

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

By

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SUMMARY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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In Malaysia, I am deeply indebted to Universiti Kebangsaan

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It is really a humbling experience to complete this piece of research and it is a more humbling thought to realise the size of debt I owed to all the people above. I thank them all once again through this pantun.

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

PART II

POPULATION MOVEMENTS AND URBANISATION

CHAPTER 10

INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION TO KUALA LUMPUR
AND SEREMBAN

10.1. INTRODUCTION.

In this chapter we will shift the focus to the individual migrant in the city, as opposed to what was considered in the last chapter which examined migrant adjustment to the city as a group, namely to look into individual migrant adaptation to Kuala Lumpur and Seremban. In the last chapter, we showed that migrants in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban did not generally become completely assimilated to the city. They maintained their identity although most of them worked in the urban formal sector, interacted with Malays from other states and with non-Malays, and crossed non-Malay areas to and from their workplaces. In this situation, it appears that the differences between rural and urban areas become blurred in contrast to what the rural-urban continuum model predicts. The rural-urban continuum model assumes that rural migrants in the city will change and become "urban men", adopting entirely an urban way of life (Wirth, 1938). Evidence from studies in various cultural areas show that this model is not true not only for the Third World (Abu-Lughod, 1961; Mc Gee, 1975) but also for the West (Pahl, 1965). This means that the "detribalisation" theory appears to be less appropriate to account for the adjustment of migrants from the survey villages to the city.

There is no denying, however, that when Malay migrants in the Peninsula moved to the city they entered a 'new' place having 'new' characteristics, such as the residential areas, a mixed population composition, waged or salaried occupations, a new administration and a different way of life to that of the village. We can refer to these characteristics of the city as the situation of the city. Brody (1969, 7), working in the United States, argued that a shift in residence to the city brings the migrants face to face not only with new places but also with new norms and values; the migrants leave the social and the geographic familiarity of the sending community in the village to come to terms with new situations in the city. This is partly true also for Malay migrants in the Malaysian city. Thus, Mc Gee (1975) suggested that individual Malay migrants in Kuala Lumpur city made different levels of adaptation to the varied urban situation. The term adaptation can be defined simply as the response of the individual migrant to the change in himself

and the urban situation (Brody, 1969, 9; Kim and Lee, 1975, 265).

By taking the individual level approach to migrant adaptation to the city, this chapter hopes to shed further light on the manner in which change takes place amongst the individual migrants. More importantly, from our understanding of change at the individual level we hope to assess the permanency of otherwise of migration from the survey villages. We had suggested in Chapter 7 that there was a tendency for migrants from the survey villages to remain more permanently in the city. This was because most of these migrants got employment in the urban formal sector. It was suggested also that as a migrant got more stake in the city he would be committed to stay more permanently in the city. In contrast, when a migrant had less stake in the city he would become more inclined to return home to the natal village. By studying the individual migrant adaptation to the city it is possible to determine the overall commitment of the migrant to the city. In turn by knowing the individual commitment to the city one can assess who amongst the present migrants will remain more permanently in the city, and who amongst them will return to the home village.

From the point of view of social change, Gugler and Flanagan's (1978, 97 - 117) discussion of the three types of change that have been used to account for change amongst migrants in African cities seems useful to help us in our understanding of change at the level of the individual migrant. The first type is historical change, referring to change at the cultural and socio-cultural level, that is change in terms of a given society taking place over time. This type of change does not occur simultaneously in different parts of a given society. The people of a society may be forced out of one tradition to adopt a new one such as during colonialism. They may accept foreign beliefs and embrace different norms and ultimately change their values. However, historical change was less appropriate to account for change at the individual level. The second type is situational change which is quite appropriate to account for change at the individual level. This change refers to the shifts in an individual's behaviour following participation in different social systems. A migrant may join a union at work because he is part of the urban proletariat but he may change this when he returns to live in the urban 'village'. Such an example of alternation can be extended to cover various other activities. In some cases the contacts are superficial, such as amongst crowds or on buses, and the individual reacts accordingly to that situation. Thus, situational change occurs abruptly. According to Gugler

and Flanagan (1978), this type of change has been regarded as the most appropriate change at the individual level. But concern with situational change alone disregards the process of individual growth and change. Thus, the third type of change called biographic change recognises the abrupt situational change and a distinction between historical change at the societal level and the individual level. There are both gradual and sudden changes in the norms of the individual migrant in the city picked up by him on arrival and pushed to the 'background' when he returns to the village. While these take place the set of norms operative in urban situation changes gradually.

Perhaps because of these various changes, we observed that individual migrants from our survey villages in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban made different adaptations to the city situation, and they held attitudes that made them both 'urban' and 'rural' at the same time. Further, some individuals were more adapted to the city than others. This chapter examines this impression in more detail. However, to observe the individual migrant's adaptation to the city at one particular time will at best record only the condition of the individual at the particular time. Like a photograph, it is static although it provides a cross-sectional record of the effects of all these changes on that individual migrant at that time (Mc Gee, 1975).

10.2. THE HOLOGRAM TECHNIQUE AND INDIVIDUAL ADAPTATION TO THE CITY.

There are many ways in which the patterns of individual migrant adaptation to the city can be studied (Pryor, 1979a, 2, 9). Mc Donald (1979), for example, has discussed several methods such as Markov chain, cluster analysis and diagrammatic techniques to analyse residence history, which could be adapted for use here. Most of these techniques seem to be more useful for categorising individuals into groups. Our concern here is to show the varied positions of every individual migrant's adaptation to the city so that we can make comparisons at the individual level. The hologram technique seems to be most appropriate for this purpose. This technique has been used to show a wide variety of socio-economic data by place in France, and adapted by Mc Gee (1968, 1975, 1979) to show the various levels of individual migrant's adaptation to the city.

A hologram (Figures 10.1, 10.2, 10.3) is a type of diagram that can show holistically the individual's varied levels of adaptation to different aspects of the urban situation. The urban situation can be

represented on a circle subdivided into several sectors, each showing an aspect of the urban situation that influences the migrant in his adaptation to the city. Each sector in turn can be further subdivided into several factors representing each aspect of the urban situation. To show the level of adaptation on each factor, the circle can be subdivided into several smaller circles; the outermost circle represents the highest level of adaptation and the smaller circle shows the least level of adaptation (Mc Gee, 1975).

The migrant's adaptation and attitude on a factor is given a quantitative score, which in this study varies from one to four based on whether the migrant's attitude was more 'rural' or 'urban' respectively. An index summarising the total scores for each migrant can be calculated by finding the mean of the total scores on the factors, (which is shown in the centre of the diagram). An index of 3.0 to 4.0 represents strong adaptation to the urban area, 2.0 to 2.99 satisfactory adaptation while a score of 1.0 to 1.99 is marginal adaptation (Mc Gee, 1975). Note that we can adopt a different scoring system by introducing a greater range of ranks. The result will still be similar in the sense that the hologram shows only the position of the individual migrant on a collection of factors that are ranked from 'rural' to 'urban'.

Mc Gee (1975) has summarised the advantages and disadvantages of the technique. Suffice it to say here that the hologram enables us to see each individual in the context of his urban situation, providing a visual assessment of the pattern of individual adaptation; it allows comparison to be made at the level of the individual. Some limitations of the technique include: 1. It shows only the diversity of an individual adaptation, and not a causal relationship; 2. It shows a 'picture' taken at a specific time that may be over or under-exposed; 3. The choice and ranking of the factors influence the final 'picture'. Ideally, the factors should be weighted but it is not done here since we have not explored the importance of each factor selected to the individual migrant. Assigning wrong weights may lead to distortions.

It has been suggested that individual adaptation to the city can be measured by a series of single factor or composite variables (Kim and Lee, 1979). Thirty nine variables were chosen for the purpose here and some were based on Mc Gee's (1968, 1975) indices. The thirty nine variables can be grouped into 8 sectors of a circle. Each sector represents one of the following:

Sector 1. Background situation, consisting of factors which hope-

fully gave an indication of the individual's early experience of urban life. It is felt that the migrant's early years spent in urban areas, the amount of contact with town or rural areas and the types of his fathers' occupation would influence his adaptation to the city.

- Sector 2. Migrants socio-economic background. This is to measure whether the migrant's socio-economic background, such as education and occupation, will encourage or discourage him from adopting favourably to the city. The assumption was that the more favourable the socio-economic background the more strongly is the adaptation to the city.
- Sector 3. Represents the environment of the migrant's entry into the city. This sector attempted to measure whether the migrant moved to the city via either kin, and friendship networks or via purely urban institutions such as public houses or the labour exchange. It was assumed that those entering the city via kin and friendship networks would be less open to the influences of urban living. Consequently these contacts made them less likely to adapt to the city. Three factors were chosen to measure this.
- Sector 4. Urban attraction and attachment, which measures the commitment of each migrant to the city or the village. If the commitment to the village was strong the adaptation to the city would be weak. Three factors were chosen to measure this, including the migrant's declaration of where he would eventually settle down, that is either in the city or the village.
- Sector 5. Shows the migrant's present socio-economic characteristics. It was assumed that a higher income, a higher occupational status, ownership of a house and durable consumer goods would place a migrant in a better position to the city. Six factors were chosen to represent this.
- Sector 6. Rural-urban links, measuring contacts and ties with the village. The assumption was that if the ties with the village were strong the adaptation to the city would be weakened. Four factors were chosen which included home visits, remittances and marital ties.
- Sector 7. Contacts and participation in city life. This was to mea-

sure whether or not the individual migrant's maintained contacts with the wider society of the city. It was assumed that the wider the contact measured by such factors as the migrant's friendship pattern, visits, and membership of non "kin" associations, the more capable the migrant was to adapt to the city. Five factors were chosen to measure this.

- Sector 8. Attitudes to aspects of urban life, including values and attitudes towards urban life. Eleven factors were selected to represent a range of urban attitudes, such as the migrant's views on religion, education and aspects of urban and rural life. If the attitudes were favourable towards the city the migrant was assumed to have adapted favourably to the city.

The complete selection of the factors together with the assumptions is shown in Appendix G.

It becomes apparent that in this analysis we recognise the differences between 'rural' and 'urban' as assumed by the rural-urban continuum model. Yet in the previous chapter we have shown that such differences appear to be less clearcut. Ideally we should have a control group such as the urban born Malays against whom we can assess the different level of adaptation of the individual migrant. Since we do not have such a group the rural-urban differences can be used as assumptions for this study to test.

10.3. PROFILES OF THE TRACED MIGRANTS.

In order to put the individual cases that will be taken to illustrate the various level of migrant adaptation to the city in the right perspective, Table 10.1 presents some of the background information about the 100 traced migrants. It is seen in panel (a) of the table that the bulk of the migrants (69%) were satisfactory adapters to the city and 26 percent marginal adapters, in contrast to only five percent appeared to have assimilated to the extent of becoming 'urban men'.

Examining briefly the subsequent panels (b) to (e), the majority of the traced migrants were married (68%), while there appear to be more single people amongst the marginal adapters (column (3) of panel b of the table). With respect to the level of schooling that these migrants

Table 10.1. Profiles of Traced Migrants.

a) Traced Migrants and Hologram Score (x).

Level of Adaptation	Total		Total	%
	M	F		
1. "Urban Men", > 3.0	5	0	5	5
2. Satisfactory Adapters, 2.0 - 2.99	31	38	69	69
3. Marginal Adapters, 1.0 - 1.99	16	10	26	26
Total	52	48	100	100

b) Marital Status.

Level of Adaptation. (see Table (a) above)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	Total %
Married	5	52	11	68
Single		15	13	28
Widower/separated/Divorced		2	2	4
Total 100	5	69	26	100

c) Level of Schooling ever attended.

	Level of Adaptation		Total	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	%
Primary		19	10	29
Secondary	1	40	16	57
Post Secondary/College	1	9	-	10
University	3	1	-	4
Total 100	5	69	26	100

d) Types of Occupation

	Level of Adaptation		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Government Officer/ Administrative Officer	4	1	
Army Officer (Higher ranking)	1		
Army Officer (Lower ranking)		3	
Government Officer (Lower ranking)		2	
Teaching Services		5	
Police		5	
Clerical		17	
Technical services		6	
Other services (fire brigade; health/postman)		4	
Factory (Supervisor)		3	1
Self-employed		6	-
Factory worker		2	9
Labourer		-	4
House helper		-	2
Driver/Watchman		2	1
Office boy			4
Student		3	
Housewives		10	4
Pensioner			1
Total 100	5	69	26

e) Income

	Level of Adaptation			Total %
	(1)	(2)	(3)	
≤ \$300		11	20	31
\$301 - 500		34	6	40
\$501 - 1000		12		12
\$1001 - 1500		10		10
\$1501 - 2000	2	1		3
> \$2001	3	1		4
Total 100	5	69	26	100

f) Length of stay in city (Years)

	Level of Adaptation			Total %
	(1)	(2)	(3)	
≤ 1 year	1	6	4	11
1.1 year - 2		2	2	4
3 - 5		13	6	19
> 5 - 10	4	48	14	66
Total 100	5	69	26	100

Source: Urban Tracer Survey, 1978.

ever attended, it appears that the majority of the 'urban men' attained a higher level of education (panel c of the table). In contrast, the bulk of the satisfactory and marginal adapters attended only secondary level of education, which none of the marginal adapters went beyond secondary education.

Moving on to the next panel on occupation, not only are the various types of occupation shown in detail (so that the variations in the occupations of the three types of adapters may be seen) but also these occupations are arranged roughly in a descending order in terms of status as measured by pay. It seems that the 'urban men' were in high status occupations (Alatas, 1968), in contrast to the marginal adapters who were found mainly in blue collar jobs such as in labouring and factory jobs. This pattern is confirmed in the income panel (e) of the table, in which the marginal adapters generally earned low incomes compared to the 'urban men' who earned high incomes. Note that the bulk of the satisfactory adapters earned below M\$500 per month.

On the question of whether the length of time lived in the city influences adaptation panel (f) of the table shows no clear pattern. The majority in all the three groups appeared to have been in the city for a substantial period of time.

10.4. INDIVIDUAL CASE STUDIES.

Ten holograms that have been drawn up to give a visual impression of the adaptation of the individuals are shown in Figures 10.1, 10.2 and 10.3. The ten holograms have been divided into three groups to represent cases of strong individual adaptation, those in satisfactory co-existence and the marginal adapters. A brief description of each will be presented below.

10.4.1. Strong Adapters; the Urban Man ?

Figure 10.1 shows two cases of strong adapters. The first case is a man whose kampong asal was Juassch. At 33 years of age he had had a total of 29 years of exposure to urban areas and urban living. Since his father was a government servant, his parents spent most of their working years in urban areas and the respondent moved several times in his younger days with the family. When the father retired, the family returned to the village, where they built a modern brick home. The shift from the village to makan gaji in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban by the res-

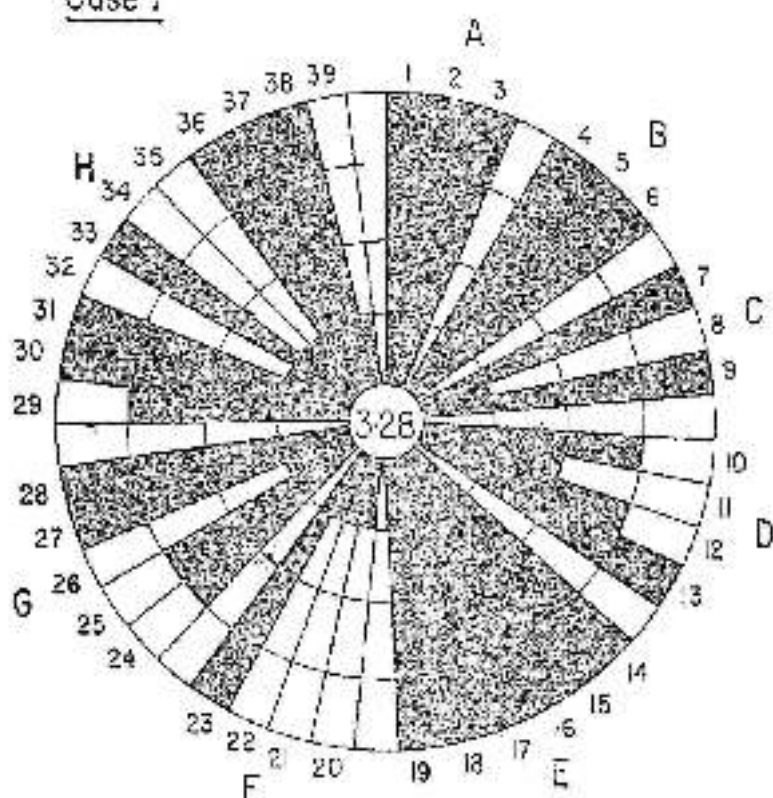
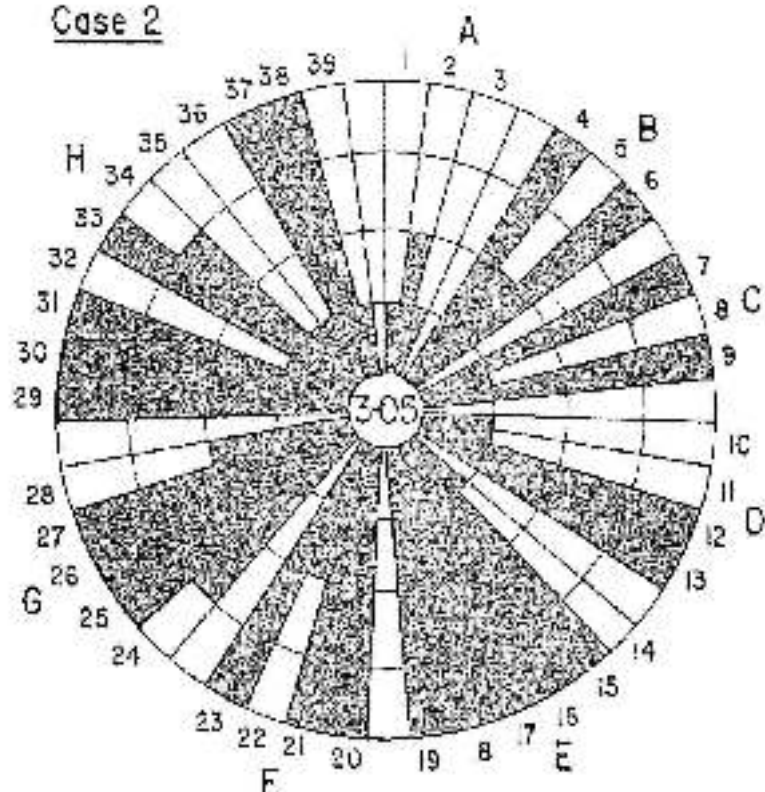
Case 1Case 2

Figure 10-1: "The Urban Man"

pondent did not involve a drastic change in situation. All the household amenities and facilities found in the city were found in his parent's house in the village. Since the respondent is a division one government officer earning a comfortable income he may be classified in the Malay middle class group in the city. Being in this position enables him to participate freely in many urban activities. His university education and qualifications gave him good access to various urban formal associations such as the golf club and the Graduate Association of Selangor. His wife is also a division one government officer. Their marriage was neither arranged nor involved any blood relationship. Between them they could afford to own a house in a new housing area in which Chinese, Malays, Indians and 'Others' (such as Eurasians and Europeans) lived side by side in the Kelang Valley. Since the housing area has a mixed ethnic population the respondent was exposed to a more mixed group. Like other houses in the area, his house was well-furnished with status goods such as an electric cooker, fridge and paintings. The family read both Malay and English newspaper daily, and made extensive use of all media.

However, he still visited his parents in the kampung and since his wife came from a different state he also occasionally visited his wife's parents. He also remitted money and helped his family in the kampung. Judging from what he said he moved with ease into the urban and kampung situations. With regard to the future he was still uncertain where he would stay in retirement, whether to return to his kampung asal, to return to the wife's kampung or to remain in Kuala Lumpur where he had bought his own house.

Case 2 is also a division one government officer, but unlike the first case he was in the education service. He was born in Sungai Dua, and in 1978 both his parents had died several years earlier, leaving the family house in the village vacant. Although his parents had always lived in the village, earning a livelihood that was based on peasant rice subsistence and cash production of rubber, the respondent had been exposed to urban conditions as early as when he was four years old. He commuted daily to Kuala Pilah, a district capital with a total population of 12,000 in 1970, during his school days. After completing his secondary education in Kuala Pilah, he joined the Malayan Teachers College at Kirby, England at the age of 22. Three years later he returned to teach in a secondary school in a district capital in Pahang. In the next five years, he was transferred to several other small towns in Pahang. At the age of 29 he travelled once again to England for specialised training. Upon

completing the course he was promoted to a lecturer at a teacher's training college in the Peninsula. In 1967, at the age of 35, he entered one of the local universities to read for a degree. After graduation he served in various capacities in the Malaysian education services in several main towns in the Peninsula. In 1978 he was promoted to be a headmaster of a leading government school in Seremban.

He had bought a house in a new Malay housing area in Seremban. He kept contacts with the wider town society by participating in elitist clubs such as the golf and the Rotary club, read both English and Malay newspapers, and listened to the news over the radio and television. Despite the fact that both his parents had died he maintained links with his kampung asal, albeit weak ones. He returned once a year to visit some kin and relatives, and donated money to the village surau (prayer house). He also maintained contacts with his wife's parents. When questioned whether he would return to live in the kampung after his retirement he indicated that it was unlikely. Most probably he would continue to stay in Seremban.

In many respect both these migrants have similar characteristics to the cases of strong adapters described by Mc Gee (1968; 1975) in his study of Malay migrant adaptation to Kuala Lumpur. Both cases had a wide exposure to urban areas, maintained wide contacts with a mixed ethnic group in the city, and made extensive use of Malay and English media.

It is difficult to generalise since there were only five "urban men" in the tracer survey. It appears, however, that the 'urban men' seemed to be highly educated, in good government employment, earning high income, living in somewhat expensive houses, and came from reasonably well to do families. In this respect, these 'urban men' were really the 'elite' of the village community.

10.4.2. The Moderate Adapters; Satisfactory Co-existence ?

Mc Gee (1975; 1968) described those with hologram scores from 2 to 2.99 as individual migrants that lived in a satisfactory co-existence between rural and urban situations. Five cases were chosen to illustrate the variety of characteristics of the individual migrants in this category.

From Figure 10.2 the first case is a university lecturer who was married to a division one government officer. In 1978 she was just starting her career but by this time she had already spent more than 60 percent of her life in urban areas. The first contacts with an urban

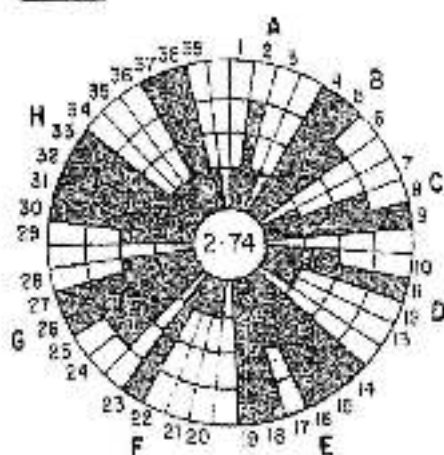
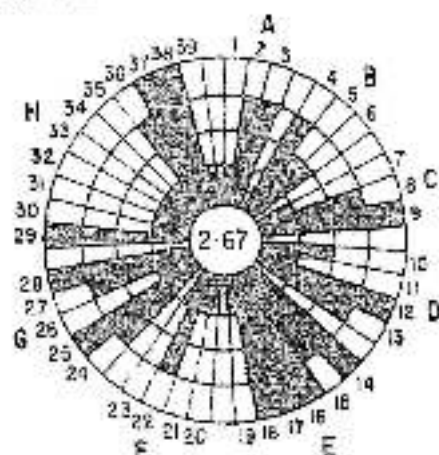
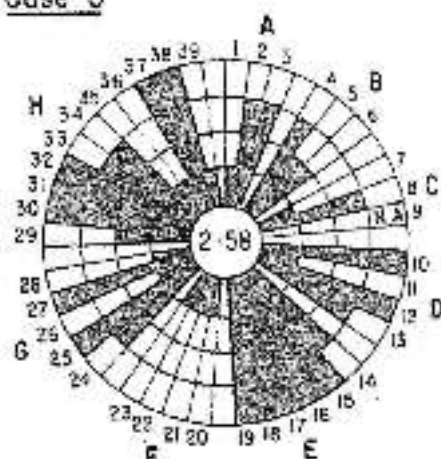
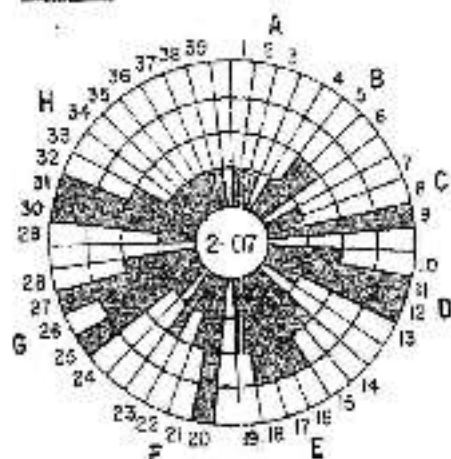
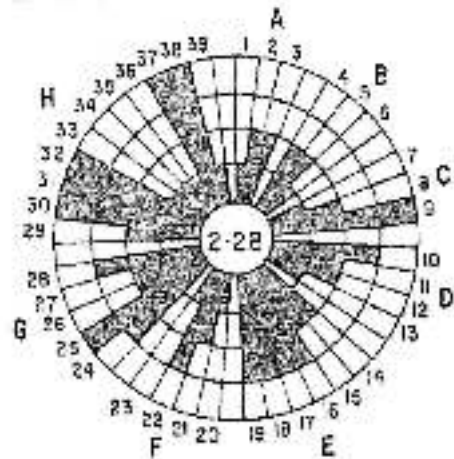
Case 1Case 2Case 3Case 4Case 5

Figure 10-2: Transitional Adapters.

area went back to the days when she commuted to Kuala Pilah town to attend an English medium school until she finished her secondary education; she continued her study in the college of agriculture in Selangor, and on completion of a diploma, she went to further her education in universities in the United States. In 1975 she was renting a house in a new ethnically mixed residential area in Kuala Lumpur. Like any other house in the area, it was modern and contained all the necessary status consumer goods. At work her peers were ethnically mixed and her participation in the urban society was limited to the circle of professional people in her field of study. She read English and Malay newspapers and was a member of several formal associations such as associations at her workplace. Her close friends however, were kin from the kampung asak, some peers at work and also her husband's close friends. Her marriage was not arranged and the husband came from another state. Despite that, she still maintained a strong link with her parents in the village, visited them, remitted them money, presents and gifts.

The second case also came originally from Juasseh where he spent his childhood days. He received his primary Malay education in the village and later commuted to Kuala Pilah to attend secondary English school. After completing his secondary education he moved to Seremban where he obtained a temporary appointment in a government department. In 1962 at the age of 22 he joined the police force as a trainee officer. He moved to the training institution in Kuala Lumpur and since graduation served the force in many towns and cities on the West Coast of the Peninsula. In 1978 he was again posted to Kuala Lumpur in one of the main police stations. He stayed in a ethnically mixed housing area in the New Town, Petaling Jaya which can be said to be a middle class housing area (Mc Gee and Mc Taggart, 1967). In the city his contacts and participation in urban social life were mainly with his peers in the police force, his village kin and friends. Amongst his peers, he claimed to have several close non-Malay friends whom he visited occasionally. He made a wide use of the media and kept himself informed of the news in the country. He was married to someone from another state; the marriage was not arranged nor was his wife a relative. Despite that, he often visited his parents in the village, and sent them money and presents from time to time. Several of his younger siblings had used his house as the first contact point when they arrived for the first time in the city. His commitment to urban and non-urban situations seemed to have equal weight, and for the future, he intended to leave Kuala Lumpur after his retirement, since the cost of living there was getting expensive.

The third case is a 39 year old school teacher who was born in Ibol. She received her primary education from the village Malay school. At 12 years old, her father, who was a Malay school teacher, sent her to the then premier boarding school for Malay girls in Kuala Lumpur. After finishing her secondary education she joined the Brinsford Lodge Malayan Teachers College in England. Since graduation she taught in several schools in the Peninsula, and soon after, she was married to a division one government officer from the same district. The fact that her husband was a customs officer who was continually transferred from one centre to another meant that she had lived in many towns and also several state capitals. In 1978 they were in Seremban where they had bought a modern house in a new housing area. The family managed to accumulate many consumer durable goods while in the city. They read mainly English newspapers and travelled extensively in the Peninsula. Her mother was still alive to look after the karta pusaka in the kampong. Since the distance from Seremban to Ibol is only about 26 kilometers and her husband's family is on the same route the family returned almost every weekend for a visit; she remitted money every month and occasionally brought both parents to Seremban. What about the future? She and her husband were still uncertain where to live after retirement.

The fourth case is a police constable from Ibol. After completing his primary education in the village in 1947 he looked for work in nearby towns. Failing to find a job, he moved to Kuala Lumpur to stay with his elder brother who arranged for him to work temporarily in a business company. Later the brother put him into contact with the police force which was being expanded after the war. In 1948 following his brother's foot-steps he became a police constable. He returned to the district to get married in 1952. Although he informed us that he could not afford with his low pay to visit the parents in the kampong frequently, because he had a big family with eight children, he occasionally remitted some money to them. On Eari Raya the family returned home to the village to celebrate the occasion with kin.

Over the years he had served the police force in several towns but since 1965 he had been in Kuala Lumpur. He had a long exposure (62 percent of his life) to urban areas. In Kuala Lumpur his life revolved around the police housing quarters where the population was ethnically mixed, but occupationally homogenous because all residents were police constables. He read Malay newspapers, listened to the radio and watched the television. His close friends were mainly his peers in the police

force, kin and relatives. Although he had acquired over the years many modern household possessions and had adapted to many situations, in many ways he assessed himself to be always close to the village. More importantly he was certain to retire to his wife's village in Kuala Pilah.

The fifth case was a man from Sungai Dua who attended a primary and a secondary school in Kuala Pilah town. After passing his form three examinations he went to makan gaji in Seremban at the age of 18 years. He secured a job in one of the government departments. Like the earlier cases, his contacts and participation in the urban life were limited to his peers at work, village kin and friends. He was married to a girl from the adjacent village and since his parents were still alive in the village he returned home almost every week. The parents also visited them. He was certain to return to the village when he retired because although he found that staying in Seremban at present was tolerable (his salary was sufficient to cover all household expenditure and further, living in the government barrack was cheap) he was certain that after retirement his pension would be too small for him to subsist in the town.

The bulk of the traced migrants in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban were in this category. It appears that the people in this category were employed in a range of government occupations. They show a range of educational attainment, varying length of residence in the city, in a range of housing conditions.

10.4.3. The Marginal Adapters.

Three case studies are drawn to illustrate the variety of individual backgrounds in this category of adapters (Figure 8.3).

The first case was a single 24 year old man from Sungai Dua. In 1974 he came to Kuala Lumpur to work in a factory in Sungai-Way Subang in the Kelang Valley. His previous movements were restricted to Kuala Pilah district; he attended a school in Kuala Pilah town, and since he had limited skill and low qualification he was satisfied to work in a sugar factory at Air Hitam in Kuala Pilah district first before attempting to find a job in the city. But when he became discontented with the job he left the district for Kuala Lumpur. He shared a rented terrace house in an ethnically mixed modern housing area in Petaling Jaya with his brother and a village friend. His social contacts in the city were confined to the Malays and also fellow workers who were ethnically mixed. He listened to the radio mainly for its modern music, read the newspapers occasionally and had joined no clubs or associations except the associa-

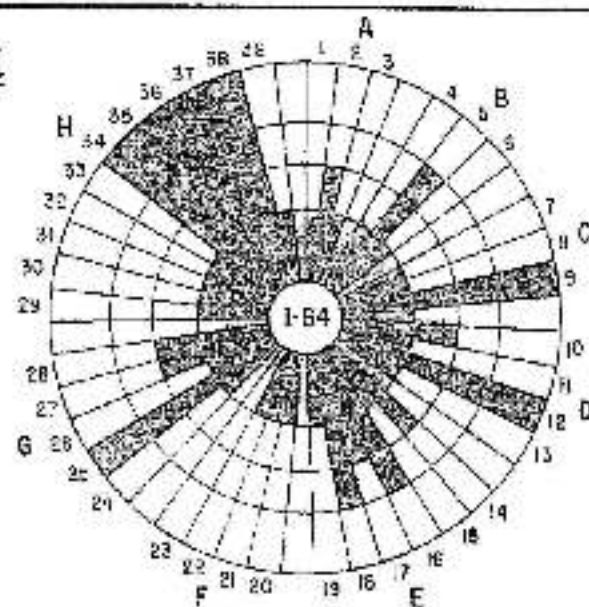
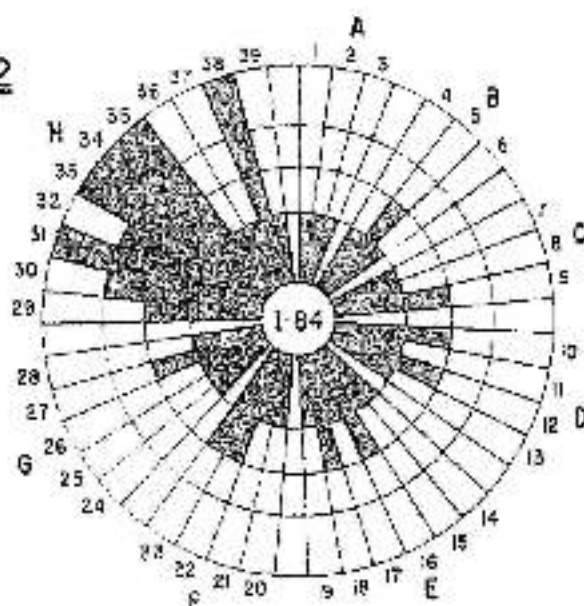
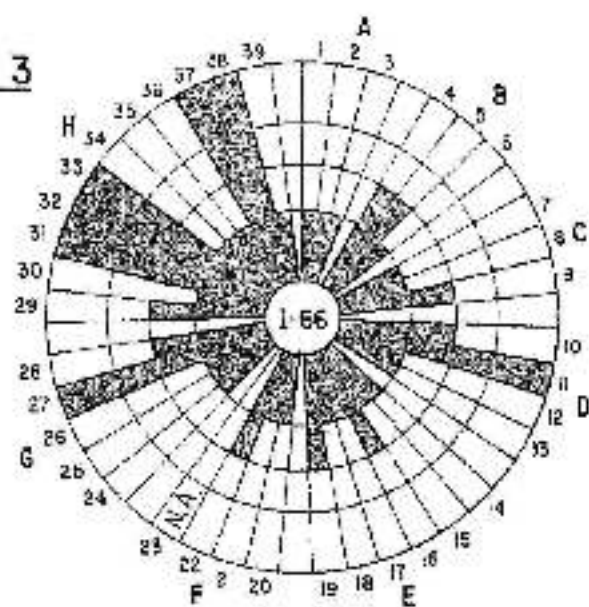
Case 1Case 2Case 3

Figure 10-3 : Marginal Adapters.

tion at his workplace. He was close to his family in the village which he visited at least once a month, as well as sending remittances. It was too early for him to determine where he would eventually settle down permanently.

Case number two is a young widower who left her kampong asal in Ibol to earn money to maintain her children. Her first contact with Kuala Lumpur went back to the early 1970s when she came to stay with her cousin for a year helping with the household work. Later she returned to the kampong to stay and to get married. When she lost her husband her whole world seemed to have crumbled. Since there was no opportunity to earn a living in the village, without land or any source of income she came back to Kuala Lumpur to work as a domestic servant in her niece's home. The fact that one of her children was left in the care of her divorced mother in the village tied her closely to the kampong. She returned whenever it was possible to do so and almost all of her earnings were sent home to the mother to maintain her other child. Her world in Kuala Lumpur was confined to the house; she read no newspapers but listened to the radio. She could not afford to buy any consumer durable goods nor have any saving. She explained that physically she was in Kuala Lumpur but her thoughts and feelings were in the village.

The final case came from Ibol. Having been in Kuala Lumpur only for his second year, he was still trying to get used to the city. He received his primary education from the village school, and his secondary education from a small town nearby. Due to the absence of alternatives in the village and in the main towns in Negri Sembilan he moved to the Kelang Valley, where his elder sister was already working in a multinational industry as a factory worker. He went to live with his sister and later to work in the same factory where his sister was working. His urban social space was limited to a room in a terrace house and to the place of work. His friendship pattern was also limited to his peers at work and friends from the kampong. At the end of almost every month he did not fail to visit his parents in the village.

Both the marginal adapters and those who lived in satisfactory co-existence in Kuala Lumpur - Seremban have characteristics similar to the cases shown in the holograms of Malay migrants in Kuala Lumpur described by McGee (1968; 1975). Those migrants who are in satisfactory co-existence seemed to have made progressive adaptation to some situations but not others, whilst the marginal adapters remain always peripheral to many of the situational changes. However, it seems that the marginal adap-

ters were individuals working in occupations that can be regarded as 'marginal', that is to say they were employed in unskilled occupations with low pay. They tended to stay in rented houses, in the squatter areas of the city, or with the employer.

10.5. CONCLUSION.

As found by Mc Gee (1968, 1975), our analysis has also shown that the level of adaptation varies between and 'within' individual migrants: several migrants made low adaptation to the city, the bulk of them adapted satisfactorily while a few migrants made the most 'adaptation' to the city; at the same time, an individual migrant was shown to have different levels of adaptation to the various factors. Thus, the individual migrant was both 'rural' and 'urban' at the same time; even the strong adapters seemed to have retained some rural values, and in turn the marginal adapters held some urban values. The fact that there was a range of levels of adaptation to the city seemed to suggest different rates of change experienced by the migrants.

What do these patterns imply? If we can say that the less adapted a migrant to the city the more likely he is to leave the city for the home village to stay and that the more adapted a migrant to the city the more likely he is to live permanently in the city, then the marginal adapters tended to return to the home village to stay. In contrast, the strong adapters tended to live permanently in the city. The satisfactory adapters would have the choice to take one of the two alternatives.

An interesting pattern emerging from the analysis concerns the position of the marginal adapters. They appeared to be employed in marginal occupations in the sense that these occupations have low pay and status. Living in a relatively expensive city, Kuala Lumpur, the low salary limited the range of alternatives that the individual migrant could participate in. Since most of those earning somewhat better incomes adapted more to the city, it may be suggested that these marginal adapters would adapt more to the city had they earned better incomes or obtained higher paid occupations. Should this be true, then the economic problem facing the Malays becomes an important factor in limiting these people from adapting strongly to the city. This issue reflects a much wider economic problem facing the Malays who suffered from neglect during the colonial administration. The underdevelopment of the Malay peasants persists to the present day. Thus, the manner in which these traced

migrants urbanised may be said to reflect the development of the Malay society which has been undergoing rapid change only in recent years under the guidance of the independent government.

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, thorny skin and strong-smell flesh.
Dusun	- Small plot used for fruit cultivation, orchard.
Gantang	- A unit of measurement.
Gotong-royong	- Informal work co-operation.
Habis sign	- End of service or contract.
Harta	- Property.

Harta pusaka	- Ancestral property.
Tanah pusaka	- Ancestral land.
Haj	- The pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the Five Pillars of Islam.
Haji	- Someone who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, an honorific title.
Hari Raya Puasa	- Feast day to celebrate the end of fasting, and the day of sacrifice during the pilgrimage is known as Hari Raya Haji.
Imam	- Prayer leader.
Kampung	- Malay village.
Kampung asal	- Village of origin; natal village.
Kati	- Unit of weight approximately equal to 1.3 pounds or 500 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> . 83
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.

Schedules 2 and 3: Migration and 'merantau'.

Schedule 2:

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

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

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

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

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

Schedule 3:

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

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

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

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

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

Schedule A: Present Socio-economic CharacteristicsI. Land ownership

1. Could you tell us about

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

II. Occupation

1. What is your daily occupation ?

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

2. What is your wife's main occupation

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

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

Acreage worked

1. Owner-operator

2. Working for wage

3. Renter

4. Rent land out

5. Other (please write)

4. Acreage developed and production

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

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

1. enough

2. not enough

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

Schedule 4: Present Socio-economic CharacteristicsI. Land ownership

1. Could you tell us about

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

II. Occupation

1. What is your daily occupation?

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

2. What is your wife's main occupation

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

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

Acreage worked

1. Owner-operator

2. Working for wage

3. Renter

4. Rent land out

5. Other (please write)

4. Acreage developed and production

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

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

1. enough

2. not enough

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

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

III. Accumulated income

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

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

>1500

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

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

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

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

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

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

1	more than sufficient	1
	sufficient	2
	not sufficient	3

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

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

6. Do you receive money and goods from rantau

Yes	1
No	2

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

8. a) Do you keep money

Yes	1
No	2

b) In the form of

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

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

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

IV. Possessions

1. Does the family own

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

2. a) Is this house

1	bought
2	"pusaka"

3	"rented"
4	other (please write)

b) If rented how much/month

3. a) Building material

total rooms (excluding, bilik masak, Cooking room)

roof	wood
floor	brick
Wall	"rumbia"
fence	glass
window	wire
stairs	bamboo
	asbestos
	Zinc
	Others (please write)

4. Bathroom

Yes	1
No	2

5. Toilet

open	1
pump	2
Others (please write)	

6. Pipe

Yes	1
No	2

Electric

Yes	1
No	2

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

V. General

1. Do you read newspaper?

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

2. Type of newspaper read

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

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

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

VI.

1. Type of family

Extended	1
nuclear	2
Other (please stated)	3

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

I. 'Merantau' in general

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

Probe

Economic

Social

Situational

Psychological

Others

II. Conditions of Kampong

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

More than enough	1
enough	2
not enough	3

2. Could you say that the village is,

fertile	1
medium fertile	2
not fertile	3

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

very important	1
equally important	2
less important	3

- b) Why do you say that

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

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

b) Bought land

Yes	1
No	2

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

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

e) For what it was sold

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

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

More difficult	1
About the same	2
Easier	3

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

Increased	1
About equal	2
Decreased	3

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

More prosperous	1
about equal	2
less prosperous	3

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

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

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

b) Why,

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

More now	1
about the same	2
less now	3

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

as above

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

as above

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

as above

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

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

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

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

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

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

agree	1
disagree	2

- b) Why

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

agree	1
do not agree	2

- b) Why

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

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

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

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

B. Knowledge on rural-urban contrast

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

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

b) Why say that

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

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

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

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

1. life
2. behaviour
3. social able

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

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

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

7. Which place is easier to earn some money

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

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

Always helpful	1
Sometimes helpful	2
Not helpful	3

9. Do they help with,

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

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

many chances now	1
difficult	2
limited	3
no chance	4

b) Why say that ?

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 kampung folks	6
relatives	7
Other (Please write)	7

b. Its fare, if applicable:

13. Who paid for the journey to this city:

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

Borrowing	6
Other (Please write)	7

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

15. Who accompanied you to this city

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

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

Kampong	1
Other (Please write)	2

d. Arrival for the first time in city

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

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

18. How long did you stay there ?

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

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

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

e. First job and urban labour absorption

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

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

21. Who helped you find the first job

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

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

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

f. Arrival of other people

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

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

24. Who come to join you in the city ?

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

II. Experience and adaptation to city life

g. Life in city as opposed to life in kampong

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

to stay in the city.

Far better	1
Just as expected	2
Less than expected	3

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

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

Housing

Job

Life in general

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

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

28. Has your life become worse ?

n. Participation in city life - neighbours

29. Do your neighbours consist of the following :

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

30. What type of neighbours do you have :

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

31. How is your relationship with your neighbours ?

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

32. Do you visit the following friends ;

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

33. Who are your close friends in the city ?

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

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

b) Type of Associations/Institutions

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

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

37. What part do you play on the Association

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

i. Link to valley/changes in city

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

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

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

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

40. What do you do during holidays

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

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

a) Which is a better place to raise children

In city	1
At kampong	2

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

In city	1
At kampong	2

c) Which place is easier to save

In city	1
At kampong	2

d) Which place is better to have big family

In city	1
At kampong	2

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

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

42. Name main Malay areas in the city

Code	
None	1
3	2
4 - 8	3
8	4

43. Newspaper reading and type

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*III. Rural-Urban Relation

j. Visits

47. How often do you go back to kampong

Never	1
Rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Weekly	5

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

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

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

Rarely	1
Everytime coming home	2
Never	3

k. Letters

50. How often do you send letters home

Never	1
Seldom/rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4

51. Do you send money or things to kampong

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

Note: If none go to question No 56 below.

52. To whom it is sent

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

53. For what purpose is the money used

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

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

Less than 50 dollars	1
51 - 100 dollars	2
101 - 150 dollars	3
151 - 200 dollars	4
201 - 300 dollars	5
301 - 500 dollars	6
501 - 1000 dollars	7
More than 1000 dollars	8

55. How do you send the money

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

*1. Link from kampong

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

Yes	1
No	2

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

Daily expenditure	1
Education	2
Other (Please write)	3

57. Do kampong folk visit you here ?

Never	1
Seldom/rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Monthly	4

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

Poorer	1
As normal	2
Other (Please write)	3

*m. Link with kampong

59. Is your wife/husband

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

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

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

b): i) Have you a house in kampong

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

iii) For whom the house is built

Self	1
------	---

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

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

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

APPENDIX B.

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

Factors	(Districts)					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Area (sq. km)	528	956	216	160	367	339
Density (persons/ 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 sec- ondary 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 SEX, 1970.

STATE/PLACE	MALES	FEMALES	CHINESE	INDIAN	SIAM	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	OTHER	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	TOTAL
JOHORE	6,158	1,180	1,285	4,873	4,535	4,788	1,238	4,772	125	12,300	1,280	60,247	
SELANGOR	2,780	411,224	1,105	568	1,585	2,623	15,888	17,114	7,145	4,888	241	671,932	
PUTRAJAYA	2,454	2,251	400,452	1,058	1,525	12,642	1,158	1,885	118	1,888	11,228	671,471	
NEPALESE	11,102	558	785	181,590	5,471	2,228	100	7,128	42	11,181	48	174,316	
U. SINGAPORE	4,928	554	1,185	2,275	175,581	2,471	1,141	3,625	118	11,602	148	186,699	
PAHANG	1,117	605	1,118	855	1,711	175,686	575	2,701	1,117	8,311	118	24,227	
TERENGGANU	1,384	18,512	888	818	1,225	2,191	188,285	12,881	1,384	17,586	1,018	308,287	
PERAK	3,874	12,582	2,188	1,575	4,778	6,525	11,822	861,482	1,384	1,074	8	91,111	
PERLIS	545	2,558	188	132	275	132	122	1,482	83,545	1,074	8	81,264	
NEPALESE	4,055	1,516	1,271	1,050	5,125	5,499	1,505	16,445	218	17,461	145	172,265	
TERENGGANU	4,205	750	2,101	375	525	14,118	425	1,118	48	1,228	14,457	172,265	
TOTAL	664,452	580,574	24,300	101,022	106,238	101,815	111,541	637,258	41,907	581,545	174,621	1,437,880	

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

STATE/PLACE	MALES	FEMALES	CHINESE	INDIAN	SIAM	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	OTHER	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	TOTAL
JOHORE	1,000,454	1,182	1,785	12,773	14,214	11,701	1,452	4,716	384	13,773	1,452	1,112,041	
SELANGOR	2,413	824,462	1,181	1,338	2,271	1,514	6,710	17,142	70,412	15,322	889	775,719	
PUTRAJAYA	2,413	2,258	400,452	1,158	1,877	15,878	1,275	1,425	122	1,427	11,118	774,756	
NEPALESE	21,889	512	719	181,623	19,631	4,188	1,539	1,821	18	16,111	182	184,151	
U. SINGAPORE	11,184	2,274	1,143	12,304	174,715	16,162	1,817	3,471	118	17,127	117	187,461	
PAHANG	4,928	871	1,181	1,227	4,652	105,648	1,228	1,414	118	17,586	1,018	248,781	
TERENGGANU	4,205	18,562	1,082	1,228	2,191	3,175	188,161	12,411	1,384	17,586	801	710,112	
PERAK	11,971	24,551	2,182	4,192	8,821	18,255	11,822	861,482	1,384	1,074	8	1,307,218	
PERLIS	545	2,558	188	132	275	132	1,482	1,074	83,545	1,074	8	112,417	
NEPALESE	4,262	1,182	2,756	2,111	20,362	16,584	4,202	41,118	16	1,228	1,980	1,227,143	
TERENGGANU	4,267	751	1,428	111	491	14,214	481	1,428	48	1,428	14,457	388,787	
TOTAL	1,137,061	901,915	182,318	388,778	421,837	442,196	680,126	1,471,942	171,425	1,478,818	225,988	3,072,558	

Source: Department of Statistics, 1971.

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APPENDIX 1 (CONT.)

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

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STATE CASE TOTALS

[illegible]

Source: Project Gutenberg at Midway.org, 1908.

APPENDIX II

Most Recent Malay Interstate Migration, 1970

State of Previous Residence	Present Place of Residence											Total
	Johor	Kedah	Kelantan	Malaka	Negeri Sembilan	Perak	Perlis	Selangor	Terengganu	Total		
Johor	161278	512	1273	5105	3734	3517	1330	3373	70	11022	1101	192215
Kedah	1251	121140	1273	586	1202	2124	11957	53176	5164	6078	548	195202
Kelantan	1734	2522	212765	145	1203	16049	1024	7013	433	5253	19316	153603
Malaka	5545	115	620	31452	3568	1889	433	1048	43	12001	287	47163
Negeri Sembilan	5513	461	201	4913	16502	3568	817	7572	74	14172	432	89717
Perak	3347	131	1402	447	3744	10075	969	3673	160	5137	2158	11218
Perlis	1734	11745	620	420	372	2053	23309	8293	837	5011	221	64158
Perak	3261	11137	2547	2123	3170	5015	3017	144504	982	21729	842	216150
Perlis	125	2515	132	75	203	783	726	1327	10421	317	21	21012
Selangor	4127	2104	2483	4147	1075	5512	2020	12460	705	121752	1580	166528
Terengganu	2314	602	4022	132	573	12136	176	598	54	7571	6053	81007
Total	192215	135042	139401	25151	64421	108402	82570	391664	23345	219615	55643	1,511,453
Excluding cross-border	452460	477427	552266	150251	205225	121553	166158	565915	65192	286346	259932	

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

APPENDIX 64

Ultimate Return Migration, 1950.

Previous Residence	Birthplace and place of current residence										
	Johor	Kedah	Kelantan	Malacca	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
Malacca	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	305	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 Hup 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 Bent a room in Hotel etc.
- 2 Authority
- 3 Friends from village
- 4 Relatives and family

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

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

Sector D. Attachment to Kuala Lumpur/Seremban.

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

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

Present age - 14

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

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

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

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

- 1 No

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

Index 13. Have you acquired properties in this city ?

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

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

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

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

Index 15. Income

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

Index 16. Household amenities

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

Index 17. House ownership.

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

Index 18. Location of house

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

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

Index 19. Possession of status goods.

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

Sector F. Urban - Rural Link.

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

Index 20. Where were your parents ?

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

Index 21. Did you visit your kampong often ?

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

Index 22. Did you remit money regularly ?

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

Index 23. Marital ties

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

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

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

Index 24. Friendship pattern

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

Index 25. Friendship visits.

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

Index 26. Members of Association.

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

Index 27. Newspaper reading

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

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

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

Sector H. Urban Attitudes.

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

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

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

Index 30. Which place was better to raise children ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

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

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

Index 32. Which place was better for saving ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

Index 33. Which place was better to stay permanently ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

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

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

Index 36. Which people tended to be more religious ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

Index 37. Which people tended to be better educated ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

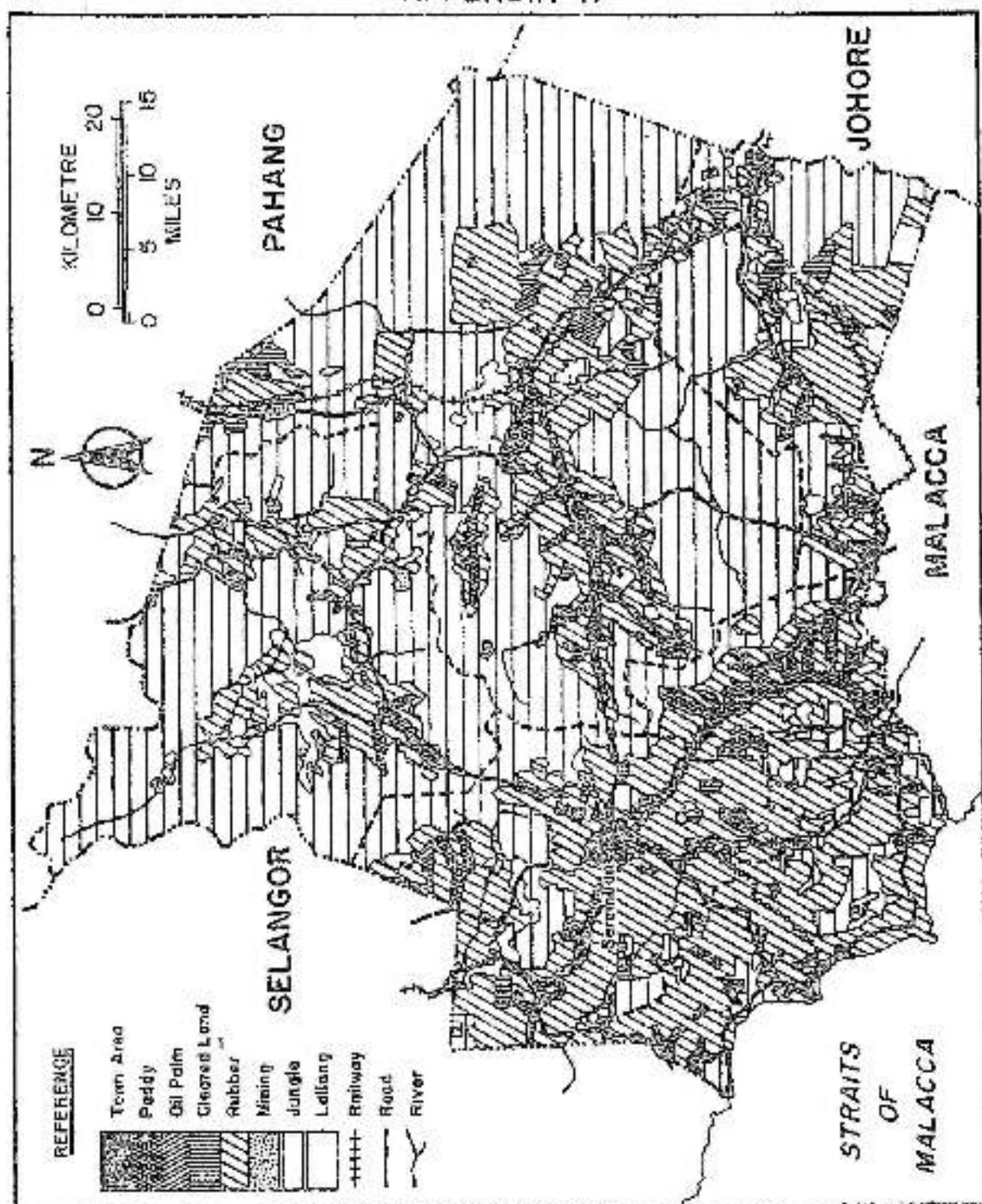
Index 38. This index is a supplement to index 37. Which people tended to be more knowledgeable ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

APPENDIX H



Landuse in Negri Sembilan (1966)

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