusive children who have died).

Number, Relation to HHE (head of household), Sex, Age, Education, Marital Status, Occupation, Present Address (Please write in full), Mobility Status.

Schedule 3:

(c) Now we shift to other members of the family, we would like to know about your wife's brothers and sisters. State also the total number that have died.

Number, Relation to wife, Sex, Age, Marital Status, Occupation, Present Address. Please state clearly if he/she is still alive to avoid double counting.

(d) Could you list all your wife's mother's brothers and sisters.

Number, Relationship to your wife, Sex, Age, Marital Status, Occupation, Present Address. Please state clearly if he/she is still alive to avoid double counting.

Note: For questions b, c, d, if living outside the village indicate whether he or she had ever made a "return" to the village. "Return" is defined as to come back and stay for at least 3 months.

Schedule 4: Present Socio-economic CharacteristicsI. Land ownership

1. Could you tell us about

Land	"Pusaka"	Non Pusaka	Distance from house
"Sawah"			
Rubber			
Fringe areas			
"Kampung"			
"Kampung"			
"Orchard"			
Others			

II. Occupation

1. What is your daily occupation ?

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

2. What is your wife's main occupation

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

3. If you plant rice were you in last rice season/or today

Acreage worked

1. Owner-operator

2. Working for wage

3. Renter

4. Rent land out

5. Other (please write)

4. Acreage developed and production

Number of Workers	Type of "padi"	Technology Mechanisation	Seasons/ Year	Fertiliser Factory	Output "gantang" acre/ season	Rent/ gantang equipment
-------------------	----------------	--------------------------	---------------	--------------------	-------------------------------	-------------------------

5. Is the padi enough for the family for the next season.

1. enough

2. not enough

6. If not enough, how many months in one season do you have to buy or borrow.

Schedule 4: Present Socio-economic CharacteristicsI. Land ownership

1. Could you tell us about

Land	"Pusaka"	Non Pusaka	Distance from house
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Rubber			
Fringe areas			
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Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

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5. Other (please write)

4. Acreage developed and production

Number of Workers	Type of "padi"	Technology Mechanisation	Seasons/Year	Fertiliser Factory	Output "gantang" acre/season	Rent/gantang equipment
-------------------	----------------	--------------------------	--------------	--------------------	------------------------------	------------------------

5. Is the padi enough for the family for the next season.

1. enough

2. not enough

6. If not enough, how many months in one season do you have to buy or borrow.

7. a) What do you do in between the padi season,
 b) If working outside Kampong, please state where.
 c) For how long.
8. If tapping rubber are you _____
 acreage
1. Owner-operator
 2. Working for a wage
 3. Renter
 4. Renting out land
 5. Other (please, write)
9. Total acreage operated/production.
 Total, operator, Produce in Total days Current market rent
 "Kati"/day, in a month, price.
10. a) What do you do during the rainy season when rubber tapping is prohibited,
 b) If working outside Kampong, where to,
 c) For how long.
11. Do you produce vegetables enough for your family ?
- | | |
|---------------|---|
| enough | 1 |
| not enough | 2 |
| not producing | 3 |
12. If not producing, why
13. For those who have orchards, in any one season how much, in money terms, did you get?

III. Accumulated income

1. a) If you add all the various sources of income for your daily main and supplementary works, in which category does your income per month fall?

1	< \$50
2	51 - 100
3	101 - 150
4	151 - 200
5	201 - 300
6	301 - 500
7	501 - 1000
8	1001 - 1500

>1500

b) How much (in percentage) is the amount of work you spent each day, that is not for financial gain.

2. In which income category is the total income earned by other working family members per month ?

1	\$50	
2	51 -	100
3	101 -	150
4	151 -	200
5	201 -	300
6	301 -	500
7	501 -	1000
8	1001 -	1500
9	1500	

3. For those who earn fixed income (non Kampong occupation) how much is your salary/month.

1	\$50	
2	51 -	100
3	101 -	150
4	151 -	200
5	201 -	300
6	301 -	500
7	501 -	1000
8	1001 -	1500
	1500	

4. a) Is all the income contributed to and items produced by the family enough to sustain the family for the month ?

1	more than sufficient	1
	sufficient	2
	not sufficient	3

b) If not sufficient, how to top up the shortage ?

5. How much do you require (in money terms) per month to maintain a family

6. Do you receive money and goods from rantau

Yes	1
No	2

7. If yes how much/month (in money)

8. a) Do you keep money

Yes	1
No	2

b) In the form of

Post Office	1
Sath	2
Bank	3
Coop	4
Share	5
Other (please write)	6

9. How many times per week does the family eat meat.

Every day	1
2 - 3 times/week	2
once a week	3
rarely	4
None	5

IV. Possessions

1. Does the family own

1. School Bus
2. Lorry/Van
3. Car
4. Motorcycle
5. Bicycle
6. T.V.
7. Frig
8. Radio
9. Cassette
10. Camera
11. Wall Clock
12. Wrist Watch
13. Sewing Machine
14. Electrical fan

2. a) Is this house

1	bought
2	"pusaka"

- 3 "rented"
4 other (please write)

b) If rented how much/month

3. a) Building material
total rooms (excluding, bilik masak, Cooking room)
- | | |
|--------|-----------------------|
| roof | wood |
| floor | brick |
| Wall | "rumbia" |
| fence | glass |
| window | wire |
| stairs | bamboo |
| | asbestos |
| | Zinc |
| | Others (please write) |

4. Bathroom

- Yes 1
No 2

5. Toilet

- open 1
pump 2
Others
(please
write)

6. Pipe

- Yes 1
No 2

Electric

- Yes 1
No 2

7. If you sell your house now how much do you perceive its value to be?

V. General

1. Do you read newspaper?

- daily 1
A few days/week 2
seldom 3
never 4

2. Type of newspaper read

"Jawi" (Arabic)	1
Malay	2
English	3
Other (Please write)	4

3. Other languages in which you could read/write.

English	1
Chinese	2
Tamil	3
Other (Please write)	4

VI.

1. Type of family

Extended	1
nuclear	2
Other (please stated)	3

Schedule 5: Views, opinion, perception, merantau to urban areas

I. 'Merantau' in general

1. What do you understand by 'merantau' ?
2. Negri Sembilan Malays always go merantau from time immemorial - what motivates them to go merantau,
3. Common knowledge has it that males (females always follow husband) go merantau but today both males/females go merantau - why does this happen.

Probe

Economic

Social

Situational

Psychological

Others

II. Conditions of Kampong

- A. 1. Does the village have enough land for all the population now ?

More than enough	1
enough	2
not enough	3

2. Could you say that the village is,

fertile	1
medium fertile	2
not fertile	3

3. a) How do the Kampong folk regard land as a possession in contrast with other possessions.

very important	1
equally important	2
less important	3

- b) Why do you say that

4. a) In the last 10 years has the family sold land.

Yes	<1 acre	1
	1 - 2 acre	
No	3 - 5 acre	2
	>5 acre	

b) Bought land

Yes	1
No	2

c) To whom did you sell ? (teacher, farmer, government, officer).

d) From whom did you buy ? (farmer, teacher, government, officer).

e) For what it was sold

H. Comparing village conditions now with the situation during the time of the British/about 10 - 15 years ago.

1. Comparing the situation now with the situation during the British time, is it easier or more difficult now for the people to earn a living here ?

More difficult	1
About the same	2
Easier	3

2. Have the sources of income for the villagers now increased compared to the British time before.

Increased	1
About equal	2
Decreased	3

3. Compared with the situation during the British time/several years before, are the villagers now

More prosperous	1
about equal	2
less prosperous	3

4. There are many changes taking place in the Kampong in Malaysia compared with the British time. What changes have the village experienced.

5. a) About yourself, are you now, compared with a few years ago

Leading an easier life	1
about the same	2
more stringent	3

b) Why,

6. a) Compared with the situation during the British time, do more youth from this Kampong marry outside Negri Sembilan ?

More now	1
about the same	2
less now	3

- b) How about the Kampong youth who migrate to places outside Negri Sembilan.

as above

- c) Young men/women going to school in places outside Negri Sembilan ?

as above

- d) The Kampong folk who go places outside Negri Sembilan

as above

7. Where do Kampong folk go when sick or giving birth ?

Hospital	1
Clinic	2
Kampong Midwife	5
"Sembah"	4
Other (please stated)	5

III. A. Attitude and knowledge oriented to urban life.

1. Today a large number of young men/women move to towns/cities such as Seremban, Kuala Lumpur. What are the reasons for these moves ?

2. Some, however, stay put in the Kampong since childhood. Why this is so ?

3. a) Do you agree with your son going merantau to the city.

agree	1
disagree	2

- b) Why

4. a) Do you agree with your daughters merantau to the city ?

agree	1
do not agree	2

- b) Why

5. What sort of job do you like your children to have ?

6. Do the Kampong people give more attention (like giving respect; act as a motivating factor) to other Kampong folks who are now in the city when they return to the village ?

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

7. The present government determines to urbanise the Malaya how could this be done ?

B. Knowledge on rural-urban contrast

1. a) Could you tell us one or two things about the good part of Kampong life which at times make life in the Kampong more attractive.
- b) ... also do tell us one or two things about the unpleasant part of life in the Kampong, which sometimes makes life in the Kampong less attractive.
2. a) Could you tell us one or two things which sometimes make life in the city more attractive.
- b) ... also tell us one or two things which sometimes make life in the city less attractive.
3. a) Where is a better place to raise children

Kampong	1
Small town like Kuala Pilah	2
Big town/city Kuala Lumpur	3

b) Why say that

4. Where is a better place to earn a living today

"Kampong"	1
Small town like Kuala Pilah	2
A city like Kuala Lumpur	3

5. When you compare city people (Kuala Lumpur) with Kampong people are city people

better	same	worse
--------	------	-------

1. life
2. behaviour
3. social able

4. religion
5. education
6. dress
7. general knowledge
8. helping the people

6. Where is a better place to have many children ?

big city Kuala Lumpur	1
Small town Kuala Pilah	2
"Kampung"	3
Other (please write)	4

7. Which place is easier to earn some money

Big city (Kuala Lumpur)	1
Small town Kuala Pilah	2
"Kampung"	3
Other (Please write)	4

8. Are relatives & Kampung folk in the city always giving help to young people coming to the city.

Always helpful	1
Sometimes helpful	2
Not helpful	3

9. Do they help with,

Place to stay	Yes
	No
finding job	Yes
	No
money	Yes
	No

10. a) Normally young people (Malay) go to the city to work in government and informed services. In your opinion what are their chances in business.

many chances now	1
difficult	2
limited	3
no chance	4

b) Why say that ?

6. Impact of merantau

1. In your view do the villagers who are now living in the city change ?

change a lot	1
change a little	2
same as in village	3
no change	4

2. What good influence or things that those Kampong folk in the urban rantau now bring when they return for visits or retirement.
3. What unpleasant influence or things that those Kampong folk in the urban rantau bring when they return for visits or retirement.

4. When young people leave the Kampong for the big city what happens to the Kampong from the following

a) "Sawah"	More intensively used	1
	as usual	2
	left unattended	3
b) rubber plots	More intensively used	1
	as usual	2
	left unattended	3
	difficult to find tappers	4
c) relation in family	less close	1
	as usual	2
	closer	3
d) village conditions in general	quiet	1
	left unattended	2
	happy	3
e) "Adat/istiadat"	becoming loose	1
	becoming tight	2
	as usual	3
f) Nagri Sembilan	fast moving	1
	slow moving	2

5. If all the folks in the village stay in the Kampong, and none goes merantau to the city, will the Kampong become ;

much poorer	1
poor	2

same	3
other (Please write)	4

6. a) Compared to about 20 years before do young people tend to marry late now,

late	3
same	2
earlier	3

b) Why

IV. Future Plan

1. If you have all the things that you have now, where will you like to stay five years from now?

stay put in the Kampong	1
stay in other parts of Negri Sembilan	2
other states in Malaysia	3

2. Do you have any plan to migrate/shift from the Kampong to other places, about five years from now.

Yes	1
No	2

3. If "No" go to section V.

If "Yes" where to?

b) Why do you want to leave the village again?

V. Migration and Negri Sembilan

1. If Negri Sembilan can absorb all its young people will they still migrate to the town?

still migrate	1
No	2
No response	3

2. What activities should be undertaken so that young people today will stay.

a) In this Kampong
b) In towns/city of Negri Sembilan
c) In undeveloped parts of Negri Sembilan.

VI. For those who have returned to Kampong from rantau (in the last 10 years)

1. Compared with the situation if you had not gone merantau, is your life now,

much better	1
better	2
same	3
not that good	4

2. Why return to stay in the village after you have been this long in rantau (probe - if any investment in Kampong ?)
3. What innovations you have brought or done in this Kampong.

VII. Commuter

1. How far is this Kampong to your place of work
2. How do you go to work/school
3. Cost/month
4. Why not making daily trip from the Kampong to the place of work.

a) where do you sleep during the week ?

in rooms provided by employer	1
rent a room in the town	2
sharing a room/house with friends/ relatives	3
other (Please write)	4

VIII. Knowledge and Contacts with Urban areas & Places

1. How far is the Sampong to Kuala Lumpur.
2. How long does it take to travel to Kuala Lumpur.
3. How much is the bus fare to Kuala Lumpur.
4. Where are the main Malay areas in Kuala Lumpur, that you have heard about.
5. Where are the main non Malay areas in Kuala Lumpur.
6. How do you know about Kuala Lumpur.

visits	1
family/friends	2
books	3
radio	4
school	5
newspaper	6
other (Please write)	7

7. Do you often visit the following places/town

IX. Your children's Plans

To be filled by pupils who are now in forms 3/5/6.

1. Are you going to stay in the Kampong after you leave school.

Yes	1
No	2

2. If no where to ?

3. Why choose that place ?

Schedule 6:

Name of 'Kampong'

HHH No

1. Name of assistant
2. Number of visits
3. Place of interview
 1. House respondent
 2. Other (please write)
4. Length of interview minute
5. Respondents attitude
 1. helpful
 2. difficult
 3. no concentration
6. Situation during interview
 1. many other people present
 2. several people present
 3. several people listening
 4. a small number of people
 5. no one listening
7. Quality of answer
 1. sincere
 2. not certain
 3. made up answer
8. Evaluation of economic status of family

good	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	bad
developed	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	underdeveloped
innovative	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	withdrawing
9. Other comments (Please write).

Schedule 7: Bio-data and Present Socio-Economic Status

Note: Answer all questions. Put N.A. against questions not applicable.

A. Bio-data

1. Sex
2. Marital status
3. Education
4. First job in town/city

Self

Spouse

Job in Kampong before entering city. Write 'jobless' if not working.

Father's occupation

Present occupation.

Note: If present occupation is not "business" go to question 128 below.

A.1. Business

5. If present job is in business: Type of business

Sundry shop	1
Eating shop	2
Food stall	3
Veges stall	4
Others, (Please state)	5

6. How do you obtain your goods

Credit from Chinese wholesale	1
" " Indians "	2
" " Government agencies	3
Cash from Chinese wholesale	4
" " Indians "	5
" " Government agencies	6
Other (Please write)	7

7. Where did you get your capital ?

Self	1
Borrow from Bank	2
" " MABA	3
Other (Please write)	4

8. What motivated you to enter business ?

9. Could you say that this enterprise is doing well

Running well	1
Quite well	2
Less well	3
Not well	4

10. a) If not doing well, what problems do you face in business.

b) Give suggestions on how you think the problems could be overcome ?

11. Who are your major clients

Malay only	1
All races	2
Others (Please write)	3

B. Present Socio-Economic Structure

12. Possession of the following in city

Land	_____ acre
Car	_____
Motorcycle	_____
Bicycle	_____
Radio	_____
T.V.	_____
Cooker	_____
Frig	_____
Sewing machines	_____
Other belongings (such as electrical goods)	_____

13. Present house

a) Type

Single house (Bungalow)	1
Terrace double storey	2
Teres single storey	3
Other (Please write)	4

b) Status

Owned	1
Rented	2
Other write	3

c) If renting, amount/month

/month	4
--------	---

d) Owned

Fully paid	1
Still paying	2

e) If still paying

Payment/month _____ /month

Total months for installment _____ month

f) Location of your residence in this city

14. House amenities

Piped water	Yes	1
	No	2
Electricity	Yes	1
	No	2
Telephone	Yes	1
	No	2

15. In what category is your normal monthly income now (inclusive all sources).

Less than 100 dollars	1
101 - 300 dollars	2
301 - 500 "	3
501 - 1000 "	4
1001 - 1500 "	5
1501 - 2000 "	6
2000 "	7

Note: For respondents who are housewives indicate your husband's salary.

16. We would like to know your age at first marriage (Female only).

Age _____ years

17. Family member list

- Note: 1. For married children include those who have died.
2. For those who share a house or flat write all particulars about your friends.

No.	Date of arrival in Kuala Lumpur	Sex	Age	Relation to HSH	Where from if not relations.	Working status	
						Working	1
						Not working	2
						Schooling	3
						Below school age	4

Schedule 8: Urbanisation

I. a. Arrival for the first time in the city

1. Since when have you entered into this city ? or
How long have you been in this city.

Less than 1 month	1
1 - 3 months	2
3 - 6 months	3
6 - 12 months	4
1 - 2 years	5
3 - 5 years	6
5 - 10 years	7
10 years	8

2. At the time you made the decision to leave kampong to come to this city

- a) What are the better things about this city, that you thought of at that time.
- b) What are the unattractive parts of kampong that made you leave the village.

3. Had you already been offered a job in this city before you came to stay in this city ?

Yes	1
No	2
Others (Please write)	3

4. Before you come to this city did you know anybody in the city.

No	1
Yes relative from kampong	2
Family/siblings	3
Friends from village	4
School friends	5
Others (Please write)	6

5. If yes did you expect to get aid from him/them first when you made the decision to come to this city.

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

b. Information about city

6. How did you come to know about life in this city (in the beginning)

Newspaper	1
Radio/T.V.	2
Friends from village	3

Relatives in city	4
At school	5
Visits	6
Other (Please write)	7

7. What type of information did you get from the source shown above, which made you want to come to this city.

Type of information	1
---------------------	---

8. Did the things you heard influence you to make the decision to come and stay in this city.

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

9. Who, finally, made the decision for you to come and stay in the city ?

Self	1
Parents	2
Friends	3
Relatives	4
Others (Please write)	5

10. Did you have any thought about the conditions of life in the city at the time you were about to come to the city ?

Thoughts.

c. Journey to the city for the first time

11. What preparation did you make before coming to stay in the city.

12. a. How did you come to this city to stay for the first time ?

Bus	1
Taxi	2
Bicycle	3
Motorcycle	4
Motorcar (Private)	5
Taking a ride with kampong folks	6
relatives	7
Other (Please write)	7

b. Its fare, if applicable:

13. Who paid for the journey to this city:

Self	1
Parents	2
Family in kampong	3
Friends in city	4
Friends from village	5

Borrowing	6
Other (Please write)	7

14. If borrowed, what arrangement made to pay it.

15. Who accompanied you to this city

Self	1
With wife	2
With wife and children	3
with friends from kampong	4
With relatives	5
Other (Please write)	6

16. Those who had married, if coming without company, where did you leave your wife and children ?

Kampong	1
Other (Please write)	2

d. Arrival for the first time in city

17. With whom did you stay when you arrived for the first time in the city ?

Family	1
Brother/sister	2
Relative	3
Friends from village	4
School friends	5
Hotel and equivalents	6
Barracks (army/police)	7
Place supplied by authority	8
Other (Please write)	9

18. How long did you stay there ?

1 week	1
1 - 2 weeks	2
2 - 4 weeks	3
1 - 3 months	4
3 - 6 months	5
6 - 12 months	6
1 year	7
Stay there permanently	8

19. If did not stay permanently there, where did you stay after that ?

Alone renting room	1
Sharing a room	2
Sharing a house	3
Other (Please write)	4

e. First job and urban labour absorption

20. How long did you have to wait before you got the first job.

Working straightaway	1
1 week	2
1 - 2 weeks	3
2 - 4 weeks	4
1 - 3 months	5
3 - 6 months	6
6 - 12 months	7
1 year	8

21. Who helped you find the first job

Self	1
Brother/sister in city	2
Relatives in city	3
Friends in city	4
Other (Please write)	5

22. Was the first job in line with the job which you had desired when you were in kampong.

Yes	1
Accepted any job first	2
No but taking up anything first	3
Keep on selecting until got the right job	4

f. Arrival of other people

23. How long in the city had you been before other people came to you in the city.

1 month	1
1 - 3 months	2
3 - 12 months	3
1 year	4
None came	

24. Who come to join you in the city ?

Wife/children	1
Brother/sister	2
Relative	3
Friends from village	4
School friends	5
Other (Please write)	6

II. Experience and adaptation to city life

g. Life in city as opposed to life in kampong

25. After having been in the city for a while now, is your life in the city better than the life that you expected before you came

to stay in the city.

Far better	1
Just as expected	2
Less than expected	3

26. Are you satisfied with the following in the city compared to kampung life before.

	Yes (1)	No (2)	Not sure (3)
Housing			
Job			
Life in general			

27. Could you say that your coming to the city has brought many good things to you ?

Yes, could buy many things	1
Yes, receives many skills	2
Yes, got much new knowledge	3
Yes, children got better education	4
No	5

28. Has your life become worse ?

n. Participation in city life - neighbours

29. Do your neighbours consist of the following :

All Malays	1
Majority Malays	2
Majority Negri Sembilan Malays	3
All racial groups	4
Majority other racial groups	5
Other (Please write)	6
Don't know	7

30. What type of neighbours do you have :

All migrants	1
A small number of native families	2
Majority native in that locality/a small number migrants	3
Nearly all migrants	4
Don't know	5

31. How is your relationship with your neighbours ?

Close and used to help each other	1
Good and occasional visiting	2
Good at children's level only	3
Bad	4
Each on his own	5

32. Do you visit the following friends ;

Friends from all racial groups	1
Malay friends only	2
Relatives/kampong folks only	3
Other (Please write)	4

33. Who are your close friends in the city ?

Relatives and folks from the same kampong	1
Friends from the same place of work	2
Close friends from school	3
Other (Please write)	4

34. How often do you visit your relative/folks from kampong

Often	1
Sometimes	2
Fewer	3
Not applicable because no relative here	4

35. a) Are you a member of any associations/institution in this city ?

Yes	1
No	2

b) Type of Associations/Institutions

36. If none, go to question No. 35. If yes, is the association open to all ?

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

37. What part do you play on the Association

Full participation/very active	1
Less participation/not that active	2
Play no active part	3

i. Link to valley/changes in city

38. After having been in the city for so long now, do you feel that you have changed.

Great change	1
Little change	2
No change/as usual	3

39. Do you practise 'adat perpatih' while in residence in the city ?
(such as from the point of ownership of things/marriage feast and so on).

Practising as in the kampong	1
Not practising here but do so in kampong	2
Not practising here in kampong	3
Other (Please write)	4

40. What do you do during holidays

Picnicking	1
Cinema going	2
Going back to kampong	3
Other (Please write)	4

41. We would also like to ask your views about the following.

a) Which is a better place to raise children

In city	1
At kampong	2

b) Which is an easier place to earn a living now,

In city	1
At kampong	2

c) Which place is easier to save

In city	1
At kampong	2

d) Which place is better to have big family

In city	1
At kampong	2

e) Are city people better than kampong folks in terms of

	better	same	worst
Life			
Life			
Behaviour			
Mixing			
Religion			
Education			
General knowledge			
Helping each other			

42. Name main Malay areas in the city

Code	
None	1
3	2
4 - 8	3
8	4

43. Newspaper reading and type

Don't read	1
------------	---

Read Malay and English papers	2
Read Malay or English paper everyday	3
Read Malay or English paper from time to time	4

44. Is it possible that you are going to stay permanently in the city,

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know/not sure	3

45. If other than yes or not sure go to question No. 46 below.
If not, when do you plan to go back to kampong,

After pension	1
After accumulating enough things	2
Other (Please write)	3

46. Have you able to buy property/things (land, house and others) since coming to the city.

Able to accumulate a lot	1
Able to accumulate a little	2
None	3

*III. Rural-Urban Relation

j. Visits

47. How often do you go back to kampong

Never	1
Rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Weekly	5

48. How long do you stay in kampong everytime you return to kampong for a visit.

2 days or less	1
3 - 7 days	2
More than one week	3

49. Everytime you return home, do you bring (money/goods) home with you ?

Rarely	1
Everytime coming home	2
Never	3

k. Letters

50. How often do you send letters home

Never	1
Seldom/rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4

51. Do you send money or things to kampung

None	1
Seldom/rarely	2
Sometimes (1 - 6 month)	3
Often (every month)	4

Note: If none go to question No 56 below.

52. To whom it is sent

Mother	1
Father	2
Brother/sister	3
Relatives	4
Other (Please write)	5

53. For what purpose is the money used

Family expenditure	1
Building/repairing house	2
Buying property (land)	3
Deposite	4
Other (Please write)	5

54. Within 1 year how much (in money terms) do you send/bring to the kampung.

Less than 50 dollars	1
51 - 100 dollars	2
101 - 150 dollars	3
151 - 300 dollars	4
301 - 500 dollars	5
501 - 1000 dollars	6
More than 1000 dollars	7

55. How do you send the money

Post	1
Take it to kampung	2
Through friends from kampung	3
Through relatives	4
Others (Please write)	5

*1. Link from kampung

56. a) Does your family send money or things from kampung ?

Yes	1
No	2

b) If yes what is the money or things used for ?

Daily expenditure	1
Education	2
Other (Please write)	3

57. Do kampong folk visit you here ?

Never	1
Seldom/rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Monthly	4

58. In your opinion will your kampong become poorer if all the kampong folks in the city do not send money to the families in kampong.

Poorer	1
As normal	2
Other (Please write)	3

*m. Link with kampong

59. Is your wife/husband

From the same district: marriage arranged	1
From the same district: marriage not arranged.	2
From other district: marriage arranged	3
From other district: marriage not arranged.	4

60. a) Have you managed to buy/possess land in your kampong

Yes-pusaka	1
Yes-non pusaka	2
Currently looking to buy	3
No	4
Have plan to buy	5

b): i) Have you a house in kampong

Yes pusaka	1
Yes non pusaka	2
No	3
Currently building	4
Having plan to build	5

ii) Is the house that has or will be built on pusaka land.

Yes	1
No	2

iii) For whom the house is built

Self	1
------	---

Children	2
Relative	3
Mother/father	4
Other (Please write)	5

63. Do you offer any help (material, idea etc) to your kampong community.

Yes money/other goods	1
Yes idea	2
Yes education related	3
Yes association related	4
No	5

64. When voting in political and otherwise election do you go back to your kampong to vote ?

Yes	1
No	2

65. It is generally said that Negri folk like to go back to kampong. Why is this so in your opinion.

APPENDIX B.

Factors Used in the Regionalisation of Negri Sembilan
(Chapter 3)

Factors	(Districts)					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Area (sq. km)	528	956	216	160	367	339
Density (persons/ sq. km).	62	121	353	249	460	142
Malays (% district population)	51	60	35	75	29	55
Chinese and Indians (% district popu- lation)	43	39	64	23	70	45
Total population (20-34 years), 000	5	17	17	5	31	9
Sex ratio (20-34 yrs) (Total Population)	90	80	124	66	87	92
Sex ratio (20-34 yrs) (Malays)	79	71	159	55	79	88
Median Age (Total Population)	15.7	15.2	16.9	16.1	17.1	14.8
Infant mortality rate (Total Population)	32.3	42.3	23.1	37.3	43.3	42.
% born in district (Total Population)	69.1	71.1	52.9	69.4	63.1	45.1
% population below 15 years	48.5	46.4	45.1	47.2	44.9	50.5
% urban (centres 1000 +)	38.1	19.9	13.5	4.2	57.1	33.4
% urban (centres 10000+)	-	10.8	13.5	-	47.8	-
Number with no schooling (000)	13	44	28	15	57	18
Children not at school	3757	26638	16895	8302	14386	11962
Number with pri- mary education - (000).	16	55	35	18	77	23
Number with secun- dary education - (000).	5	15	12	5	33	6
Students	7768	28155	16312	10715	22608	11197

Factors	(Districts)					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Population (10 yrs.+) literate, (000)	14	50	35	18	81	20
Unemployed	301	1398	1325	551	4042	759
Employed - rice	1981	5366	553	2391	10	49
Employed - rubber	5254	15889	10958	5251	947	983
Self-employed	4173	12589	4110	4719	5789	4077
Wage earner	4171	14143	18409	3459	14485	7835
Population in labour force (10 years and over)	10999	33744	27459	12262	51767	14779
Women in labour force (10 years +)	219	1105	1160	219	4502	638
Number employed in agri., forestry, hunting, gathering, fishing.	2402	4659	1914	2714	2288	908
Number employed in quarrying.	273	24	109	3	194	10
Number employed in construction	99	333	429	63	1008	156
Number employed in electricity, water, etc.	53	120	426	16	370	114
Number employed in transport, sto- rage, etc.	139	645	503	131	1940	915
Number employed in commerce	553	2504	1354	593	5672	725
Number employed in services.	1251	4027	8004	1137	10325	2052
Government Offi- cers.	408	1791	1125	499	3030	655
Household having cars.	430	1235	1319	418	4105	59
Household having televisions.	17	230	1764	351	5370	889
Household having telephones.	37	211	291	20	1578	146
Household having radios.	2942	9684	7410	3386	17071	4497
Household having sewing machines.	2730	9902	6107	5618	14480	4290

Factors	(Districts)					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Household having refrigerators.	143	820	1390	193	4208	1054
GDP / capita MS., 1970.	864	730	1728	686	863	820
GDP (Manufact.) MS., 1970.	-	2419	316676	-	34291	8591
Rubber production (smallholdings) - tons.	3648	8666	5017	3193	17788	7298
Rubber production (estate) - tons.	1745	25485	3223	4415	30851	11015

Source: Abdul Hamid Abdullah, personal communication, 1978; taken from his data file for his Ph.D. thesis, while he was doing his field research in Malaysia.

Note: districts 1. Jelebu; 2. Kuala Pilah; 3. Port Dickson; 4. Rembau; 5. Seremban; 6. Tampin.

APRIL 1971

STATE OF ORIGIN RESIDENCE

STATEMENT - ORIGIN RESIDENCE BASED FOR PENINSULAR MALAYSIA BY SEX, 1970.

STATE/PLACE	MALES	FEMALES	CHINESE	INDIAN	SIAM	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	OTHER	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	OTHER	TOTAL
JOHORE	6,158	1,180	1,285	4,583	4,583	4,583	4,583	4,583	4,583	4,583	4,583	4,583
SELANGOR	2,280	1,125	1,125	1,125	1,125	1,125	1,125	1,125	1,125	1,125	1,125	1,125
PUTRAJAYA	2,450	1,250	1,250	1,250	1,250	1,250	1,250	1,250	1,250	1,250	1,250	1,250
NEGERI	1,100	550	550	550	550	550	550	550	550	550	550	550
U. SINGAPORE	4,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
PERAK	1,110	600	600	600	600	600	600	600	600	600	600	600
TERENGGANU	1,380	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700	700
PAHANG	3,870	1,935	1,935	1,935	1,935	1,935	1,935	1,935	1,935	1,935	1,935	1,935
SEKUTU	1,000	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
NEGERI	4,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
NEGERI	4,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
NEGERI	4,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
TOTAL	60,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000

STATEMENT - ORIGIN RESIDENCE BASED FOR PENINSULAR MALAYSIA BY SEX, 1970.

STATE/PLACE	MALES	FEMALES	CHINESE	INDIAN	SIAM	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	OTHER	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	OTHER	TOTAL
JOHORE	1,000,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
SELANGOR	2,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
PUTRAJAYA	2,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
NEGERI	2,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
U. SINGAPORE	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
PERAK	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
TERENGGANU	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
PAHANG	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
SEKUTU	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
NEGERI	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
NEGERI	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
NEGERI	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
TOTAL	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000

Source: Department of Statistics, 1971.

AP221432, 02

Most Recent Malay Interstate Migration, 1970

State of Previous Residence	Present Place of Residence											Total
	Johor	Kedah	Kelantan	Malaka	Negeri Sembilan	Perak	Perlis	Selangor	Tengganu	Total		
Johor	161278	513	1273	5105	3734	3557	1330	3373	70	11022	1101	193215
Kedah	1251	121140	1075	586	1702	2734	11957	53176	5764	6078	548	195202
Kelantan	1734	2632	212765	145	1203	16049	1024	7013	453	5253	19316	153603
Malaka	5545	115	620	31452	3568	1889	433	1048	43	12001	287	47163
Negeri Sembilan	5513	461	201	4913	16502	3568	817	7572	74	14172	432	89717
Perak	3347	131	1402	447	3744	10070	969	3673	160	5137	2158	11218
Perlis	1734	11745	620	420	3702	2053	23309	8593	837	5011	221	64158
Perak	3281	11137	2547	2123	3170	5010	3017	144504	982	21720	842	216150
Perlis	128	2315	132	75	203	783	756	1327	10421	317	21	21013
Selangor	4137	2104	2483	4747	1075	5512	2020	12460	705	121752	1580	166528
Tengganu	2314	602	4022	132	575	12136	176	598	54	7571	6053	81007
Total	192353	135042	139401	25151	64421	108402	82570	391664	23745	219615	55643	1,514,453
Excluding cross-border	452460	477427	552266	150351	205225	121553	166158	565915	65192	286346	259932	

Source: Department of Statistics, 1970, (unpublished).

APPENDIX 64

Ultimate Return Migration, 1950.

Previous Residence	Birthplace and place of current residence										
	Johor	Kedah	Kelantan	Malaka	Selangor	Pahang	Pulau Pinang	Perak	Perlis	Selangor	Terengganu
Johor	144573	152	776	1124	1126	459	119	710	10	779	290
Kedah	372	139433	187	77	155	99	2943	1342	379	265	60
Kelantan	205	776	112100	109	209	307	135	405	10	207	1094
Malaka	965	5	191	1455	709	38	75	242	14	555	74
Selangor	778	95	135	1167	10627	272	117	537	19	1103	50
Pahang	648	305	967	102	695	57675	100	940	27	504	815
Pulau Pinang	144	2335	120	63	94	175	77801	1127	49	289	47
Perak	545	2601	576	290	445	115	1247	121071	290	2170	304
Perlis	26	1006	78	3	15	5	105	331	17419	52	6
Selangor	1182	761	505	1474	1571	394	591	5078	81	80575	799
Terengganu	725	57	1732	30	80	113	46	176	8	494	64277
Total	151065	147120	514080	19322	16754	54096	12765	157177	8032	89504	66945
Return migrant	5052	7908	4766	4574	8132	6776	4706	11001	1443	6517	2821

Source: Department of Statistics. (unpublished).

(Malays only).

APPENDIX D: ESTIMATING DAILY COMMUTERS FROM SEREMBAN TO KUALA LUMPUR. A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH.

1. INTRODUCTION.

We observed at the initial stage of our fieldwork that quite a substantial number of people travelled from Seremban town to Kuala Lumpur between 5.30 a.m. and 8. a.m. by private cars and public transport, especially buses, taxis and railways. We found out that many of these people travelled to work either in government departments or private organisations in Kuala Lumpur. They travelled at those hours so that they could reach their places of work by 8. a.m. for government departments and 9. a.m. for some private organisations. It seemed to us that there was a substantial number of commuters travelling between Seremban and Kuala Lumpur, about 65 km apart, daily. We, therefore, set out to get some ideas about the total number of those involved.

2. THE METHODOLOGY.

Since our aim was to make a quick estimate of the number of commuters between the two centres, we tried to count these people as they left Seremban. There were problems, however, in trying to arrive at an estimate. There were at least four alternative modes of transportation by which these people could travel, namely, private cars, railways, buses and taxis. In order to get a reasonable estimate of the commuters, we had to organise some counts of people travelling by each of these modes. After a pilot study we found out that seldom were there people travelling by taxis to work in Kuala Lumpur. The number of people commuting by rail was almost negligible because the only train which these people could take was the 5.30 a.m. train. It was rather early for the people to travel to work. (We were told, however, by some workers at the railway station that several people used to travel by train to work in Kuala Lumpur in the past). It was possible then to focus only on those individuals travelling by bus and private cars.

Estimates of commuters travelling by bus was made by, first of all, interviewing the bus drivers and conductors of those buses travelling to Kuala Lumpur between 6 - 7 a.m. We asked them to estimate the number of individuals consistently travelling everyday to Kuala Lumpur to work. To supplement this we conducted a count of people tra-

king the buses during those time. Occasionally, we took a random sample of individuals and asked them the purpose of their journey. We also checked the number of people using the 'monthly bus ticket'. (Unfortunately not all those people travelling regularly bought the 'monthly bus ticket' and therefore we could not fully cross-check our data).

There were two bus companies operating between Seremban and Kuala Lumpur, namely, the SKS - Seremban Kuala Lumpur Express using the new dual-carriage highway and the Foh Eup Company - operating on the old route to Kuala Lumpur.

Turning next to people travelling by private cars, more problems were faced in trying to estimate the number of commuters using this mode of travel. Since there was no 'stations; from which we could go and count, we set up a counting point at the end of the built-up areas of the old route to Kuala Lumpur and another one at the junction of a road leading to the new highway. No attempt was made to stop and interview the people in the car, but we tried to identify the cars that travelled regularly during those early hours for several days.

The days on which the counting was made was confined to Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. Friday and Monday were avoided so as to exclude the possibility of counting people travelling to visit relatives in Kuala Lumpur at the weekends and those who returned to Kuala Lumpur after visiting their parents in the village. (It was reasonable to exclude Fridays and Mondays because on several occasions we found several people returning to Kuala Lumpur on early Mondays and some travelling on Fridays to be with their kin in Kuala Lumpur for the weekends). Since I had only one volunteer to help then, I had to make the bus counts on a different day from the private cars counts.

In counting the people in private cars and those individuals travelling on a bus, an assumption was made that those travelling to Kuala Lumpur at those early hours everyday must have done so to reach their place of work between 8. a.m. and 9. a.m.

3. THE RESULTS.

1) Private Car Counts:

Average number of cars passing the counting points over
10 days: 25

Average people travelling: 2

Total = 50 individuals.

2) Bus Counts:

1.	SKS - Seremban Kuala Lumpur Express:		
	Our count = 120. Drivers estimate 100.		
2.	Foh Hup Company.		
	Our count = 90. Drivers estimate 80.		
3.	Total:	Our count	210
		Drivers estimate	180
		Average	195
4.	Grand Total:	Bus	195
		Car	50
			245

These figures underestimated the total number of commuters especially those travelling after 7. a.m. when the traffic became too heavy for us to make a useful estimate of the commuters.

APPENDIX E: ESTIMATING THE 1978 POVERTY LINE FOR MALAYSIA.

It appears that Anand's (1978) estimate of the poverty line for Malaysia for 1970 is sufficient to be used as a base for an estimate of the poverty line in 1978. According to that estimate, the poverty line for Malaysia in 1970 was about M\$25 per person per month. However, since 1970 the cost of living in Malaysia has gone up. The recession in world economy and the energy crises continued to push up prices between 1970 and 1978. The total consumer price index (CPI) found in the annual report of the Ministry of Finance, Malaysia, gives some indications of the increase in the cost of living. Note that the total CPI is somewhat bias towards the prices in the major urban centres of the country, in which the rise in the CPI was easily observed and recorded. In the absence of a more suitable measure of the rise in the cost of living the CPI is still useful to be use here.

Using Anand's (1978) estimate of the poverty line for Malaysia for 1970 as the base (i.e. M\$25,) the Malaysian poverty line for 1978 was estimated to be about \$41. per person per month. In Table 1. we summarise the calculation in full.

Table 1. Estimating the Malaysian Poverty Line for 1978.

Year	CPI Increase*	Increase in M\$.	Cumulative Poverty line 1970-1978 M\$.
1970	-	-	Anand's estimate \$25.
1970-1971	+ 1.9	0.48	\$25.48
1971-1972	+ 1.6	0.41	\$25.89
1972-1973	+ 3.2	0.83	\$26.72
1973-1974	+ 10.5	2.81	\$29.53
1974-1975	+ 17.4	5.14	\$34.67
1975-1976	+ 4.5	1.56	\$36.23
1976-1977	+ 2.6	0.94	\$37.17
1977-1978	+ 4.7	1.75	\$38.95
1978-1979	+ 4.4	1.91	\$40.86
End of 1978 poverty line was about			--- \$41.

* These figures were taken from Malaysia, Ministry of Finance Annual Report, 1980, Jadual 3.6, xxiv; and limited to some consumer goods only.

APPENDIX E: OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION ADOPTED FOR STUDY OF MALAY
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY IN KUALA LUMPUR AND SEREMBAN.

UPPER STATUS

- 0 - Elite: Cabinet Ministers; Members of Federal Parliament; High Ranking Service Personnel (General rank or above); Department Heads; Supreme Court Judges; Sultans; University Professors; Physicians.
- 1 - Managerial, Administrative and Professional - Upper Status; Members of State Legislature; Dentists, Lawyers, Bank Managers; Division I Civil Service; Businessmen with incomes above 25,000 Malayan dollars per annum; University Lecturers; Accountants; Architects.
- 2 - Managerial, Administrative and Professional - Lower Status: Secondary School Teachers; Religious officials; e.g. Imam, Kachi; Artists; Writers; Journalists; Businessmen with incomes of between 6,000 and 25,000 Malayan dollars per annum; Police Superintendents; Officers in Services.

MIDDLE STATUS

- 3 - High Clerical, etc.: Chief Clerks; Penghulus; Draughtsmen; Hospital Attendants; Laboratory Assistants; Proprietors with incomes of between 3,000 and 6,000 Malayan dollars; Midwives; Nurses; Religious Teachers; Trained Teachers in primary schools; Police Inspectors; Salesmen in large businesses.
- 4 - Skilled Workers, etc.: Carpenters, Plumbers; Electricians, Mechanics; Compositors, Technicians; Linesmen; Agricultural Supervisors; Mining Assistants; Proprietors with incomes of between 1,000 and 3,000 Malayan dollars.
- 5 - Clerical Workers - Lower Grades; Teachers (unqualified); Police.

Constables; and Service Personnel below Sergeant; Peons, Small shop proprietors with incomes below 1,000 Malayan dollars; Ketua Kampongs; Bomohs; Salesmen in small businesses.

LOW STATUS

- 6 - Drivers, etc.: Liftmen; Locomotive drivers; Bus drivers; Taxi drivers; Storemen; Sailors; Hawkers.
- 7 - Factory workers, etc.: Janitors; Domestic Servants; Greasers, etc.; Gardeners.
- 8 - Small farmers owning land below 10 acres; Fishermen; Estate workers.
- 9 - Urban labourers employed on daily basis.
- 10 - Non-landowning agricultural worker in peasant sector.

APPENDIX G: URBANISATION INDICES FOR THE HOLOGRAM

We have chosen 39 indices to represent numerous urban situations to which the individual migrant would adapt. Below we present in detail the assumptions and the indices. Note that each of the scores in all these indices was expressed in quartiles.

Sector A. Background Information.

Sector A of the hologram consists of three indices which give an indication of the individual migrant's past influences and experiences of urban situations.

Index 1. Urban residence in early years.

$$\frac{\text{Years spent in town (5000 people) x 100}}{\text{until the 15th birthday}} \\ \text{Number of years}$$

The assumption made was that the greater number of years spent in towns, the more likely it was that the individual migrant would be able to adapt to the city.

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1 | below 25 |
| 2 | 25 - 50 |
| 3 | 50 - 75 |
| 4 | 75 |

Index 2. Early urban contacts, school years: age 7 - 15 years.

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| 1 | Wholly rural |
| 2 | More rural, less urban |
| 3 | Less rural, more urban |
| 4 | Completely urban |

This index is a supplementary to index 1. It was assumed that the longer the migrants early urban contacts with the town the more likely it was that the individual migrant would be inclined to adapt to the city.

Index 3. Occupational status of migrant's father as indicated

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1 | Rural occupation (lower status) |
| 2 | Low status occupation |

- 3 Higher status occupation
- 4 High status occupation

It was assumed that the higher the status of the migrant's father's occupation, measured by income, the more was the inclination for the migrant to enter "urban" occupations and hence to adapt to the city.

Sector B. Migrants Socio-economic Background.

This sector hopes to show the individual's socio-economic background. The indices are ranked from 1 to 4 in terms of what we considered to be the migrant's assets to enable him to adapt to the city.

Index 4. Migrant's educational achievement.

- 1 Primary
- 2 Lower Secondary (up to Form 3)
- 3 Upper Secondary (up to Form 6)
- 4 Tertiary - College/University.

Index 5. Migrant's occupational background before coming to Seremban or Kuala Lumpur.

- 1 No previous employment (except on farm in the Kampong).
- 2 Unemployed including in employment without any skill.
- 3 Employed with some skills such as clerical.
- 4 Employed with some what "specialised" skill such as an engineer.

Index 6. Urban experience before entering Seremban and Kuala Lumpur.

$$\frac{\text{Years in towns over 5000 up to 15th birthday} \times 100}{\text{Years after 15th birthday before entering Seremban / Kuala Lumpur}}$$

1. 25. 2. 25 - 50 3. 50 - 75 4. 75.

Sector C. The Environment of Entry into the City.

This sector attempts to show whether the migrant's "environment of entry" into Kuala Lumpur - Seremban was encouraging him to adapt to the city. We assumed that the environment of entry was "encouraging" when

the migrant entered the city will "protected" by his friends and relatives. In addition it was assumed also that when the migrant got a job in a shorter period of time after coming to the city there was every chance that he would likely adapt to the city.

Index 7. Do you know anybody before you come here ?

- 1 None
- 2 Friends non village - urban
- 3 friends from village
- 4 Relative/family

Index 8. With whom do you stay in the city on first arrival ?

- 1 Bent a room in Hotel etc.
- 2 Authority
- 3 Friends from village
- 4 Relatives and family

Index 9. How long do you have to wait before you got a job ?

- 1 Over 6 months
- 2 1 - 3 months
- 3 Within a month
- 4 Less than a month

Sector D. Attachment to Kuala Lumpur/Seremban.

In this sector we try to show the attraction and the attachment of the individual migrant to the city.

Index 10. Years in Kuala Lumpur/Seremban x 100
(the total if not continuous)

Present age - 14

1. 25. 2. 25 - 50. 3. 50 - 75. 4. 75.

Index 11. Do you intend to stay in Kuala Lumpur - Seremban permanently ?

- 1 No
- 2 Don't know
- 3 Yes

Index 12. Are you satisfied with your life in the city ?

- 1 No

- 2 Don't know
- 3 As expected
- 4 Yes

Index 13. Have you acquired properties in this city ?

- 1 No
- 2 A little
- 3 Some
- 4 Yes - such as house, land, consumer durable goods.

Sector E. Individual Migrant's Present Socio-economic Characteristic.

In this sector we made an assumption that the more favourable the migrant's present socio-economic background (measured in terms of occupational status, income, amenities and others) the more likely he would adapt to the city.

Index 14. Occupation. The measurement is similar to Index 3.

Index 15. Income

- 1 1 300 dollars Malaysian per month
- 2 300 - 500 dollars
- 3 501 - 1000 dollars
- 4 1000 dollars.

Index 16. Household amenities

- 1 1 Very poor
- 2 Slightly better
- 3 Better
- 4 Very good

Index 17. House ownership.

- 1 Staying with relatives/squatting
- 2 Tenants
- 3 Quarters
- 4 Owned one in new residential areas.

Index 18. Location of house

- 1 Squatters
- 2 "Traditional" Malay areas in Kuala Lumpur - Seremban.

- 3 Modern flats and modern low cost housing area with mixed population.
- 4 Better residential area with mixed population.

Index 19. Possession of status goods.

- 1 Radio
- 2 T.V.; refrigerator; motorcycle.
- 3 Car; washing machine
- 4 All of the items above.

Sector F. Urban - Rural Link.

Sector F attempts to show the urban-rural link. An assumption was made in that the stronger the tie with the village the more likely would the migrant resist from adapting to Kuala Lumpur - Seremban.

Index 20. Where were your parents ?

- 1 Alive in Kampong
- 2 Mother died but father in Kampong
- 3 Parents shifted to towns
- 4 All died/All in cities

Index 21. Did you visit your kampong often ?

- 1 Every month
- 2 Once 3 - 6 months
- 3 Once 6 - 12 months
- 4 None - only on special occasions

Index 22. Did you remit money regularly ?

- 1 Regular
- 2 Irregular 1 - 6 months
- 3 Once in a while
- 4 Did not remit

Index 23. Marital ties

- 1 Wife from home district - marriage arranged
- 2 Wife from home district - marriage not arranged
- 3 Wife from elsewhere - marriage arranged
- 4 Wife from elsewhere - marriage not arranged

Sector G. Migrant's Contacts and Knowledge of Kuala Lumpur - Seremban.

In this sector we hope to measure some of the broader implications of the individual migrant's contacts and exposure to the city. From the literature on urbanisation in the Third World we found that living in urban areas exposed an individual migrants to new ideas and attitudes through increased contacts with the media and also through working in offices or factories. It was assumed that the less the individual migrant tied to his own relatives and kampung friends the more would there be the inclination to adapt to the city.

Index 24. Friendship pattern

- 1 Kins
- 2 Neighbours
- 3 Work mate
- 4 Mixed races.

Index 25. Friendship visits.

- 1 Kins
- 2 Neighbours
- 3 Work mate - Malay
- 4 mixed ethnics

Index 26. Members of Association.

- 1 None
- 2 At place of residence only
- 3 At work only
- 4 Wider society such as Golf Club.

Index 27. Newspaper reading

- 1 None
- 2 Sometimes Malay or English
- 3 Malay or English
- 4 Daily Malay or English

Index 28. Knowledge of Malays Areas: This is to measure the migrant's awareness and contacts with other residential areas of Kuala Lumpur - Seremban.

- 1 None
- 2 1 - 3
- 3 4 - 8
- 4 8

Sector H. Urban Attitudes.

Sector H examines the individual migrant's urban attitudes and views on certain aspects of life in the city. It was often asserted in the literature on urbanisation that rural people usually held certain stereotypes about people living in the city. Thus, the city people were frequently described as being less religious and less bounded by Adat. However, the situations in our survey villages, and in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban did not indicate that these stereotypes were necessarily present. We were told, for example, that the city Malays tended to be more religious. (During the fieldwork in 1978 it appeared to us also that the Dakwah (missionary) movement was strong in the city). In this situation we scored the views of the individual migrant to several questions pertaining to life in the city compared to life in the Kampong in the following manner. When the answer favoured the city, we assumed that the migrant tended to favour the city and this should be interpreted as that the migrant had the inclination to adapt to the city.

Index 29. Have you changed while staying in this city ?

- 1 No
- 2 A little
- 3 Yes
- 4

Index 30. Which place was better to raise children ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

Index 31. Which place was better to earn a living ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

Index 32. Which place was better for saving ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

Index 33. Which place was better to stay permanently ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

Index 34. Which people tended to have better moral standard ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

Index 35. This index is a supplementary to index 34. Which people always showed better behaviour (such as respect for old people, for friends)

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

Index 36. Which people tended to be more religious ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

(Note in 1978 it appeared that the city people were as religious as the people in the village. The respondents were saying that the Dakwah (missionary) movement was strong in the city compared to the situation in the village.)

Index 37. Which people tended to be better educated ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

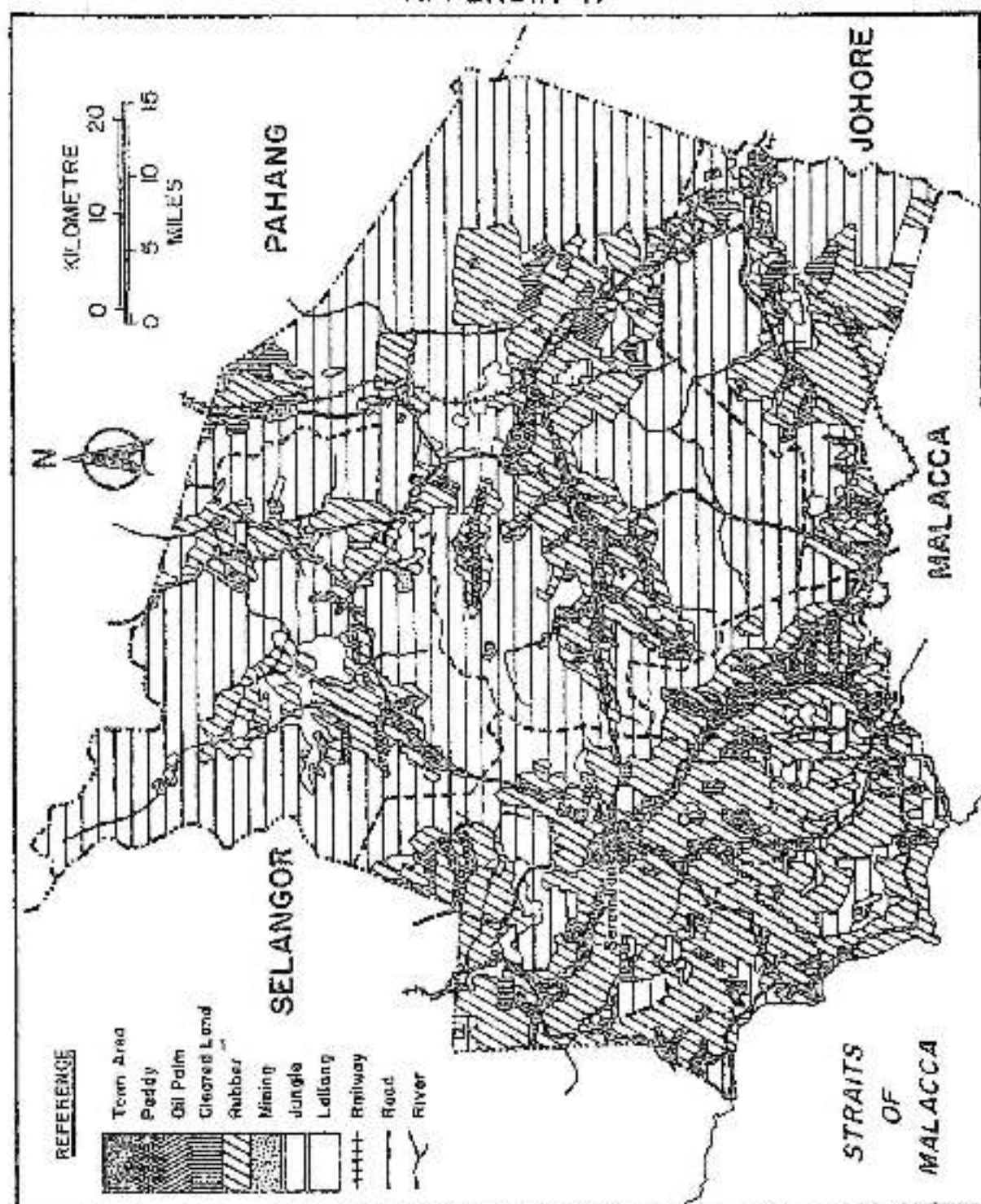
Index 38. This index is a supplement to index 37. Which people tended to be more knowledgeable ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

Index 39. Among which people would 'gotong royong' become dominant in their lives ?

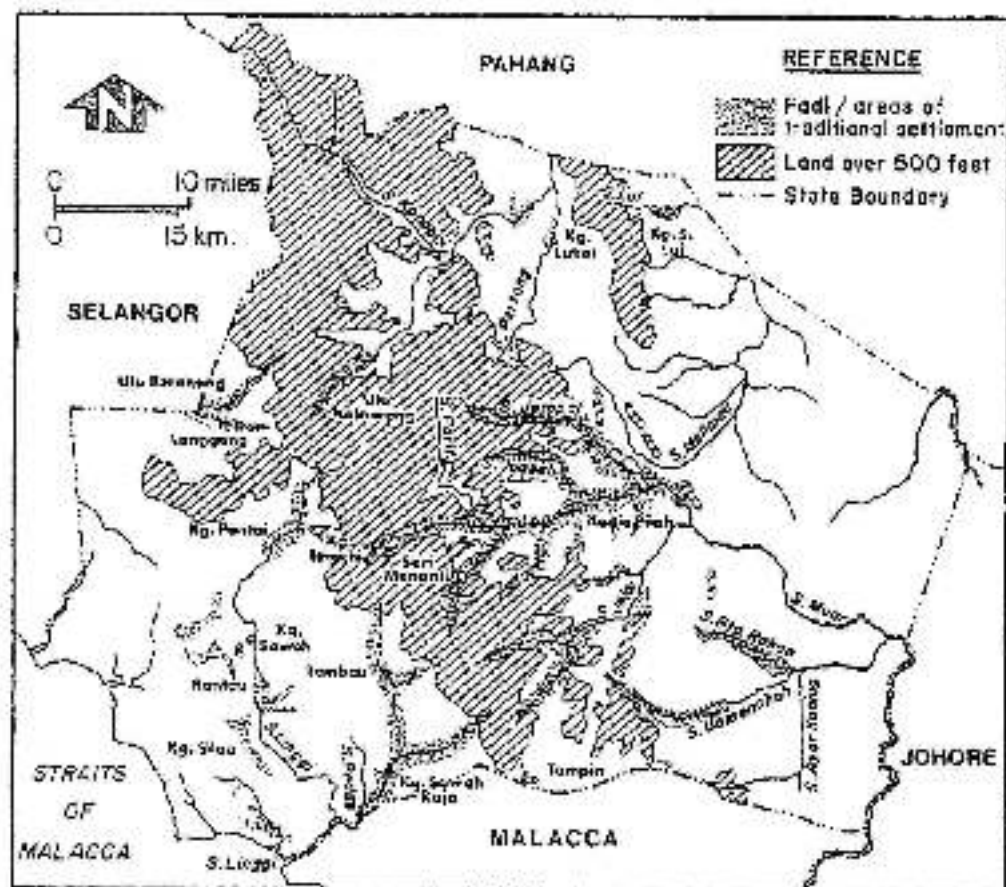
- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

APPENDIX H



Landuse in Negri Sembilan (1966)

APPENDIX I



Main areas of traditional settlement in Negri Sembilan.
(Adapted from Zaharah Mahmud, '70, p. 107).

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