

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 ORGANISATION

CHAPTER 12

MERANTAU AND THE VILLAGE

12.1. INTRODUCTION.

This chapter is concerned with the impact of merantau on the village of origin. Since the overall approach of this study is a village oriented one it is useful to assess the consequences of migration on the survey villages. The focus of this chapter is to examine the contention that out migration is beneficial to the sending village. Data from a questionnaire survey of three villages are combined with observation and discussion with government officials in these villages and in towns close to these villages to show the contribution of migration to these villages.

12.2. A BRIEF REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION ON THE SENDING AREA.

From the growing literature discussing the impacts of migration on the area of origin in the Third World, we can distinguish broadly two viewpoints (see Connell, 1980). One viewpoint suggests that out migration in the Third World does not bring benefits to the sending area. Amin (1974, 104) maintained that

"Emigration impoverishes the regions; it also prevents the socio-economic structure from undergoing radical, progressive change; also, to defend themselves, to survive; these societies react by re-inforcing those aspects of their traditional structure, which enable them to survive this impoverishment. But at the same time, this impoverishment reinforces the push effect on certain elements of the population, reproducing the conditions of emigration. The form that this development then takes is that of a degenerated, agrarian capitalism, corrupted and poor".

In Amin's view, then, out migration does not really bring positive benefits to the sending region although some individual households may gain from the process; such a gain is relatively minimal compared to the gain by the area of destination. The whole process of out migration is the result of uneven development; people move from a less developed area to a more deve-

loped one; inequalities will be accentuated further following the out migration of the better educated village population; any benefits coming from the migrants go to the richer households. Evidence from other Third World areas in recent studies seems to reach a similar conclusion that the area of origin does not gain from out migration (Connell, *et al.*, 1976; Odumako and Riddell, 1979).

Another viewpoint maintains that migration brings benefits to the area of origin (Berg, 1965; Griffin, 1976; Hugo, 1978). Griffin (1976, 359), for example, maintained that,

"In the absence of improvements in rural credit market and in the provision of education in rural areas, migration may be a second-best optimum".

In addition, Adepoku (1979, 215) argued that adaptation by the village community may induce technological changes, including rational and intensive use of land, labour and capital resources. In West Javan villages, it has been found that extra money from remittances induced the growth of some non-agricultural economic activities in the village (Hugo, 1978). Zachariah (1966) reported that a substantial number of short distance movers over the age of 25 returned to their village in rural India, and they played a major role in speeding up the introduction of urban concepts to these villages.

Hugo (1975, Chapter 11) recognised two basic ways in which migration could produce change in the village. First, the village community had to adapt to the absence of youths with regard to their numbers, characteristics as well as to their duration of stay in the respective destinations. Second, the 'loss' of manpower was to some extent being compensated for, in most cases by remittances in the form of money or goods. Money flow was reinforced by urban to rural and also rural to urban visits which strengthened the relations between the destination and the kampung. In these situations, it is logical to expect certain modifications, changes and adjustments to take place in the village.

As shown in Chapter 5, our survey villages were losing their young people especially the active male population. The predominance of male absentees was somewhat widespread throughout the Kuala Pilah district as suggested by Figure 12.1. The figure, which summarises the adult (15 years and over) male to female ratio over several census periods, shows a declining trend of male to female ratio indicating an increasing number of adult females found in the district in recent years. Like the district

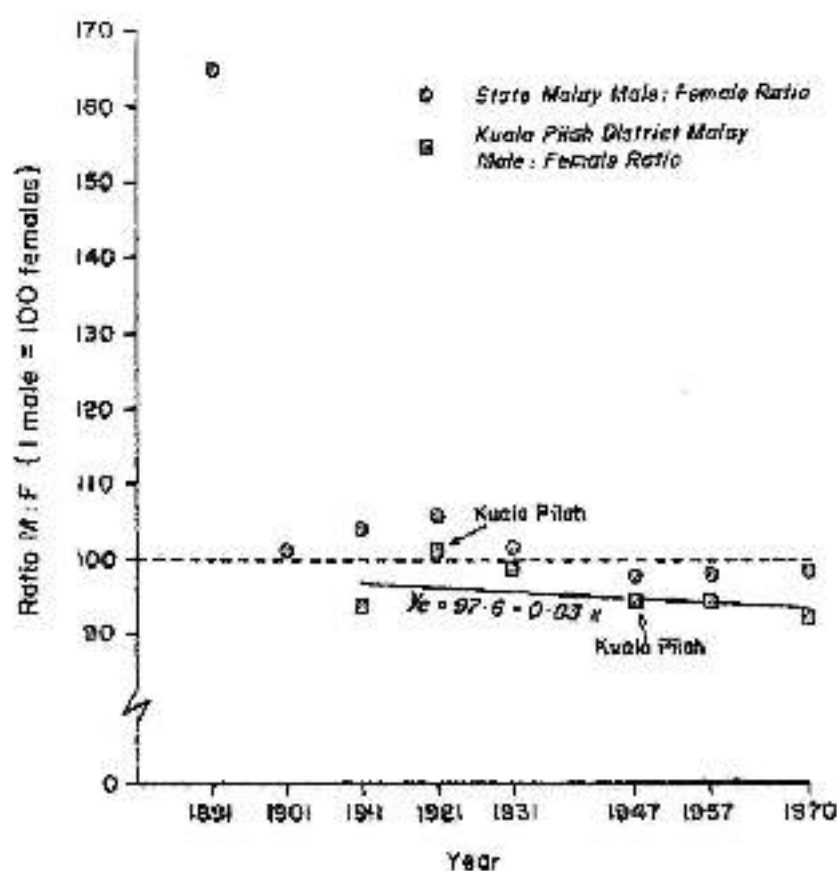


Figure 12.1: A Trend in Malay Male - Female Ratio for Kuala Pilah District, Negri Sembilan.

as a whole (Norconsult Report, 1974), the people in our survey villages would certainly feel the impact of youth outmigration. A readily noticeable impact was that elderly people were left to manage the economic activities in these villages.

To simplify our assessment of the impacts of out migration on the survey villages this chapter will be organised in the following manner. First, some social changes in the village will be identified. An assessment is then made of the role of merantau in contributing to these changes. Second, some socio-economic changes will be discussed, and finally, merantau and its impact on the wider village community will be examined.

12.3. MERANTAU AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE VILLAGE.

The communities in the survey villages, like others in Negri Sembilan, still followed the matrilineal custom known as the Adat Perpatih (De Jong, 1952; Swift, 1965; Lewis, 1976) in 1978, the central feature of which is that the community is organised into matrilineal, political and property holding units, and they inherit ancestral property - consisting of rice, house and garden lands. Although the de facto owner of ancestral property is the female, her male sibling is the formal head of her lineage segment; acts as administrator of her property and guardian to her children. While the male's position is recognised in this way in his mother's kin group he is considered a visitor to his wife's family. The adat, therefore, reduces a male to a marginal position with regard to ownership of ancestral property in his mother's group, and he becomes even more marginal to his wife's kin group. In addition to property relations, the adat specifies right behaviour amongst the community and it also regulates inter-personal relations, including marriages, amongst villagers and between the people of one village and another. The people in the survey villages observed the adat to varying degrees. Generally, older female villagers expressed strong support to perpetuate it and elderly males criticised it while the prevailing attitude amongst the younger generations was ambivalent. Many admitted that they knew nothing about it. The attitude of these young people signalled some serious changes threatening the adat. Some of the specific changes that have been identified are presented below.

12.3.1. Merantau and Sex Roles in the Village.

There are two relevant aspects of sex roles in relation to merantau

tau that require elaboration. First, in traditional times the male population went merantau but females, if they ever went merantau, did so to accompany their husbands (Rahim, 1960). But nowadays it is common to observe both single males and females leaving the village for the city to makan gaji. Two thirds of the 48 females in the 'tracer' survey in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban gave "job and education related" reasons for their first move from the village. This pattern represents a departure from merantau of female under the traditional arrangements. Second, in traditional times, village activities especially rice subsistence were not affected by outmigration because the community had established divisions of labour between males and females; the females were responsible for rice subsistence and the males earned incomes or went merantau (Swift, 1965; Lewis, 1976). A similar observation has been made in Cameroon, Africa. Quoting Owan (1976), Adepoju (1979, 213) showed that the minor impact of male outmigration on agriculture related to the fact that traditional agriculture was the occupation of women.

Although in 1975 the division of labour by sex was still present, the differentiating line was becoming blurred as males also participated in subsistence food production and some females tapped rubber or commuted to take wage jobs as teachers, clerks or as factory workers in the few factories in Kuala Pilah town. Persistent outmigration of young people from these survey villages contributed partly to the situation. In her work in Inas village, Kuala Pilah, Lewis (1976) has shown that the male and female divisions of labour in that village in the 1960s was also not clearest.

12.3.2. Adat and Village Life.

Makan gaji by both males and females for a substantial time from the village has produced other changes in adat. Villagers mentioned that the adat was loosening its grip on people due to merantau. Three aspects of adat are examined further here to illustrate the change. Firstly, regarding the status and role of the adat and other informal leaders in the village. After living in the survey villages for a couple of months it became obvious that the ibu-bapa (adat leader in each sub-clan) had not much influence beyond adat matters and ceremonies. He officiated at weddings, circumcision ceremonies and low level matters pertaining to ancestral properties and adat. The role of the informal leaders was limited to matters concerning their immediate kin and they had limited say in matters concerning the whole village. Villagers would rather go and consult political representatives or government officials over major matters

such as to get lands under the government fringe alienation scheme to find urban occupations for their children or to get their children into good government schools. Family matters were often resolved by immediate kin. Neither the adat leaders nor the appointed village heads had any say on peoples' decisions to move.

Second, the role of the maternal uncle as the guardian of his sisters' children. Discussion with adat leaders and village elders revealed that the traditional role of the maternal uncle was still practised although less strictly. The maternal uncle, for example, would see that his sister's children would be taken care of when the children's parents died. The adat leaders pointed out, however, that staying out makan gaji for a substantial period of time by the maternal uncles had eroded the uncles' role. The biological parents had more control over their children and the family.

Another noticeable change with respect to the adat was the rise of nuclear family in the village, in contrast to what is expected under the traditional system which favours extended families (Ibrahim, 1977). Over 70 percent, 60 percent and 55 percent in Juasseh, Sungai Dua and Ibol respectively were nuclear family households. First, as soon as a daughter got married, with the help of her parents she built her own house on a section of the ancestral land (see also Lewis, 1976). Seldom therefore, did we encounter 'rumah gedang' (big house), so much linked with the traditional Minangkabau society in West Sumatra. Second, it was not uncommon to find that after marriage the daughter followed her husband to the rantau. It appeared that the newly married couples desired to lead their own lives. Careful probing of the village respondents suggested that for the couples to live together in an extended family after marriage would often lead to friction between parents and children or between brothers and sisters, especially on matters relating to the sharing of daily maintenance cost. Because of this several elderly couples mentioned that the young people today usually wanted to be on their own after marriage.

In the survey villages, several cases were noticed where extended families, defined as those families having members from more than one generation, had evolved in the following manner. First, a couple might establish their own home after marriage; when opportunities for their growing family to subsist in the village began to decline, they went to work in the city leaving their children in the care of their sisters or parents. Second, another way was when the newly married people left for

the rantau. Sometimes, the heads of these households (that is the husbands) sent their wives and children back to the village to stay with the wife's mothers or alternatively sometimes only their children were sent home to attend primary schools in the village; the former case took place either for the initial weeks when the husbands got transferred to a new place that was somewhat far from their village of origin or as commonly observed amongst army personnel when the husbands went on "operation" along the Malaysian-Thai border for several months. The latter was generally practised by couples who tried to reduce the cost of sending their children to schools in the city. In this respect then merantau helps produce a different type of extended family unlike those expected under the traditional matrilineal system in which all the children tended to stay in the same house after marriage.

How was village life? As far back as the 1950s the villages seemed to be full of people but today the survey respondents stated that life was 'quiet' in the village. Pursuing this idea further, aspects of quietness in the village relate to the following:

1. A village without young adults was not as lively. Survey villagers lamented the passing of the 1940s and even 1950s when more youth remained in the village. There were young people involved in cooperative work (gotong royong) in the village; youth kept traditional sports such as kite flying alive. These helped to maintain those individual entrepreneurs to produce these items.
2. Survey villagers also mentioned the problem of getting the 40 minimum male 'adults' required for the Friday public prayer at the mosque. Some even went to the extent of expressing fear that if the (1948 - 1960) Emergency were to recur there could be a problem in maintaining a village vigilante group as most young men had gone to the city.

The villagers were quick to attribute these changes to merantau. It is argued here that the situation is more complex than it first appears. Exposure of school children to western type sports such as soccer, badminton and hockey, for example, lead to a switch in preference by village children from 'traditional' village sports such as sepek raga or tops spinning to 'new' ones. The replacement of traditional sports by new ones more than any other factor had caused the disappearance of village skills in producing the traditional sports items. Note, these villages had no

specialties to speak of previously relating to the production of these export items. In the case of the decline in gotong royong (such as during ploughing, replanting or harvesting rice season) mechanisation of rice cultivation as well as youth going merantau, explained much of the decline. However, the decline in the size of congregations at the village mosque might be a sign of a new development in these villages. There were more than 40 male adults residing in each of the survey villages at fieldwork time so that if the village mosques could not each attract more people to make up for the required number for their Friday congregation then there must be other factors responsible. We did not pursue the issue any further.

Finally, the absence of adults contributed to the 'loosening' of adat in that it was harder to administer the adat over the people in the rantau¹. One aspect of change that had become widespread was that there was an increasing number of people in these villages marrying outside the state and their marriages were not arranged. As these migrants stayed longer working in the city arranged marriages began to decline because these young people could now choose their own life partners. As Van Velsen (1960, 266) has observed amongst the Tonga in Africa, when the social and economic horizons had widened for these young villagers in the city, individuals acquired greater independence to pursue their own interests.

Closely associated with marriage is the question of divorce. It has been suggested that links between migrants and those at the village will inevitably be loosened. One consequence of this is an increase in divorce (Van Velsen, 1960). We do not have sufficient data to show whether merantau causes an increase in divorce. This is because most adult females who were without husbands in the survey villages tended to be older females; they repeatedly mentioned that it was not merantau but rather their husband's death separated them. A couple of young divorcees that were interviewed mentioned interpersonal factors and not merantau as

1 In the rantau none of the migrants practised the adat. An anthropologist has also observed this, personal communication with Dr. Khatijah Mohammad who was working on the Minangkabau community in another district, 1978.

being responsible for their marriage breakups².

The changes in the life of the survey villages reported so far appear to be in agreement with changes being reported in other districts in the state. An anthropologist has identified the following socio-cultural changes in Rembau district (Ibrahim, 1977, 147):

1. Traditional structure based on matrilineal descent and post-marital uxori-local residence is ceasing to be the framework of ordering the social life. The principle of exogamy is disappearing. Traditional sanction and punishment of adat infringement has been replaced by court of law.
2. Extended family structure of traditional system is being replaced by nuclear family.
3. The political functions of traditional leaders have been taken over by modern bureaucracy.
4. Money and not land has become the new measure of status.

How far these changes can be attributed to merantau by people in our survey villages is difficult to assess. Most of these elements cannot be said to be solely an outcome of merantau. Even in those elements, such as marriage outside the state which can be strongly attributed to merantau, it is hard to determine for certain the role of merantau in bringing out the change. This is because other exogenous factors, such as modern education, may be as influential in bringing out the change. In this regard, some changes could have occurred even before the post-war accelerated rural to urban migration. To assess these other factors we need to review the work of anthropologists in other parts of the state. Swift (1965), for example, has shown for Jelebu district that the advent of British administration and its consequences of land reform through land enactment and popularising rubber brought changes to the social system. Lewis (1976) also emphasised the importance of rubber and went on to argue the role of increasing population pressure on land resources in inducing change to Inas. Alwi (1965) and Ibrahim (1977) considered that

2 However, Swift, 1968; Lewis, 1976 have suggested that the system of preferred cross-cousin marriage in Negri Sembilan assured lower divorce rates due to the stabilising factor of close family ties. A declining cross-cousin marriage, as suggested by the increasing out of the state marriage, may lead to an increase in the number of divorce and migration in the future in these survey villages.

education, modern administration and economic factors played an important role in bringing change to Rumbau society. Merantau as an independent variable in inducing change is peripherally considered or ignored by these anthropologists. Elsewhere in the Peninsula, a similar pattern of social change has been reported. Firth (1946, 297) found that the Malay Fishermen in Kelantan were not a primitive people who have remained until recently out of touch with the outside world. They have experienced outside influences as far back as several centuries especially with the coming of Islam. Ali (1975) has also shown changes amongst villages in Johor, Kedah and Pahang, that arose from colonialism and its socio-economic impacts. Our observations also confirmed the presence of other variables and their strong influence in bringing change to the village community. We tend to conclude then that merantau appeared to accentuate change in our survey villages rather than initiated it.

From the foregoing observations it has to be stressed that while these changes were taking place the broad traditional social structure in the survey villages still persists. One reason for this is that as soon as the migrants returned to these villages they usually followed the established pattern of life in the community. Although it is true that those who went merantau from the survey villages were free from the village adat control, outmigration as argued by Amin (1974) did not necessarily bring changes to the social structure in the rural area. In time however, as each migrant undergoes change many aspects of the adat will continue to change. What does the observation above suggest? To the extent that the people in the village still follow adat, albeit sometimes a weak one, suggests several possible outcomes for life in the village in the future. First, land tenure problems concerning ancestral property will remain. Since ancestral property passes down to the children especially to the females (which is useful in some ways to protect the females) the practice will encourage land fragmentation. When the mother dies the children share the use of the land, causing further fragmentation of the holdings that are already small in size. Second, since village life in the Peninsula is characterised by the "patron-client" (Firth, 1946) relation, this arrangement will continue to feature in the life of these villagers, such as in regulating the relation between young and elderly people and between the landless and the landlords. Third, more importantly the migrants will continue to have ties with these villages. This suggests that the migrants will continue to have the urge to return to these villages to stay or to make social visits. In turn the adat situa-

tion in these villages will continue to encourage the young people, especially the male, to go merantau, that is a circular movement form.

12.4. ECONOMIC IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON THE VILLAGE.

From observations while travelling through the survey villages in 1978, we were struck by variations in the quality of houses. If these variations can be taken as an external sign of socio-economic imbalances in the villages, intra village inequalities were evident. Some houses appeared to be more well-off than others.

12.4.1. Recognition of Benefits from Merantau.

For merantau to be of benefit to the village one needs to appreciate the purpose of merantau and the migrant commitment to the village. The fact that merantau involves working, and in the process building one's assets, but always with the idea to retire in the village (Naim, 1973; Rahim, 1960) going merantau from the survey villages will ensure economic benefits to these villages.

There was a general recognition amongst the villagers about the benefits accruing to the villages from their members going makan gaji. In Table 12.1, as found in West Java (Hugo, 1978), it is shown that a major

Table 12.1. Kuala Pilah Survey Village: Conditions of Village if None Go 'Merantau'

(Figures in bracket are percentages)

	Sungai Dua		Jussek		Tbol	
	M	N-M	M	N-M	M	N-M
Very poor	7(16.27)	-	15(21.74)	3(21.42)	17(34.69)	3(33.3)
Poor	10(23.25)	9(50.00)	35(37.68)	3(21.42)	14(28.57)	2(22.2)
Same	12(27.90)	2(11.11)	9(13.04)	1(7.14)	6(12.24)	1(11.1)
Better	12(27.90)	5(27.77)	14(20.28)	4(28.57)	8(16.32)	3(33.3)
Don't know	2(4.65)	2(11.11)	5(7.24)	3(21.42)	4(8.16)	-
N	43	18	69	14	49	9

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978. M, merantau; NM, non-merantau.

proportion of the survey villagers believed that their villages would be poorer if none of them went merantau.

It is useful to point out, too, that unlike in most other studies (Lipton, 1980) there was also some recognition of an improved 'job' situation in these villages. With most of the active population away in the rantau there were village based jobs left vacant for those who remained in the village such as untapped rubber holdings.

12.4.2. Inremittances and Household Income in the Village.

An attempt was made to establish in concrete terms some of the benefits from merantau. Inremittances³ in relation to the household "village-based" income and corresponding expenditure per month were estimated. Establishing these figures for some households was fraught with difficulties. The following examples illustrate these difficulties. There were several households which have elderly couples living by themselves. They neither engaged in any paid occupations nor had any specific source of income. From their descriptions, it appears that they sold whatever they could (such as coconuts) when they needed cash to buy some basic food items. Occasionally, they might receive presents or remittances from their married children in the rantau. There were a few others who seemed to be doing a variety of village based jobs and they could not determine for sure how much they earned in a month. To overcome these problems we attempted to estimate all these sources and gave a total figure in money value. The results are summarised in Table 12.2 from which the following patterns emerge. First, with the exception of non-merantau households in Sungai Dua, merantau households were generally earning higher incomes than non-merantau households, implying therefore, that migrants from the survey villages came from relatively well-off families. Several writers have shown that outmigrants often came from relatively well to do families (Lipton, 1980; Connell, 1980). Second, the data also suggest that merantau households on average, have a relatively favourable income over expenditure balance. In any month the merantau households seemed to have extra money above their monthly expenses on foods, on education of children, and also on incidental payments such as buying tapping knives for rubber production or fertilisers for the padi fields. The average income of merantau

3 Inremittances included money sent or brought home regularly and major gifts. Income was confined only to cash incomes.

Table 12.2. Inremittances, Village Household Cash Income and Expenditure.

(Figures in Malaysian Dollars).

	Sungai Dua Kecil				Juasseh				Ibol			
	Merantau		Non-Merantau		Merantau		Non-Merantau		Merantau		Non-Merantau	
	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	$\bar{x}$	s.d.	$\bar{x}$	s.d.
Village Income	273	285	472	422	435	403	295	234	303	388	250	108
Income with Remittances	314	300	487	323	500	463	299	147	368	387	253	105
Expenditure	192	116	306	97	284	165	240	162	242	156	266	63
N	43		18		71		14		50		9	

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

households increased more than the average income of non-merantau households⁴ following the receipts of remittances. Third, amongst the non-merantau households, those in Ibol appeared to have an unfavourable balance between income and expenditure, giving the impression that those households were living in permanent debt. But other sources of income which were hard to estimate, such as occasional odd jobs in the village, often ensured that such a gap rarely developed into serious indebtedness⁵. Thus, despite the unfavourable expenditure over income balance those households always mentioned that they had *cukup makan* (enough to eat). The non-merantau households in Sungai Dua showed a contrasting pattern. Se-

4 Increasing the average income of merantau and non-merantau households by 14.9% and 3.2% in Sungai Dua; 15% and 1% in Juasseh; and 21.5% and 1.2% in Ibol respectively.

5 No systematic attempt was made to study this in detail. From Impressions obtained from heads of households and village heads we found that for exceptional expenditure, such as at the beginning of new academic year for those with school-going children, loans from kin, selling of domestic animals and odd jobs would raise the major amount of the money required by these families.

veral people⁶ in off-farm occupations, for example teachers, inflated the average income of these households.

Other patterns that can be observed from the table include that there was a wide variation in income amongst the households in the three villages. Some households had more disposable income compared to others. Inremittances tended to accentuate this imbalances not only within households but also between merantau and non-merantau households. Similar imbalances had been observed by Connell (1980) in the Pacific and Odumko and Riddell (1979) in West Africa. Both found that remittances increased inter-households inequalities in the area of origin.

12.4.1. Some Direct Consequences of Extra Income in the Village.

Does the presence of extra money in the households in the village manifest itself in some observable way? As found in some villages in West Java (Hugo, 1978) and unlike in some poorer villages in India (Connell, et al, 1976) the people in our survey villages made use of modern facilities such as the saving banks.

In both Juasseh and Ibol, the proportion of merantau households keeping their money in modern saving facilities such as post-office, bank, shares and the Board for Hajj Fund were higher than for non-merantau households (64.3% , 80.3% and 50% , 52% for merantau and non-merantau households). Sungai Dua again showed a reverse pattern (with 44% and 55% merantau and non-merantau households) because of the presence of non-farm workers staying in the village. The data also indicate the widespread use of modern saving facilities in the three survey villages, implying therefore that these villages have gone a long way in the modernisation process if the use of such modern saving facilities is accepted as one of the indicators of modernisation.

Survey villagers mentioned that inremittances were usually addressed to the mothers in the village and these remittances were normally used for family expenditure to buy food, clothing and essential household items or investment that includes paying for children's education, buying fertilisers and building or improving houses. Thus the presence of extra money in the village increased disposable income which may be reflected

6 Note such people were included in non-merantau households because of the definitions. Merantau households included those households with at least one person who was away merantau, and also return migrant households.

Table 12.3. Indicators of Relative Household Prosperity and Possession of 'Status' Items.

	Sungai Eua		Jussekah		Ulu	
	H	Non-H	H	Non-H	H	Non-H
A) Possession of consumer durable goods						
1. School bus $\bar{x}$	0	0	0	0	6.0	0
2. Private cars $\bar{x}$	9.3	22.0	18.0	7.1	12.0	11.0
3. Motor cycles and scooters $\bar{x}$	20.9	22.0	18.0	14.0	16.0	33.0
4. Bicycles $\bar{x}$	72.0	78.0	93.0	86.0	70.0	77.0
5. T.V. sets $\bar{x}$	26.0	57.0	49.0	79.0	46.0	33.0
6. Fridge $\bar{x}$	9.0	56.0	35.0	7.0	34.0	22.0
7. Radio/cassette $\bar{x}$	57.0	89.0	74.0	36.0	68.0	65.0
8. Camera $\bar{x}$	2.0	17.0	4.0	0	8.0	0
9. Wall clocks $\bar{x}$	42.0	22.0	59.0	50.0	36.0	15.0
10. Wrist watches $\bar{x}$	69.0	89.0	57.0	71.0	66.0	36.0
11. Sewing machine $\bar{x}$	50.0	94.0	75.0	50.0	78.0	33.0
12. Electric fans $\bar{x}$	30.0	35.0	42.0	14.0	30.0	11.0
13. Cupboard (for clothes and stockery) $\bar{x}$	2.87	3.5	4.17	2.79	3.38	1.56
14. Beds and mattresses $\bar{x}$	5.09	4.8	6.11	4.21	5.05	2.11
15. Desk and chairs $\bar{x}$	5.77	7.56	8.10	5.79	6.84	3.89
16. Small ploughing machine $\bar{x}$	5.0	6.0	1.0	0	2.0	0
17. Rubber mangle $\bar{x}$	19.0	17.0	35.0	21.0	18.0	0
18. Grass cutter $\bar{x}$	2.0	0	4.0	7.0	4.0	0
B) Quality of house and amenities: Indices.						
1. Building types (weighted)	1.72	4.17	3.92	2.57	3.86	3.11
2. Proper bathroom and flushed toilet (weighted)	1.51	1.67	1.93	1.64	1.92	1.78
3. Electricity and water (weighted)	1.95	2.39	2.83	2.57	2.64	2.77
4. Current value of house (weighted following categories)	2.95	3.89	4.45	3.86	3.82	2.22
C) Ownership of domestic animals						
1. Buffalo $\bar{x}$	0.19	0.22	0.44	0.26	0.48	0.11
2. Cattle $\bar{x}$	1.02	1.33	0.62	0.64	1.32	1.04
3. Chicken (weighted) $\bar{x}$	1.88	1.72	2.21	1.24	1.86	1.44
4. Sheep and goats $\bar{x}$	2.0	1.64	1.79	1.36	0.54	0.54
Overall ranking score ($\bar{x}$)	1.2	1.8	1.9	1.7	1.95	1.1

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

in a range of items. One way of assessing the differing impact of merantau on the households is to examine material possessions of merantau and non-merantau households. Some of the items considered are presented in Table 12.3. By 1978, the survey villages demonstrated a situation which two decades before was exclusively a feature of town and city. A great proportion of households was seen to own a host of consumer durable goods. Merantau households in both Juasseh and Ibol were better off than the non-merantau households in the possession of durable goods as well as domestic animals. House conditions defined as the general appearance in terms of neatness and cleanliness too exposed these differences⁷. Non-merantau families in Sungai Dua showed a reverse situation in the possession of durable goods to merantau households although in terms of domestic animals⁸ the merantau households were better off. Thus, as shown for the migrant households in West Java (Hugo, 1978) and migrant households in Kelantan (Maude, 1980) merantau brought some economic benefits to households in these villages especially the migrant households.

Despite the benefits accruing from remittances, Findley (1977, 50), drawing from various studies concluded that remittances do not generally further "economic development" in the village. In our survey villages, this means that the remittances did not lead to investment for the benefits of the whole village economy so that more people could be absorbed into better paid occupations in the villages. As argued by several writers lately (Amin, 1974; Odimeko and Riddell, 1979; Lipton, 1980 and Connell, 1980; Maude, 1980), the benefits from remittances were relatively small to induce investment in village industries. Consequently, out-migration benefited somewhat the individual migrants and to some extent their kin households in the area of origin. This produced more inter-households differences.

12.5. CONTACTS, URBAN EXPOSURE AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS SOME MODERN INSTITUTIONS.

Although it has been suggested that contacts by migrants with

7 Our research assistants' assessments and reactions to the general household conditions confirmed the patterns - 52.4% and 77.78% of merantau and non-merantau households respectively, in Sungai Dua; 74.6%, 57.1% in Juasseh and 72%, 55.6% in Ibol were neat and expensive looking.

8 Those with off-farm employment in the non-merantau households said that they did not have much time to look after domestic animals.

the home village increased awareness about other areas (Caldwell, 1969, 144) and consequently attitude changed in the village (Hugo, 1978) it was much harder to determine the impact of merantau on the attitudes of households on some measures of 'modernity' in our survey villages. The diffusion of rubber and Western administration under the British was accompanied by the introduction of modern education. Injection of modernising influences into the survey villages took place earlier than the widespread post-war rural-urban migration. In this instance, merantau could not have initiated social change in the village but it is more proper to see its role as an agent reinforcing the trend of change already taking place. It is with little surprise, for example, that the survey found consensus among villagers that giving children a better education was the best form of investment. They desired their children to obtain higher education so that the children later on could get better paid occupations. None desired their children to be a farmer in the village, mirroring the 'low opportunity for social mobility in farming in these villages as much as a growing awareness of the importance of modern education for well-paid occupations'⁹. Only modern occupations provide access to extra money for accumulation of 'status' goods and 'status' itself in the village. The patterns of response are also probably a reflection of the type of villages selected for study, that is, villages that have received western influenced for nearly seven decades.

On the same trend, it was hard to distinguish between merantau and non-merantau households' attitudes towards the use of modern medical facilities (Table 12.4). The survey villages are highly accessible to modern medical facilities such as rural health and midwife centres established by the government in its efforts to diffuse modern development into rural areas. At the same time the bomoh (medicine man) was still acknowledged in these villages for certain types of illness. Thus, despite the increased access to modern medicine the 'bomoh' still survived in these villages.

Certain other measures, however, do show differences between merantau and non-merantau households. Referring to Table 12.4 it is certain that there were more from merantau households who could speak or write in another language. This point was particularly important amongst the elderly people in the villages. Until recently, those who were conversant

9 Several respondents told us, 'bersawah dan menoreh kerja orang tak berpelajaran' - rice farming and rubber tapping were 'jobs' for the uneducated men.

Table 12.4. Communications, Urban Exposure and Attitude towards Modern Medical Institutions.

	Sungai Dua		Juasseh		Ibol	
	M	NM	N	NM	N	NM
% reading newspapers daily	34.8	55.5	47.8	42.8	30.0	22.2
% able to speak/write in another (than Malay) language.	25.5	11.1	30.9	21.4	20.0	0
Index (ranking) of urban exposure	1.0	1.0	2	1	1.7	1
% using hospital/clinic, banking	100	100	98.6	100	95.9	100

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

in English could command better paid jobs which carried with them public recognition and status. Thus, the ability to speak or to write in another language (especially English) was to the predominantly older villagers a 'passport' to get into the wider society in the past. The trend was also repeated in the pattern of newspaper reading. Generally, a higher percentage of merantau households read the newspaper daily in both Juasseh and Ibol relative to non-merantau households whereas the pattern was reverse for Sungai Dua.

With the assumption that migrant households would have more reasons to travel to the city to visit their migrant members, it was reasonable to expect differences amongst merantau and non-merantau households in "urban exposure" measured simply by the frequency of 'visits to city'. The pattern generally was consistent with what was expected except for Sungai Dua where the well-to-do non-farming members amongst non-merantau households travelled for holidays, or some official matters. Whereas it is acknowledged that migration has led to increased incomes in the village households much change observed at the household level could not be solely attributed to migration, since the groundwork for change has been laid out during colonial time and re-emphasised in post-Merdeka years. In this respect, migration reinforced the trend in change by providing extra cash, albeit small amounts for consumption. The bulk of the household

income has come from the village. In this, rubber has continued to provide the basis for cash earnings in the survey villages.

12.6. THE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION ON THE WIDER VILLAGE COMMUNITY.

Does the village community as a whole benefit from its members makan gaji? The fact that those who went 'merantau' were able to earn and to remit back to their homes in the village was itself a benefit to the village. Otherwise these villages would have to provide each one of those absent with a job had they all stayed in the village. More importantly, even if the village could absorb all those absentees in situ it was doubtful if all the migrants would be able to earn as much as in the rantau. Further, indirectly the benefit that each household received from migration also benefited the village community as a whole. A television set, for example, in the village was shared with neighbours who thronged the house having one. (Note, the presence of television sets also brought negative effects on the village population. At fieldwork time, there were complaints from parents that their children refused to do their homeworks at night. Rather they stayed late to watch television).

From what survey villagers have mentioned and their demonstration of wealth it is clear that much of extra money in the village was used to buy consumer goods derived from urban areas. Expenditure on building materials, household effects and children's education drew money from the village to increase economic activity in the urban centres, especially in Kuala Pilah town. Consequently some traditional skills and industries have declined. Increasing use of zinc to substitute for thatch as roofing material has led to a decline in demand for atap, and hence the slow disappearance of traditional skill in making atap. A similar trend was also described by the villagers concerning weaving, basket making and a host of other skills in making bamboo and rattan products. In the words of a return migrant in one of the survey villages, "in this age, plastic invasion of the world has gone to the grassroot and tends to wipe whatever skill there is in this village". Village carpentry was also threatened. At best this skill was demanded for secondary work. Households with money imported urban-based builders and carpenters to improve their houses. Moreover, with increasing preference for brick and cement, building a house required specific skills that might be foreign to the traditional village carpenter. The several tukang kayu (carpenters) that were specifically asked about the demand for their skill in the vil-

lage related to us the following trend. First, seldom would they get a whole house to build. Second, depending on their reputation in these villages, most jobs contracted were mainly for minor repair work or for the back portion of a house. The more skillful often received a contract for a whole house. Lipton (1980); Connell (1980) and Maude (1980) have also shown that in their study areas the people in the village of origin tended to spend their extra resources in favour of urban centres.

Another development was the incidence of several houses left vacant (Plate VII), rubber small-holdings and to a small extent rice fields remained unutilised or under utilised in the survey villages. The latter was less obvious¹⁰ because in Sungai Dua the rice fields were not utilised since there was a shortage of water and no proper irrigation facilities. In Ibol, the Mandailing community (Tugby, 1977) which was resettled during the Emergency in a new village nearby together with these households without land or with small land-holdings had taken up all available unutilised rice fields; similarly in Juasseh, there was no rice fields left unutilised because there were needy households readily available to hire them. For rubber, the situation was more serious. In 1978, about 30 percent of total rubber small-holdings owned by the villagers in Sungai Dua, 40 percent in Juasseh and 35 percent in Ibol were not in production for at least one year because no tappers were available for hire despite the high price of rubber (80 cents Malaysian per kati, about $\frac{1}{2}$ kg.). Persistent migration to the towns by the active village population certainly threatened the village based cash production. It is interesting to relate this observation to situations in other Third World countries. Amin (1974, 99) argued that the accumulation of capital in the village of origin of migrants in West Africa, such as clearing new land, maintaining the fields and houses was strongly affected by the absence of seasonal workers. This situation got worse when the seasonal migrants became permanent movers to the city; less manpower then became available for agriculture work. Lipton (1980) and Connell (1980) have also observed the adverse effects of migration on agriculture. Lipton

10 In the State there was widespread incidence of rice land not being utilised. A study on East Negeri Sembilan conducted by Norconsult Company (1974) revealed that about 15,000 acres (6250 hectares) of good agricultural land were lying idle; only 2/3 of available irrigated rice lands were in use in the region and 69 percent rice land was planted; of this total 86 percent was in Kuala Pilah, 69 percent in Jelebu and much lower in Tampin and Rembau.

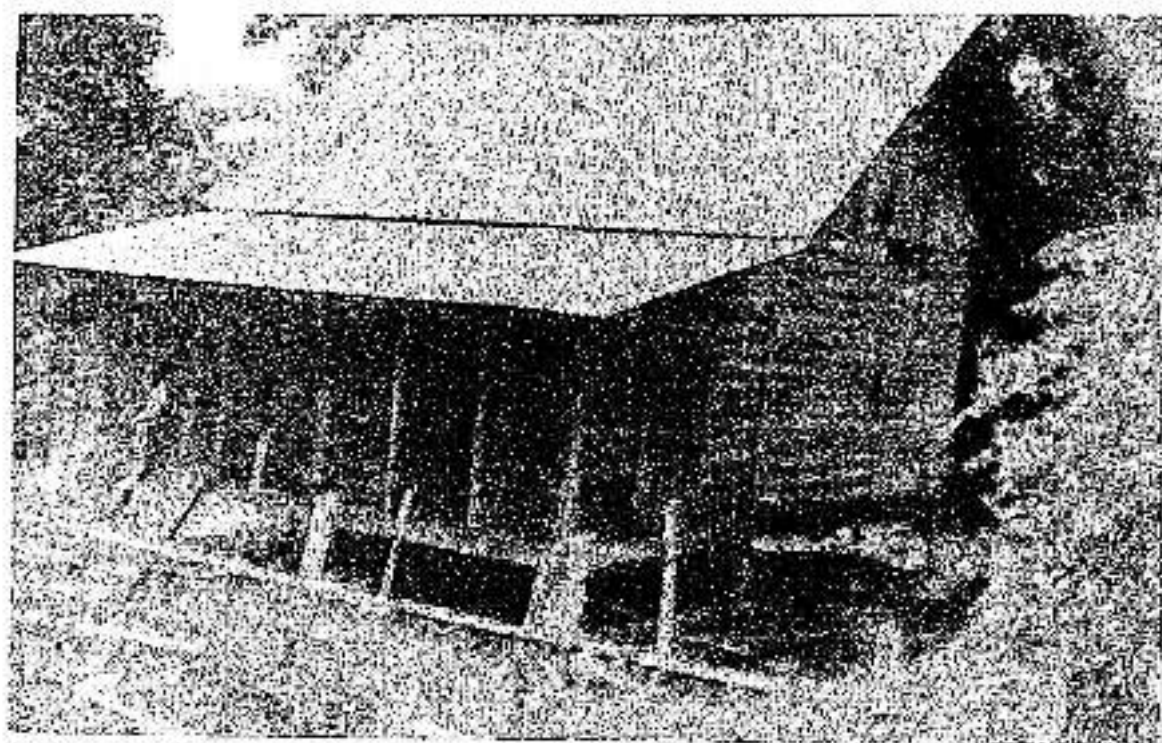
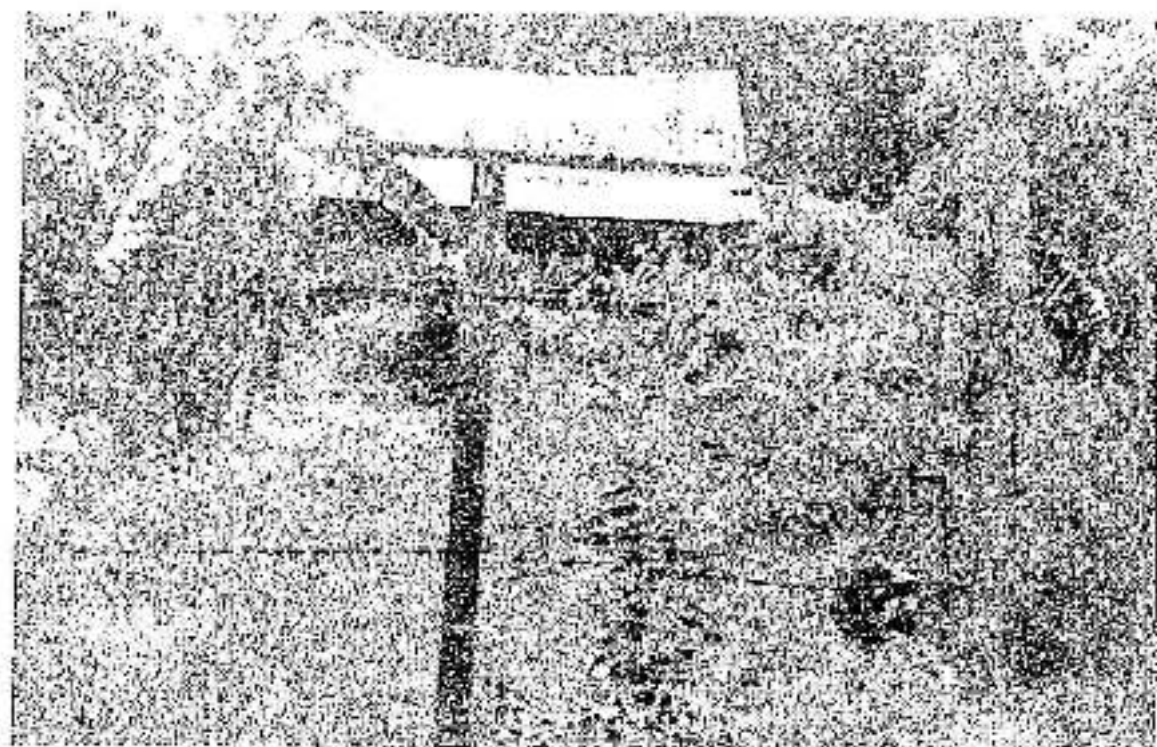


Plate VIII. An Impact of Outmigration on the Sending Village ?
Vacant Houses.

(1980) observed from a review of studies concerning the impacts of migration that women and sometimes children have to work harder to replace absence young men. A shift to hired labour might reduce the incentive to use labour effectively especially if the women supervised them; thus, migration from a farming family reduced labour-land and labour-capital ratios, encouraging the migrant's family to save labour. Despite this Lipton (1980) maintained that the migrants' families might make adjustments; the families or villages suffering from outmigration might shift from labour intensive field crops to an extensive pasture or might invest in capital intensive items such as tractor. In our survey villages, in recent years the renting of Japanese made hand tractors has been widespread to replace the traditional technology. In spite of that outmigration tended to work against agricultural activities especially rubber production.

12.6.1. Return Migrants and the Survey Village.

Return migrants have been widely studied in recent years (Eldridge, 1965; Feindt and Browning, 1972). Although this phenomenon is a familiar movement pattern in Third World countries only recently has it received widespread investigation (Goldstein, 1975). It has been shown in other Third World countries that most successful migrants eventually return to their ancestral home; during the migration some acquire new skills, experience and working capital; some of these serve as agents of cultural and socio-economic change (Adepoju, 1979).

Two groups of return migrants could be distinguished in the survey villages; first, those merantau to get religious education. This was common in pre-war years and limited to selected individuals. After spending several (3 - 5) years in the pondok (religious school) in Kedah and Kelantan or in the Middle-East they returned home as Lebai (religious man) and well-schooled Hajis respectively. Although nowadays the position of Lebai and Haji has been reduced considerably and replaced by political leaders these people transferred their skills directly to the survey villages. They became religious teachers or mosque officials. Consequently, they commanded respect and had followers.

Second, individuals who went makan gaji. This group involved almost every adult found in the survey villages during the survey. The group consisted mainly those who went merantau to urban areas in the post World War II Years. As shown by Amin (1974, 99) for West Africa, acquired urban know-how and skills were not transferred to the advantage of the

village as a whole by the average return migrants who were either 'old' pensioners or ex-servicemen. The old pensioners who included those working in unskilled occupations usually returned to devote their time to their property in a leisurely fashion or became retired gentlemen partly because they had no special skills to give back to the village. The ex-servicemen, usually still active in their forties, pursued non-farm jobs in the village or commuted for urban-base occupations. Some from this latter group, however, demonstrated the application of skills acquired in rantau for the benefits of their immediate families and the village community at large. The following case studies illustrate this pattern.

First, in Sungai Dua, an ex-serviceman overcame the problem of water supply for household requirements by building a water-tank for collecting rain-water; the amount collected was enough to meet the family requirement as well as to run a flush toilet. Certainly, this was an innovation in the village and the man's lament was that other villagers failed to adopt this example even though the pipe supplied by the authority had no water at that time. Neither did the villagers adopt his efficient use of land space around the house and time. His vegetable plots produced more than the family's requirement and through this he could earn extra cash.

A second case study is provided by two 'retired' individuals in Ibol, one an ex-school teacher, the other an ex-serviceman. Putting his heavy class driving skill to a useful end the ex-serviceman, on returning to the village, invested his savings into the purchasing of land and building a house. Through careful management and financial control, he invested part of his army bonus, being the money he received from the government as a gratuity on his retirement, into providing bus services to school children in the village. The bonus, together with loans from a bank, was invested in a small bus which he diligently operated in a successful venture; at fieldwork time, he had two big buses at his disposal and a small family car. From the investment he earned a somewhat substantial monthly income (about M\$1500 net). The retired school teacher however, put his management skill into a chicken farm producing eggs as well as meat. Although the venture provided jobs only for his own immediate family the case illustrates how money gathered out of the village as well as skill gained from off-farm jobs had been put to a useful venture.

The final case was observed in Jussesh where an ex-serviceman also had put his skill to advantage. He had invested in a small ploughing

machine; operated it and hired it out to the villagers. His family, in turn, was able to rent any vacant rice fields nearby. Consequently, his rice production was always in excess of his requirement. He was able to sell the excess and accumulated a substantial additional income to his rubber tapping activity.

In commercial pursuits, two households in Sungai Dua, two in Ibol, and three in Juasseh were running village sundry shops and one in Juasseh selling wood planks. More importantly, a man in Juasseh has developed his business skill to the extent that he became a contractor for a variety of small work. He received parts of his training from courses run by government agencies such as the MARA which he attended from time to time. There is no doubt the government's effort to diffuse modern-urban skill has reached the village although only a few benefited from it.

Thus, the return migrants generally brought home to these villages various socio-economic improvements and consequently they became "distinctive" individuals in the village. Despite that they have not as yet formed a class of their own in the village. But certainly, they rose as a new group formation in which, as argued by Zaharuddin (1979), traditional village elites were being replaced by a salaried and ex-salaried group. However, as a whole, the village households could be distinguished along the possession of wealth to permit people in the village to refer to some villagers as orang miskin (poor people) or orang berada (rich people)¹¹. The latter were mostly individuals that had gone makan gaji.

12.7. CONCLUSION.

The data above indicate that persistent makan gaji by the people of the survey villages has certainly brought some changes to the village socio-economy. Changes occur in the socio-cultural aspects of the village communities. More people married outside the village; fewer marriages were arranged; the traditional leaders were being pushed further towards ceremonial importance and in their place elected representatives as well as government administrators were looked up to. Changes were also taking place in the adat. Yet despite these changes the basic frame-

11 Firth (1946) has reported similar variation in wealth amongst the fishermen in Kelantan; similarly, Ali (1964) showed the stratification of people in Kampong Bagan, Johor that could be distinguished along the possession of wealth.

work of the adat persisted because it was resilient and could cope with these changes.

Village based economic activities still centred on rice subsistence and rubber tapping as well as peripheral non-farm jobs such as running sundry shops. Inremittances, though contributing small sums of money to the village, added available money for consumption to the receiving households, leading to an observable widening of the gap between rich and poor households in these villages. In addition, some urban skills were used for the benefits of the villagers. Despite all these the village community were still, by and large, poor.

It has been raised throughout the discussion above that merantau is not the sole variable inducing and perpetuating socio-economic change and development in the villages. Colonial intrusion, modern secular education and the post-Merdeka national development have made their impacts on the village. As a result, the socio-economic base existing in the survey villages was capable of providing and generating change in each household. Rubber, for example, provided some cash need that helped the households in the village to send their children to school and to procure household requirements. In this situation migration did not initiate change and development. It would have been an important agent perhaps in a situation where the socio-economy was strongly subsistence as in parts of Africa (Caldwell, 1969), to a certain extent in Indonesia (Forbes, 1978; Hugo, 1978) and in New Guinea (Gram, 1968).

Whether one rejects or accept the contention that the village of origin benefits from migration depends on the manner in which we view the benefits accruing to the village people. To the extent that the individual migrants managed to get employment in the city, albeit in some cases marginal occupations in the sense that the pay was low relative to the cost of living in the city, and that the households in the village received some money we admit that there are benefits from migration. However, since remittances were used mainly for immediate consumption and investment especially for payment of the villagers children who would eventually leave for the city, the benefits from migration are negligible. Thus Amin (1974, 106) remarked that,

"We begin to understand why no single region of emigration has ever developed either in Africa or elsewhere. The transfer, which is more than considerable,

is virtually a 'gift' from the poor source areas to the rich areas which benefit from it and this is sufficient in itself to explain the stagnation of the regions of origin of the migrants".

Many other studies seemed to have confirmed that the benefits from migration were limited (Mauds, 1980; Connell, 1980; Lipton, 1980). In this study if we view the benefits of merantau in a broader perspective such as the whole survey villages and the region we tend to reach at the same conclusion.

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.
Belik dapur	- Behind the kitchen.
Bawah	- 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.
Habib 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 Kecil - 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 Pilah 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.

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 A: 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
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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
"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
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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 ?

4. 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 kampung 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 kampung	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	No	Not sure
(1)	(2)	(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 kampong

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
Deposits	4
Other (Please write)	5

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

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 kampong	2
Through friends from kampong	3
Through relatives	4
Others (Please write)	5

*1. Link from kampong

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

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	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	OTHER	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	TOTAL
JOHORE	6,158	1,180	1,285	4,873	4,535	4,780	1,230	4,772	125	12,300	1,280	60,247	241	61,932
SELANGOR	2,780	411,224	1,105	568	1,585	2,623	15,865	17,114	7,745	4,855	241	671,932	241	672,413
PUTRAJAYA	2,454	2,251	400,452	1,059	1,525	12,642	1,158	1,885	12	1,181	408	12,414	408	12,414
NEGERI	11,102	558	755	10,100	5,471	2,228	100	7,128	125	11,502	548	174,316	548	174,316
W. MALAYSIA	4,928	554	1,185	2,275	175,581	2,421	1,141	3,825	125	4,351	2,401	186,699	2,401	186,699
W. MALAYSIA	1,117	605	1,118	655	1,711	175,686	575	2,701	1,117	3,311	110	24,227	110	24,227
SELANGOR	1,384	18,512	889	815	1,225	2,191	198,285	12,842	1,384	17,596	1,016	306,287	1,016	306,287
PUTRAJAYA	3,874	12,322	2,188	1,575	4,778	6,525	12,822	861,462	1,384	1,074	8	81,151	8	81,151
NEGERI	545	2,558	186	133	275	122	122	1,482	83,545	1,074	8	81,151	8	81,151
PUTRAJAYA	4,055	1,516	1,271	1,050	5,125	5,499	1,505	10,445	218	1,074	745	81,151	745	81,151
PUTRAJAYA	4,205	750	2,101	375	525	1,115	425	1,115	425	1,115	425	1,115	425	1,115
TOTAL	64,452	580,574	24,303	101,022	106,234	101,815	121,341	637,259	41,907	581,545	174,621	1,437,880	174,621	1,437,880

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

STATE/PLACE	MALES	FEMALES	CHINESE	INDIAN	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	OTHER	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	TOTAL
JOHORE	1,000,454	1,763	1,763	12,773	14,214	11,701	1,452	4,716	384	13,773	1,452	1,112,041	1,452	1,112,041
SELANGOR	2,413	824,463	1,763	1,334	2,275	1,314	6,710	15,142	10,412	15,142	889	174,316	889	174,316
PUTRAJAYA	2,413	2,251	400,452	1,059	1,525	12,642	1,158	1,885	12	1,181	408	12,414	408	12,414
NEGERI	21,399	512	719	101,023	19,631	4,163	1,539	3,471	125	17,128	512	174,316	512	174,316
W. MALAYSIA	11,194	2,274	1,143	12,304	194,115	10,162	1,415	3,471	125	17,128	512	174,316	512	174,316
W. MALAYSIA	4,928	871	1,185	2,275	1,711	175,686	1,228	1,141	125	4,351	2,401	186,699	2,401	186,699
SELANGOR	4,308	18,512	1,082	1,225	2,191	1,375	198,285	12,842	1,384	17,596	1,016	306,287	1,016	306,287
PUTRAJAYA	12,971	24,551	2,188	1,575	4,778	6,525	12,822	861,462	1,384	1,074	8	81,151	8	81,151
NEGERI	141	2,740	139	133	275	122	122	1,482	83,545	1,074	8	81,151	8	81,151
PUTRAJAYA	4,362	1,762	2,756	2,116	20,362	16,244	4,362	10,445	218	1,074	745	81,151	745	81,151
PUTRAJAYA	4,362	751	1,438	375	525	1,115	425	1,115	425	1,115	425	1,115	425	1,115
TOTAL	1,120,041	901,915	182,318	306,234	421,837	442,196	680,126	1,437,880	174,621	1,437,880	174,621	1,437,880	174,621	1,437,880

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	Nelaka	Negeri Sembilan	Pahang	Pulau Pinang	Perak	Perlis	Selangor	Tengganu	
Johor	161270	512	1273	5105	3734	5557	1330	3273	70	11222	1121	192215
Kedah	1251	121140	1273	586	1202	2734	11957	53176	574	6078	548	195202
Kelantan	1734	2522	212765	145	1203	16469	1224	7013	453	5253	19316	153603
Nelaka	5545	115	620	31452	3568	1889	453	1248	45	12002	287	47163
Negeri Sembilan	5513	542	202	4213	16502	3568	817	7572	74	14172	472	39717
Pahang	2347	131	1202	447	3724	22075	969	2623	162	5527	2158	31218
Pulau Pinang	1734	11745	620	425	372	2053	23309	8223	637	5011	221	64158
Perak	2261	11137	2547	2123	3170	5012	3217	144504	982	21729	842	216150
Perlis	125	2515	152	75	203	783	726	1327	10521	317	21	21012
Selangor	4527	2102	2483	4747	1075	5512	2020	12460	705	121752	1580	166228
Tengganu	2314	602	4222	122	575	12136	176	598	54	7572	6053	31007
Total	192215	135042	139421	25151	64421	128402	82570	391664	23745	219615	55643	1,511,453
La localities afrika borch	452460	477427	555286	150251	205225	121253	166158	565915	65192	206346	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	75
Selangor	778	95	135	1167	10627	272	117	537	19	1103	50
Pahang	648	305	967	102	695	5765	100	940	27	504	815
Pulau Pinang	144	2335	120	63	94	175	27801	1127	49	289	47
Perak	545	2601	576	290	445	115	1247	121071	290	2170	308
Perlis	26	1006	78	3	15	5	105	331	27419	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	54090	12765	157177	8032	89501	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.

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

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 Rent 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 4 - 6 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

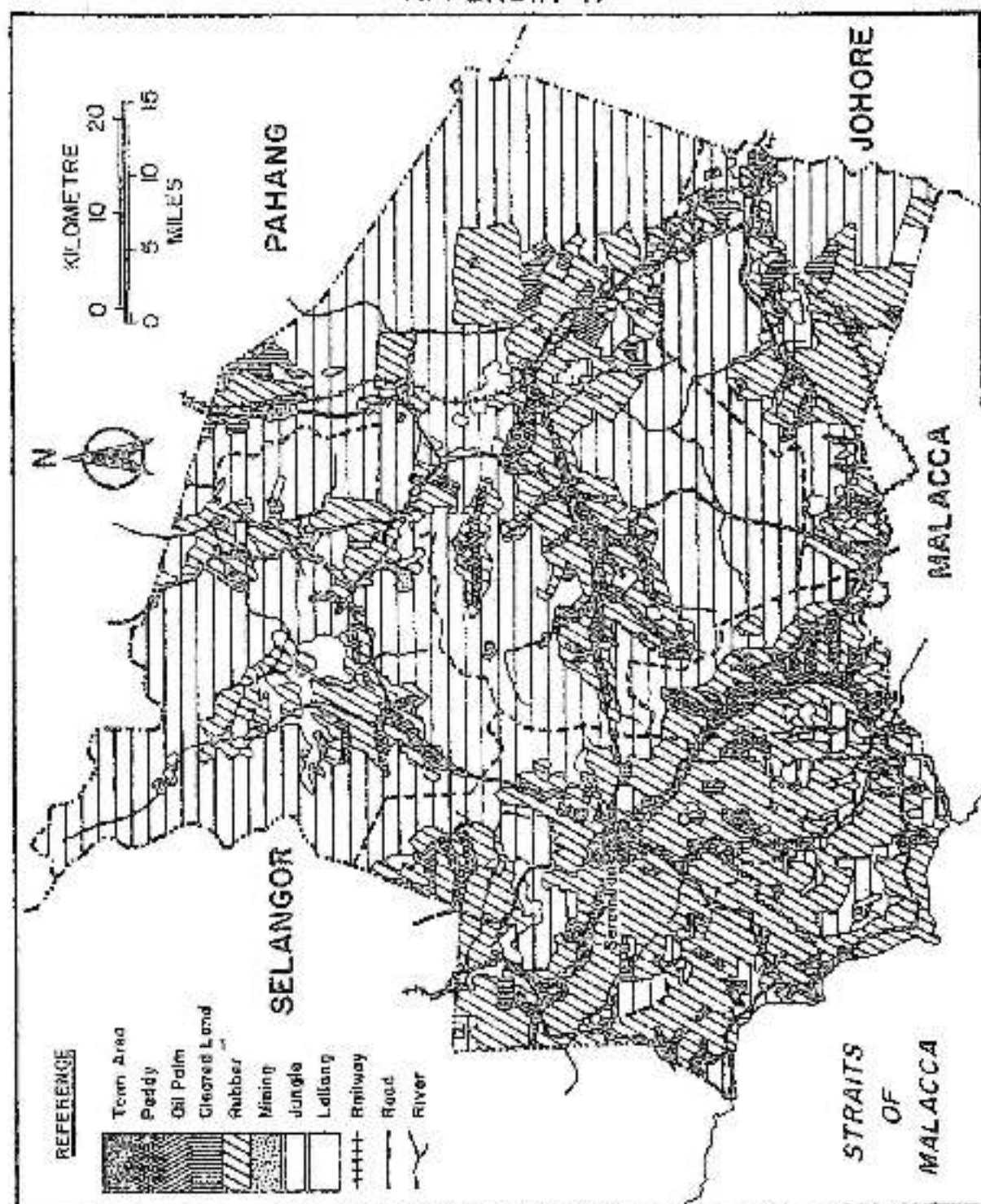
Index 38. This index is a supplement to index 37. Which people tended to be more knowledgeable ?

- 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)

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