

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

By

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## SUMMARY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PART II

POPULATION MOVEMENTS AND URBANISATION

## CHAPTER 4.

THE EVOLUTION OF POPULATION MOBILITY  
PATTERNS IN NEGRI SEMBILAN.

## 4.1. INTRODUCTION.

Part II will examine the evolution of population mobility patterns with respect to Negri Sembilan, using secondary materials as well as census data. Chapter 4 traces the evolution of mobility patterns from pre-(European) contact times to the 1960s while Chapter 5 analyses more recent patterns focusing on the 1970 census. These chapters will serve as the background to the consideration of mobility patterns at the level of the village in Part III. Both chapters will be set in a space-time framework of analysis that was developed by Zelinsky (1971). Some evaluations of the utility of that framework will be made at the end of chapter 5.

## 4.2. MOBILITY IN TRANSITION: A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE.

Several attempts have been made in the past to develop a space-time framework for viewing population mobility. Gibbs (1963) proposed a five stage evolution of population concentration. Friedlander (1969) elaborated on Gibbs' stages arguing that each successive stage of the demographic transition is accompanied by a greater degree of population redistribution from rural to urban areas.

Recently, Zelinsky (1972; 1979) attempted to provide a theory that links fertility, mortality and migration with a space-time dimension in his hypothesis of the mobility transition. This has sparked off a new generation of research into migration. The core of the hypothesis was "that there are definite, patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space-time during recent history", (Zelinsky, 221-222) and in Table 4.1 we identify the five stages of the mobility transition in relation to the demographic (vital) transition. The first four phases of the mobility transition approximate a phase of the vital transition. The mobility transition shows the evolution of a sedentary rural society to a transitional one characterised by outmovement from rural to urban areas, to new agricultural settlements and overseas. This transitional society is followed by an advanced one in which most of the

Table 4.1. Zelinsky's Two Sequential Spatiotemporal Processes Among Modernizing Populations

| THE VITAL TRANSITION                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | THE MOBILITY TRANSITION                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p><b>PHASE A - The Premodern Traditional Society</b></p> <p>(1) A moderately high to quite high fertility pattern that tends to fluctuate only slightly</p> <p>(2) Mortality at nearly the same level as fertility on the average, but fluctuating much more from year to year.</p> <p>(3) Little, if any, long-range natural increase or decrease</p> <p><b>PHASE B - The Early Transitional Society</b></p> <p>(1) Slight, but significant, rise in fertility, which then remains fairly constant at a high level</p> <p>(2) Rapid decline in mortality</p> <p>(3) A relatively rapid rate of natural increase, and thus a major growth in size of population</p> <p><b>PHASE C - The Late Transitional Society</b></p> <p>(1) A major decline in fertility, initially rather slight and slow, later quite rapid, until another slowdown occurs as fertility approaches mortality level</p> <p>(2) A continuing, but slackening, decline in mortality</p> <p>(3) A significant, but decelerating, natural increase, at rates well below those observed during Phase B</p> <p><b>PHASE D - The Advanced Society</b></p> <p>(1) The decline in fertility has terminated, and a socially controlled fertility oscillates rather unpredictably at low to moderate levels</p> <p>(2) Mortality is stabilized at levels near or slightly below fertility with little year-to-year variability</p> <p>(3) There is either a slight to moderate rate of natural increase or none at all</p> <p><b>PHASE E - A Future Superadvanced Society</b></p> | <p><b>PHASE I - The Premodern Traditional Society</b></p> <p>(1) Little genuine residential migration and only such limited circulation as is sanctioned by customary practice in land utilization, social visits, commerce, warfare, or religious observances</p> <p><b>PHASE II - The Early Transitional Society</b></p> <p>(1) Massive movement from countryside to cities, old and new</p> <p>(2) Significant movement of rural folk to colonization frontiers, if land suitable for pioneering is available within country</p> <p>(3) Major outflows of migrants to available and attractive foreign destinations</p> <p>(4) Under certain circumstances, a small, but significant, emigration of skilled workers, technicians, and professionals from more advanced parts of the world</p> <p>(5) Significant growth in various kinds of circulation</p> <p><b>PHASE III - The Late Transitional Society</b></p> <p>(1) Slackening, but still major, movement from countryside to city</p> <p>(2) Lessening flow of migrants to colonization frontiers</p> <p>(3) Emigration on the decline or may have ceased altogether</p> <p>(4) Further increases in circulation, with growth in structural complexity</p> <p><b>PHASE IV - The Advanced Society</b></p> <p>(1) Residential mobility has leveled off and oscillates at a high level</p> <p>(2) Movement from countryside to city continues but is further reduced in absolute and relative terms</p> <p>(3) Vigorous movement of migrants from city to city and within individual urban agglomerations</p> <p>(4) If a settlement frontier has persisted, it is now stagnant or actually retreating</p> <p>(5) Significant net immigration of unskilled and semiskilled workers from relatively underdeveloped lands</p> <p>(6) There may be a significant international migration or circulation of skilled and professional persons, but direction and volume of flow depend on specific conditions</p> <p>(7) Vigorous accelerating circulation, particularly the economic and pleasure-oriented, but other varieties as well</p> <p><b>PHASE V - A Future Superadvanced Society</b></p> |

Source: Zelinsky (1971, Table 1, 230-231).

people live in cities. Personal mobility increases and in the later stages migration is replaced by circulation. Zelinsky (1971) argued that these changes were related to modernisation and also to the political systems in the various countries (Zelinsky, 1979). Several recent studies, however, have found variations to the hypothesis. Third World countries, especially, show marked departure from what was predicted by the theory (Bedford, 1973; Hugo, 1978; Mantra, 1978). Despite that, the theory had been demonstrated to be of use even in a study at a local or regional level over several decades (Skeldon, 1977).

From the available data on population mobility in Negri Sembilan, it appears that although changes in mobility patterns in the State have occurred in two inter-related phases, the mobility patterns during these phases do not conform to Zelinsky's hypothesised sequence of mobility changes. There are three reasons why the population mobility patterns in the State have evolved differently from Zelinsky's hypothesised sequence. First, unlike the traditional society of the 'mobility transition', which is characterised by a relatively static population with little genuine residential migration, Negri Sembilan society in pre-contact times was far from static. The State received immigration of Minangkabau settlers from West Sumatra. Second, whereas the traditional society in the mobility transition passed to the early transitional society following modernisation<sup>1</sup>, the nature of the process at that phase in the Negri Sembilan case was a different one. It was the political systems which greatly influenced the sequence of change in mobility. At first colonial policy and colonial practices induced these changes, and the momentum of change was carried further by the new government after Independence. Third, as has been shown for other Third World countries (Hugo, 1975), Negri Sembilan entered the second phase of the transition at a different point in historical time compared to the countries in the Western World. This meant that different amenities and technologies were available to the Negri Sembilan society.

In examining the changes in population mobility for the two phases of the transition that have been recognised for Negri Sembilan, two themes are developed. The first emphasises the continual immigration of people into the State, whereas the second highlights certain mobility

1 Modernisation has been defined in a number of ways (Black, 1966; Logan, 1972; Pryor, 1971). The term is used here in a broad context to include several processes that have influenced societies: change in technology; change in the concentration of occupations from agriculture to secondary industry; reorganisation of agriculture.

patterns that have persisted from pre-contact times to the present, and also some changes in the spatial and temporal characteristics of those mobility patterns.

#### 4.3. MOBILITY IN PRE-EUROPEAN NEGRI SEMBILAN SOCIETY<sup>2</sup>.

There is a general consensus concerning the sequence of early human migration and settlement in the Peninsula. Ginsburg and Roberts (1958, 17) summarise the phases as follows :

- Phase 1. A negrito population inhabited the Peninsula and the Indonesian pesisir (coastal fringe). They possibly evolved from late descendants of Java man.
- Phase 2. A later Southward migration from Central Asia through the area of the more culturally developed ancestors of the Senoi. The Senoi displaced the Negrito in more favourable areas and forced them to the mountainous interior.
- Phase 3. A still later migration of proto-Malayan peoples from South China who tended to inter-marry with the Senoi and who pushed them to the hills of the interior.
- Phase 4. The inter-marriage of those proto-Malays who settled along the Coast with Chinese, Arabs and Indians who migrated to or traded with the regions. Their off-spring produced the Deutero-Malays (Winstedt, 1950, 11 - 15).

Each group established itself in different parts of the Peninsula - Negritos in the North, the Senoi in the mountains and foothills of the Main Range and the Jakans (proto-Malays) to the south. In the coastal lowlands were the Deutero-Malays who were believed to be part of the

2. Extensive description and analyses of the spatio-temporal changes in Malay mobility in both the Malaysian Peninsula and in Indonesia have now become available. Ma Gee (1968) has written on this, serving to introduce contemporary Malay urbanisation in the Peninsula. Nain (1973) and Lugo (1975) have each discussed mobility in the Malay World and in West Java respectively. The three works provide excellent macro-views of population mobility in the Malay world. Readers are therefore referred to them. The present review will be limited mainly to Negri Sembilan.

Indonesian Malays living in the pasisir of the Malay world.

#### 4.3.1. Mobility in Pre-Contact Society.

Two stages in the evolution of mobility patterns may be identified in pre-contact (only from about 16th century onwards) Negri Sembilan society. Each stage is associated with a group of people having a different social, economic and political system. Both stages can be put into Phase 1 of Zelinsky's mobility transition.

The first stage involves the first inhabitants of Negri Sembilan whose economy centred on shifting cultivation, hunting, food gathering and fishing. Lister (1887, 36) stated that aboriginal inhabitants of Negri Sembilan were the founders of the original nine states. As late as the early part of the 17th century Sungai Ujong, Johol and Sri Menanti were still occupied by Sakai<sup>3</sup> (Wilkinson, 1911, 11). Their numbers at that time are not known but the State was said to be sparsely populated (Wilkinson, 1914, 283 - 284). Their social organisation is said to have been characterised by small semi-sedentary communities, each under an hereditary headman called batin who maintained full authority over his group (Lewis, 1960, 71 - 72). The equatorial forest was harsh for a low technology community but offered them bases for subsistence to which these people responded by hunting, food gathering and fishing. Swidden agriculture was practised in small patches. Garden rotation with fallow periods of varying lengths appeared to have been widespread. Lewis (1960, 71 - 72) summed up the economy of the aborigines in Inas at that time as dominated by shifting agriculture with varieties of dry rice, millet, tapioca, bananas and sugar cane. These people supplemented their food with fishing, hunting and collecting forest products.

In such an economy and social organisation, which emphasised mutual cooperation and reciprocity amongst its members, there was little opportunity for individuals or families to earn a living outside the domain of their community. Spatial mobility was limited to movement to Swidden plots and also to wandering for food. The distances covered in such "wandering" moves could be extensive. Pelzer (1945, 3 - 4) noted

3 Lewis (1960) preferred to call them orang darat (hill people) because the term sakai is derogatory. Wilkinson (1911, 6) proposed that these aborigines could be connected with the proto-Malays in Sumatra. An ancient migration might have preceded the later Minangkabau migration. There is as yet little evidence regarding this (Lewis, 1960, 71).

that the present day Semang in the Peninsula often roam about within an area as extensive as 15 to 20 square miles, and he also observed that the Semang might stay around a durian (tropical fruit) patch during the fruit season. The aborigines were animistic and carried out numerous magical ceremonies in conjunction with their economic activities (Lewis, 1960, 71 - 72; Skoat and Blegden, 1906). Such beliefs perhaps hindered travelling to unfamiliar areas. Bedford (1973, 15) found that in pre-contact New Kibridean Society the fear of sorcery and the magic of strangers restricted the people's movement.

Since there was little genuine residential migration, except that following natural disasters, and only limited movements were required by daily needs as well as custom, the mobility patterns fit in well with those expected in the hypothesis concerning mobility in pre-modern traditional society.

The spatial and temporal characteristics of the traditional forms of population circulation amongst the orang Darat were, however, transformed by the immigration of the Minangkabau.

#### 4.3.2. Minangkabau Immigration Into Negri Sembilan.

The second stage began with the coming of the Minangkabau. It is universally accepted that Negri Sembilan has an historical, cultural and blood relationship with the Minangkabau in West Sumatra, but no one is certain about the time when the first group of Minangkabau arrived in the Peninsula. De Jong (1952, 123) has summarised the scattered arguments as follows,

"...according to R.A. Kern the coming of the immigrants from Minangkabau from across the Straits is already mentioned by Albuquerque in 1512 A.D.; Local Legends place the immigration in 1388; Winstedt proposed the date to be around the 15th century or before; Wilkinson during the first half of the 16th century and Gullick at the beginning of the 17th century".

However, there was a consensus that Nanning (now in Malaka), Rembau and Sungai Ujong were the early destinations (Figure 4.1a). By 1913, Eredia had visited the Portuguese colonies in the East. In his map Eredia indicated established Minangkabau settlements in Nanning and Rembau. He men-

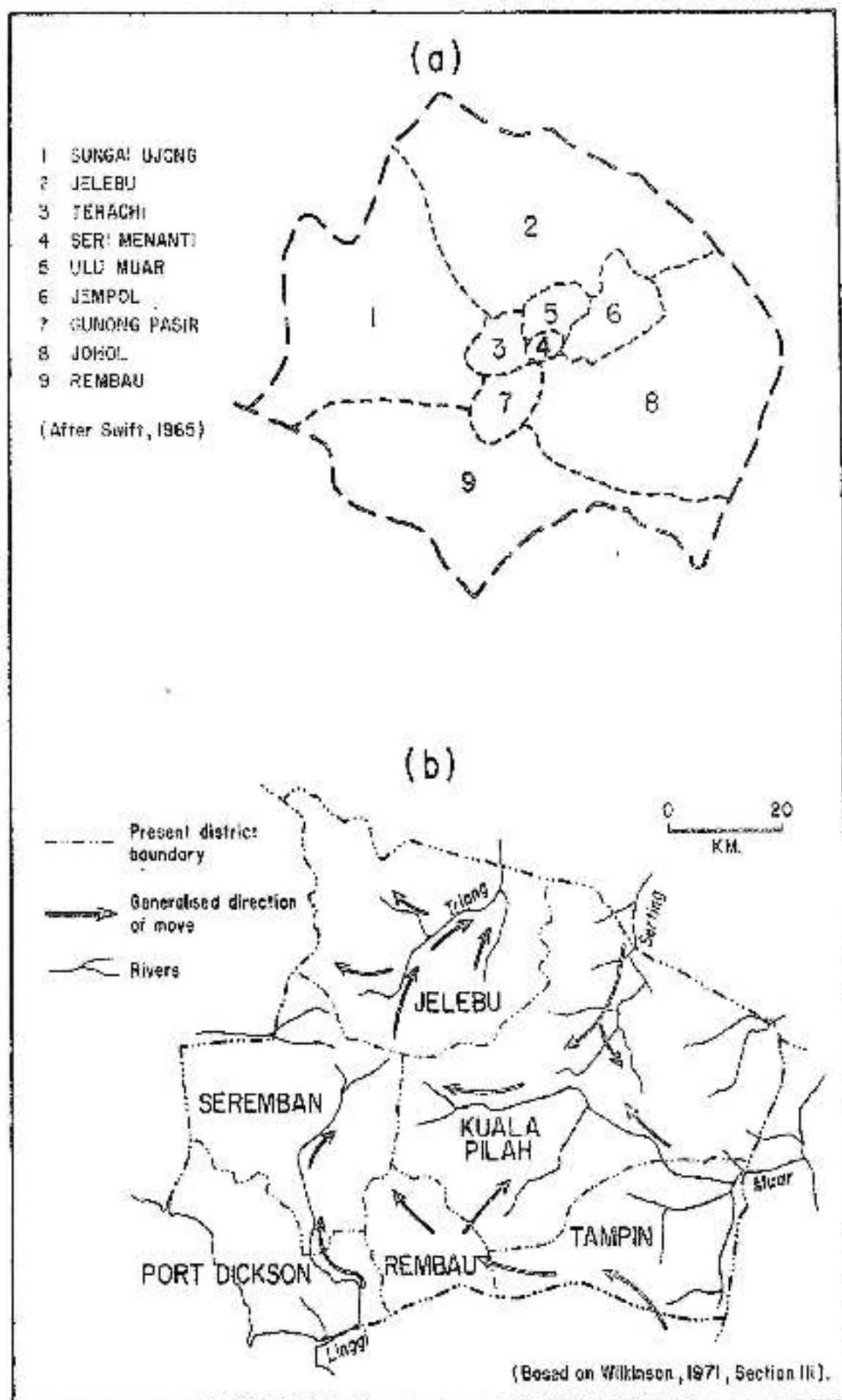


Figure 4-1: a) Traditional Polity  
b) Moving Frontier of Minangkabau Settlement  
in Negri Sembilan

tion was made of other areas<sup>4</sup>.

No information is available to permit an estimate of Minangkabau numbers at that time. But Lewis (1960) when describing Inas local history suggested that the number was small at the beginning, and the immigrants were closely bound by kin and social ties<sup>5</sup>. The immigrants into Inas were said to have come from Seremban, Jelebu, Naning, Pahang, Melaka and Java. Later, they came in increasing numbers from Minangkabau. With regard to the characteristics of a typical migrant, several writers have shown that it is usually young, adventurous males who go merantau in search of fortune (Swift, 1971; Naim, 1979; Connell *et al*, 1976) and the Minangkabau pioneers in Negri Sembilan are therefore likely to have been predominantly males, young and adventurous. The immigrants were reputed to have inter-married with aboriginal women and the first owners amongst the migrants purchased land (tanah tebus) from the waris (the rightful heir of the country) (Cullick, 1958, 40). Villages were established along river valleys where wet rice was planted. An important innovation brought by the immigrants was a new type of economy that required the people to stay in permanent settlements.

#### 4.3.3. Immigrant Pioneer Settlements.

Wilkinson (1911) summed up the developments in Negri Sembilan between the late 17th and early 19th centuries in the following manner,

"The world of Negri Sembilan is a small one, but it did not stand still during the 120 years. The immigrants from Sumatra continued to flock into the country and to fill it up .." (Wilkinson, 1911, 291).

Figure 4.1b illustrates the moving frontier. The first immigrants settled in the nearest valleys in Naning and in the low country (baroh) division of Rembau. Later settlers had to move further afield traversing

4 This suggests either that the other parts of Negri Sembilan were still under aboriginal domination, or Eredia's data were limited only to the Portuguese territory and its immediate hinterland.

5 "Gradually, outsiders began moving into the area and while their numbers were small, they were affixed to the original group under the 'hapak' (headman). As their number grew they formed groupings of their own and the penghulu recognised a head for each. (Lewis, 1960, 77);

Cullick (1958, 38) wrote that 'there was a large flow of immigrants mainly but not entirely from Minangkabau. These migrants who came in small groups brought with them the vestiges of a system of alignment into lineages based on matrilineal descendants'.

forested areas through river valleys into Sungai Ujong (Gullick, 1949), and then into Jelebu (Caldecott, 1912), inter-marrying and buying land from the aborigines. The Minangkabau settlements congregated close to the river valleys and spread out on to the plains. Another direction of move brought the Minangkabau colonisers into Sri Menanti where, according to Wilkinson (1914, 365) "a prosperous looking valley awaited them". This area was developed later into the home base of Negri Sembilan royalty, from which the Yamtuan ruled the surrounding districts. Colonisation of Jempol, Ulu Muar and Terachi presents an interesting pattern. The ancestors of the pioneers came from Minangkabau by way of Melaka. They travelled the Muar river to Pahang. From Pahang they moved down the Serting river into Jempol. Some moved West following the upper part of the Muar river and later into Terachi via the Terachi river (Nathan and Winstedt, 1920, 46). Drawing from a local tradition, Nathan and Winstedt (1920) suggested that the original colonisation of the Terachi Valley was carried out by a woman. She originated from a place in Pahang from where she moved to a place near Sri Menanti. Her son and daughters later pushed the territory further west into the Terachi valley.

Population movements at this stage of the First Phase of the mobility transition in Negri Sembilan were associated with pioneering settlements in virgin equatorial forest. The process must have taken more than two centuries but immigration as well as outmigration continued into the 20th century. As to the number and characteristics of these villages at that time, we can only deduce from Gullick's (1963, 27) description of villages in the Western Malay states in the 1870s. Most villages were located on river banks for easy communication, water and for fish. Along any one river valley one village was fairly accessible from another. Their size varied from one locality to another depending on the availability of suitable land for rice cultivation.

In Negri Sembilan these settlements continued to develop so that by the middle of the 19th century Gray (1852) observed, during an overland journey to Pahang, that the padi fields in Kuala Pilah were intensively cultivated. One reason for the intensive cultivation was that in the matrilineal social structure of the immigrant population ancestral property, especially rice land, passed down from one generation to another through the females who were least attracted to go merantau (Lim, 1977). The females ensured that the rice fields were fully utilised for subsistence production. Life for these females centred on working the same piece of land year after year (Pelzer, 1945). A form of mobility that

emerged in the peasant community was the daily labour circulation to the rice fields.

What other types of mobility emerged in the State? Two forms of mobility may be suggested to have developed in relation to the Minangkabau socio-political organisation. The immigrants, due to the superiority of their numbers, managed to introduce the Adat Perpatih which is, according to Swift (1965, 175), the matrilineal custom named after the culture hero Dato Perpatih nan Sabatang<sup>6</sup>. The Adat in West Sumatra has institutionalised merantau (Main, 1979; Swift, 1971; Rahim, 1960) in which males voluntarily leave the village in their youth but later return. Although the Adat in Negri Sembilan has undergone changes from that in West Sumatra the merantau tradition must have continued to be practised in the Negri Sembilan community (Selat, 1970). Merantau by the people could take them to other settlements in the state for work or religious education. The latter would involve travelling in search of a well-known religious teacher. We also could not rule out that some must have travelled back to Sumatra. The spatial domain of merantau must have been limited to nearby places that took one or two days journey, in Negri Sembilan or a neighbouring state, because of the difficulty in communication. As late as the 1850s, much of the state was still isolated and difficult to traverse (Bird, 1967).

The other form of mobility was associated with the internal socio-political organisation of the society. The Adat organised the people at that time into sub-clans and clans which were responsible to the undangs and finally the undangs to the Yamtuan.<sup>7</sup> In the system everybody was closely bound to kin and relatives. There was a high degree of mutual help and cooperation. In time of peace the people might be called upon to perform gotong-royong (cooperative) work. Likewise, in time of war they would be required to defend the territory. Wilkinson (1914), Nathan and Winstedt (1920), and Caldecott (1912) have described internecine wars

6 A full description of the socio-political organisation is available in Swift (1965, Chapter 11), Gullick (1963, 37-42) and de Jong (1952).

7 Sri Menanti and the districts of Gunung Pasir, Terachi, Jempol and Ulu Muar, known as the enclosed land, at that time was directly under the Yamtuan, whereas the four luaks (Adat territory) - Sungai Ujong, Rembau, Jelebu and Johol - were under the Undangs (the law giver). The four luaks in turn were nominally under the Yamtuan (Swift, 1963, Chapter 2). To a limited extent the Yamtuan ruled the whole state.

arising from succession disputes where the masses helped to fight for the undangs or Yamtuan. Wars and unsettled conditions produced another consequence. Ordinary peasants were sometimes forced to flee their village. Gullick (1958, 58), for example, mentioned that half the population in Jelebu emigrated to nearby Malay states in the Peninsula in the period between 1860 and 1880 because of short wars. Hugo (1980) had also observed this type of mobility in Indonesia during the colonial period.

Another form of mobility that emerged from the socio-political system was marriage migration. In the Adat Perpatih marriage is uxorilocal (Swift, 1963; Ibrahim, 1977), and since one clan often coincides with one village marriage in Negri Sembilan then would lead to migration. Connell *et al* (1974, 225) has shown that marriage migration is an important form of movement in Third World countries. But unlike what Hugo (1978, 145 - 149) and Libbee and Sophie (1975) have shown, the marriage migration in Negri Sembilan at this time would have been dominated by men moving to their wives' villages.

The aristocrats, in contrast, would have been less restricted in their spatial movement. Throughout Negri Sembilan history we read about deputations of the local Penghulus to the court in Johor to get the seal of authority. We also read about an emissary from the local chiefs to West Sumatra for a ruler. Men with exceptional skill would accompany a chief on such a journey.

As a whole, personal mobility during this time was restricted not only because of limited choices in alternative destinations but also limited accessibility.

Where could all the preceeding mobility patterns be placed in the Transition model? Zelinsky (1971, 234) proposed that in pre-modern traditional society, genuine migration was uncommon. Movements were usually of 'a marital or martial' nature. Some circulation might occur but normally within a well trodden social space, for example, daily journeys to the fields, pasture, fishery or quarry, trips to fairs, shrines and courts or the extended absence of students and apprentices. The only persons freely to cross major social boundaries would be aristocrats, pilgrims, scholars and merchants. Thus, the patterns emerging in the earlier discussion correlate partly with this phase in the Transition hypothesis, but we have noticed that in Negri Sembilan the traditional society included immigrants from distant places.

The growing importance of tin in the world market and the

discovery of vast reserves of tin in the Malay states led to profound changes in the state economy and personal mobility. The spatial and temporal characteristics of traditional forms of circulation were transformed by the intrusion of European capital to develop this metal.

#### 4.4. PHASE II. COLONIAL INTRUSION AND LARGE SCALE IMMIGRATION OF LABOUR.

A new dimension of change entered the scene with the establishment of British influence over Pulau Pinang in 1824. Although the British initially limited their activities to the Strait Settlements<sup>8</sup> their interest was soon drawn into the interior Malay states. Expanding mining activities in Perak, Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang attracted more immigrants from the Strait Settlements and China. Malay-Chinese clashes over mining activities occurred and soon chieftainship rivalries over mining rights and successions flared up. To safeguard their interests, the British intervened in the Malay states. In 1874 the Perak chiefs signed the Pangkor Engagement with Britain, ceding control of their negeri to the British.<sup>9</sup> Soon Selangor accepted British protection, later Sungai Ujong (1875) and in 1888 Pahang (Khoo, 1972). With the treaties<sup>9</sup>, the Malay states lapsed into eight decades of colonial rule.

Furnivall (1948, 5) maintained that colonial policy was framed in the interest of the colonial power. This interest was usually (there are exceptions, for example the Spanish in the Philippines) purely economic and consequently colonial activities reflected this economic interest. In this manner colonial capitalism exploited local products and blocked indigenous development in the process (Slater, 1978). Despite that, colonial development affected mobility in the state and the Peninsula to an extent that had never been experienced before. This was brought about by the following :

1. Large-scale mining attracted foreign capital and

8 Pulau Pinang, Melaka and Singapore.

9 All the treaties were substantially similar with the main provisions as follows: 1. The Malay states agreed to accept British protection and they are to have no dealings with foreign powers except through Great Britain. 2. Britain guaranteed the states protection against attack by foreign powers. 3. British Residents were appointed to the states whose advice must be asked and followed on all matters except those touching Malay customs and religion (Ginsburg and Robert, 1958, 43).

Western administrators, managers and personnel. Mining villages grew up which later developed into a system of cities. (Lim, 1978).

2. Plantation agriculture was introduced. Not only did the British bring in a new form of organisation in agricultural production, but they also opened another avenue for earning cash to the Malays.
3. Large scale immigration of foreign labour to work in mines and on plantations.
4. English became the language of the modern sector and later it became the essential tool for upward mobility.
5. Secular education was introduced. Western modes of thinking, values and rules intruded and 'diffused' into the society.

The total impress of the colonial development on the Malays can be stated simply as follows: the mining towns and plantations opened new alternative places to earn a living. At the same time secular education expanded their horizons and gradually gave them a more flexible alternative route for upward mobility. The state and the Peninsula also received new waves of modern immigration from China, India and Indonesia that was going to alter the character of the Peninsula's population.

There is a substantial literature dealing with Chinese and Indian immigration into the Peninsula<sup>10</sup>. Suffice it to say that Chinese and Indian contacts with the Peninsula have taken place since ancient times. Although the Chinese, '... appear not to have made any permanent settlements in the country until after the foundation of ... Malaka ...,' (Purcell, 1966, IX) the Indians made a deep social impact on the region even before the Christian era (Sandhu, 1969). The volume of immigration into the Peninsula increased substantially after the British brought the Malay states under their control.<sup>11</sup> The situation was brought about by

10 Some major works include Hodder (1959); Smith, (1952); Purcell, (1966); Sandhu (1969); for further references see Saw and Chong (1975).

11 The immigrants were not all labourers. Sandhu (1969, Chapter 3) for example, identifies the various types of migrants that emigrated from India to the Malay states. The bulk of them were labourers but there were professional people too with a number as large as 35% of the total stream.

the unemployment problem and excess labour in South China and also South India, as well as the increasing need for labour in the expanding colonial economy in the Peninsula. Until 1929, there was no restriction on immigration (Purcell, 1966; Sandhu, 1969).

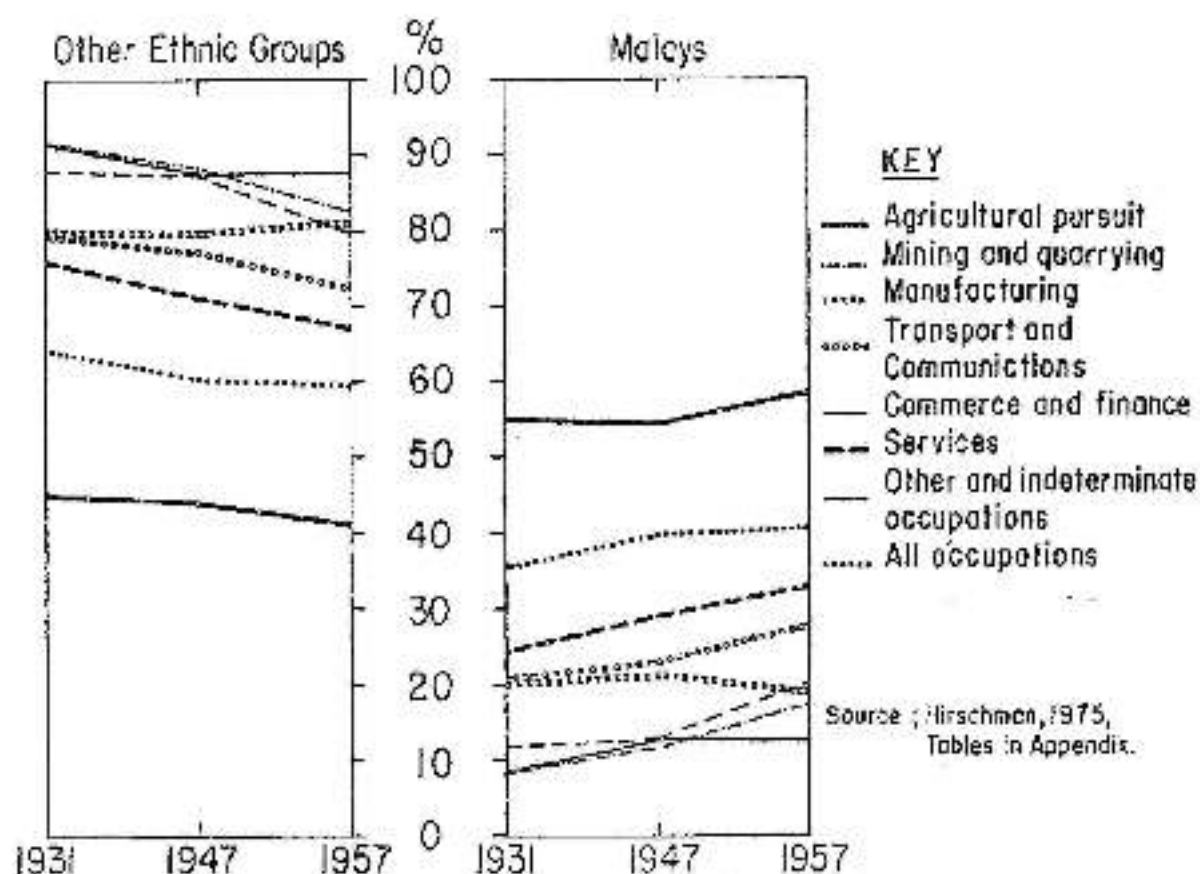
Sandhu (1969) and Purcell (1966) showed that at first these immigrants came temporarily to earn a living and then returned to their countries of origin, and total immigration and emigration at any one period was related to the Peninsula's economic well-being. Purcell (1966, 203) pointed out with respect to Chinese immigration that the 1929 World Trade Depression had its impact on the Peninsula in 1930-32. Increasing unemployment in the Malay states forced the colonial government to stop Chinese immigration to the Federated Malay States<sup>12</sup> and the government repatriated many thousands back to China. An improvement in the economic situation in the latter part of 1933 however boosted immigration again. Likewise Sandhu (1969, 111) reported a great exodus of Indian labourers from Malaya in the depression but after the depression immigration increased substantially again. The total impact on the Malay states of these people was the changing composition of the Peninsula's population as shown in Table 4.2. From the Table it can be seen that by 1931 the immigrant groups had a combined share of more than half the total population.

In Negri Sembilan the immigrant population expanded quickly. By the 1891 census, there were 15,391 Chinese and 1,919 others compared to a total Malay population of 47,909. The non-Malays formed about 27 percent of the state population. By 1901 the proportion of non-Malays increased to 39,193 (41 percent of the total) while the Malay population had increased to 56,935.

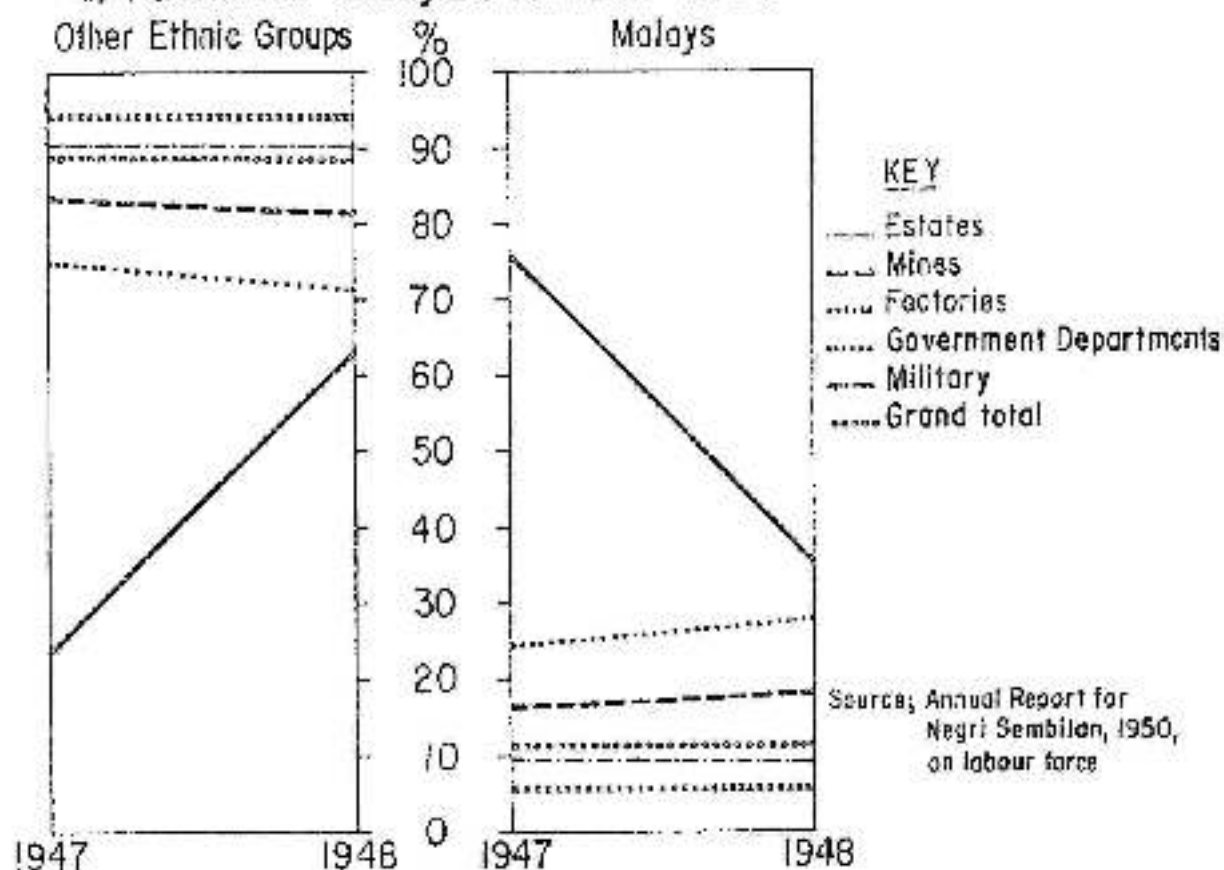
With regard to the immigrants' impact on industries in the Peninsula, Figure 4.2 shows not only the polarisation in occupation by race but also the main concentration of the immigrants in non-agricultural pursuits, dominated by mining, transport, commerce and finance.

Another component of immigration that requires some discussion is that of Indonesian migration into the colonial Malay states. Bahrin (1976) and Silcock (1969) have argued that since the Indonesian migrants shared a common cultural and historical origin, spoke a similar language and practised Islam they assimilated with the Malays fairly quickly.

12 Confederation of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang.



a) Peninsular Malaysia for 1931-1957.



(b) Negri Sembilan for 1947-1948.

Figure 4-2: Malays and Immigrant Population in Various Industries.

Table 4.2. Ethnic Composition of the Population : Peninsular Malaysia, 1911 - 1957.

| Community              | Population in Thousands |      |      |      |      |
|------------------------|-------------------------|------|------|------|------|
|                        | 1911                    | 1921 | 1931 | 1947 | 1957 |
| Malays                 | 1370                    | 1569 | 1864 | 2428 | 3126 |
| Chinese                | 693                     | 856  | 1285 | 1884 | 2334 |
| Indians and Pakistanis | 239                     | 439  | 571  | 531  | 707  |
| Others                 | 37                      | 43   | 68   | 63   | 112  |
| Total                  | 2339                    | 2907 | 3788 | 4906 | 6279 |

| Community              | Percentage Distribution |        |        |        |        |
|------------------------|-------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
|                        | 1911                    | 1921   | 1931   | 1947   | 1957   |
| Malays                 | 58.6%                   | 54.0%  | 49.2%  | 49.5%  | 49.8%  |
| Chinese                | 29.6                    | 29.4   | 33.9   | 38.4   | 37.2   |
| Indians and Pakistanis | 10.2                    | 15.1   | 15.1   | 10.8   | 11.3   |
| Others                 | 1.6                     | 1.5    | 1.8    | 1.3    | 1.8    |
| Total                  | 100.0%                  | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

Source: Hirschman, 1975, 9.

This raises problems in trying to estimate their numbers, especially when they could 'disappear' to become Malays in a very short time. Bahrin (1967) has analysed the presence of Indonesians in the Peninsula according to the year of their arrival from 1911 to 1947. He showed that about 52 percent of them arrived between 1911 and 1930. The number fell during the depression and was reduced further in the War years, 1942 - 1945. Figure 4.3 gives an example of the various origins of Indonesian migrants in Negri Sembilan. It is noted that in 1931 the largest number of immigrants came from Sumatra and Java.

The known Indonesian population increased remarkably between 1911 and 1957, especially in states with an expanding economy such as in Perak and Selangor. Bahrin (1967, 275) noted that the Indonesian population (defined by birthplace) in Malaya increased from 117,600 in 1911 to 342,600 in 1957, that is they had more than doubled in 46 years. Variations by states in Indonesian immigration for the 1911 - 1947 period are

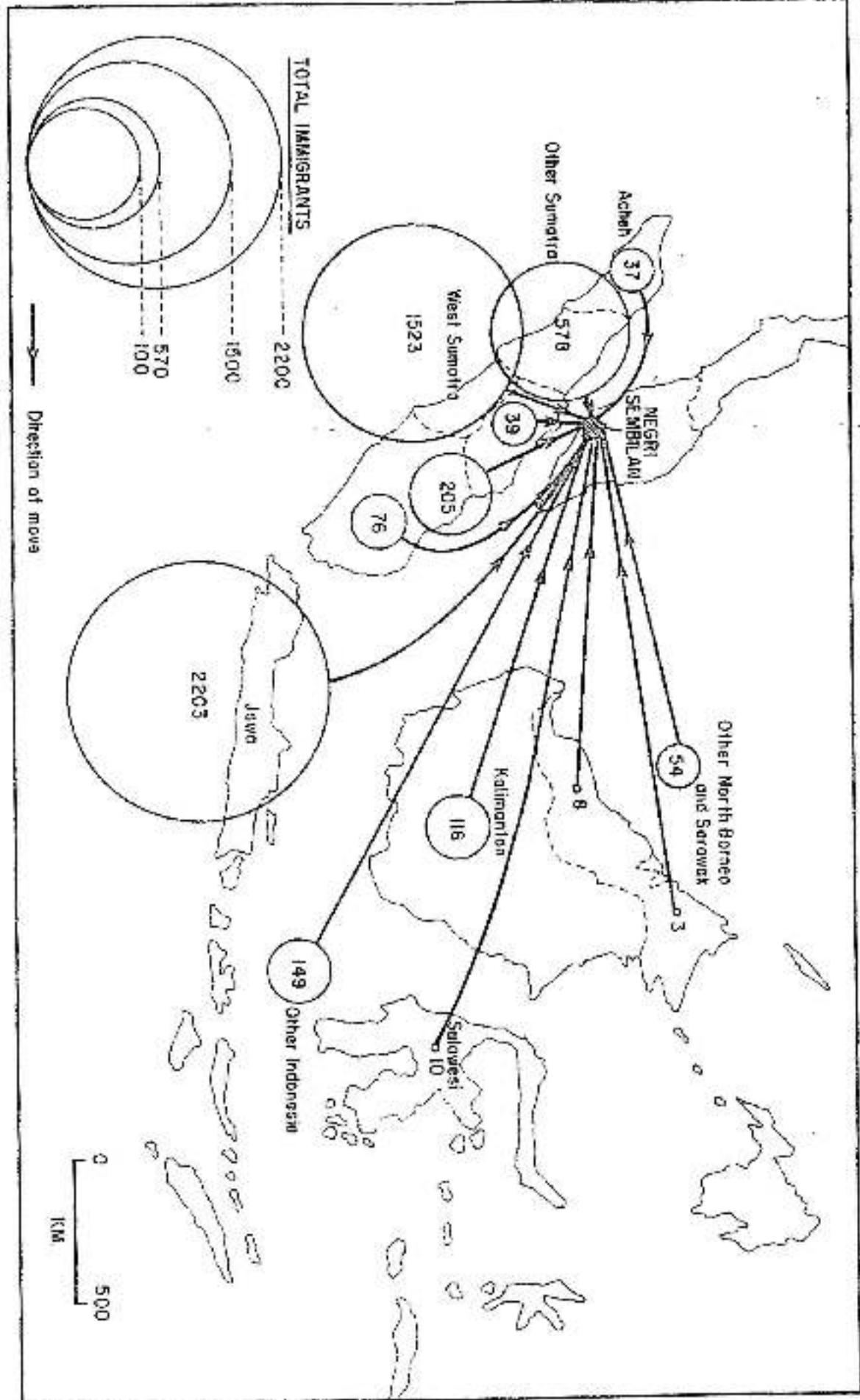


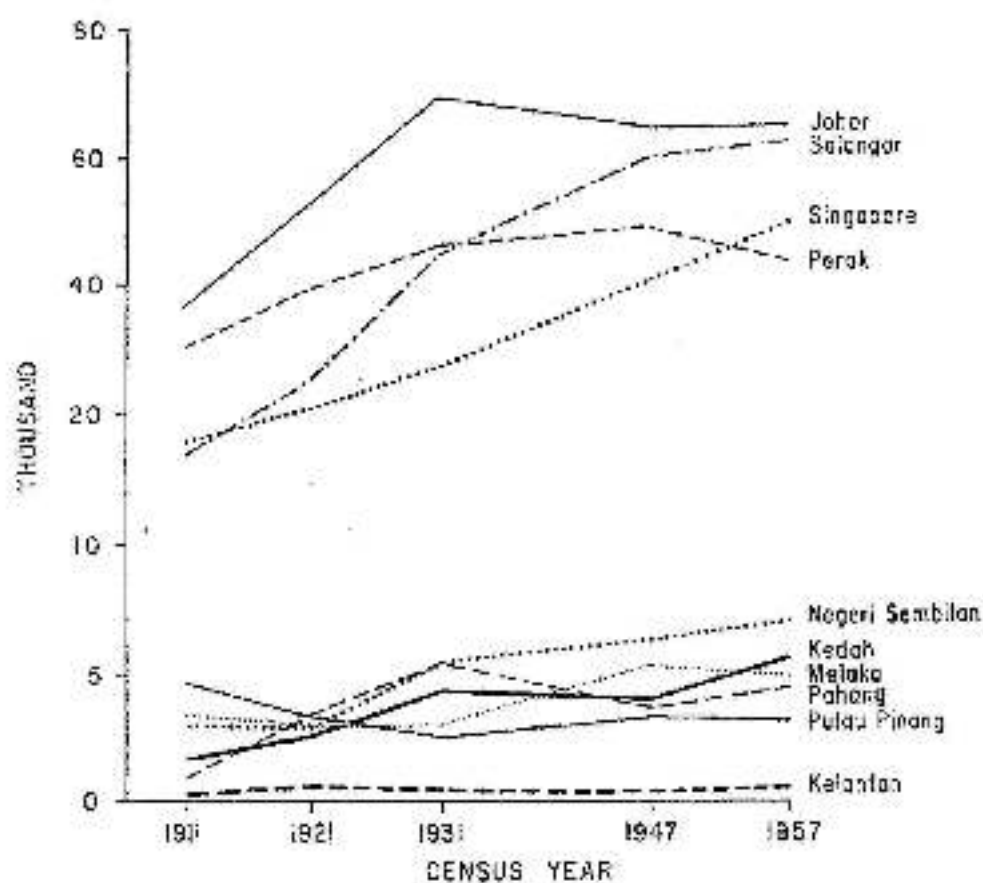
Figure 4-3 : Lifetime Migration according to 1947 Census of Malaysia.

shown in Figure 4.4, from which it is clear that the number migrating into Negri Sembilan was relatively small compared to the rest of the states. Finally, Bahrin (1967, 286) maintained that recent Indonesian immigrants, compared with the other communities, formed a relatively unimportant part of the total population of Malays and that their contribution to the increase in the total Malaysian population was not as great as has been assumed in the past. Most of them were absorbed in the agriculture sector, especially in subsistence production.

How did colonial practices affect Malay mobility at the periphery during the period when overseas migration was dominant? Gullick (1951), writing about the Negri Sembilan economy in the 1890s, provided observations on some activities performed by the Malays that revealed new forms of mobility emerging in the State. First, colonial administration absorbed some local Malays into the civil service and encouragement was given for them to enter the clerical services as well. Working in these wage jobs required them to commute or migrate to the colonial (urban) settlements. Second, Sumatran Malay migrants controlled the retail trade in Sungai Ujong whilst the rural Malays marketed their vegetables, domestic animals and fruits to the growing urban population in Sungai Ujong. Marketing was made possible by improved transportation and communication lines. Gullick (1951) found that 500 carts linked Jelebu with Seremban in the 1890s. Fourth, the main inducement for the Malays to save money then was to finance the Hajj, and in fact one percent of Jelebu Malays made the pilgrimage in 1891.

There is no doubt that development in the colonial economy influenced personal mobility amongst the Malays. Apart from what Gullick (1951) has observed, other colonial pursuits also had additional effects gradually on the Malays. In order to protect its interests the colonial administration improved communications and developed its bureaucracy<sup>13</sup>. Roads and railways were expanded to connect tin mines and rubber estates with the centre of colonial administration in the towns as well as with the port towns along the West Coast (Leinbach, 1976; FMS Report, 1936). The roads and railways improved accessibility which enabled the population

13 Gullick, (1965, 27) mentioned an observation made by the district officer in Jelebu that as soon as new roads were built Malays came and built houses along the roads.



(Source: Census Reports 1911, 1921, 1931, 1947 & 1957, see also  
Barin, 1967, p. 224)

Figure 4.4: Indonesian Immigrants in Peninsular Malaysia

to travel greater distances than was previously possible. Roads and railways also attracted settlement along them, producing ribbon settlements. Growing prosperity and increasing administrative responsibilities led to a growth in demand for tertiary service population. A police force was formed to maintain law and order in the urban settlements<sup>14</sup>. In 1933, another avenue for Malay mobility was opened when the Malay regiment was established (Rasli, 1965, 199). Apart from these, there were also growing opportunities in civilian occupations. Increasing land development required land to be surveyed quickly for alienation. Survey assistants were recruited to help in the fields. In the towns, the administration required clerks and also blue collar workers such as gardeners and town board labourers.

The colonial administrators also provided vernacular Malay education which opened opportunities for the better pupils to be recruited as Malay school teachers<sup>15</sup>. For the average pupils a standard four qualification would enable them to join the Malay Regiment (Rasli, 1965). English education was, however, limited to the towns which made it less accessible to the rural Malays<sup>16</sup>. Since clerical and other administrative jobs in the colonial government required proficiency in English the rural Malays were excluded from this avenue of mobility. In contrast, sons of Malay aristocrats were prepared for administrative jobs through the establishment of the Malay college in Kuala Kangsar, Perak (Loh, 1975, 79).

Malay participation in the colonial economy was peripheral during this time. Compared to the international immigration and emigration of Chinese, Indians and Indonesian, internal population mobility remained small in scale. Opportunities opened to the Malays were still limited. Nevertheless, the whole mobility pattern was different to Zelinsky's second phase of the mobility transition.

- 14 FMS Report for Negri Sembilan (1910) recorded 253 Malay constables from a total force of 390 including officers. In the Annual Report (1931), the number increased to 576, with Malays in the majority.
- 15 In 1905 there were 33 Malay schools in the state giving instructions to 2204 boys. By 1931, 81 schools were recorded in the state giving instructions to 7955 pupils of which 6741 were boys (FMS Report for Negri Sembilan, 1905; 1931).
- 16 English education for the Malays was limited to chiefs' sons (State of Negri Sembilan Report, 1901).

#### 4.5. INTER-STATE MIGRATION, 1911 - 1957.

A major concern of the colonial administration was to preserve the ceremonial status of the Malay Sultanate. Crucial to this was the preservation of a peasantry. Many colonial practices, such as providing only vernacular instruction to the Malays, the importation of foreign labour for the tin mines and rubber plantations, and requiring English for entry into colonial administrative services, could be said to have been designed to keep the peasants on the land. A further measure to keep these people on the land was achieved when the Malay Reservation Enactment was passed in 1913, by which the peasants were not to alienate, lease or dispose of their holdings on the Reservation to non-Malays.

The immediate and long-term impacts of the Enactment on Malay mobility are not clear as no suitable data are available (Mc Gee, 1968). However, it could be asserted that in-so-far as it attempted to keep the peasants on the land, the Enactment was not fully successful in Negri Sembilan.

Some evidence in support of this is to be found in the birth-place information in the 1921 - 1957 censuses. By comparing birthplace with the place of enumeration some indication of the volume of inter-state migration can be demonstrated for persons born in the Peninsula. There is no way we can monitor the internal movements of the Indonesian migrants, who are expected to be more mobile (Davanzo, 1975, for example, has shown that migrants tend to make further movements more than non-migrants) because the census asked only their country of birth and state of enumeration.

The major patterns of life-time migration from 1921 to 1957 are presented in Figure 4.5. Substantial inter-state population interchange had already taken place by 1911<sup>17</sup>. The main patterns evident in the diagram are as follows :

1. Two clearly differentiated territorial migration fields

17 Data for 1911 are limited to the Federated Malay States, Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang. However, since 1921 the census has covered the whole of the Peninsula. From the birthplace and the place of enumeration information in the censuses between 1921 and 1957 an average of 7.3% in 1921, 7.8% in 1931, 6.9% in 1947 and 8.9% in 1957 of the population were found in states other than their states of birth in the Peninsula.

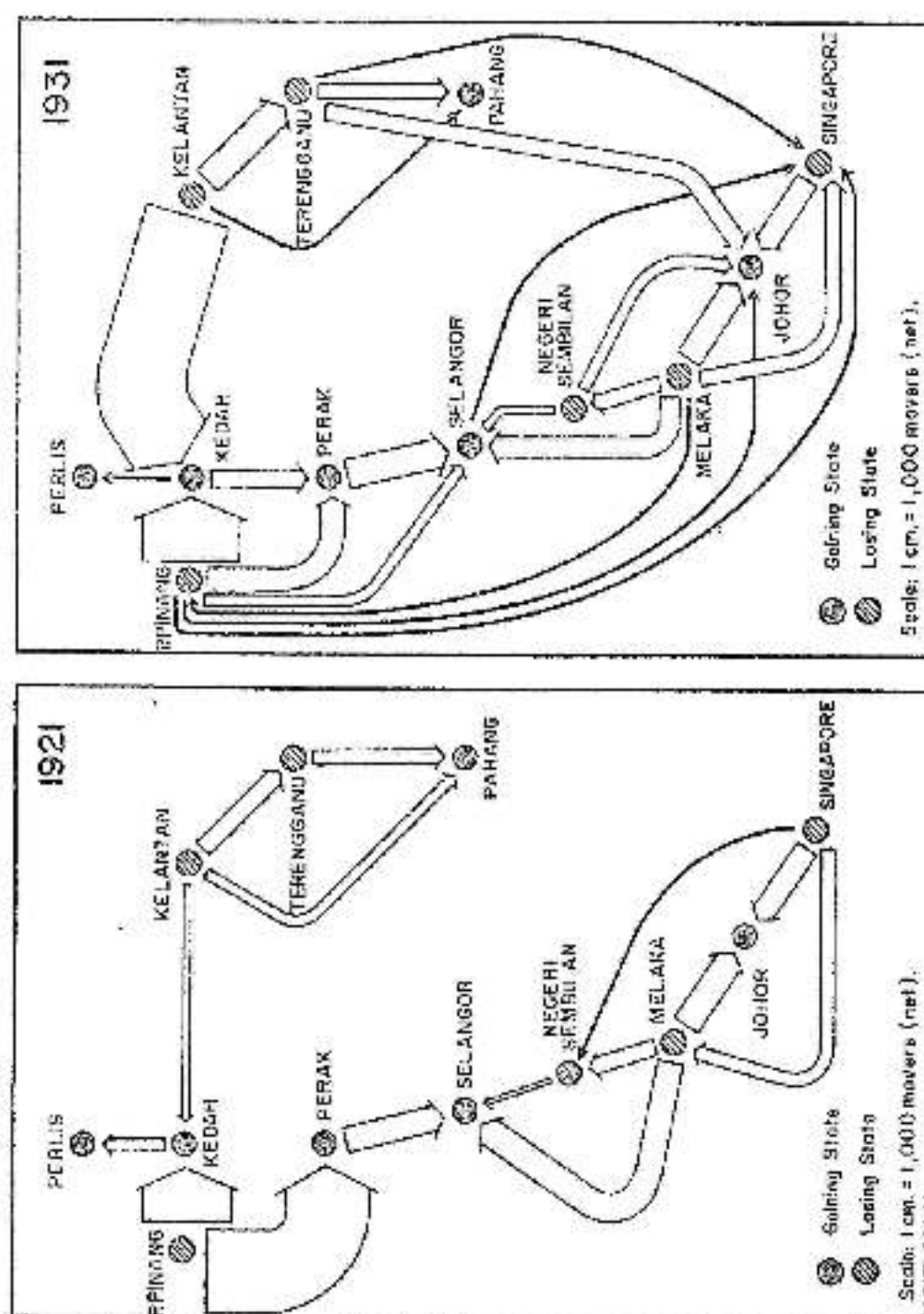
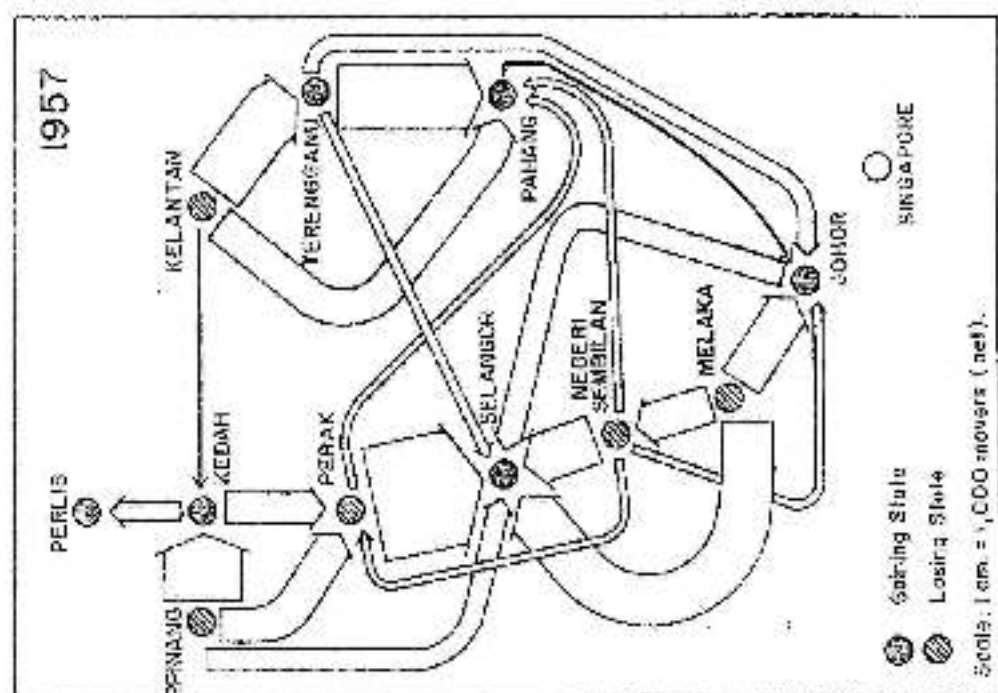
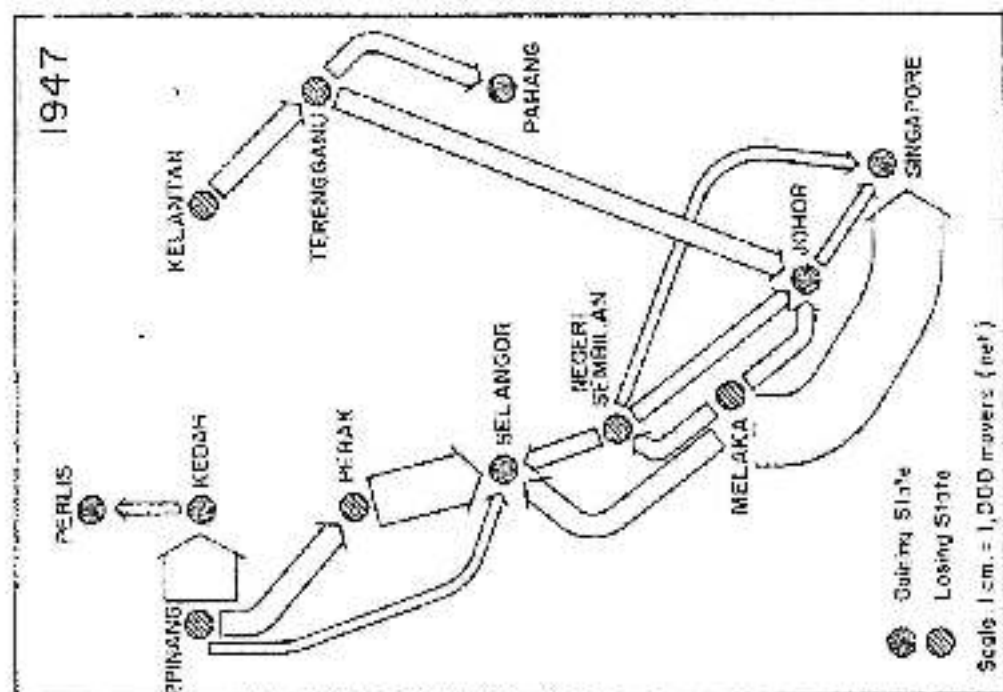


Figure 4-5 : The Movements of Lifetime Migrants in the Peninsula, 1921-1957.



developed over time, one along the tin-rubber corridor on the West Coast and another in the Eastern States. These two territorial migration fields coincided with Caldwell's (1964) division of Malaya into New (Western) and Old (Eastern) Malaya. The two fields developed almost in isolation in the early part of the century but with each census progressively more interaction between the two systems was evident.

2. Pulau Pinang, Malaka and Kelantan consistently sent people out (net-migration) after the 1921 census. Negri Sembilan recorded a net gain in 1931 but thereafter it also registered losses.
3. It is evident that over time more migrants moved over long distances (mostly to Singapore).
4. It is evident too that for every major stream there was a counter-stream.

and 5. Most migration flows from each state terminated in contiguous states.

From the Diagram (Figure 4.5) it is also evident that since 1921 there have been complex interchanges of population between states in the Peninsula<sup>18</sup>. One way to interpret these migration flows is to view them as the consequence of peasant underdevelopment under colonial rule (McCoo, 1971, Chapter 1; Frank, 1957; Slater, 1978), in which the whole colonial economy was geared towards the mother country. Any advantage accruing to the peasants was no more than marginal. Lim (1977) has shown that the 1913 land enactment, for example, imposed many restrictions on the peasants. An important one was that the peasants could not plant cash crops. Although this measure was doomed to failure it illustrated the steps taken to keep them on the land. As a result Lim indicated that in parts of Negri Sembilan there was land hunger amongst the peasants. This problem and the opportunities in the modern sector, though small, were a great inducement for the Negri Sembilan Malays to merantau.

Thus the rise of the modern colonial sector offered alternative places for the Malays to go and earn a living, and also to market their

18 Though the rate of Malay involvement varied, being small at first but increasing in later censuses (see Chapter 5.3).

rural produce. In addition, an expansion in transport and communication lines reduced isolation between places. In this circumstance, a new form of population circulation took place. In the earlier phase population circulation involved movements back and forth (oscillation) between purely rural settlements. In the second phase the movements linked rural traditional areas with colonial urban establishments. The motives for moving also changed, from a situation dominated by non-wage considerations to one involving employment in the colonial sector. A similar transformation in personal mobility has been reported for the New Hebrides (Bedford, 1973) and Indonesia (Hugo, 1975). Unlike the New Hebridean case, colonial intrusion in the Peninsula also led to the large scale immigration of foreign labour, producing a multi-ethnic society in which each group lives side by side with another without mingling (Fisher, 1954).

#### 4.3.1. An Interruption. The War Years and Forced Relocations.

Japanese invasion and occupation of the Peninsula lasted for about four years. Its impact on the country was substantial in transforming the country's economy and consequently personal mobility. It has been shown that war mobilises people: firstly, to defend their territory; and secondly, failing to contain the invaders, these people will be subjugated and consequently some flee while the rest remain to face any eventual consequences (Witcke, 1952; Turnbull, 1977).

Records are not available to assess precisely the impact of the Japanese occupation on population mobility in Negri Sembilan. The Negri Sembilan State Report for 1946 gives an account of the situation in the State during the war years. It reported that the Japanese destroyed the established colonial economy and bureaucracy. There were food shortages and inflation was high (Turnbull, 1977). It seems that 11,263 people, comprising Indians (2902), Chinese (1729) and Malays (1632), were deported from European estates in the Malay States and were later sent to the "Siam-Burma" railway construction sites. It was pointed out, too, that 3,691 died in Thailand, 3,117 returned before the Japanese surrender, 2,711 returned after liberation and 1,744 remained unaccounted for in 1946. Turnbull (1977, 212) found that about 2000 people, mainly Eurasian and Chinese Roman Catholics from Singapore, were sent to work on farms at Bahau, Negri Sembilan.

Relying on accounts given by several village elders during our

village survey, we found that the Japanese occupation of the State affected population redistribution in at least four ways. First, some villagers along major transport routes in Kuala Pilah District moved to more remote locations at the jungle fringe when the Japanese first arrived. They oscillated between their temporary homes on the jungle fringe and their established houses along the main transport routes. Second, male adults were forced to do work for the Japanese, such as rebuilding roads, bridges and also building air-strips. Third, some people were taken out of the State, probably to the Siam-Burma railway. Fourth, there were individuals who found opportunities to work in the Japanese administration, such as interpreters, clerks and police.

Generally, forced labour and refugee movement formed the two main movement types in the State during the War Years (1942 - 1945). These movements were not peculiar to the State alone. Elsewhere in the Peninsula the same experience has been reported (Chin, 1946). Turnbull (1977, Chapter 5) described the effects of the Japanese occupation on Singapore. She showed that 12,000 Chinese were moved to Endau, Johor, to become agricultural settlers. In 1943 some 12,000 prisoners were sent to Changi prison and 10,000 Javanese were brought in but later were left to die of hunger on Singapore streets. In Indonesia, Benda (1958, 257 note 33) noted that hundreds of thousands of Javanese were drawn into forced labour (*romusha*), and Dimiyati (1951, 85n) found that 294,000 *romusha* were recruited to work outside Java. Many of these people died in those places.

No doubt forced relocations and refugee movements formed an important part of the Negri Sembilan population mobility experience during the Japanese occupation.

#### 4.6. PHASE II. MALAYS ON THE MOVE.

Post-War rehabilitation and stabilisation brought yet another transformation to personal mobility amongst the Malays. The Malay population continued to grow at a fast rate. Modern medicine helped to reduce mortality, and fertility remained at a fairly high level.

The Pacific war was a major watershed in Malay mobility as well as in Malaysian development generally. Two main events created the channel for greater Malay mobility. First, the strengthening of Malay nationalism (Roff, 1967); the Malays, together with the non-Malays, worked towards achieving Merdeka (Independence) in 1957. Second, the 1948-1960 communist insurgency, which was known as the "Emergency".

With respect to the latter, two new spurs to population mobility were immediately created. Firstly, when the Federal Executive Council was told in 1948 that 'there is no prospect at present of military reinforcements from abroad', (Short, 1975, 113), the reaction was to expand military, para-military and police forces to cope with the new development. The Negri Sembilan Annual State Report had this to say.

"... Enquiries have been made and received concerning the availability of Malay labour locally for Estates. The recruitment of Malays into the special constabulary appears to have absorbed most of the potential supply ..."  
(Negri Sembilan State, 1950, 71).

Excess labour in traditional villages in Negri Sembilan found an opening for non-agricultural employment into which school leavers were drawn in large numbers<sup>19</sup>. Further the conditions of service in the para-military force were much better than in the other jobs open to these people.

The Emergency affected population mobility in a second way. Acting on the assumption that the insurgents could be partly contained by denying them the support of scattered and peripherally located populations the Briggs Plan was introduced. This Plan grouped not only scattered and thinly distributed Malays in remote Kampongs and Indians in remote estates into more easily supervised settlements, but also about half a million Chinese squatters in rural areas in the Peninsula were settled into new villages (Sandhu, 1964; Sendut, 1962; Goh, 1976)<sup>20</sup>. Overall about five percent of the people resettled were Malays. In Negri Sembilan only those in remote places were affected,<sup>21</sup> and their number was small compared to the Chinese who were resettled into 23 new villages.

The Emergency, therefore, produced two mobility patterns amongst the Negri Sembilan Malays. First, it created new employment that required people to leave their village of birth and work for the colonial adminis-

19 "Large number of Malay Youth had joined the Malay Regiment, the Royal Air Force Regiment, the Regular Police Force and Special Constabulary" (Negri Sembilan State Report, 1948, 4). Auxiliary forces were recruited and organised in towns and Kampong. Many thousand of Malays volunteered as Home Guards.

20 A great deal has been written on this; Others include Dobby (1952, 163-169); Dobby (1953, 1-8); Polzer (1952, 391-404); Sendut (1961, 21-26); Sandhu (1964, 157-183).

21 For example the Mandalings at Langkap (Tugby, 1977, Chapter 2).

tration for most of their lives. It is realised, too, that merantau had taken on a new meaning. In pre-contact times, merantau was a temporary absence to attend a religious school (pondok) or to work in agricultural pursuits but during the Emergency it also came to include makan gaji (eating your salary) in the military and para-military forces. Second, scattered families in the jungle fringes were forced to move to more densely settled places.

#### 4.6.1. Merdeka and "Sponsorship" of Malay Mobility: Urbanward Flows.

Merdeka was proclaimed in 1957. The new government was committed to bring the Malays to parity with other ethnic groups in the country and hence it sponsored the Malays' participation in the modern sector. It was argued that the Malays had been insulated from involvement in the modernising sector of Malaysian society. Colonial paternalism had, to a large degree, successfully encapsulated and designed 'the fossilisation of the rural people, most of whom were Malays' (Aziz, 1964, 81).

Several steps were taken to achieve this parity. First, the government introduced structural changes in the educational system, the purpose of which was to assist Malay youth to receive instruction beyond primary education<sup>22</sup>. Secondary Malay medium schools were opened to absorb the vernacular Malay primary school pupils. Secondary Malay medium students increased from 2,315 in 1957 to 128,069 in 1967 (Malaysia, 1968). Simultaneously, Malay pupils were also encouraged to go to English schools. Pupils from Malay primary schools were transferred to English education. This was done by bringing them through the 'remove' class and the special Malay class whereby the pupils were introduced to English. In addition, boarding schools for Malay pupils were established in major cities. To help these pupils pay for their education, assistance in the form of scholarships was given<sup>23</sup>. Thus, the terminal nature of earlier Malay education

22 A comprehensive discussion on all the steps taken to help the Malays has been undertaken by Bock (1970): On the policy of Malay sponsorship, 189-192; structural changes, 192-194; Examination changes, 194-197; Economic Assistance, 197-199; Also Federation of Malaya, Education Committee (1956; 1958); Federation of Malaysia (1968).

23 83 percent of Malays at the University of Malaya in 1968 were on scholarship (Bock, 1970, 198).

ceased, and more Malay youth got into higher education<sup>24</sup> (Loh, 1975; Bock, 1970). Consequently, more rural youths were displaced from the land. The premier boarding schools were located in the cities and the whole curriculum was biased towards urban occupations. Lipton (1977) has argued that education in Third World countries is biased towards the city. Rural youth is therefore encouraged to leave the villages. In the same manner, at the termination of their studies Malay youth stayed in the cities and entered urban employment. University graduates were absorbed into the government sector in which a large number of vacancies existed. This was brought about by both the withdrawal of expatriate personnel and the expanding bureaucracy in the new government.

Second, the new government was also concerned with the economic imbalances between Malays and non-Malays, and the action taken to deal with them had important consequences for Malay mobility. There were two steps taken by the government: first, industrialisation, and second, land settlement.

With respect to the first, the new government attempted to reduce uncertainty in the economy, heavily dependent on rubber and tin, through diversification. One orientation in diversification was industrialisation through import substitution. In 1958 the Pioneer Industries Ordinance was passed to encourage investments from abroad. Industrial estates with back up facilities were developed (Mc Taggart, 1972; Wheelwright, 1965; Government of Malaysia, 1971; Lim, 1973; Singh, 1976). It was hoped that industrialisation would absorb labour which was no longer being absorbed by the agricultural sector. Further, industrial development, if encouraged to locate in suitable areas, could help redress the economic imbalances between Malays and Chinese by offering employment opportunities to the Malays.

By 1968 the industrialisation programme had brought satisfactory expansion in industrial employment. From Table 4.3 Negri Sembilan is seen to have gained about 5 percent of total industrial establishments in the

24 "As a result of the various policies and programmes of the government to assist the educational attainment of the Malays, a significant proportion of Malays from low economic backgrounds are managing their ways into the Malaysian secondary school system", (Bock, 1970, 199).

Table 4.1. State Distribution of Industry, 1962, Percentages.

| State       | No. of<br>Establish-<br>ments<br>1 | Value<br>of<br>Sales<br>2 | Value<br>Added<br>3 | Employment<br>Full-<br>Time<br>4 | Part-<br>Time<br>5 | Salaries<br>6 | Population<br>1970<br>7 |
|-------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| Johor       | 12.48                              | 14.09                     | 12.43               | 17.69                            | 11.10              | 14.83         | 14.51                   |
| Kedah       | 0.59                               | 4.39                      | 2.21                | 3.34                             | 6.46               | 3.12          | 10.02                   |
| Kelantan    | 3.96                               | 1.65                      | 1.66                | 2.52                             | 6.69               | 2.33          | 7.75                    |
| Nelaka      | 4.37                               | 2.68                      | 2.03                | 2.47                             | 4.47               | 2.06          | 4.38                    |
| N. Sembilan | 4.54                               | 8.77                      | 7.62                | 3.86                             | 3.13               | 4.89          | 5.93                    |
| Pahang      | 4.47                               | 1.84                      | 2.78                | 2.35                             | 1.92               | 3.61          | 5.65                    |
| Penang      | 16.99                              | 10.91                     | 9.21                | 11.32                            | 15.13              | 10.24         | 8.73                    |
| Perak       | 18.78                              | 11.64                     | 10.90               | 14.41                            | 18.21              | 11.63         | 17.86                   |
| Perlis      | 0.92                               | 0.27                      | 0.11                | 0.24                             | 0.33               | 0.19          | 1.39                    |
| Selangor    | 23.50                              | 63.50                     | 51.10               | 38.76                            | 31.57              | 46.09         | 18.82                   |
| Trengganu   | 3.20                               | 0.36                      | 0.48                | 1.14                             | 1.21               | 1.00          | 4.64                    |
|             | 100.00                             | 100.00                    | 100.00              | 100.00                           | 100.00             | 100.00        | 100.00                  |
| Total       | 9,013                              | \$3,078,523,000           | \$279,851,000       | 120,807                          | 9,450              | \$256,957,000 | 8,900,972               |

Source: Mr Taggart (1972 Table 7, 43).

Peninsula, employing about 4 percent of the total full-time work force in Industry.

The major component in Negri Sembilan industrial progress centred on the Port Dickson oil refinery and petro-chemical industry, which accounted for 74 percent of the value added in manufacturing in Negri Sembilan and 21 percent of total employment in industry. Seremban district, where the state capital is located, on the other hand, accounted for 21 percent of the value added and 63 percent of total industrial employment in the state (Mc Taggart, 1972, 43).

In its land settlement programme the government was also attempting to redress rural poverty. Since the majority of Malays are rural dwellers the land settlement policy affected the Malays directly. Government capital was invested in opening up vast under-used and empty land for landless and unemployed peasants. To manage this the Federal Land Development Authority (Felda) was established in 1956<sup>25</sup>. Figure 4.6 demonstrates the extent of land that had been opened by 1963. By 1970, Felda had opened up 90 schemes with a settler population of 20,718<sup>26</sup>. Allowing for an average of 5.3 dependents and a family household composition of 6.3 persons per settler (Felda Annual Report, 1970) Felda had moved about 130,000 persons into the schemes by 1970. If to the total is added the staff members who managed the settlements and those employed in Felda industries, Mac Andrews and Yamamoto (1976, 76) conclude that Felda was responsible for moving 145,373 people in the 1957-1970 period, or 6.2 percent of the total movers in the Peninsula in the same period.

Bahrin and Perera (1977) have traced and documented the policies and programmes pursued by Felda since its founding in 1956. An important issue raised by them is one which has a direct impact on the spatial aspect of settlers' movements. The policy required that any Felda scheme in a state should recruit at least 50 percent of its settlers from other states, except in a state where there was a high incidence of landlessness and where there was a limited amount of land still available for agricultural development. In States such as Negri Sembilan, Malaka and Kedah where the incidence of landlessness is higher, and the availability of new land for development is limited, the requirement that 50 percent of sett-

25 Other literature on this includes, MacAndrews, 1977; Ho, 1965; Wikkramatilleke (1962; 1965).

26 By 1977, 41,238 settlers had been sponsored (Bahrin and Perera, 1977)



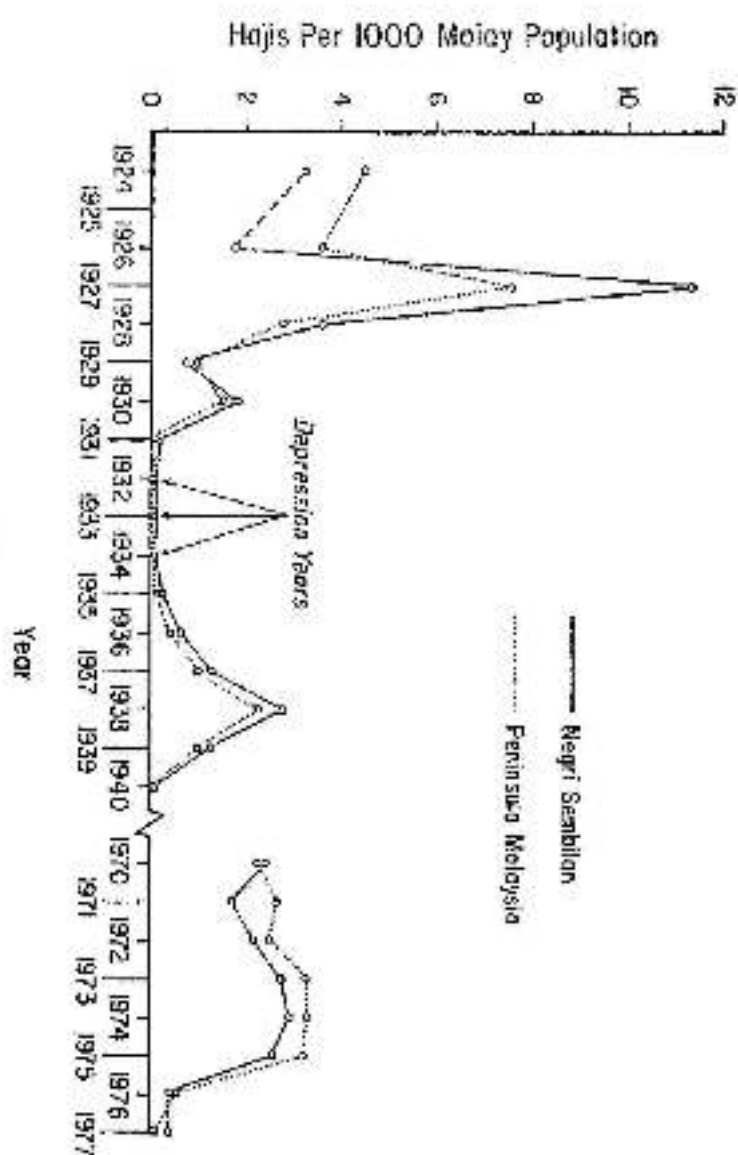
Figure 4-6 : Location of F.L.D.A. settlements in 'Malaya', 1963

lers must have come from other states is not applicable. Thus, by 1975, Negri Sembilan had received 10 of the 157 schemes in the Peninsula, settling 3,843 settlers. The whole of these 3,843 settlers and their families were from Negri Sembilan, while over the same period a substantial number of settlers moved from Negri Sembilan to Pahang which had the largest land settlement programme in the Peninsula (Bahrin and Perera, 1977; Felda Annual Report, 1975).

Post war social, economic and political development in the Peninsular has further transformed personal mobility patterns. The Malays became the target group for government initiated mobility. There has developed not only a widening of the range of opportunities from which the Malays can choose, but also an increase in the number of places to which they can move. The impacts on mobility are two fold. Firstly, the spatial extent of movement has widened. The Negri Sembilan Malays are no longer restricted to places within Negri Sembilan and nearby states. Secondly, the time the movers spend away from the natal village has also increased. Working in the modern sector required them to move to their place of employment, in urban areas or on plantation settlements. Pindah also takes place, especially the settlers who move to Felda schemes. On the land schemes they are given a house and land with rubber or oil palm that requires constant supervision. Consequently, the settlers had to remain permanently on the land schemes.

#### 4.7. THE HAJJ.

While these transformations were taking place there existed amongst the Negri Sembilan Malays another mobility pattern that has basically remained unchanged, although the number of people involved may vary from year to year. This is related to the religious practices amongst devout muslims. One of the five pillars of Islam is to go on pilgrimage at least once in a life-time if a person can afford the journey (Hitti, 1970, 37). The number of Negri Sembilan Malays performing the Hajj is summarised in Figure 4.7, from which it is noticed that the rate varies from year to year. The World Depression in the 1930s certainly had an impact on pilgrimage too. Working amongst Muslim communities in Western Java, Hugo (1978, 144) has shown the importance of pilgrimage in that community in that not only do those who perform it command respect from other villagers, but the journey forms the only type of international population



Sources: For 1924 - 1940 figures, Roff (1975) Appendix I.  
 For 1970 - 1977 figures, Lembaga Urusan dan Tabung Haji — unpublished.

Figure 4-7: Hajis Per 1000 Malay Population.

movement in the village. Similarly, in the Negri Sembilan situation during the colonial time, the journey to Hajj was a significant international circulation for the Negri Sembilan Malays.

#### 4.8. SUMMARY.

Since pre-contact times the Negri Sembilan Malays<sup>27</sup> have experienced a change in their personal mobility - from a simple movement associated with hunting and gathering food to a more complex one both spatially and temporally. Throughout all these transformations, two forms of mobility remain unchanged. They are the pilgrimage and merantau; the former relates to Islamic faith and the latter to the Adat. But both remain part of the life style of Negri Sembilan Malays.

It has been shown above that although we can distinguish two phases of mobility transition in Negri Sembilan these phases are not in conformity to Zelinsky's hypothesised sequence. We notice that not only there are several mobility patterns that are different from Zelinsky's first two phases of the transition but also the processes producing these mobility patterns are different from that of the mobility transition.

27 The term 'Malays' is used here in its widest sense to include the aborigines.

## 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.                                                                                                                      |
| Berah           | - Low country.                                                                                                                             |
| Batin           | - Headman of <u>orang asli</u> .                                                                                                           |
| Bekerja         | - To work; working.                                                                                                                        |
| Bekerja kampung | - Working in the village.                                                                                                                  |
| Bekerja ofis    | - Working in the office.                                                                                                                   |
| Bekerja gudang  | - Working in a factory.                                                                                                                    |
| Bersawah        | - Working on <u>padi</u> fields.                                                                                                           |
| Biduanda        | - The superior (original 7) clan.                                                                                                          |
| Bomoh           | - Traditional medicine man.                                                                                                                |
| Buah tangan     | - Presents.                                                                                                                                |
| Bumiputra       | - 'Son of the soil' - a noun or adjective referring to Malay and other indigenous ethnic groups of Malaysia.                               |
| Cukup makan.    | - Just enough to eat.                                                                                                                      |
| Dadah           | - Drugs; the Malaysian connotation at present indicates that these are illicit drugs such as marijuana.                                    |
| Durian          | - Tropical fruit, thorny skin and strong-smell flesh.                                                                                      |
| Dusun           | - Small plot used for fruit cultivation, orchard.                                                                                          |
| Gantang         | - A unit of measurement.                                                                                                                   |
| Gotong-royong   | - Informal work co-operation.                                                                                                              |
| Habis sign      | - End of service or contract.                                                                                                              |
| Harta           | - Property.                                                                                                                                |

|                 |                                                                                                                                     |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Harta pusaka    | - Ancestral property.                                                                                                               |
| Tanah pusaka    | - Ancestral land.                                                                                                                   |
| Haj             | - The pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the Five Pillars of Islam.                                                                        |
| Haji            | - Someone who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, an honorific title.                                                                 |
| Hari Raya Puasa | - Feast day to celebrate the end of fasting, and the day of sacrifice during the pilgrimage is known as Hari Raya Haji.             |
| Imam            | - Prayer leader.                                                                                                                    |
| Kampung         | - Malay village.                                                                                                                    |
| Kampung asal    | - Village of origin; natal village.                                                                                                 |
| Kati            | - Unit of weight approximately equal to 1.3 pounds or 300 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<br>(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"> <li>- Meeting researchers on population mobility at the local universities to gather information on works on population movement.</li> <li>- Gathering secondary information on population redistribution; Library work. Studying reports, archival materials and government files on Negri Sembilan at the National Archives.</li> <li>- Establishing initial contacts with government officers at various administrative hierarchies in Negri Sembilan.</li> <li>- Initial visits to the villages in Negri Sembilan.</li> <li>- Recruiting survey assistants and training them in interview survey.</li> </ul> |
| February      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Collecting secondary materials. <u>Jabatan Statistik</u> for census data.</li> <li>- Visits to Department of Agriculture at Seremban.</li> <li>- Reading <u>Felda</u> Reports.</li> <li>- Travelling rural/urban Negri Sembilan.</li> </ul>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| March - April | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Establishing the postal base at Seremban.</li> <li>- Gathering information from the State Secretariat on economic development in the State.</li> <li>- Gathering information on population and development at district offices.</li> <li>- Contacts with villages.</li> <li>- Developing village questionnaires.</li> <li>- Narrowing the choice of the districts and <u>mukims</u> for study.</li> <li>- Choice of villages for the survey.</li> <li>- Contacts with survey villages.</li> <li>- Developing questionnaires.</li> </ul>                                                                    |

- 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 21<sup>st</sup> to July 21<sup>st</sup>, 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.
- 6<sup>th</sup> January, 1979
  - Returned to Flinders.

## 2. Fieldwork Procedures.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Sungai Dua Kechil - Kuala Sungai Dua.

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

2. Juasseh.

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

3. Ibol.

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

2.1. Preparation of the Village Survey.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2.2. The Village Survey.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### 3. The Urban Tracer Survey.

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

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

Kuala Lumpur several years earlier.

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

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

#### 4. Editing and Coding of Village and Urban Questionnaires.

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

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

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

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

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

## APPENDIX A2: QUESTIONNAIRES.

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



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 |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|

## 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 |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
|-------------------|----------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|

## 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 |
| Cash                 | 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<br>(please<br>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<br>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/<br>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 M.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 - 200 dollars      | 4 |
| 201 - 300 dollars      | 5 |
| 301 - 500 dollars      | 6 |
| 501 - 1000 dollars     | 7 |
| More than 1000 dollars | 8 |

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/<br>sq. km).                       | 62          | 121   | 353   | 249   | 460   | 142   |
| Malays (% district<br>population)                   | 51          | 60    | 35    | 75    | 29    | 55    |
| Chinese and Indians<br>(% district popu-<br>lation) | 43          | 39    | 64    | 23    | 70    | 45    |
| Total population<br>(20-34 years), 000              | 5           | 17    | 17    | 5     | 31    | 9     |
| Sex ratio (20-34 yrs)<br>(Total Population)         | 90          | 80    | 124   | 66    | 87    | 92    |
| Sex ratio (20-34 yrs)<br>(Malays)                   | 79          | 71    | 159   | 55    | 79    | 88    |
| Median Age (Total<br>Population)                    | 15.7        | 15.2  | 16.9  | 16.1  | 17.1  | 14.8  |
| Infant mortality rate<br>(Total Population)         | 32.3        | 42.3  | 23.1  | 37.3  | 43.3  | 42.   |
| % born in district<br>(Total Population)            | 69.1        | 71.1  | 52.9  | 69.4  | 63.1  | 45.1  |
| % population below<br>15 years                      | 48.5        | 46.4  | 45.1  | 47.2  | 44.9  | 50.5  |
| % urban (centres<br>1000 +)                         | 38.1        | 19.9  | 13.5  | 4.2   | 57.1  | 33.4  |
| % urban (centres<br>10000+)                         | -           | 10.8  | 13.5  | -     | 47.8  | -     |
| Number with no<br>schooling (000)                   | 13          | 44    | 28    | 15    | 57    | 18    |
| Children not at<br>school                           | 3757        | 26638 | 16895 | 8302  | 14386 | 11962 |
| Number with pri-<br>mary education -<br>(000).      | 16          | 55    | 35    | 18    | 77    | 23    |
| Number with secun-<br>dary education -<br>(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.+)<br>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<br>force (10<br>years and over)                      | 10999       | 33744 | 27459 | 12262 | 51767 | 14779 |
| Women in labour<br>force (10 years +)                                     | 219         | 1105  | 1160  | 219   | 4502  | 638   |
| Number employed in<br>agri., forestry,<br>hunting, gathering,<br>fishing. | 2402        | 4659  | 1914  | 2714  | 2288  | 908   |
| Number employed in<br>quarrying.                                          | 273         | 24    | 109   | 3     | 194   | 10    |
| Number employed in<br>construction                                        | 99          | 333   | 429   | 63    | 1008  | 156   |
| Number employed in<br>electricity,<br>water, etc.                         | 53          | 120   | 426   | 16    | 370   | 114   |
| Number employed in<br>transport, sto-<br>rage, etc.                       | 139         | 645   | 503   | 131   | 1940  | 915   |
| Number employed in<br>commerce                                            | 553         | 2504  | 1354  | 593   | 5672  | 725   |
| Number employed in<br>services.                                           | 1251        | 4027  | 8004  | 1137  | 10325 | 2052  |
| Government Offi-<br>cers.                                                 | 408         | 1791  | 1125  | 499   | 3030  | 655   |
| Household having<br>cars.                                                 | 430         | 1235  | 1319  | 418   | 4105  | 59    |
| Household having<br>televisions.                                          | 17          | 230   | 1764  | 351   | 5370  | 889   |
| Household having<br>telephones.                                           | 37          | 211   | 291   | 20    | 1578  | 146   |
| Household having<br>radios.                                               | 2942        | 9684  | 7410  | 3386  | 17071 | 4497  |
| Household having<br>sewing machines.                                      | 2730        | 9902  | 6107  | 5618  | 14480 | 4290  |

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

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

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

APRIL 1971

## STATE OF ORIGIN RESIDENCE

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

| STATE/PLACE  | MALES  | FEMALES | CHINESE | INDIAN  | SIAM    | EUROPEAN | AFRICAN | OTHER   | EUROPEAN | AFRICAN | OTHER   | TOTAL     |
|--------------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|----------|---------|---------|-----------|
| JOHORE       | 6,158  | 1,180   | 1,285   | 4,583   | 4,535   | 4,780    | 1,230   | 4,772   | 125      | 12,300  | 1,280   | 60,247    |
| SELANGOR     | 2,780  | 411,224 | 1,105   | 568     | 1,583   | 2,623    | 15,865  | 17,114  | 7,745    | 4,855   | 241     | 671,932   |
| PUTRAJAYA    | 2,454  | 2,251   | 400,452 | 1,059   | 1,525   | 12,642   | 1,158   | 1,885   | 119      | 1,885   | 11,228  | 671,471   |
| NEPALESE     | 11,102 | 558     | 755     | 181,590 | 5,471   | 2,228    | 100     | 7,124   | 42       | 11,141  | 44      | 174,316   |
| U. SINGAPORE | 4,928  | 554     | 1,185   | 2,275   | 175,581 | 2,421    | 1,141   | 3,825   | 119      | 11,502  | 140     | 186,699   |
| PAHANG       | 1,117  | 605     | 1,118   | 655     | 1,711   | 175,686  | 575     | 2,701   | 1,117    | 3,311   | 140     | 24,227    |
| TERENGGANU   | 1,384  | 18,512  | 889     | 813     | 1,235   | 2,191    | 198,285 | 12,847  | 1,384    | 47,586  | 1,406   | 308,287   |
| PERAK        | 3,874  | 12,382  | 2,188   | 1,575   | 4,738   | 6,523    | 11,822  | 861,462 | 1,382    | 1,874   | 8       | 91,151    |
| NEPALESE     | 545    | 2,538   | 186     | 133     | 273     | 132      | 122     | 1,482   | 83,545   | 1,674   | 8       | 91,151    |
| NEPALESE     | 4,055  | 1,516   | 1,271   | 1,050   | 5,732   | 5,499    | 1,505   | 10,445  | 218      | 17,401  | 745     | 814,264   |
| TERENGGANU   | 4,205  | 750     | 2,101   | 375     | 525     | 14,118   | 425     | 1,118   | 48       | 1,228   | 14,457  | 172,265   |
| TOTAL        | 66,452 | 580,574 | 24,303  | 104,022 | 106,234 | 101,815  | 131,541 | 637,259 | 41,907   | 581,545 | 174,624 | 1,437,880 |

STATEMENT - ORIGIN RESIDENCE BASED FOR PENINSULAR MALAYSIA BY SEX, 1971.

| STATE/PLACE  | MALES     | FEMALES | CHINESE | INDIAN  | SIAM    | EUROPEAN | AFRICAN | OTHER     | EUROPEAN | AFRICAN   | OTHER   | TOTAL     |
|--------------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|---------|-----------|----------|-----------|---------|-----------|
| JOHORE       | 1,000,454 | 1,763   | 1,763   | 12,773  | 14,214  | 11,707   | 1,452   | 4,716     | 384      | 13,773    | 1,452   | 1,112,041 |
| SELANGOR     | 2,413     | 824,462 | 1,763   | 1,339   | 2,771   | 1,514    | 6,710   | 15,142    | 10,412   | 15,142    | 889     | 975,719   |
| PUTRAJAYA    | 2,413     | 2,258   | 400,452 | 1,158   | 1,877   | 15,874   | 1,275   | 1,425     | 122      | 1,425     | 11,228  | 671,471   |
| NEPALESE     | 21,399    | 512     | 719     | 181,590 | 19,631  | 4,163    | 1,539   | 3,471     | 119      | 11,141    | 44      | 174,316   |
| U. SINGAPORE | 11,184    | 2,274   | 1,185   | 2,275   | 175,581 | 2,421    | 1,141   | 3,825     | 119      | 11,502    | 140     | 186,699   |
| PAHANG       | 4,205     | 871     | 1,118   | 1,235   | 1,711   | 175,686  | 575     | 2,701     | 1,117    | 3,311     | 140     | 24,227    |
| TERENGGANU   | 1,384     | 18,512  | 889     | 813     | 1,235   | 2,191    | 198,285 | 12,847    | 1,384    | 47,586    | 1,406   | 308,287   |
| PERAK        | 4,205     | 12,382  | 2,188   | 1,575   | 4,738   | 6,523    | 11,822  | 861,462   | 1,382    | 1,874     | 8       | 91,151    |
| NEPALESE     | 11,971    | 25,351  | 186     | 133     | 273     | 132      | 122     | 1,482     | 83,545   | 1,674     | 8       | 91,151    |
| NEPALESE     | 4,055     | 1,516   | 1,271   | 1,050   | 5,732   | 5,499    | 1,505   | 10,445    | 218      | 17,401    | 745     | 814,264   |
| TERENGGANU   | 4,205     | 750     | 2,101   | 375     | 525     | 14,118   | 425     | 1,118     | 48       | 1,228     | 14,457  | 172,265   |
| TOTAL        | 1,137,061 | 901,915 | 102,318 | 388,274 | 421,837 | 442,196  | 680,126 | 1,471,942 | 171,429  | 1,471,942 | 225,988 | 1,697,930 |

Source: Department of Statistics, 1971.

4882 J. Neurosci., July 26, 2006 • 26(30):4875–4882

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## STATE PAGE TOTALS

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Source: Department of State, 1928.

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APPENDIX 1 (CONT.)

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

| DESCRIPTION | STATE  | TIME    | SEASON  | WALTON  | SEAN<br>SULLIVAN | WILSON  | JAMES   | PERCY     | PERCIE | STANLEY | THOMAS  | TOTAL     |
|-------------|--------|---------|---------|---------|------------------|---------|---------|-----------|--------|---------|---------|-----------|
| WILSON      | 101.77 | 1.128   | 227     | 1,056   | 1,067            | 1,791   | 565     | 1,451     | 119    | 1,369   | 967     | 100,133   |
| PERCIE      | 1,174  | 10,712  | 117     | 251     | 472              | 741     | 7,715   | 1,264     | 5,619  | 1,620   | 261     | 470,395   |
| STANLEY     | 1,057  | 1,518   | 553     | 121     | 123              | 1,241   | 330     | 1,167     | 166    | 2,036   | 10,371  | 470,860   |
| WILSON      | 1,102  | 244     | 117     | 1,176   | 1,244            | 530     | 473     | 1,210     | 17     | 8,375   | 271     | 180,369   |
| S. JAMES    | 1,000  | 223     | 506     | 1,052   | 108,548          | 1,266   | 556     | 1,016     | 18     | 10,271  | 671     | 150,163   |
| WILSON      | 1,119  | 173     | 131     | 122     | 276              | 12,144  | 226     | 1,000     | 51     | 1,226   | 1,221   | 161,462   |
| WILSON      | 1,268  | 17,391  | 511     | 512     | 65               | 653     | 743,227 | 10,391    | 126    | 1,266   | 271     | 181,035   |
| WILSON      | 1,177  | 1,216   | 1,011   | 637     | 1,444            | 1,444   | 6,771   | 1,021,777 | 511    | 10,271  | 626     | 677,347   |
| WILSON      | 1,114  | 1,211   | 15      | 25      | 66               | 21      | 351     | 881       | 61,111 | 246     | 11      | 67,116    |
| WILSON      | 1,114  | 715     | 511     | 1,002   | 1,444            | 1,444   | 341     | 1,444     | 44     | 210,222 | 171     | 126,785   |
| WILSON      | 1,114  | 12      | 1,011   | 1,011   | 121              | 6,271   | 127     | 661       | 21     | 771     | 226,162 | 126,084   |
| TOTAL       | 6,714  | 470,310 | 671,070 | 160,572 | 171,627          | 176,613 | 671,127 | 672,582   | 70,116 | 150,269 | 250,368 | 2,123,123 |

STATE CASE TOTALS

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Source: Project Gutenberg at Midway.org, 1908.

AP201022.02

## Most Recent Malay Interstate Migration, 1970

| State of<br>Previous Residence | Present Place of Residence |        |          |        |                    |        |                 |        |        |          |            | Total     |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|--------|----------|--------|--------------------|--------|-----------------|--------|--------|----------|------------|-----------|
|                                | Johor                      | Kedah  | Kelantan | Malaka | Negeri<br>Sembilan | Pahang | Pulau<br>Pinang | Perak  | Perlis | Selangor | Terengganu |           |
| Johor                          | 161278                     | 512    | 1273     | 5105   | 3734               | 5557   | 1330            | 3273   | 70     | 11222    | 1121       | 192215    |
| Kedah                          | 1251                       | 121140 | 1273     | 586    | 1202               | 2734   | 11957           | 53176  | 5764   | 6078     | 548        | 195202    |
| Kelantan                       | 1734                       | 2522   | 212765   | 145    | 1203               | 16469  | 1224            | 7013   | 453    | 5253     | 19316      | 153603    |
| Malaka                         | 5545                       | 115    | 620      | 31452  | 3568               | 1889   | 453             | 1248   | 45     | 12002    | 287        | 47163     |
| Negeri Sembilan                | 5513                       | 561    | 202      | 4913   | 16502              | 3568   | 817             | 7572   | 74     | 14172    | 472        | 39717     |
| Pahang                         | 2347                       | 131    | 1202     | 447    | 3724               | 22075  | 969             | 2623   | 162    | 5527     | 2158       | 31218     |
| Pulau Pinang                   | 1758                       | 11745  | 625      | 425    | 372                | 2053   | 23309           | 8223   | 637    | 5011     | 221        | 64158     |
| Perak                          | 2261                       | 11137  | 2547     | 2123   | 3170               | 5015   | 3217            | 144504 | 982    | 21729    | 842        | 216150    |
| Perlis                         | 128                        | 2315   | 132      | 75     | 203                | 783    | 726             | 1327   | 10621  | 317      | 21         | 21013     |
| Selangor                       | 4527                       | 2102   | 2483     | 4747   | 1075               | 5512   | 2020            | 12460  | 705    | 123752   | 1580       | 166228    |
| Terengganu                     | 2314                       | 602    | 4022     | 122    | 575                | 12136  | 176             | 598    | 54     | 7572     | 6053       | 31007     |
| Total                          | 192253                     | 135042 | 139421   | 25151  | 64421              | 128402 | 82570           | 391664 | 23745  | 219615   | 55643      | 1,511,453 |
| Excluding<br>straw birds       | 452460                     | 477427 | 552266   | 152251 | 225225             | 122553 | 166158          | 565915 | 65192  | 286346   | 259932     |           |

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

## APPENDIX 64

## Ultimate Return Migration, 1950.

| Previous Residence | Birthplace and place of current residence |        |          |        |          |        |              |        |        |          |            |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------|--------|----------|--------|----------|--------|--------------|--------|--------|----------|------------|
|                    | Johor                                     | Kedah  | Kelantan | Malaka | Selangor | Pahang | Pulau Pinang | Perak  | Perlis | Selangor | Terengganu |
| Johor              | 144573                                    | 152    | 776      | 1124   | 1126     | 459    | 119          | 710    | 10     | 779      | 290        |
| Kedah              | 372                                       | 139433 | 187      | 77     | 155      | 99     | 2943         | 1342   | 379    | 265      | 60         |
| Kelantan           | 205                                       | 776    | 112100   | 109    | 209      | 307    | 135          | 405    | 10     | 207      | 1094       |
| Malaka             | 965                                       | 5      | 191      | 1455   | 709      | 38     | 75           | 242    | 14     | 555      | 74         |
| Selangor           | 778                                       | 95     | 135      | 1167   | 10627    | 272    | 117          | 537    | 19     | 1103     | 50         |
| Pahang             | 648                                       | 305    | 967      | 102    | 695      | 57675  | 100          | 940    | 27     | 504      | 815        |
| Pulau Pinang       | 144                                       | 2335   | 120      | 63     | 94       | 175    | 77801        | 1127   | 49     | 289      | 47         |
| Perak              | 545                                       | 2601   | 576      | 290    | 445      | 115    | 1247         | 121071 | 290    | 2170     | 304        |
| Perlis             | 26                                        | 1006   | 78       | 3      | 15       | 5      | 105          | 331    | 17419  | 52       | 6          |
| Selangor           | 1182                                      | 761    | 505      | 1474   | 1571     | 394    | 591          | 5078   | 81     | 80575    | 799        |
| Terengganu         | 725                                       | 57     | 1732     | 30     | 80       | 113    | 46           | 176    | 8      | 494      | 6427       |
| Total              | 151065                                    | 147120 | 514080   | 19322  | 16754    | 54096  | 12765        | 157177 | 8032   | 89504    | 66945      |
| Return migrant     | 5052                                      | 7908   | 4766     | 4574   | 8132     | 6776   | 4706         | 11061  | 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   |
| <hr/> |                                        |                  |       |
| 4.    | Grand Total:                           | Bus              | 195   |
|       |                                        | Car              | 50    |
|       |                                        |                  | <hr/> |
|       |                                        |                  | 245   |
|       |                                        |                  | <hr/> |

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 | 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 1 - 3 months
- 3 Within a month
- 4 Less than a month

Sector D. Attachment to Kuala Lumpur/Seremban.

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

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

---

Present age - 14

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

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

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

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

- 1 No

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

Index 13. Have you acquired properties in this city ?

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

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

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

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

Index 15. Income

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

Index 16. Household amenities

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

Index 17. House ownership.

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

Index 18. Location of house

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

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

Index 19. Possession of status goods.

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

Sector F. Urban - Rural Link.

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

Index 20. Where were your parents ?

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

Index 21. Did you visit your kampong often ?

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

Index 22. Did you remit money regularly ?

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

Index 23. Marital ties

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

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

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

Index 24. Friendship pattern

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

Index 25. Friendship visits.

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

Index 26. Members of Association.

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

Index 27. Newspaper reading

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

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

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

## Sector H. Urban Attitudes.

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

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

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

Index 30. Which place was better to raise children ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

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

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

Index 32. Which place was better for saving ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

Index 33. Which place was better to stay permanently ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

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

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

Index 36. Which people tended to be more religious ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

Index 37. Which people tended to be better educated ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

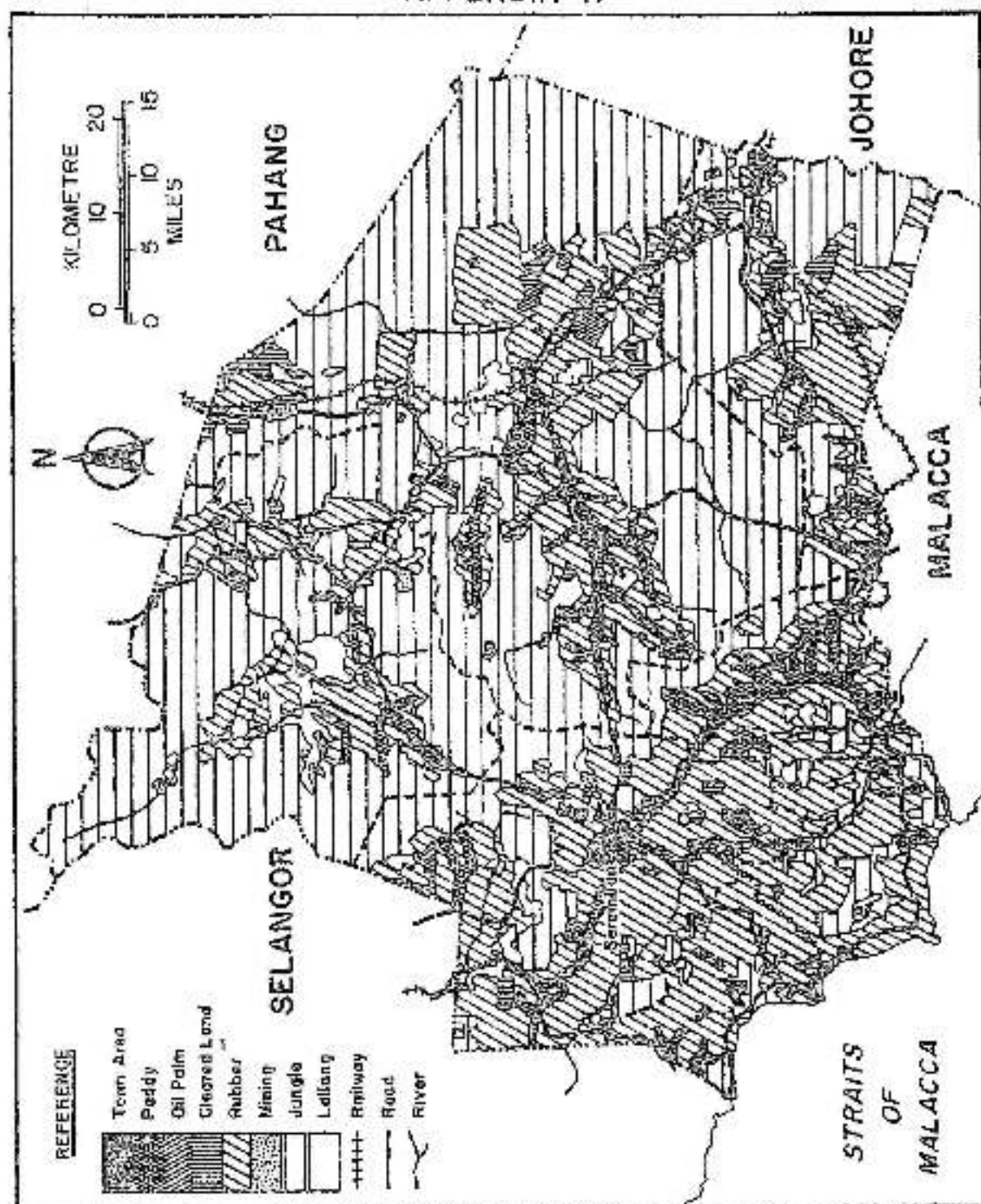
Index 38. This index is a supplement to index 37. Which people tended to be more knowledgeable ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

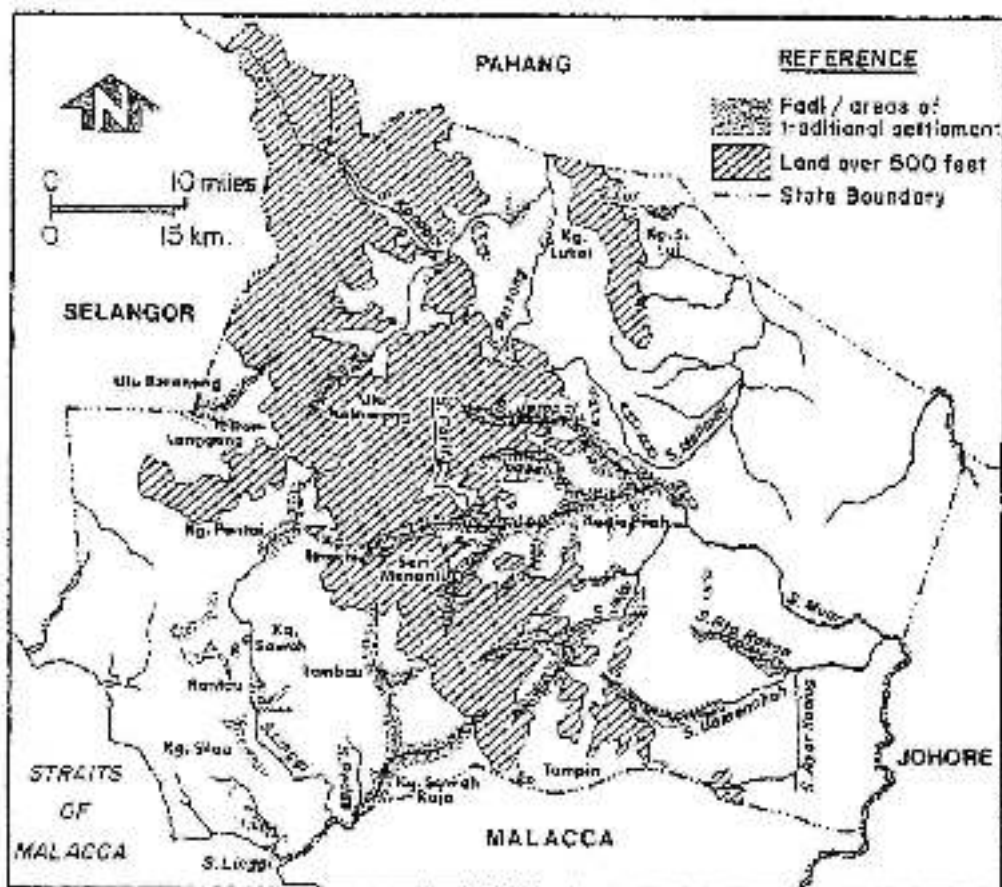
- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

## APPENDIX H



Landuse in Negri Sembilan (1966)

## APPENDIX I



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

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