

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

By

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Table of Contents	xxi
List of Tables	xiv
List of Figures	x
List of Plates	viii
Summary	vii
Acknowledgement	iv
PART ONE: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY	
1. INTRODUCTION	
1.1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.2. BACKGROUND TO RESEARCH PROBLEM: A BRIEF SURVEY OF STUDIES OF POPULATION MOBILITY IN MALAYSIA	2
1.3. THE NEGRI SEMBILAN MALAYS AS A CASE STUDY	8
1.4. THE AIMS OF THE STUDY	9
1.5. ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS	11
2. THEORY AND METHODOLOGY	
2.1. INTRODUCTION	
2.2. A BRIEF REVIEW OF SOME THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNAL MIGRATION AND URBANISATION	13
2.2.1. Migration Stream	13
2.2.2. Migration Selectivity	16
2.2.3. The Migration Decision-making Process	17
2.2.4. Mobility and Modernisation	18
2.2.5. The Study of Circulation	20
2.3. A SURVEY OF THEORIES ON URBANISATION	20
2.4. THEORETICAL APPROACH ADOPTED IN THIS STUDY	24
2.5. DATA SOURCES	26
2.5.1. Sources of Aggregate Migration Data in Peninsular Malaysia	26
2.6. THE KUALA PILAH VILLAGE SURVEY AND THE URBAN 'TRACER' SURVEY	33
2.6.1. Methodological Approaches to the Study of Population Movement	33
2.6.2. Fieldwork Technique (See also Appendix A)	38
2.7. POPULATION MOBILITY IN NEGRI SEMBILAN: CLASSIFICATION AND DEFINITION OF LOCAL TERMS	46
2.7.1. A Space-time Classification	46

2.7.2.	A Space-time Classification - A Schematic Representation	48
2.8.	CONCLUSION	52
3.	NEGRI SEMBILAN IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA	
3.1.	INTRODUCTION	53
3.2.	ECOLOGICAL CONTEXT	53
3.2.1.	Physical Structure	54
3.2.2.	Soil, Climatic Conditions and Landuse	56
3.3.	POPULATION GROWTH AND THE MALAY POPULATION COMPONENT	57
3.3.1.	Malay Population and Its Distribution Patterns	58
3.3.2.	Population Density	62
3.3.3.	Urban Growth and Urbanisation	64
3.4.	SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF NEGRI SEMBILAN. A SUMMARY	66
3.5.	NEGRI SEMBILAN IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA. A BRIEF ASSESSMENT	69
3.6.	NEGRI SEMBILAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC REGIONS	70
3.6.1.	Major Characteristics of Socio-Economic Regions	71
3.7.	CONCLUDING REMARK	74
	PART TWO: POPULATION MOVEMENTS AND URBANISATION	
4.	THE EVOLUTION OF POPULATION MOBILITY PATTERNS IN NEGRI SEMBILAN	
4.1.	INTRODUCTION	76
4.2.	MOBILITY IN TRANSITION: A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE	76
4.3.	MOBILITY IN PRE-EUROPEAN NEGRI SEMBILAN SOCIETY	79
4.3.1.	Mobility in Pre-Contact Society	80
4.3.2.	Minangkabau Immigration into Negri Sembilan	81
4.3.3.	Immigrant Pioneer Settlements	83
4.4.	PHASE I. COLONIAL INTRUSION AND LARGE SCALE IMMIGRATION OF LABOUR	87
4.5.	INTER-STATE MIGRATION, 1911 - 1957	96
4.5.1.	An Interruption. The War Years and forced Relocation	100
4.6.	PHASE II. MALAYS ON THE MOVE	101
4.6.1.	<u>Merdeka</u> and "Sponsorship" of Malay Mobility: Urbanward Flows	103
4.7.	THE HAJJ	108

4.8.	SUMMARY	110
5.	A GENERAL SURVEY OF MALAY POPULATION MOVEMENT TO, FROM AND WITHIN NEGRI SEMBILAN, 1960S - 1970S.	
5.1.	INTRODUCTION	111
5.2.	THE TRANSITION OF MALAY MOBILITY IN POST- INDEPENDENCE TIME; PHASE II OR PHASE III ?	111
5.3.	THE PERSISTENCE OF OUTMIGRATION FROM NEGRI SEMBILAN	113
5.4.	POPULATION MOVEMENT PATTERNS IN NEGRI SEMBILAN	116
5.4.1.	'Stocks' of Malay Lifetime Internal Migration in Negri Sembilan	116
5.4.2.	Lifetime Migration Streams in 1970	119
5.4.3.	Most Recent Migration Probabilities	122
5.4.4.	Lifetime Migration Streams Effectiveness	124
5.4.5.	Spatial Aspects of Migrant Movement to and from Negri Sembilan	126
5.4.6.	Population Movement Between Districts in Negri Sembilan in 1970	134
5.5.	RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION	137
5.5.1.	Urbanisation and Urban Growth	140
5.5.2.	The Spread of Urban Settlements	141
5.5.3.	Urban Growth, Urban Change and Urbanisation	142
5.5.4.	Urbanisation of the Malays	145
5.6.	COMMUTING AND RETURN MIGRANT MOVEMENTS	149
5.6.1.	Commuting	149
5.6.2.	Return Migrants	152
5.7.	A MOBILITY TRANSITION IN NEGRI SEMBILAN ?	154
5.8.	CONCLUSION	157
6.	CONTEMPORARY MOBILITY PATTERNS; EVIDENCE FROM THE VILLAGE	
6.1.	INTRODUCTION	159
6.2.	A BRIEF REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE PATTERNS OF POPULATION MOBILITY IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES	159
6.3.	THE VILLAGE SURVEY	160
6.4.	THE CONTEXT OF POPULATION MOBILITY: THE SURVEY VILLAGES' LOCATIONAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUC- TURE	162

	<u>Page</u>
6.4.1. Agricultural Land Holding	165
6.4.2. Incidence of Poverty in the Survey Villages	168
6.4.3. The Level of Socio-Economic Progress in the Survey Villages	169
6.5. SOME STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF MOBILITY PATTERNS IN THE SURVEY VILLAGES	172
6.5.1. Commuting	175
6.5.2. <u>Pindah</u> and <u>Merantau</u>	177
6.5.3. 'Return' Migration	181
6.5.4. The Stayers	182
6.5.5. Other Mobility Patterns	183
6.6. CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS	184
6.6.1. Level of Education	188
6.7. CONCLUSION	192
7. <u>MERANTAU</u> : CIRCULAR OR PERMANENT MIGRATION ?	
7.1. INTRODUCTION	193
7.2. ASSUMPTIONS FROM PREVIOUS STUDIES OF POPULATION CIRCULATION	193
7.2.1. The Data	194
7.3. PERSONAL MOBILITY THROUGH A LIFE-TIME	196
7.4. <u>MERANTAU</u> : CIRCULAR OR SEMI-PERMANENT ?	201
7.4.1. Past Mobility Experience of the Return Migrants	202
7.4.2. The Destinations of the Past Moves	211
7.4.3. The Timing of the Move and the Period of Absence	215
7.5. THE TRANSITION FROM CIRCULAR TO PERMANENT MIGRATION IN THE SURVEY VILLAGES: A COMMENT	218
7.6. CONCLUSION	221
8. THE DECISION TO MIGRATE	
8.1. INTRODUCTION	223
8.2. A THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE	229
8.3. THE POTENTIAL MIGRANT AND LIFE CYCLE CHANGE	228
8.4. PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE VILLAGE	230
8.4.1. Perceived Advantages and Disadvantages of City Life	233
8.4.2. Reasons for Leaving the Village	235
8.5. ENVIRONMENTAL STRESS IN THE VILLAGE	237
8.6. ADJUSTMENT TO ENVIRONMENTAL STRESS	242

	<u>Page</u>
8.6.1. Non-Village Based Adjustment	244
8.6.2. Environmental Stress and Individual Reactions: Some Case Studies	245
8.7. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF THE DECISION MAKING	247
8.8. THE ROLE OF INFORMATION	253
8.9. CONCLUSION	257
9. MIGRANTS IN KUALA LUMPUR AND SEREMBAN	
9.1. INTRODUCTION	258
9.2. THE MIGRANT IN THE THIRD WORLD CITY; SOME THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	258
9.3. PREPARATION BEFORE LEAVING THE VILLAGE	260
9.3.1. Migrant's Entry Into City Life	264
9.4. MIGRANT ADJUSTMENT TO THE CITY	271
9.4.1. Residential Adjustment	272
9.4.2. Economic Adjustment	289
9.4.3. Social Adjustment	303
9.5. CONCLUSION	307
10. INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION TO KUALA LUMPUR AND SEREMBAN	
10.1. INTRODUCTION	308
10.2. THE HOLOGRAM TECHNIQUE AND INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION TO THE CITY	310
10.3. PROFILES OF THE TRACED MIGRANTS	313
10.4. INDIVIDUAL CASE STUDIES	317
10.4.1. Strong Adapters; the Urban Man ?	317
10.4.2. The Moderate Adapters; Satisfactory Co-existence ?	320
10.4.3. The Marginal Adapters	324
10.5. CONCLUSION	327
11. URBAN-RURAL RELATIONS	
11.1. INTRODUCTION	329
11.2. A THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	329
11.3. TIES WITH THE HOME VILLAGE	330
11.3.1. Personal Links	332
11.3.2. Home Visit	336
11.3.3. Other Links with the Villages	339
11.4. REMITTANCES	341
11.5. CONCLUSION	345
12. <u>MERANTAU</u> AND THE VILLAGE	

12.1.	INTRODUCTION	347
12.2.	A BRIEF REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION ON THE SENDING AREA	347
12.3.	<u>MERANTAU</u> AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE VILLAGE	350
12.3.1.	<u>Merantau</u> and Sex Roles in the Village	350
12.3.2.	<u>Adat</u> and Village Life	351
12.4.	ECONOMIC IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON THE VILLAGE	357
12.4.1.	Recognition of Benefits from <u>Merantau</u>	357
12.4.2.	Remittances and Household Income in the Village	358
12.4.3.	Some Direct Consequences of Extra Income in the Village	360
12.5.	CONTACTS, URBAN EXPOSURE AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS SOME MODERN INSTITUTIONS	362
12.6.	THE IMPACTS OF MIGRATION ON THE WIDER VILLAGE COMMUNITY	365
12.6.1.	Return Migrants and the Survey Village	368
12.7.	CONCLUSION	370
PART THREE: CONCLUSION		
13.	CONCLUSION	
13.1.	INTRODUCTION	372
13.2.	ANSWERS TO SPECIFIC QUESTIONS AND SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY	374
13.2.1.	The Historical Development of Mobility Patterns	375
13.2.2.	Findings on Contemporary Mobility Patterns	378
13.2.3.	Findings on 'Circulations' or 'Permanent Movement'	380
13.2.4.	Motivations for Leaving the Village	381
13.2.5.	Findings on Migrant's Adjustment to City Life	383
13.2.6.	Urban-Rural Links and Benefits from Migration	384
13.2.7.	Limitations of Present Theoretical Approach and Suggestion for the Adoption of an Alternative One	385
13.2.8.	Can We Generalise from the Study ?	387
13.3.	POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY	391
13.3.1.	Policy Implications of Migrants in the City	391
13.3.2.	Policy Implications of the Situations at the Rural End	394
13.4.	REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AS AN ALTERNATIVE FORM OF DEVELOPMENT	395
13.5.	SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	397
13.6.	CONCLUSION	398

	<u>Page</u>
CONVENTIONS	400
ABBREVIATION	401
GLOSSARY	403
APPENDIX A1: THE KUALA PILAE POPULATION MOBILITY SURVEY AND THE 'URBAN' TRACER SURVEY	406
The Village Survey	411
The Urban Tracer Survey	413
APPENDIX A2: QUESTIONNAIRES	416
APPENDIX B : FACTORS USED IN THE REGIONALISATION OF NEGRI SEMBILAN	449
APPENDIX C1: LIFETIME MIGRATION DATA FOR MALAYS AND FOR TOTAL, 1970	452
APPENDIX C2: LIFETIME MIGRATION DATA FOR MALAYS AND FOR TOTAL, 1957	453
APPENDIX C3: MOST RECENT MALAY INTERSTATE MIGRANTS, 1970	454
APPENDIX C4: LIFETIME MALAY RETURN MIGRATION, 1970	455
APPENDIX D : ESTIMATING DAILY COMMUTER FROM SEREMBAN TO KUALA LUMPUR. A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH	456
APPENDIX E : ESTIMATING THE 1978 POVERTY LINE FOR MALAYSIA	459
APPENDIX F : OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION ADOPTED FOR STUDY OF MALAY OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY IN KUALA LUMPUR AND SEREMBAN	460
APPENDIX G : URBANISATION INDICES FOR THE HOLOGRAM	462
APPENDIX H : LANDUSE IN NEGRI SEMBILAN (1966)	471
APPENDIX I : MAIN AREAS OF TRADITIONAL SETTLEMENT IN NEGRI SEMBILAN	472
BIBLIOGRAPHY	473

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LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>		<u>Page</u>
1.1.	Major Studies on Population in Peninsular Malaysia	3
2.1.	Main Sources of Migration Data in Malaysia	27
2.2.	Methodological Approaches to the Study of Population Mobility	35
2.3.	Fieldwork Strategy	39
2.4.	A Space-time Classification of Population Mobility in Negri Sembilan	50
3.1.	Population Change in the Districts of Negri Sembilan, 1957 - 1970	60
3.2.	Number, Size and Malay Population of Negri Sembilan Towns	66
3.3.	A General Demographic - Socio-Economic Profile, Negri Sembilan, 1970	67
3.4.	District Variations in Industry of Active Malay Population, 1970 (Percent)	72
4.1.	Zelensky's Two Sequential Spatiotemporal Processes Among Modernizing Population	77
4.2.	Ethnic Composition of the Population: Peninsular Malaysia, 1911 - 1957	91
4.3.	State Distribution of Industry, 1968. Percentages	105
5.1.a.	In-, Out-, Turnover and Net Lifetime Migration in Peninsular Malaysia, 1970	117
5.1.b.	In-, Out-, Turnover and Net Lifetime Migration in Peninsular Malaysia, 1957	117
5.2.	Net Inter-State Migration Streams - 1970 (Lifetime)	121
5.3.	Most Recent Migration Probabilities	123
5.4.	The 1970 Malay Lifetime Migration Effectiveness (Percentages)	125
5.5.	Rate of Most Recent Migration to and from Negri Sembilan, 1970	128
5.6.	The Gradients (b - values) of the 1957 and 1970 Migration Fields to and from Negri Sembilan	134
5.7.	Intra-State Malay most Recent Migrant Movements in Negri Sembilan, 1970.	135
5.8.	Inter-State Lifetime Migrants by Rural-Urban Destination (total community)	138

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
5.9. Inter-State Malay most Recent Migrants at District Level, 1970	139
5.10. Rate of most Recent Malay Migrant Moves to and from Negri Sembilan, 1970	140
5.11. Proportion of Population in Urban Areas According to Three Definitions, Peninsular Malaysia, 1921 - 1970	145
5.12. Proportion of Urban to Total Population 1947 - 1970	146
5.13. Malays in Urban Areas, Negri Sembilan 1921 - 1970	147
5.14. Estimated Rural and Urban Contribution to Inter-censal Urban Growth, Peninsular Malaysia 1947 - 1957	148
5.15. Lifetime Return Migration Compared to Lifetime Immigration for Negri Sembilan and Other States, in Peninsular Malaysia, 1970	153
5.16. Zelinsky's Sequential Processes and the Situation in Negri Sembilan	155
6.1. Some Structural Characteristics of the Survey Villages	163
6.2. Heads of Households' Views on Selected Socio-Economic Changes in the Village - 1970's Compared to the 1950's	164
6.3. Pattern of <u>Sawah</u> * and Rubber Ownership in the Survey Villages	166
6.4. Land Concentration in the Survey Villages	167
6.5. Major Mobility Types in the Survey Villages	174
6.6. State or Country of Residence of <u>Merantau</u> 'Migrants' (percentages)	180
6.7. Age-Sex Differences Amongst <u>Merantau</u> and Non- <u>Merantau</u> in the Survey Villages	186
6.8. The I_D for <u>Merantau</u> and Non- <u>Merantau</u> Population in the Survey Villages	188
6.9. Sex Ratio Amongst Non- <u>Merantau</u> and <u>Merantau</u>	189
6.10. Highest Level of Education Attended by Movers and Non Movers	190
6.11. Average Number of Children Ever Born to <u>Merantau</u> and Non- <u>Merantau</u> Females	191
7.1. Distribution of Index of Circular Migration	203
7.2. Total Moves and Index of Circular Migration by Year of First Move Cohort	204

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
7.3. Index of Circular Migration of Traced Migrants in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban	210
7.4. Distribution of Moves by Location	211
7.5. The "Timing" of Moves by the Return Migrants	215
7.6. Total Years of <u>Merantau</u>	217
7.7. The Number of Malays Employed in Non-Agricultural Occupations, 1931 - 1990	221
8.1. Life Cycle Stages Producing Internal Migration	229
8.2. Kuala Pilah Survey Villages: Perceived Advantages and Disadvantages of Village Life	232
8.3. Kuala Pilah Survey Villages: Perceived Advantages and Disadvantages of City Life	234
8.4. Survey Villagers Views on Village People's Motivations for Moving to the City, and for People Remaining Permanently in the Village	236
8.5. Migrant's Stated Reason for First Move and for Coming to Kuala Lumpur-Seremban	238
8.6. Village Survey Respondent Consensus on a) Agreeableness on Sons, and Daughters Moving to the City; b) 'Attention' Given to Migrants	250
8.7. Sources of Information about Kuala Lumpur and Seremban: Villagers' Views	254
8.8. Sources and Types of Information gathered by Traced Migrants in City - A Retrospective View	256
9.1. Village Respondents' Views of the Willingness and the Types of Help Urban Dwellers Give to New Migrants	263
9.2. Migrants' Initial Place of Residence and Duration of Stay on Their First Move to the City	270
9.3. Migrants' Assessment of the Composition of their Residential Neighbourhood in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban	289
9.4. Income Opportunities in a Third World City	290
9.5. Occupations of Migrants	292
9.6. Occupational Clusterings Amongst Migrants	296
9.7. Period of Unemployment Amongst Migrants in City	298
9.8. Migrants' Earnings: Some Examples	300
9.9. Migrants Relation with Neighbours	304
9.10. Membership of Urban Associations	305

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
10.1. Profiles of Traced Migrants	314
11.1. Pensioners in the Village Households	332
11.2. Reasons Given by Return Migrants for Returning to the Village	335
11.3. The Frequency and the Reasons for Home Visits by Migrants	337
11.4. Duration of Stay During Home Visits	339
11.5. Visits by Village Kin of Urban Dwellers	340
11.6. Contacts by Letters	340
11.7. Frequency of Migrants Remitting Money Home	342
11.8. Patterns of Village Households Receiving Remittances	343
11.9. Amount of Income Remitted per Month by Traced Migrants	344
12.1. Kuala Pilah Survey Village: Conditions of Village if None Go ' <u>Merantau</u> '	357
12.2. Remittances, Village Household Cash Income and Expenditure	359
12.3. Indicators of Relative Household Prosperity and Possession of 'Status' Items	361
12.4. Communications, Urban Exposure and Attitude Towards Modern Medical Institutions	364
13.1. Definitions of Forms of Mobility	389

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
2.1.	The Location of the Survey Villages in the District of Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan	42
2.2.	The Main Administrative Hierarchy in Peninsular Malaysia	48
3.1.	The Physical Features of Negri Sembilan	55
3.2.	Negri Sembilan: Growth of the Main Ethnic Groups	59
3.3.	The Malays and Chinese Potential Surfaces in Negri Sembilan, 1947 - 1970	61
3.4.	The Density of Negri Sembilan Malay Population	63
3.5.	Population Growth of District Capitals, Negri Sembilan	65
4.1.a.	Traditional Policy	82
4.1.b.	Moving Frontier of Minangkabau Settlement in Negri Sembilan	82
4.2.	Malays and Immigrant Population in Various Industries	90
4.3.	Immigration of 'Malays' into Negri Sembilan, 1947	92
4.4.	Indonesian Immigrants in Peninsular Malaysia	94
4.5.	The Movements of Lifetime Migrants in the Peninsula, 1921 - 1957	97
4.6.	Location of F.L.D.A. Settlements in 'Malays', 1963	107
4.7.	Hajis Per 1000 Malay Population	109
5.1.	Lifetime Outmigration and Net Migration rates for all States in Peninsular Malaysia	115
5.2.	Lifetime Migration Streams between the States in Peninsular Malaysia	120
5.3.	Rate of Lifetime Migrant Movement to and from Negri Sembilan, 1970	127
5.4.	Rate of most Recent Migrant Movements to and from Negri Sembilan	130
5.5.	Lifetime Migration Fields to and from Negri Sembilan for 1957 and 1970	133
5.6.a.	Rank-size Distribution of the 25 Largest Towns at Successive Censuses, West Malaysia, 1911 - 1970	143
5.6.b.	Rank Order of Selected Towns, 1947, 1957 and 1970	143
6.1.	Destinations of Migrants from the Survey Villages	179
6.2.	Age-Sex Distribution of Those Involved in the main Mobility Types	185

<u>Figure</u>		<u>Page</u>
7.1.	Selected 'Life - Lines' of Return Migrants by Life-Cycle Change	197
7.2.	Selected 'Life-lines' of Return Migrants by Calendar Year	198
7.3.	Past Movement Destinations of Return Migrants in Sungai Dua	206
7.4.	Past Movement Destinations of Return Migrants in Juasseh	207
7.5.	Past Movement Destinations of Return Migrants in Ibol	208
7.6.	The Destinations of the Return Migrants' Movements during the Pre-War, War and Post-War Years	214
8.1.	A Generalised Decision Making Process of a Potential Migrant in the survey Villages	226
9.1.	The Distribution Patterns of Migrants in Seremban Town and Surrounding Areas	273
9.2.	Seremban and Surrounding Town and Villages	274
9.3.	The Distribution Patterns of Migrants from the Survey Villages in Kuala Lumpur and Surrounding Areas	278
9.4.	Distribution of Malay, Mixed Residential Areas, Kuala Lumpur, 1970	279
9.5.	Migrant's Job Stability and Change While in Seremban and Kuala Lumpur	302
10.1.	"The Urban Man"	318
10.2.	Transitional Adapters	321
10.3.	Marginal Adapters	325
12.1.	A Trend in Malay Male-Female Ratio for Kuala Pilah District, Negri Sembilan	349

LIST OF PLATES

<u>Plate</u>		<u>Page</u>
I	The Seremban-Kuala Lumpur Highway	151
II	Selected Housing Types in Seremban	275 276
III	Government Barracks	281
IV	Mixed Residential Area: Flats.	282
V	Predominantly Malay Residential Area.	
	a) A Squatter Area	283
	b) Kampong Baru	284
	and c) Kampong Pandan	284
VI	Mixed Residential Area of Kuala Lumpur	285
VII	Home for Hari Raya Puasa (at Seremban Bus Station)	331
VIII	An Impact of Outmigration on the Sending Village ? Vacant Houses	367

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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In Malaysia, I am deeply indebted to Universiti Kebangsaan

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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 7.

MERANTAU: CIRCULAR OR PERMANENT
MIGRATION ?

7.1. INTRODUCTION.

It is clear from Chapter 6 that many movers do not make permanent relocations from the survey villages. Some engage in routine moves to their workplaces or educational institutions while others go merantau and later return to the place that they regard as their permanent home. This chapter examines specifically movement behaviour which involves a return from the rentau to the home village, and aims to answer the question how circular is the merantau movement ?

7.2. ASSUMPTIONS FROM PREVIOUS STUDIES OF POPULATION CIRCULATION.

It is widely accepted today that the concept of population migration in the Western sense may be misleading and inadequate to be used in a study of population movement in Third World countries. Many studies have produced evidence to show that population movements in the Third World originate and ultimately terminate in the same community and consequently involve no change in permanent place of residence (Mitchell, 1961; Chapman, 1970 ; Bedford, 1973; Hugo, 1978; Swindell, 1979). This movement behaviour has been described as 'circulation' and not 'migration', and its form takes the pattern of 'circuit' rather than 'trajectory' (Chapman, 1970 ; 1979). According to Zelinsky (1971, 22b) circulation, "embraces a great variety of movements, usually short term, repetitive or cyclical in nature. All have in common the lack of declared intention or permanent change in residence". Defined in this manner, it is possible to include a variety of movement circuits such as commuting, oscillation and circular migration (Elkan, 1967; Hugo, 1978; Mantra, 1978; Chapman, 1979). Chapman and Prothero (1977, 3) pointed out that circulation is the dominant form of movement in developing countries. While Zelinsky (1977 and 1979) argued that circulation is an important form of population movement in Phases II and III of the 'mobility transition'. Thus, if it is accepted that the Malay society is in late Phase II and early Phase III of the transition then circulation is likely to be an important form of movement in Peninsular Malaysia.

Studies of population circulation in the Peninsula, although limited in number, have suggested that the Malays are involved in circulation. Cosling (1963) has shown the presence of seasonal rural labour circulation from the East Coast States, especially Kelantan, to the Northern rice-bowl States, especially Kedah. Nagata (1974) found that the Malays in the Northern states of the Peninsula were constantly coming to and going from the village, (she referred to the movement as oscillation) and their behaviour tended to blur the differences between urban and rural areas. For the Negri Sembilan Malays, it has been suggested that the people also engaged in circulation because they went merantau, which is theoretically circular in form; the movers were supposed to return to the home village (Selat, 1970). We will test the assumption that the Negri Sembilan Malays engage in circular migration.

7.2.1. The Data.

The data for this analysis were based on residence histories of 'adults' aged 15 and over in the three survey villages. (School children, even though they were above 15, and immigration from other states who had settled in the survey villages were excluded). During the village survey we interviewed these adults about their past mobility experiences. Adults who had experienced merantau (henceforth termed 'return' migrants) were then interviewed in detail. A move was defined as one which these people perceived as an actual change in residence. Melansong and social visits were, therefore, not counted. A move involved the person staying at the destination for a period of at least three months (see Chapter 2.7). We feel that this definition is appropriate for the patterns of population movement in the survey villages. As will be shown in section 7.3 of this chapter most of the people moved from the village either to work or to attend schools outside these villages. These people had to stay for a substantial period of time at the destinations. This type of movement is often ignored in mobility studies in some Third World countries because it involves only a small proportion of movers in those countries (Hugo, 1978; Forbes, 1978). We tried to enumerate as completely as possible all the adults that had experienced going merantau. Unfortunately there were a number of housewives who were reluctant to supply us with information on their residence histories after we had taken the residence histories of their husbands. Their objection was mainly because their residence histories that involved movements out of the village were the same as those parts of their husbands' residence histories after their marriage. Thus, the data for this chapter underestimated those housewives who moved as

dependents. In-so-far as the patterns of past movement of the 'return' migrants in the villages are concerned we feel that the data are representative of all the movements of these return people in the villages.

A feature of the interview was the construction of a detailed residence history which focused on the time of move, destination, age at each move, education, employment, accompanying dependents and reasons for the move¹. Several recent studies of population mobility have used this technique of gathering information on mobility. All those who have used it found it to be a useful technique to gather mobility data (Balan et al, 1969; Perlman, 1976; Lauro, 1977).

Residence histories collected retrospectively inevitably suffer from inaccuracies because they are affected by the problem of recall. We feel, however, that the level of inaccuracy in our data should be low because the interviews concentrated on the residence histories systematically in a form of a story. We led them to relate in chronological order their birth date, school days, occupation, marriage, and other activities such as sickness and the Hajj. We also cross-checked, whenever possible, with the people's peers in the villages about their past activities.

For the purpose of comparison, ideally migration histories of the present absentees in the various rangs should also have been collected. We made an attempt to do this but on many occasions we found that the respondents at the village end faced many difficulties in recalling the details of migration histories of the absentees. Instead of collecting all the details, we asked the heads of households in the village whether, since leaving the village, the absentees had ever made any return moves to the community. By collecting such information we were able to determine whether those absentees were involved in circular movement or in a more 'permanent' one. To supplement the information about the absentees collected from the village end, we also collected the residence histories of the traced migrants in our urban trader survey. Although the traced migrants were not representative of all the absentees from the survey villages, they formed about one-third of absentees from the survey villages who were then in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban. At least they would give a reasonable coverage of the mobility patterns of the absentees residing in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban, which attracted the bulk of the present migrants from the survey villages.

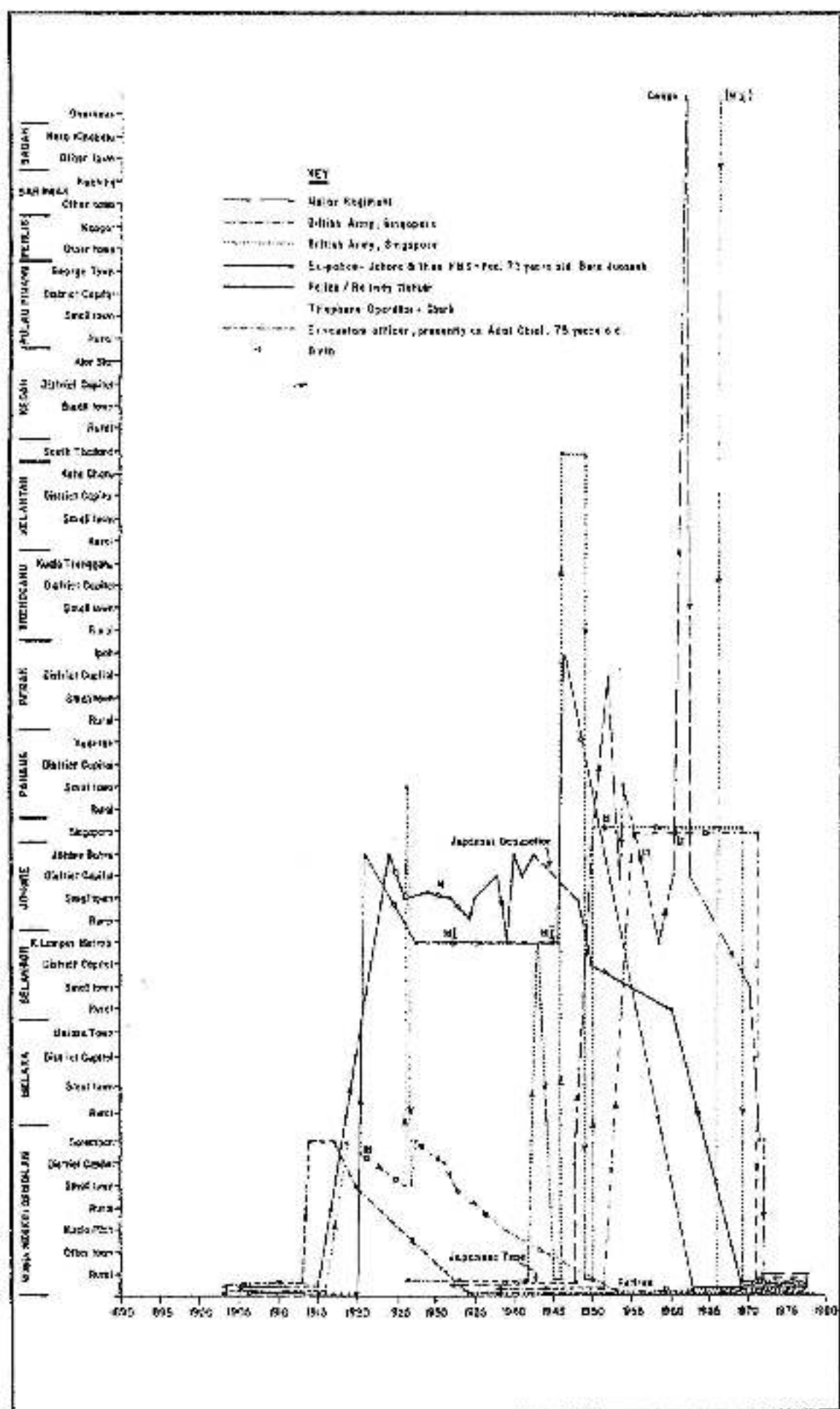
1 For a detailed account of this technique see Balan et al (1969); Perlman (1976); Lauro (1977);

7.3. PERSONAL MOBILITY THROUGH A LIFE-LINE.

Hagerstrand (1962, 61) proposed that every individual can be represented by a life-line, starting at the place of birth, now and then making a jump over to a new station, and finally ending at the place of death. The life-line has a place as well as a duration component, or a 'space-time' dimension. A shift from a place that is generally considered as home involves travel to a new location, and some time unit is 'consumed' in the process of shifting as well as living in that new location. This space-time framework is appropriate for describing the life-line of the return migrants in the survey villages. For the present use the space dimension is organised such that each movement from the home village could be indicated to terminate in various settlement strata in each state of Malaysia as well as places outside Malaysia. Likewise, the time component of the move is arranged such that a time of move could be shown to coincide with either the age of the mover, the stage of the life-cycle, such as adulthood, marriage and expanding family, or a calendar year. Through these selected life-lines we hope to illustrate the patterns of mobility of the return migrants, and we use these examples to support the definition of "move" adopted in this chapter.

Figure 7.1 illustrates the generalised life-line of several purposively selected return migrants in the survey villages. Referring to the baseline as the 'home-village' it is seen that the first 'jump' from the home-village was commuting to school, the timing of which occurred around the age of seven. By late teens, normally 17 - 18 years old, the jump to other places from the home villages became more pronounced. The merantau movements then commenced. The individuals got married when they were in their mid-twenties and in the mid-thirties their family size was expanding; yet at these stages in the life-cycle no relocations were made by these individuals. In spite of this, for the marriage they normally returned to the village for the ceremony and similarly, they sent their wives to the home village at the time when the wives were due to give birth. Several other relocations ensued, producing a variable length of absence from the home village depending on the type of activity that the individuals were involved in. In general, merantau relocations were confined to the ages between 15 and 55, during which time repeated relocations took the movers to various settlement strata in Malaysia as well as to places outside Malaysia.

Turning to movements by calendar year (Figure 7.2) reveals ano-



ther dimension to the patterns of individual mobility through his life-line. For those movers who were born in the early decades of the 20th century, the merantau jumps occurred mainly in the 1920s and 1930s. These individuals experienced less extensive migration fields which were often confined to places in Johor and Singapore, to the South of Negri Sembilan, whilst individuals born in the 1930s and 1940s, whose merantau jumps took place mainly in post-war years, exhibited a more extensive action-space. The patterns described above reflect the changing opportunities made available to the rural Malays. Whilst opportunity for social mobility was limited in the 1920s and 1930s to blue collar as well as para-military services in Johor and Singapore, and to a smaller extent in Kuala Lumpur, the situation changed radically in the post-war years. The Emergency offered tremendous opportunity for the Malays to get employment as military and para-military personnel. Then followed Merdeka which consciously encouraged Malay mobility further. One consequence of Merdeka was that Malaysia was called to participate in a United Nation peace keeping force in Africa, in which some companies of the Malay Regiment were sent to the then Congo in the early sixties.

Another interesting pattern emerging from Figure 7.2 is that the Pacific War registered its impact on individual mobility in Malaysia. The Japanese occupation of Malaysia affected the movement of people either because the movers had to return to the home village following retrenchment, or because they were confined to more localised areas under the Japanese administration. Thus, there is a noticeable break in the movements in the life-line during 1942 - 1945².

Extracting specific life-lines from Figure 7.2 provides some detailed examples of individuals in different occupations. Life-lines of those in military and para-military services portray the following patterns. First, the 'jump' for education was confined to places within Kuala Pilah and the time spent was limited to six years or less; this means that their education was limited to Malay-primary. Second, they registered the most number of relocations with the most varied distances covered. Usually the first move took them to Port Dickson, a district in Negri Sembilan that housed the training institutions and the subsequent movements took the individuals to various places in the South and North of Peninsu-

2. Note that during this time, there were individuals who got the opportunity to waken gaji with the Japanese but later returned to live continuously in the village.

lar Malaysia and to East Malaysia. Third, the path taken by each life-line in the relocation process was common to all individuals because relocations were directed to military bases that were strategically located in various places in Malaysia. Individuals in the police force exhibited similar patterns of jumps, except that the training was based in Kuala Lumpur and the relocations started from there down the settlement hierarchy depending on posting.

In contrast, those who went merantau in non-military occupations present different life-line patterns. A clerk had to spend a much longer time at school and his action-space was limited to district capitals or higher in the settlement hierarchy where their services were required. A blue-collar worker on the other hand, was restricted to the town, state capitals or Kuala Lumpur where the nature of the job was locality-specific, such as a labourer employed by the Kuala Lumpur municipality. Such was also the case for those pursuing religious training in which the location of the pondok (traditional religious school) as well as religious centres outside Malaysia were locality-specific. For these latter individuals relocations then would be limited to the out-movement and the return move. A Malay-school teacher, however, experienced many relocations after the initial training either at Tanjong Malim, Perak, or Seremban but most moves terminated within Kuala Pilah villages.

Individual life-lines, therefore, record the number of moves experienced by the individual migrants in relation to the year, and to the age or stage in the life-cycle of the individuals, thus permitting, albeit descriptively, a detailed insight into movements.³ From these cases we also notice that the individuals not only experienced a varying total number of moves in the past, but they also made different numbers of moves to the home village. Although all of them finally completed the movement circuit (that is, they engaged in circular migration) they showed a different intensity of circular movements to the home-village. It can be suggested, therefore, that some of them were more circular in their movements than others. Our task to follow is to analyse the varying circularity in the past movement experiences of the 'return' migrants in the survey villages.

3 It has become apparent also from the description that the residence histories approach of studying mobility seems unlikely to give longitudinal data of good quality on short term movement (see also Goldstein, 1978, 48).

However, it is important at this juncture to clarify our use of the term 'home-village' (kampung asal), and its variation the 'village of origin' or the 'natal village'. To a female in the survey village the home village coincided mostly with the village in which she was born. But to a married man, since marriage is uxorilocal, the home village could be the wife's village of birth or the village where the wife had resided. To a village member the 'home-village' identifies a circumscribed area but not necessarily the precise site of his household or the village he was born in. Thus, when we asked the traced migrants about their kampung asal they would frequently reply Kuala Pilah first and not the precise village.

7.4. MERANTAU: CIRCULAR OR SEMI-PERMANENT ?

To determine whether the people in the survey villages engaged in circular migration or moved more 'permanently', we need to assess the position of the home village in relation to the other rantau that the people moved to. There are a number of ways by which we can achieve this (see Pryor, 1979). Bedford (1973), for example, used a modified version of Shimbel's (1953) accessibility index to compute a 'circulation index' on the basis of the migration experience of each migrant. He achieved this by treating the movement patterns of a migrant as a network which then enabled him to devise a graph theoretic measure. Shimbel had derived an accessibility index of transportation networks. The index expresses the average topological distance (L) that all nodes (j) in a network (S) are from a particular node (i). By summing all the $L(i, j)$ over j for a given network (S) a measure of the average topological distance separating the various nodes in the network from i is obtained; if the sum is large we know that on average the various sites of the network are far removed from site, i , and if the sum is small that the various sites of S are readily reached from i . The Shimbel's index above was modified by Bedford to give him a circulation index $C(i, s)$. According to Bedford (1973, 84 - 85) by dividing the total distance of all nodes (j) from the home-village (i) by the number of nodes minus the home-village the size of the network (in terms of the number of nodes) became irrelevant, and the degree to which circulation in the network has occurred is the important measure. If the index does not exceed 1.0 all out movements have been started from the home-village and any subsequent moves have been back to this village directly or through one other place of residence. Movement between different residences without any return to the village result in a cir-

culation index of more than 1.0, showing that the movements have been 'stepwise' rather than circular.

More recently, Young (1977, 1978a, 1978b) has developed a circular Migration Index which was calculated as follows.

$$\text{Index of Circular Migration (ICM)} = \frac{\text{Number of return moves to the village}}{\text{Total number of moves}} \times 2 \times 100$$

This index gives values ranging from zero to 100. An index with a value of 100 indicates that every outmovement is followed by a return move to the village (circular migration is at a maximum). A zero ICM shows that there has been no return move, implying that outmovement at present appears permanent. According to Young (1978a, 13) the index could be calculated for a single individual or for a group of individuals who shared common characteristics. These characteristics could be the level of education, income or occupation type, or age and sex. The index is easy to calculate and quite useful to show the importance of return moves to the village in relation to all other moves that the individuals have made. It was decided that the present study should use this index.

The index of circular migration (ICM) for each of the 148 individuals who had experienced movement in the past in the three survey villages was calculated, and these are presented in the following section.

7.4.1. Past Mobility Experience of the Return Migrants.

We found that the 148 respondents made a total of 251 moves which took place in a time period between the early years of the century and the 1970s. From the total moves, 218 (about 86 percent) involved the home-village, that is 1 in 3.9 moves was related to the home-village, indicating the importance of the home-village in the movements of these people.

There were variations from one person to another in the number of return moves made to the village. To some, every other move took them back to the village of origin, whereas to others several moves were made without making any return move to the village. From Table 7.1 about 43 percent of the 148 respondents had an index of circular migration of 100, showing that every residential move out of the village was accompanied by a return move to the village. In contrast 10 percent of the respondents

Table 7.1. Distribution of Index of Circular Migration.

ICM	Total	Percent
100	64	43.2
50 - 99.9	39	26.3
25 - 49.9	30	20.3
25	15	10.1
Total	148	99.9

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

had an index of circular migration below 25, showing that those individuals made several moves without any return move to the village. If we take the index of circular migration of 50 as a cut-off point to show those experiencing a more intense circular migration (ICM below 50), then about 70 percent of the respondents experienced a more intense circular migration.

The individual differences in the intensity of circular migration above were not found only in our survey villages. Bedford (1973), for example, found that some of his respondents were involved in 'step-wise' migration, referring to the situation in which the people experienced several moves without making any return move to the home-village, and others were involved in circular migration. Young (1977) also reported in her study of several villages in Papua-New Guinea that some of her respondents appeared to have stayed away more permanently while others circulated more frequently between the village and the city.

It has been suggested that most people in the Third World seemed to come and go from the home-village all the time. Circulation, therefore, is a major movement pattern in Third World societies (Chapman and Prothero, 1977). Evidence from some other Third World countries has suggested that out movement of people from their village of origin tends to be permanent, and not repetitive in the manner of circulation as suggested by Zelinsky (1971, 1979). Thus, Young (1977, 1978a) suggested from her study of migration in Papua-New Guinea that in recent years the out movement of her respondents from the home-village appeared to have become more permanent.

Bedford (1973) has also found a tendency for some of his respondents in his study of circular migration in the New Hebrides to be involved in more 'permanent' moves.

We grouped our respondents at the village end according to the year of their first move and then summed up the index of circular migration for each 'migration cohort'. The result is presented in Table 7.2, from which it is noted that the ICM did not decline through time as found

Table 7.2. Total Moves and Index of Circular Migration by Year of First Move Cohort.

Cohort	N.	Total Moves	$\bar{x}$	Total ICM	$\bar{x}$
1910 - 1920	5	41	8.2	236.1	47.22
1921 - 1930	22	135	6.1	1354.8	61.58
1931 - 1941	35	199	5.7	2644.9	75.56
1942 - 1945	22	123	5.6	1745.9	79.35
1946 - 1957	51	299	5.8	3230.4	63.3
Post Independence	13	54	4.1	1048.5	81.4
Pre War	62	375	-	4235.8	68.1
War Years	22	123	-	1745.9	79.3
Post War	64	353	-	4278.9	66.8
Total	148	851	-	10260.6	-

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

by Young (1977, 1978a) in Papua-New Guinea although further aggregation into pre-War, War and post-War Years, in the bottom panel of the table, shows that the ICM declined slightly in the post-War Years, that is people tend to stay longer in the rantau. The ICM also did not vary from one cohort to another. However, the ICM increased slightly for the War Years migration cohort because most of them made their other move the return

to the village at the end of the war.

Several writers in recent years have shown that the nature of employment in the past or present determines the movement patterns of people. Some occupations encourage circular migration while others, especially employment in skilled occupations, often lead to transfer without return to the home-village (Bedford, 1973; Young, 1977; Hugo, 1978). To illustrate that this finding is also true in our study, Figures 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5 are presented. These diagrams show the various mobility patterns of people in the various occupation types. From these diagrams we can summarise the following characteristics:

1. In all the three villages, those who joined the police force and the Malay Regiment had low indices of circular migration. They experienced many relocations without making any return move to the home-village. The reason for most of the moves was the transfer of place of work. Thus, in most of the moves, the people were not free in making the decision.
2. Those in the para-military forces created during the Emergency, especially the special constabulary, in the British Army based on Singapore during the colonial times, and in employment during the Japanese Occupation of the Peninsula showed higher indices of circular migration. Almost every other move involved the home-village. These people stated that they did not make many relocations of their base of operations, although they experienced numerous movements connected with their work for short periods of time. A special constable during those times had to 'hunt' for the communist guerillas at many places all the time. Hence, they were on the move all the time. Similar descriptions apply to those in the British Army or in the Japanese establishments during the War Years. As a whole people in these occupations had high indices of circular migration because their residential moves were limited to a few permanent camps. The ICM did not show the actual spatial mobility that these occupations demanded.
3. Teachers and those in clerical occupations also experienced many residential relocations due to transfer.

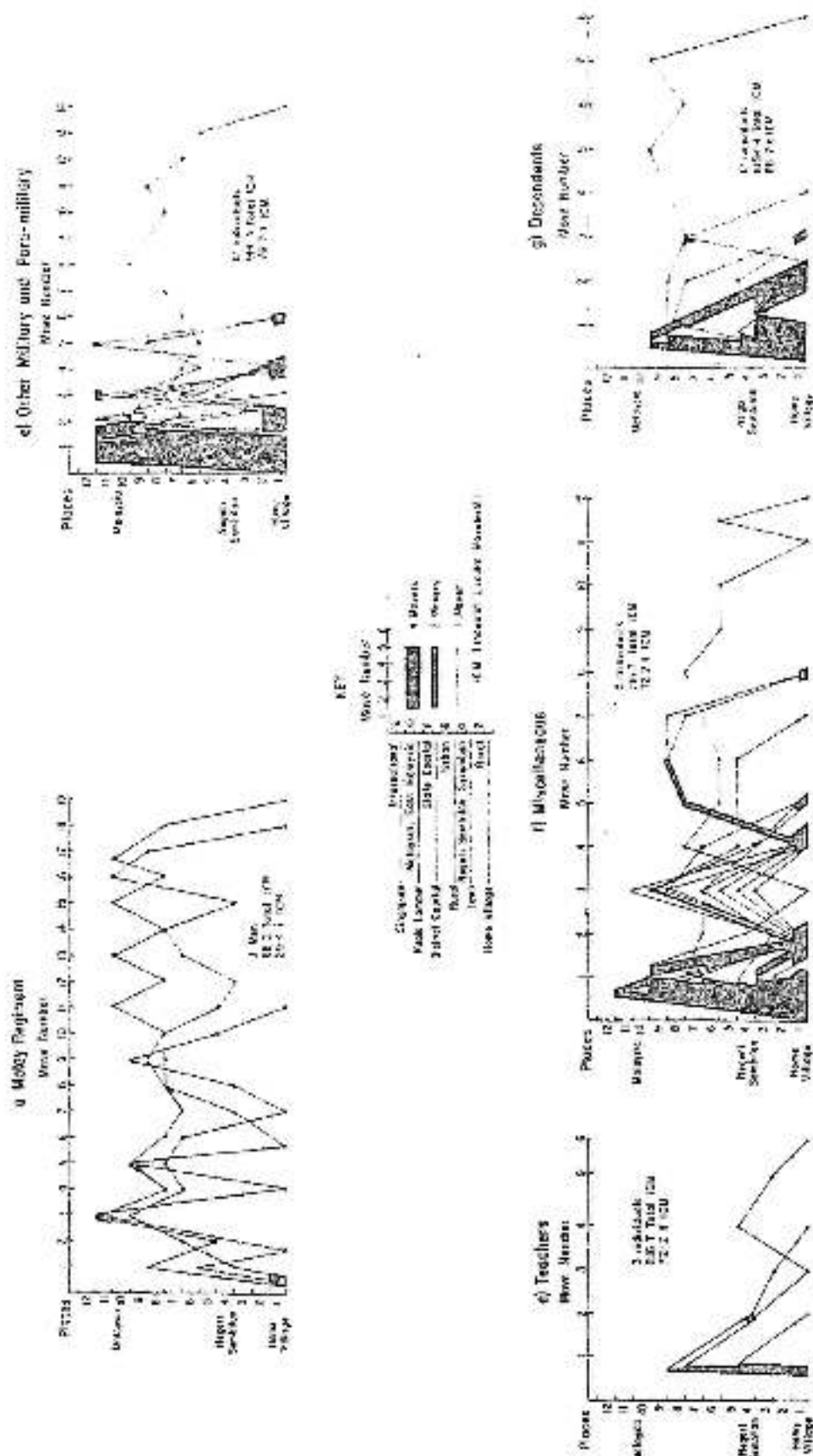


Figure 7.3. Past Movement Destinations of Return Migrants in Sungai Dua.

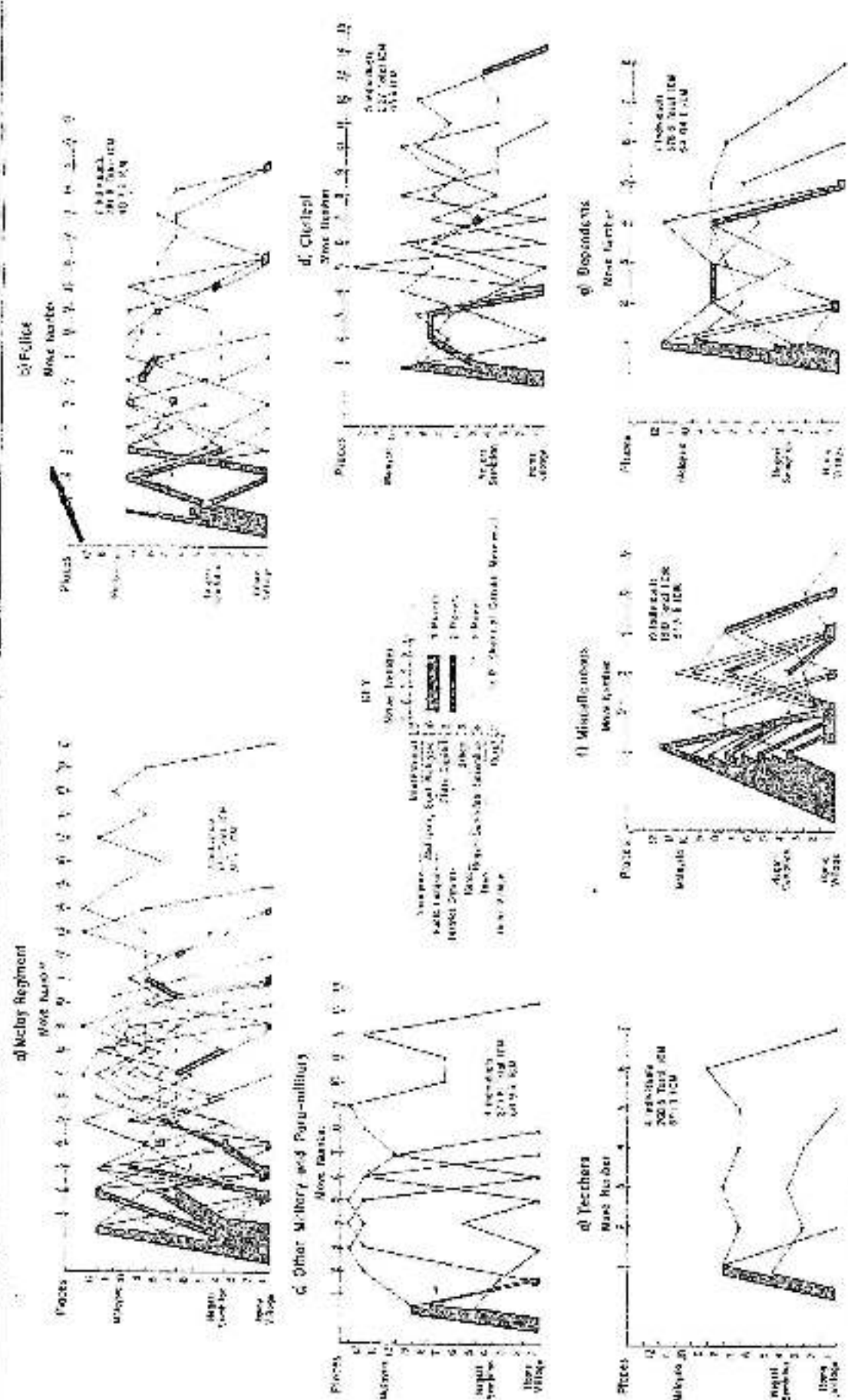


Figure 7.4. Fast Movement Destinations of Return Migrants in Juasseh.

For this reason their indices of circular migration tended to be low.

4. There was one group amongst the respondents who experienced almost maximum circular migration. To simplify description those in manual and unskilled occupations, those who went to a pondok for religious education and those doing several unskilled jobs at any one time were grouped under the 'miscellaneous'. These people seemed to have made almost every other move to the home-village. Their indices of circular migration showed near maximum values.
5. The group labelled as 'dependents'. Those presented here were for the purpose of completing the descriptions. It should be pointed out that the movement patterns of these dependents reflected the movements of their husbands. These could be in one of the four categories described earlier.

Turning our focus next to the present absentees from the survey villages, they appeared to have moved more permanently. Only about 10 percent amongst the absentees (N,380) had ever made at least one return move to the home-village, according to the information given to us by their kin in the survey villages. The rest seemed to have gone to the cities to merantau without as yet making any return move to the village. Some support to this finding is given by the ICM of the 100 traced migrants in Kuala Lumpur - Seremban. From Table 7.3 it can be suggested that the migrants at present appeared to have moved permanently from the village. Thus, within the constraint of the definition of a 'move' used in this chapter, the absentees at present seemed to have permanently moved to the rantau.

Two qualifications have to be made in order to put the patterns of movement of the absentees in the right perspective. First, although the absentees at present appeared to have moved permanently we should not rule out the possibility that one day they will return to the village to complete the movement circuit. As shown in Chapter 6 almost all of the absentees went to merantau and by our definition of merantau in Chapter 2 they all had the intention to return home some day. Second, although these absentees appeared to have moved permanently they returned to the village from time to time to pay their kin social visits,

Table 7.3. Index of Circular Migration of Traced Migrants in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban.

Traced Migrants	N	Total	Moves To Home Village	Total	ICM $\bar{X}$	
Male	44	44	0	0	0	) 10.2
	8	132	11	530.1	66.6	
Female	63	43	0	0	0	) 5.6
	5	88	5	273.4	54.6	
Total	100	220	16	803.5		

Source: Urban Tracer Survey, 1978.

for weddings, for religious celebrations and for other specific purposes such as the death of a relative (Chapter 2). If we were to consider such regular home visits as 'move' then all the present absentees would be found to have been coming to and going from the home-village, producing more intense circular migration.

Viewing the circulation patterns of our return migrants and present absentees in the survey village against Zelinsky's (1971, 226) definition of circulation that "embraces a great variety of movements, usually short term, repetitive or cyclical in nature; all have in common the lack of declared intention or permanent change in residence", the circulation patterns of our respondents were less repetitive and cyclical. They had the declared intention of going to merantau after which they would return to the home-village. In the case of the return migrants, they had completed their movement circuit.

Compared to the labour circulation patterns found in Africa (Mitchell, 1961; Elkan, 1967), in Asia and the Pacific (Goldstein, 1978 for review) or even the patterns of labour circulation in the East Coast States of Peninsular Malaysia, reported by Gasling (1963), our data indicate a different form of circulation. Instead of the constant coming and going of labour from the home-village in search of work, our respondents made a more permanent move, although the return migrants finally made the return move to the home-village. The differences in our finding could arise

from the manner in which a 'move' was defined, and could also be attributed to the fact that our present absentees from the survey villages, and the return migrants were mostly involved in permanent employment in the formal sector of the urban economy. This involvement necessitated them to stay more permanently out of the village. Thus, our study largely deals with a specific group of people, namely workers in permanent occupations. Note that this point and its implication for the village will be developed in later parts of this chapter, as well as this thesis.

7.4.2. The Destinations of the Past Moves.

Some migration studies have suggested that patterns of movement are tied to the distribution of the institutions in which the people are employed. For example, those who move because of education will go to the places that house the institutions. This is not only true for the West but also for Third World countries (Whitelaw and Mc Kay, 1977; Keown, 1971; Oran, 1968; Chapman, 1970). The past movement experiences of our return migrants in the survey villages provide support for this observation.

Studying the destinations of the movements in Figures 7.3, 7.4 and 7.5 gives insight into the types of settlement and the extent of places covered by these people. Unlike the destinations moved to by the present absentees, which were confined mainly to Kuala Lumpur and Seremban, the past movements of the return migrants in the survey villages involved a different set of places.

Those in the Malay Regiment moved mainly to intermediate towns in the Peninsula. They began their movement by going to Port Dickson in Nagri Sembilan for their training, and from there they were transferred to various army bases that were strategically distributed throughout Malaysia. In addition to the moves following transfer, these people were required to go on 'area operation' frequently often covering extensive areas. In contrast, the police constables produced two 'migration fields'. Before the War, several of them joined the police force of Johor state and they moved to places mainly in Johor. Those joining the force after the War began their move by going to Kuala Lumpur to the police constable training school. Transfers after training took them to various settlements throughout the Peninsula.

To be employed in the para-military forces during the Emergency involved movement to places within Nagri Sembilan, especially small urban and rural settlements. Apart from the main task of hunting the terrorists these people also guarded the villages and the urban areas. Similarly,

persons who got employment during the Japanese Occupation of the Peninsula were also confined to places mainly within Negri Sembilan. In contrast, the British Army employees were located mainly within Singapore during the final years of the colonial period.

The teachers and those in the clerical services moved to different sets of places. For the teachers, some began their move to the training institution at Tanjong Malim in Perak, from which they would be posted to various Malay rural schools in Negri Sembilan. Several of the teachers had their training while on the job and they were normally confined to the Kuala Pilah District Malay schools. In recent years a Day Teachers Training College has been established in Seremban to which some of the teachers went for their training. After graduation they served in various primary or lower secondary schools in Negri Sembilan.

The clerical staff usually began their career in Seremban or Kuala Lumpur. They were transferred less frequently except when they took up senior positions at the district towns.

Those in the miscellaneous group, however, show that the blue collar workers moved to the major cities such as Kuala Lumpur, Singapore or some state capitals and then returned to the village. Those who went to the pondoks moved to rural areas in Kedah, Patani (in Thailand) and Kelantan.

The 'dependants' as a group show movement patterns that were determined by the nature of their husbands' occupation. If the husbands' occupations were police constabulary then their movements were confined to the location of police institutions in the Peninsula.

From the description of the various patterns of the destinations that the respondents experienced in the past we summarise in Table 7.4 the importance of the various locations in attracting the various moves. The largest group of moves (25.6 percent) involved the return to the home-village. Intermediate towns other than state capitals and Kuala Lumpur attracted the next largest number of moves (21.2 percent for towns in the Peninsula and 12.1 percent for towns in Negri Sembilan). State capitals and Kuala Lumpur and Singapore managed to attract fewer moves. We note from the table, therefore, that the past movement experience of the return migrants in our survey villages involved mainly intermediate towns in Negri Sembilan and elsewhere in the Peninsula.

An aspect of mobility that has been widely implied or discussed

Table 7.4. Distribution of Moves by Location.

Location	Survey Villages				%
	Sg. Dua	Juasseh	Ibol	Total	
Negri Sembilan.					
Seremban	13	23	8	44	5.1
Towns	21	52	30	103	12.1
Rural Areas	6	5	16	27	3.2
Home Village	69	88	61	218	25.6
Peninsular Malaysia					
Kuala Lumpur	23	34	20	77	8.9
State Capitals	20	47	15	82	9.6
Towns	43	100	36	181	21.2
Rural Areas	13	12	11	36	4.2
East Malaysia					
East Malaysia	5	6	6 *	17	1.9
Singapore	14	26	13	53	6.2
Other Countries	-	10	3	13	1.5
	229	403	219	851	99.5 *

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

* Figure does not add to 100 due to rounding off.

concerns the growth of the action space in personal mobility. (The action space here refers to the area covered by the movers). The idea is contained in Zelinsky's 'mobility transition'. Bedford (1973) found growth in the action space of movers in the New Hebrides, and so did Skeldon (1977) in his analysis of the evolution of mobility during urbanisation in Peru.

Figure 7.6 shows the moves that were experienced by our return migrants in the survey villages by the year in which they took place. From the diagram, the changing territorial boundary of the destinations during the pre-War, War and post-War Years is noticed. Movements taking place in pre-War Years were confined to places bounded by Kuala Lumpur in

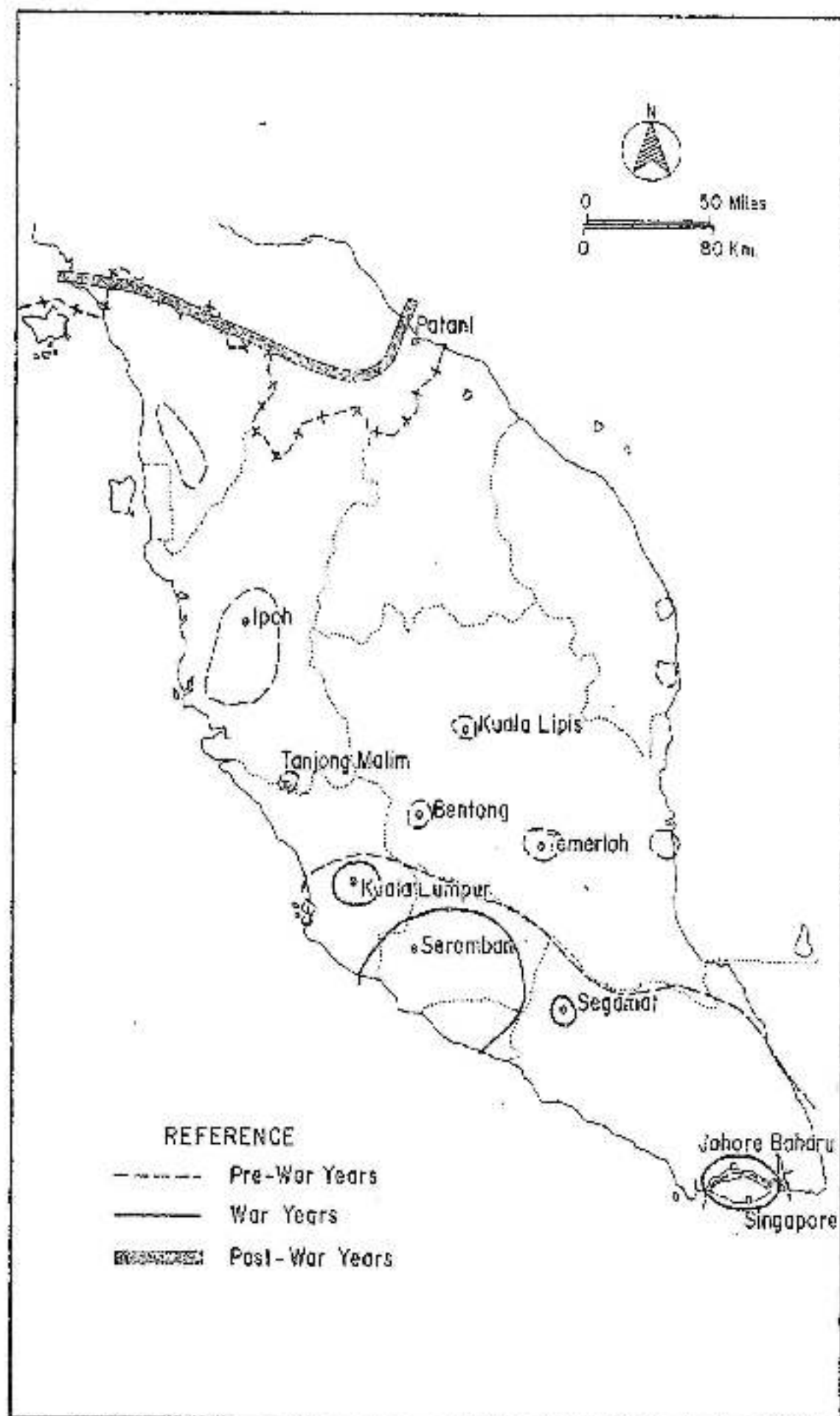


Figure 7-6: The Destinations of the Return Migrants' Movements During the Pre-War, War and Post-War Years.

the north, to the east by the eastern parts of Johor and by Singapore in the south. Several small 'pockets' were also included, involving rural areas in Perak, Kedah, Kelantan and Satani. These were places that had well-known religious teachers in pondoks during that time.

Those who moved during the War Years were confined to places in Negri Sembilan and several locations - specific places in Selangor, Melaka, Johor and Singapore. In the post-War Years, the destinations of moves 'exploded' to diffuse throughout Malaysia and overseas. The expansion in the action space was related to the increasing opportunities available to the Malays.

Limited transport technologies and the lack of opportunities for personal mobility for the Malays in the pre-War Years limited the destinations that the people could move to (Leinbach, 1974; Loh, 1973). The restricted activities during the War Years confined people to their local areas except those who were forced to move and to work for the Japanese (see Chapter 4). A widening of the action space in the post War Years could be attributed to the increasing opportunities created by the colonial government and the new Independent government. Opportunities in military and non-military government services provided the channels for mobility covering a wide area.

7.4.3. The Timing of the Move and the Period of Absence.

The age at which the first move out and the first move back to the home-village is shown in Table 7.5.

Merantau moves usually occurred around the age of 17 years, that is soon after leaving school for some, while others waited for a little longer. Some moved when they were very young either to attend school in places outside the survey villages or to follow their migrating parents. The first out movement from the home-village, therefore, took place when these individuals reached adulthood. The age at which these people made the first return move to the village was more variable. Some returned when they were in their teens (especially the several individuals who went to the pondok), others when they were older but still economically active, and several people when they retired from their working life in their middle fifties. The variable age of returning to the village could be related to the types of occupations in which these people had been employed. The teachers, the clerks and the police constables returned on retirement, whereas the army and paramilitary personnel, blue-collar workers and the

rest returned while they were still economically active.

Table 7.5. The "Timing" of Moves by the Return Migrants.

	Total	%	% Cumulative
a) <u>Merantau</u>			
< 9	4	2.7	2.7
10 - 14	18	12.4	15.1
15 - 19	89	61.4	76.5
20 - 24	27	18.6	95.1
25 - 29	4	2.7	97.8
30 - 34	1	0.7	98.5
≥ 35	2	1.4	99.9
N,	145		
b) <u>Return to Village</u>			
	Total	%	% Cumulative
10 - 14	4	2.7	2.7
15 - 19	13	8.9	11.6
20 - 24	17	11.7	23.3
25 - 29	19	17.9	36.4
30 - 34	26	17.9	54.3
35 - 39	9	6.2	60.5
40 - 44	19	13.1	73.6
45 - 49	21	14.5	81.7
50 - 54	6	4.1	85.3
≥ 55	27	18.6	99.7
N,	145		

Source: Kuala Pilah Survey Village, 1978.

Note: 3 respondents were not considered here because they moved when over 60 years old to follow their children for over 6 months and then returned once.

To complete the past movement experiences of the return migrants we summarised the duration of their absence from the village. From Table 7.6, the majority left home and stayed in the rantau for most of their working years in the various destinations. Only a small proportion went for two years or less. The patterns are in agreement with the impression of ten elderly people in the survey villages who said that the villages received a batch of return perantau roughly every 20 - 25 years. The 'periodicity' of movements from the home-village is different from the

patterns of absence from the home-village by labour migrants in Africa (Elkan, 1967) or in other parts of Southeast Asia (see Goldstein, 1978, for review).

Table 7.6. Total Years of Absence.

Duration	Total	$\bar{x}$	Σ Cumulative
3	19	12.8	12.8
3 - 5.99	28	18.9	31.7
6 -10.99	25	16.8	48.5
11 -20	29	19.5	68.0
20	47	31.7	99.7
$\bar{x}$ year of absence			12.6

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey (Residence Histories).

The past movement experiences of the return migrants above can be generalised by relating them to the individuals' life-cycle and career cycle patterns (Leslie and Richardson, 1961). At some critical stages in a person's life-cycle he experiences changes in his perception of needs. The changes in need may lead the person to move to satisfy the needs (Simmons, 1968). We can relate the first move to look for occupations or attend a school in distant place, for some to the process of growing up from childhood to adulthood. But the subsequent moves following transfer of work place can be related to the individuals' career cycle. In recent years, several studies have appeared showing a general association between migration and social mobility (Kahl, 1963). Koorn (1971, 179 - 180) proposed a career cycle model based on the family cycle model developed by Gans (1962) and Foot *et al* (1960). In this model there are three groups of migrants. The first are termed career transients who move within the structure of a regionally or nationally organised firm or service. Many commercial firms and government services, such as the post office, teaching and railways are organised to provide the channels for movement. Some individuals join the organisation in a country branch; others begin in the larger city establishments. Many, when they desire promotion, have to move. Young people move from the country to the town to take junior positions in a regional headquarters or to join a training institution. Pro-

motions usually take the individuals to a country area for a position of responsibility. Further promotion will take them to other country towns, small towns and ultimately the more able to the capital city. The second group comprises young people moving to larger urban centres for a wide range of educational and social facilities. The third group remains within the rural economy but moves within it, usually over short distances to obtain better employment or better living conditions.

Although the different migration behaviour between the various occupational groups implicit in the career cycle model can account for some of the return migrants' past movement patterns, we need to extend the model a little to account for all of our respondents past movement. Some of the moves made by our return migrants were not necessarily due to promotion. They merely moved in response to a transfer. Any changes experienced by them in their occupations were those related to salary increments following increasing years of service. Thus, they started at a position or a rank, such as a police constable, in the occupation and when they left that occupation they were still at the same position or rank.

7.5. THE TRANSITION FROM CIRCULAR TO PERMANENT MIGRATION IN THE SURVEY VILLAGES: A COMMENT.

The analysis of circular migration above shows that circular and permanent migration merge together into one process. Some of the return migrants who found employment in non-permanent and unskilled occupations such as the blue collar occupations participated in maximum circular migration. The majority, who were in semi-skilled, permanent, modern sector employment, tended to be less intense in their circular migration. Some of them, especially those in the military and other skilled service occupation such as the teachers, did not make repetitive moves to and from the home-village when they were away makan gaji; they moved between towns, following transfers, without returning to the village. With regard to the present absentees, the bulk of them appear to have moved permanently from the village. We arrive at this conclusion because of the definition of 'move' adopted in the chapter. However, if we regard 'visits' to the village as 'moves', the past movement experiences of the return migrants and the experiences of the present absentees showed repetitive and cyclical moves in the manner observed by Negata (1974) amongst the Malays in the northern states of the Peninsula. Thus, whether circulation in the survey villages is widespread or not, as suggested by Zelinsky when a society is

in Phase II or Phase III of the mobility transition, depends on the definition of 'move' and the type of data used.

We also observed that our return migrants and the present absentees were mainly employed in permanent modern sector occupations, especially in the government sector (Chapter 6). (This is in accord with several previous observations, see for example, Eirschman, 1975). This pattern of employment has two far reaching implications as far as the transition from circular to permanent movement is concerned, and we will develop these below.

First, with respect to our return migrants in the survey villages, since most of them found employment during the colonial times, their absorption into the unskilled, semi-skilled and army occupations can be regarded as participating in occupations peripheral to those held by colonial personnel. Colonial policy and practices (Purnival, 1948) designed this by ensuring that the Malays received at best only Malay primary education (Loh, 1975). Since the bulk of our return migrants received only primary Malay education their absorption into the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations in the towns was commensurate with their qualifications. The fact that they could only find lower income occupations encouraged them to maintain links (and eventually to return to) with the village. When we asked them the reason for their return move to the village they responded by saying either that they had 'retired' or that they had 'left' their low paid occupations. From detailed informal talks, it appeared that many of these people returned to the village because they had no savings or pension, or that their pension was insufficient to enable them to subsist in the towns. In short, they had no stake in the urban life; for example, none of them had any property in the towns, much as they wanted to own some. It is implied, therefore, that if these people had been able to accumulate property or any other stake, such as getting opportunities for business in the city, many would have stayed away in the towns. Two families from the survey villages, who remained in Seremban after the heads of the families had retired, illustrate the possible outcome for most of these people. These two families had managed not only to invest in urban homes but also to give their children a reasonable education, so that all of them worked and made their base in the city.

In the light of the argument above, many of the present absentees can be expected to remain permanently in the cities. This is because as shown in Chapter 6, the present absentees are better educated than the

people in the village, and have found employment in professional as well as unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. The professionals would find it within their reach to invest in urban properties. More importantly, the present favourable attitude of the government, which is contained in the NEP, towards the Malays provides the encouragement for these people to be more committed to the city. Various agencies have been created to provide the Malays with more stake in the urban life. Mo Go (1975) has analysed the adaptation of Malays to Kuala Lumpur city. He found that those migrants who participated in and were fully committed to the life of the city became 'urban men'. The study implies that those who were committed to the city, as measured by various factors including the ownership of property and attitudes to the city, will remain in the city. For the future, the present absentees will find the city more attractive than the village to retire to as they become more committed to it.

Second, since both the return migrants and the present absentees in the towns and cities found occupations in the modern sector, especially in government service, a question then arises: what type of mobility will evolve when the modern sector can no longer continue to employ all the migrants? As long as the Malaysian economy continues to expand, the government can create more jobs and the NEP can be implemented at a fast rate so that the Malays will continue to get a big share of the occupations in the modern sector. Consequently, any movement from the village will become more permanent. But should the economy experience a prolonged recession and modern sector employment become saturated more migrants in the future will have to go without formal employment. Studying the situation in several Third World Countries (Nantra, 1978; Forbes, 1978; Jellinek, 1978 for Indonesia; Singhanette-Renard, 1977, for Thailand; Mukherji, 1977, for India) in which urban unemployment is high and the informal sector employs the bulk of the migrants, circular migration becomes an important mobility strategy in those areas. Should the Malaysian modern sector economy fail to employ most of the Malay migrants further it is suggested that, in the light of the experience of other Third World countries at the moment, the unemployed migrants might resort to circular movement.

However, judging from the performance of the Malaysian economy at present the second possibility above may be somewhat remote for the survey villages. The Malaysian economy continues to expand and there is a reasonable amount of wealth to ensure that Malaysians will continue to enjoy a reasonable standard of living (Far Eastern Economic Review, August,

22 - 28, 1980). In this situation many of the rural migrants will continue to be absorbed in permanent occupations in the modern sector. This suggestion is a reasonable one to make. From Table 7.7 the Malays appear to have been increasingly employed in non-agricultural occupations in the past. This trend is expected to continue in the future since the government, through the New Economic Policy, continues to encourage Malays to participate in the modern sector of the economy.

Table 7.7. The Number of Malays Employed in Non-Agricultural Occupations, 1931 - 1990.

Year	Total Malays Employed	Percent of All Ethnic Groups
1931	94771	14.82
1947	140578	23.70
1957	227962	28.49
1967	318964	35.10
1970	513020	35.32
1975	749859	40.23
1990	1871084	49.65

Source: Data for 1931 - 1967 were adapted from Kirschman (1975), Appendix D, Table D.1, 94 - 96; note that the data referred to employed male labour in the Peninsula only. Data for the other years (1970 - 1990) were adapted from Malaysia, 1976, Third Malaysia Plan, Table 4 - 14, 78 - 79; for Peninsular Malaysia. The data referred to employed labour only.

The increasing participation of the Malays in non-agricultural occupations suggests that any merantau by the people in the survey villages in the near future will be increasingly permanent in the sense that more people will have to stay longer at the destinations. Young (1977; 1978a) has also found this trend in Papua-New Guinea; so has Bedford (1973) in the New Hebrides, Hugo (1978) in West Java and Maude (1979) in West Sumatra.

7.6. CONCLUSION.

By defining a 'move' as one that the respondents regarded as involving a change in residence, our data on the past movement experiences

of the return migrants show that most of them had indices of circular migration higher than 50. These indicate that they moved back to the village reasonably frequently. In contrast, the present absentees from the survey villages in the city seemed to have moved more permanently, but this is not to suggest that they will in fact remain in the city at the end of their working life. We found also that employment in modern sector occupations tends to make the people participate less in repetitive movements from and to the home-village.

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

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

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

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

A Summary of Fieldwork Procedures.

1. Fieldwork calendar.

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

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

2. Fieldwork Procedures.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Sungai Dua Kechil - Kuala Sungai Dua.

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

2. Juasseh.

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

3. Ibol.

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

2.1. Preparation of the Village Survey.

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2. The Village Survey.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. The Urban Tracer Survey.

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

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

Kuala Lumpur several years earlier.

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

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

4. Editing and Coding of Village and Urban Questionnaires.

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX A2: QUESTIONNAIRES.

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

Schedule 1: Life History

1. Migration history

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

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

Schedules 2 and 3: Migration and 'merantau'.

Schedule 2:

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

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

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

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

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

Schedule 3:

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

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

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

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

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

Schedule 4: Present Socio-economic CharacteristicsI. Land ownership

1. Could you tell us about

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

II. Occupation

1. What is your daily occupation ?

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

2. What is your wife's main occupation

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

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

Acreage worked

1. Owner-operator

2. Working for wage

3. Renter

4. Rent land out

5. Other (please write)

4. Acreage developed and production

Number of Workers	Type of "padi"	Technology Mechanisation	Seasons/ Year	Fertiliser Factory	Output "gantang" acre/ season	Rent/ gantang equipment
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5. Is the padi enough for the family for the next season.

1. enough

2. not enough

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

Schedule 4: Present Socio-economic CharacteristicsI. Land ownership

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Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

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5. Other (please write)

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Number of Workers	Type of "padi"	Technology Mechanisation	Seasons/Year	Fertiliser Factory	Output "gantang" acre/season	Rent/gantang equipment
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5. Is the padi enough for the family for the next season.

1. enough

2. not enough

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

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

III. Accumulated income

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

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

>1500

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

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

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

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

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

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

1	more than sufficient	1
	sufficient	2
	not sufficient	3

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

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

6. Do you receive money and goods from rantau

Yes	1
No	2

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

8. a) Do you keep money

Yes	1
No	2

b) In the form of

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

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

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

IV. Possessions

1. Does the family own

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

2. a) Is this house

1	bought
2	"pusaka"

- 3 "rented"
4 other (please write)

b) If rented how much/month

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

4. Bathroom

- Yes 1
No 2

5. Toilet

- open 1
pump 2
Others
(please
write)

6. Pipe

- Yes 1
No 2

Electric

- Yes 1
No 2

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

V. General

1. Do you read newspaper?

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

2. Type of newspaper read

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

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

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

VI.

1. Type of family

Extended	1
nuclear	2
Other (please stated)	3

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

I. 'Merantau' in general

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

Probe

Economic

Social

Situational

Psychological

Others

II. Conditions of Kampong

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

More than enough	1
enough	2
not enough	3

2. Could you say that the village is,

fertile	1
medium fertile	2
not fertile	3

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

very important	1
equally important	2
less important	3

- b) Why do you say that

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

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

b) Bought land

Yes	1
No	2

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

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

e) For what it was sold

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

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

More difficult	1
About the same	2
Easier	3

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

Increased	1
About equal	2
Decreased	3

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

More prosperous	1
about equal	2
less prosperous	3

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

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

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

b) Why,

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

More now	1
about the same	2
less now	3

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

as above

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

as above

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

as above

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

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

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

- Today a large number of young men/women move to towns/cities such as Seremban, Kuala Lumpur. What are the reasons for these moves ?
- Some, however, stay put in the Kampong since childhood. Why this is so ?
- a) Do you agree with your son going merantau to the city.

agree	1
disagree	2

b) Why
- a) Do you agree with your daughters merantau to the city ?

agree	1
do not agree	2

b) Why
- What sort of job do you like your children to have ?

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

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

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

B. Knowledge on rural-urban contrast

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

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

b) Why say that

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

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

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

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

1. life
2. behaviour
3. social able

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

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

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

7. Which place is easier to earn some money

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

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

Always helpful	1
Sometimes helpful	2
Not helpful	3

9. Do they help with,

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

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

many chances now	1
difficult	2
limited	3
no chance	4

b) Why say that ?

4. Impact of merantau

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

much poorer	1
poor	2

same	3
other (Please write)	4

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

late	3
same	2
earlier	3

b) Why

IV. Future Plan

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

3. If "No" go to section V.

If "Yes" where to?

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

V. Migration and Negri Sembilan

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

still migrate	1
No	2
No response	3

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

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

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

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

much better	1
better	2
same	3
not that good	4

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

VII. Commuter

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

a) where do you sleep during the week ?

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

VIII. Knowledge and Contacts with Urban areas & Places

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

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

7. Do you often visit the following places/town

IX. Your children's Plans

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

2. If no where to ?

3. Why choose that place ?

Schedule 6:

Name of 'Kampong'

HHH No

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

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

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

Note: Answer all questions. Put 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 kampong folks	6
relatives	7
Other (Please write)	7

- b. Its fare, if applicable:

13. Who paid for the journey to this city:

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

Borrowing	6
Other (Please write)	7

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

15. Who accompanied you to this city

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

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

Kampong	1
Other (Please write)	2

d. Arrival for the first time in city

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

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

18. How long did you stay there ?

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

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

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

e. First job and urban labour absorption

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

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

21. Who helped you find the first job

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

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

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

f. Arrival of other people

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

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

24. Who come to join you in the city ?

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

II. Experience and adaptation to city life

g. Life in city as opposed to life in kampong

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

to stay in the city.

Far better	1
Just as expected	2
Less than expected	3

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

Yes	No	Not sure
(1)	(2)	(3)

Housing

Job

Life in general

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

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

28. Has your life become worse ?

n. Participation in city life - neighbours

29. Do your neighbours consist of the following :

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

30. What type of neighbours do you have :

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

31. How is your relationship with your neighbours ?

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

32. Do you visit the following friends ;

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

33. Who are your close friends in the city ?

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

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

b) Type of Associations/Institutions

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

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

37. What part do you play on the Association

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

i. Link to valley/changes in city

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

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

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

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

40. What do you do during holidays

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

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

a) Which is a better place to raise children

In city	1
At kampong	2

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

In city	1
At kampong	2

c) Which place is easier to save

In city	1
At kampong	2

d) Which place is better to have big family

In city	1
At kampong	2

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

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

42. Name main Malay areas in the city

Code	
None	1
3	2
4 - 8	3
8	4

43. Newspaper reading and type

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*III. Rural-Urban Relation

j. Visits

47. How often do you go back to kampong

Never	1
Rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Weekly	5

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

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

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

Rarely	1
Everytime coming home	2
Never	3

k. Letters

50. How often do you send letters home

Never	1
Seldom/rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4

51. Do you send money or things to kampong

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

Note: If none go to question No 56 below.

52. To whom it is sent

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

53. For what purpose is the money used

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

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

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

55. How do you send the money

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

*1. Link from kampong

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

Yes	1
No	2

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

Daily expenditure	1
Education	2
Other (Please write)	3

57. Do kampong folk visit you here ?

Never	1
Seldom/rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Monthly	4

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

Poorer	1
As normal	2
Other (Please write)	3

*m. Link with kampong

59. Is your wife/husband

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

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

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

b): i) Have you a house in kampong

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

iii) For whom the house is built

Self	1
------	---

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

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

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

APPENDIX B.

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

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

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

Factors	(Districts)					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Household having refrigerators.	143	820	1390	193	4208	1054
GDP / capita MS., 1970.	864	730	1728	686	863	320
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 STATE, 1970.

STATE/PLACE	JOHORE	KUALA	CELANUTAN	PAHANG	SEREMAN	PERAK	PERANG	TERANG	PERANG	SELANGOR	TERANGKAP	TOTAL
JOHORE	6,158	1,180	1,285	4,282	4,535	4,780	1,230	4,772	125	12,300	1,280	60,247
PERANG	2,780	411,224	1,110	568	1,582	2,622	15,885	17,145	7,145	4,885	241	671,932
CELANUTAN	2,424	2,251	410,412	1,059	1,525	12,642	1,158	1,885	119	1,885	11,228	671,932
PAHANG	11,102	558	785	181,100	5,471	2,228	100	7,128	42	11,102	48	174,316
SEREMAN	4,928	554	1,185	2,225	175,381	2,421	1,141	3,825	119	11,602	180	186,699
PERANG	1,117	605	1,118	655	1,711	175,686	575	2,701	1,117	5,311	110	24,227
TERANG	1,384	18,112	889	818	1,225	2,191	18,285	12,881	1,384	47,586	1,016	306,287
SELANGOR	5,874	12,382	2,188	1,575	4,778	6,525	11,822	861,482	1,384	1,074	8	91,111
PERANG	561	2,558	186	133	273	112	122	1,482	83,545	1,074	8	91,111
PAHANG	4,055	1,516	1,271	1,050	5,121	5,499	1,505	16,445	218	17,401	745	614,264
TERANGKAP	4,205	750	2,101	375	525	1,118	425	1,118	48	1,228	19,457	172,265
TOTAL	60,452	580,574	55,200	101,022	176,234	101,815	111,341	637,259	41,907	581,545	174,621	1,437,880

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

STATE/PLACE	JOHORE	KUALA	CELANUTAN	PAHANG	SEREMAN	PERANG	PERANG	TERANG	PERANG	SELANGOR	TERANGKAP	TOTAL
JOHORE	1,000,414	1,182	1,285	12,773	14,214	11,201	1,452	4,716	384	13,773	1,452	1,112,041
PERANG	2,424	824,462	1,110	1,339	2,221	1,214	6,710	12,142	10,412	13,773	889	175,719
CELANUTAN	2,424	2,251	410,412	1,110	1,525	12,642	1,158	1,885	119	1,885	11,228	174,316
PAHANG	11,102	558	785	181,100	5,471	2,228	100	7,128	42	11,102	48	174,316
SEREMAN	4,928	554	1,185	2,225	175,381	2,421	1,141	3,825	119	11,602	180	186,699
PERANG	1,117	605	1,118	655	1,711	175,686	575	2,701	1,117	5,311	110	24,227
TERANG	1,384	18,112	889	818	1,225	2,191	18,285	12,881	1,384	47,586	1,016	306,287
SELANGOR	5,874	12,382	2,188	1,575	4,778	6,525	11,822	861,482	1,384	1,074	8	91,111
PERANG	561	2,558	186	133	273	112	122	1,482	83,545	1,074	8	91,111
PAHANG	4,055	1,516	1,271	1,050	5,121	5,499	1,505	16,445	218	17,401	745	614,264
TERANGKAP	4,205	750	2,101	375	525	1,118	425	1,118	48	1,228	19,457	172,265
TOTAL	1,112,041	901,915	552,118	306,287	421,837	442,196	680,126	1,437,880	174,621	1,437,819	225,988	3,072,938

Source: Department of Statistics, 1971.

APR 1983, 12

Most Recent Malay Interstate Migration, 1970

State of Previous Residence	Present Place of Residence											Total
	Johor	Kedah	Kelantan	Malaka	Negeri Sembilan	Perak	Perlis	Selangor	Tengganu	Total		
Johor	161270	513	1273	5105	3734	3557	1330	3373	70	11002	1101	193215
Kedah	1251	121140	1075	586	1702	2734	11957	53176	5764	6078	548	195202
Kelantan	1734	2632	212765	145	1203	16049	1024	7013	453	5053	19316	153603
Malaka	5545	115	602	31452	3568	1889	433	1048	43	12002	287	47163
Negeri Sembilan	5513	461	202	4913	16502	3568	817	7572	74	14172	472	89717
Perak	3347	131	1402	447	3744	10076	969	3673	160	5537	2158	11218
Perlis	1734	11745	621	421	372	2053	23309	8593	837	5011	221	64158
Perak	3261	11137	2547	2123	3170	5015	3017	144504	982	21720	842	216150
Perlis	125	2315	132	75	203	783	756	1327	10421	317	21	21012
Selangor	4537	2104	2483	4747	1075	5512	2020	12460	705	121752	1580	166528
Tengganu	2314	602	4022	132	575	12136	176	598	54	7572	6053	81007
Total	192353	135042	139401	25151	64421	108402	82570	391664	23745	219615	55643	1,514,453
La localities afraid birth	452460	477427	555286	150351	205225	121553	166158	565915	65192	206346	259932	

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

APPENDIX 64

Ultimate Return Migration, 1950.

Previous Residence	Birthplace and place of current residence										
	Johor	Kedah	Kelantan	Malaka	Selangor	Pahang	Pulau Pinang	Perak	Perlis	Selangor	Terengganu
Johor	144573	152	776	1124	1126	459	119	710	10	779	290
Kedah	372	139433	187	77	155	99	2943	1342	379	265	60
Kelantan	205	776	112100	109	209	307	135	405	10	207	1094
Malaka	965	5	191	1455	709	38	75	242	14	555	74
Selangor	778	95	135	1167	10627	272	117	537	19	1103	50
Pahang	642	205	967	102	695	5765	102	940	27	504	815
Pulau Pinang	144	2335	120	63	94	175	27801	1127	49	289	47
Perak	545	2601	576	290	445	115	1247	121071	290	2170	304
Perlis	26	1006	78	3	15	5	105	331	27419	52	6
Selangor	1182	761	505	1474	1571	394	591	5078	81	82571	799
Terengganu	725	57	1732	30	80	112	46	176	8	494	6427
Total	151065	147120	514080	19322	16754	54950	12765	157172	8332	89501	66945
Return migrant	5052	7908	4766	4574	8132	6776	4706	11001	1443	6517	2821

Source: Department of Statistics. (unpublished).

(Malays only).

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

1. INTRODUCTION.

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

2. THE METHODOLOGY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. THE RESULTS.

1) Private Car Counts:

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

Average people travelling: 2

Total = 50 individuals.

2) Bus Counts:

1. SKS - Seremban Kuala Lumpur Express:
Our count = 120. Drivers estimate 100.

2. Foh Hup Company.
Our count = 90. Drivers estimate 80.

3. Total:	Our count	210
	Drivers estimate	180
	Average	195

4. Grand Total:	Bus	195
	Car	50
		245

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

APPENDIX E: ESTIMATING THE 1978 POVERTY LINE FOR MALAYSIA.

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

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

Table 1. Estimating the Malaysian Poverty Line for 1978.

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

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

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

UPPER STATUS

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

MIDDLE STATUS

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

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

LOW STATUS

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

APPENDIX G: URBANISATION INDICES FOR THE HOLOGRAM

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

Sector A. Background Information.

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

Index 1. Urban residence in early years.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 3 Higher status occupation
- 4 High status occupation

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

Sector B. Migrants Socio-economic Background.

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

Index 4. Migrant's educational achievement.

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

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

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

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

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

Years after 15th birthday before entering Seremban /Kuala Lumpur

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

Sector C. The Environment of Entry into the City.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 1 Over 6 months
- 2 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 2 Slightly better
- 3 3 Better
- 4 4 Very good

Index 17. House ownership.

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

Index 18. Location of house

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

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

Index 19. Possession of status goods.

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

Sector F. Urban - Rural Link.

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

Index 20. Where were your parents ?

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

Index 21. Did you visit your kampong often ?

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

Index 22. Did you remit money regularly ?

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

Index 23. Marital ties

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

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

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

Index 24. Friendship pattern

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

Index 25. Friendship visits.

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

Index 26. Members of Association.

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

Index 27. Newspaper reading

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

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

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

Sector H. Urban Attitudes.

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

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

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

Index 30. Which place was better to raise children ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

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

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

Index 32. Which place was better for saving ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

Index 33. Which place was better to stay permanently ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

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

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

Index 36. Which people tended to be more religious ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

Index 37. Which people tended to be better educated ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

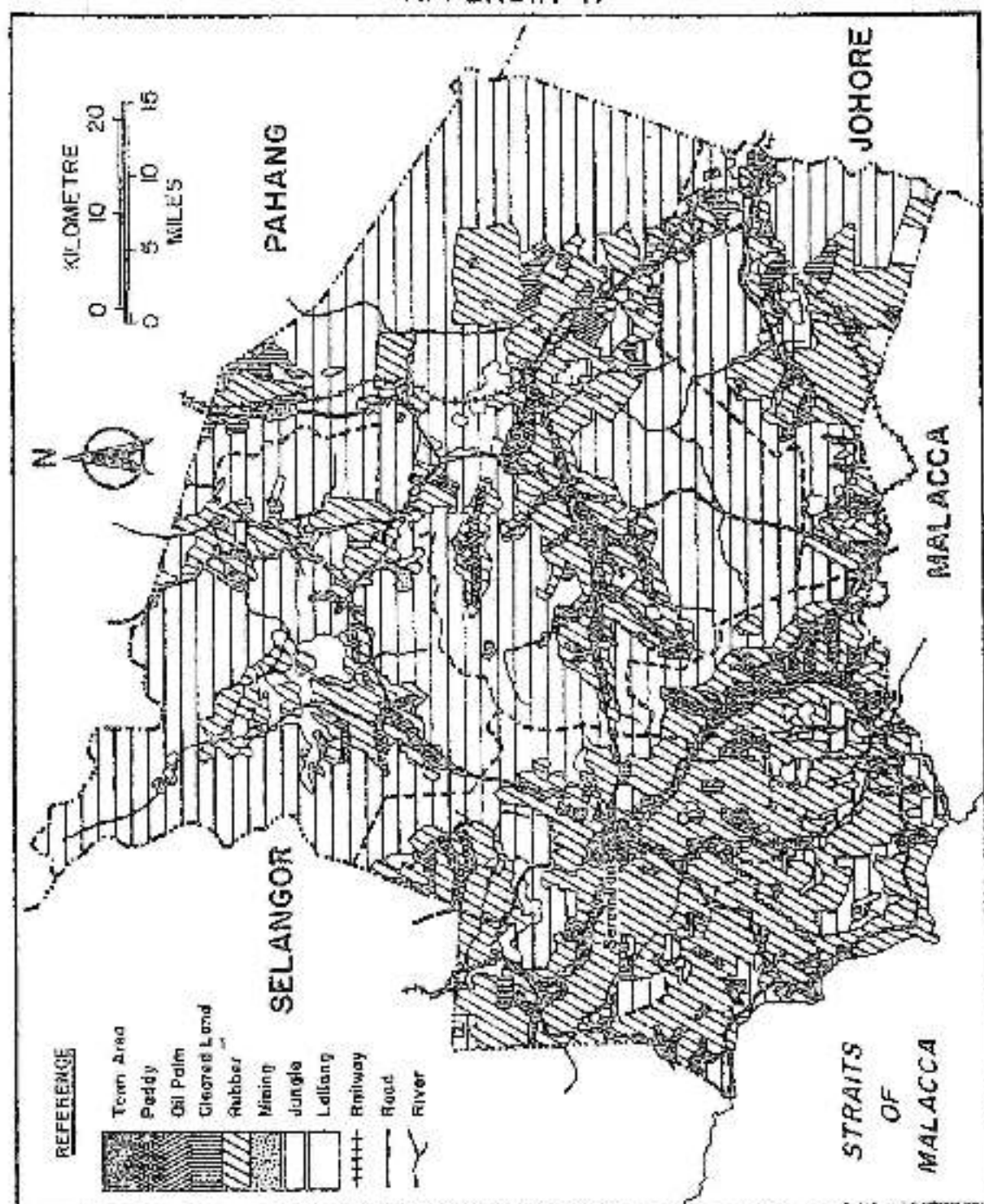
Index 38. This index is a supplement to index 37. Which people tended to be more knowledgeable ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

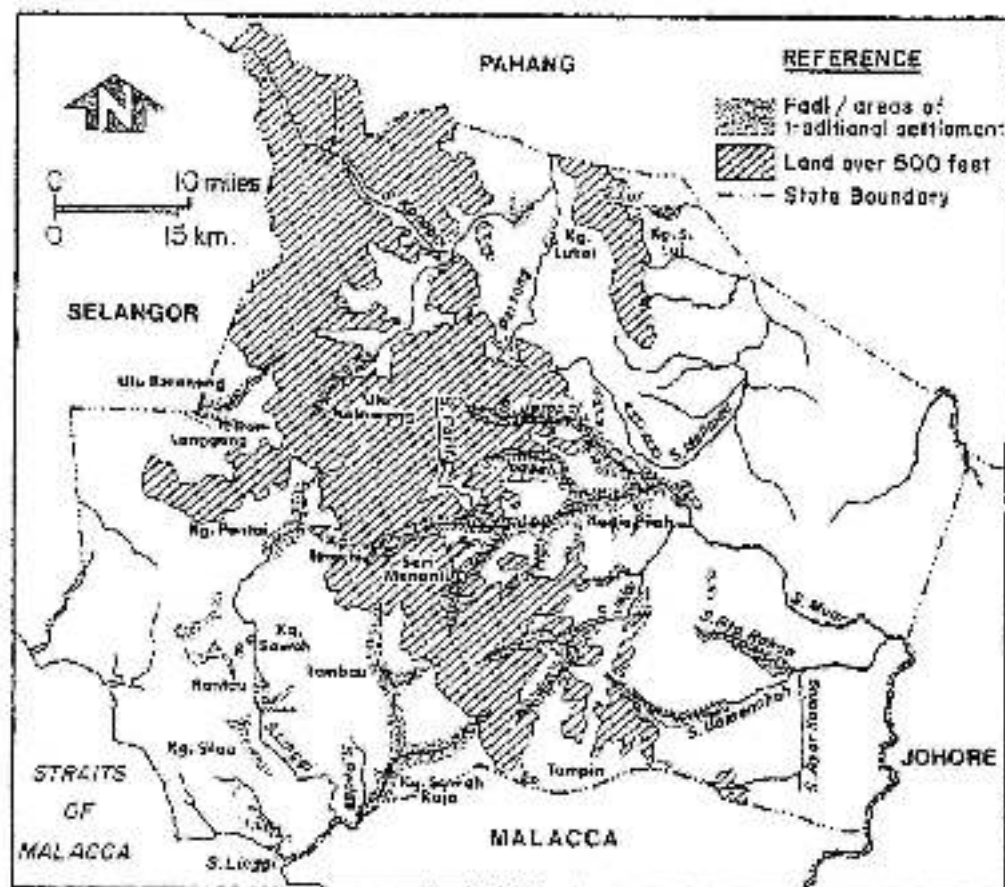
- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

APPENDIX H



Landuse in Negri Sembilan (1966)

APPENDIX I



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

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