

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

By

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SUMMARY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PART III
CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 13.

CONCLUSION

13.1. INTRODUCTION.

Like many other Third World countries, Malaysia is pursuing policies which attempt to develop and modernise its economy and society as it emerges from the clutches of colonialism. Since Merdeka in 1957 the country has experienced many socio-economic changes which have been introduced and guided from 'above' for the benefits of the ordinary people at the 'bottom'. The central concern of the new government is to create a Malaysian nation from a population composition that is racially diverse and polarised into distinctive socio-economic divisions. These socio-economic divisions that also have a racial dimension are exacerbated by spatial inequalities that also tie closely to ethnic groups. Various Malaysian Development Plans have been directed to affect change so that a harmonious multi-racial Malaysian society will eventually emerge. In recent years policies and strategies formulated to achieve this have been based on the New Economic Policy that aims to restructure Malaysian society and to eradicate poverty irrespective of race. The various strategies involved in the policy affect population redistribution, some directly while others more indirectly.

This study has been concerned with population mobility in a community that is undergoing a fast rate of socio-economic change. The area of mobility that has been studied is rural urban migration and the process of urbanisation of the Malays, and the overall theme has been concerned with circular migration and also the circular form of relation between the area of origin and the area of destination. The study began by examining the historical development of population mobility in Negri Sembilan. To have a more intensive view of mobility, three villages in Kuala Pilah district were surveyed in 1978. Population movements with emphasis on rural-urban mobility to and from these villages were studied. That this study was conducted at a time when there is an explosion of interest in 'mobility' (in contrast to more narrowly defined internal migration) in the Third World is important for two reasons. Firstly, the growing literature on the subject has emphasised the needs for new concepts, measurements and theories of mobility if we want to understand this phenomenon in the Third World. As yet there has no comprehensive

theory of mobility been developed, and it is hoped that this study has made some contributions in this area. Secondly, the end of colonialism has paved the way for a more lasting change to the Malaysian space economy. The independent government has committed itself to develop a Malaysian society that is multi-racial, harmonious and just. To achieve this objective the NEP has been formulated whose aims are to restructure the existing Malaysian society whose various ethnic compositions have tended to develop in isolation of one another, and to eradicate poverty amongst all the ethnic groups. One of the strategies to achieve the aims of the NEP is to redistribute the people. As far as the Malays are concerned they have been encouraged to move to the urban areas and also to the new agricultural frontier. This study, therefore, hopes to draw some policy implications far beyond the boundary of our study area.

To simplify presentation, in the first part of this chapter findings on various aspects of mobility examined in the various chapters are summarised and evaluated with respect to their implications to the theory and the methodology of population mobility. The next section considers what can be learned from the findings in relation to social planning in the context of nation building in Malaysia at present following which some further research priorities are then suggested in the final section.

13.2. ANSWERS TO SPECIFIC QUESTIONS AND SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY.

To conclude this study it is important to return to our specific objectives of this study. Six questions that were asked at the beginning of the thesis are as follows:

1. What was the historical evolution patterns of mobility, and what were the elements of change and continuity in these patterns?
2. What are the dominant contemporary mobility patterns in Negri Sembilan ?, and what are their major demographic and social characteristics ?
3. How circular are the mobility patterns of the Negri Sembilan Malays ?
4. What are the objective and subjective factors that in-

fluence the people's decision making, and the people's motivations for migration ?

5. What is the adjustment and commitment of the migrants in the urban raman ?
6. Does population mobility bring any benefits to the place of origin ?

The answers and implications of each of these questions will be examined in the following sub-sections.

13.2.1. The Historical Development of Mobility Patterns.

An important consequence of British intervention towards the later part of the 19th century in the Malay States was the changing patterns of population mobility in the Peninsula. Western capitalism developed modern enclaves of economic activities and promoted the growth of colonial urban settlements. To maintain the colonial economy, labour was imported from India, China and to a lesser extent Indonesia. This international labour migration changed the whole character of the Peninsula's population. At the time when colonialism "sponsored" international labour to come and work in the modern economic sector and settlements, the local population was 'preserved' in the rural areas. The local people circulated within the rural area, and some between the village and the colonial enclaves to participate in peripheral occupations such as labourers, police constables and at best as clerks and Malay school teachers. After independence, it was the turn of the Malays to be "sponsored" to participate in population redistribution. Two major developments were responsible for this. First, the Emergency, and second, the policy of the independent government to redress the ethnic and spatial inequalities. Both opened the chances for increasing Malay mobility in the Peninsula.

Due to the protracted contact with the West, a transition in mobility in Negri Sembilan was recognised. The first phase of the transition was mobility in "pre-contact" times in which two stages in the development of personal mobility were identified in Chapter 4; the first stage concerns the mobility of the earliest local people such as the Sakai who showed little genuine residential shifts; in the second stage, the moving frontier of Minangkabau community colonising the state systematically.

The second phase concerned the development of Western capitalism.

Three stages of mobility change were identified. The first stage focused on the consequence of the direct contact between the society and the British. Changes to what Zelinsky (1971, 236) called the "reproductive budget, along with a general rise in material welfare or expectations and improvements in transport and communications" of this community took place. Although the rural Malays experienced these changes somewhat indirectly for most of the pre-War II years there was no denying that the new transportation, communication, new towns, rubber, health facilities, bureaucracy, land legislation and secular education affected the rural people. Malay mortality declined, albeit at a slower rate compared with the other ethnic groups. Rural population pressure began to mount as the village failed to absorb any more population increase. Some of these people left the villages for the colonial economic sector but the number involved and the importance of their movements seemed to be overshadowed by the immigration of Chinese, Indians and Indonesian labour.

The second stage of the transition seemed to have started in the immediate World War II years. Improvement in living standards and health facilities in the city and the rural areas induced further decline in Malay mortality. Malay fertility continued to remain high but since late 1950s it had also started to decline. During this period opportunities for upward mobility were provided initially by the communist insurgency in 1948. Young Malays were recruited as military and para-military personnel to defend colonial interests and the country against (mainly Chinese) communist guerrillas. Opportunities for mobility were further expanded after Independence. Rural-urban migration became the main type of mobility following the movement of Malay government servants to fill the posts vacated by the expatriates as well as new posts created by the new independent government. In spite of that there was no 'shaking loose of the rural population' which continued to expand at a high rate of natural growth.

A third stage in the second transition might be identified around the 1970s associated with direct government intervention to restructure the society and to eradicate poverty for all Malaysians mainly directed at the Malays. More opportunities both at the rural and urban end were created for the Malays. Many rural Malays left their "traditional" villages (Mahmud, 1970) for modern rural opportunities and major urban centres particularly Kuala Lumpur. During this time Malay mortality continued to decline to the level of the other racial groups, and fertility declined at a slightly slower rate.

Viewing these changes in personal mobility in a wider context, the transition recognised for the state does not necessarily correspond to transitions in mobility in other areas both in number and in details because of the different impact of Western intrusion on the local communities. In Melanesia, for example, Bedford (1973) has found three phases in the transition of circular migration; first, the movement of indentured labour to Australia; second, internal contract and 'agreement' labour migration; third, the more intensive system of 'free' or casual circular mobility associated with diversifications of the economy. In pre-contact times, the islanders had no history of migration. All these transitions can be associated with phase I and II of Zelinsky's mobility transition. There is no denying, however, that the changes in personal mobility in general occurred when the local people in that country made their first encounter with Western colonialism. Similarly, some broad parallels in the changes in personal mobility were seen in the Indonesian case (Hugo, 1978) and the Sub-Saharan African case (Mitchell, 1959).

Examining the transitions in mobility of the Negri Sembilan Malays in the context of Zelinsky's mobility transition, the changes in patterns of mobility deviate in many respects from that of the mobility transition. To the extent that personal mobility changes from one socio-economic context to another in recent history of the Negri Sembilan Malays is the nearest the present patterns of mobility coming close to the mobility transition. Several major points of departure between the transition in mobility in this study and Zelinsky's mobility transition were noticed :

1. The relation between mobility and modernisation. According to Zelinsky, 'there are definite, patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space time during recent history, and these regularities comprise an essential component of modernisation process', (Zelinsky, 1977, 221 - 222). 'Modernisation' which was defined in the widest sense then becomes the important independent variable in inducing change in personal mobility. As in the situations of other Third World countries changes in personal mobility of the Malays had been influenced greatly by historical and political factors. Colonialism and Western capital intrusion and later the policy of the independent government, contributed more towards inducing changes in mobility. Zelinsky (1979) has reconsidered his first formulation of the mobility transition and in that consideration he recognised the importance of colonialism and its aftermath in influencing mobility in the Third World.

2. As shown by Hugu (1980) in West Java Negri Sembilan entered the transition at a different absolute time compared to that of the West. As a result the socio-economic environment in which the people in our study moved was totally different. The West did not experienced the trauma of "modern" colonial exploitation and its consequence. In addition, we can add the different transport and communication technologies influencing the Negri Sembilan people compared to the Western people at a similar phase of their transition.

3. In a wider context, the mobility transition can be criticised for its implications that all societies follow a similar path of development. As in the case of the diffusionist paradigm in development study (Browett, 1980) the mobility transition implied that the Negri Sembilan society would also evolve in a linear fashion from a condition of traditional society to a super advanced society duplicating the phases in the mobility transition of the West. Since the socio-economic conditions of Negri Sembilan was different from the West, Zelinsky's mobility transition may be one of the transitions in mobility and it may not necessarily fit into the Negri Sembilan case. In addition, the different phases of mobility transition implies also discreet mobility patterns in the communities (Chapman, 1979). In this situation, one form of mobility would change following modernisation to a new one. But in the Negri Sembilan situation, even before the protracted contact with the West the people were found to have engaged in merantau and today the people still engage in this movement although the destinations and the meaning of merantau has changed somewhat.

In the light of the discussion, one may ask, what is the use of Zelinsky's (1971, 1979) hypothesis in studying mobility? Like the Davisian concept of landscape evolution the mobility transition emerges as one form of broad conceptual framework for organising a description of changes in mobility patterns at a high level of generalisation. As an analytical tool the mobility transition contains many factors such as circulation that are not precisely defined, making it not useful to understand mobility patterns in this area.

13.2.2. Findings on Contemporary Mobility Patterns.

An examination of mobility patterns at the level of the village using the language of the people (Chapman, 1979) produced a number of mobility forms including movements that can be classified as adventitious and permanent migration. As shown for Thailand (Singhanetra-Renard, 1977)

and for Indonesia (Mantra, 1978) there was a degree of overlapping in the movement patterns; a commuter, for example, may also be involved in shopping trips and visits. By concentrating on the 'actor' rather than on his 'moves' it was found that going merantau in the sense of makan gaji in which the people went to work in the city is dominant. The rest included pindah, commuting and stayer who has yet never set foot in the rantau to work. To the extent that those going merantau expressed an intention to return some day to the home villages it can be considered a form of circulation. If we accept this then the contemporary mobility pattern in the survey villages is dominated by circulation. This is in accord with Chapman and Prothero's (1977) claim that circulation is the dominant form of population mobility in the Third World. Further, if we accept that the Malay society in Malaysia is in late Phase II and early Phase III of the mobility transition, then, this dominant mobility pattern found in the survey villages is also in agreement with Zelinsky's (1971, 1979) mobility transition which assumes that in Phase II and Phase III of the mobility transition there is an increase in circulation. Note that this agreement arises from the fact that Zelinsky (1971) has defined 'circulation' very broadly. In addition, it appears that these survey villages has a high proportion of people on the move, suggesting that these village communities were mobile. This is in some ways expected since the literature dealing with population mobility in the Minangkabau society of West Sumatra has suggested that that society is a mobile one (Naim, 1979; Maude, 1979). The range of mobility forms found in the survey villages was not peculiar to these survey villages alone as other studies in other Third World societies have also shown the presence of various mobility forms (Goldstein, 1978, for review).

The presence of the various mobility patterns raises some methodological and conceptual problems. As has been raised in the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population Seminar at Bellagio in Italy (IUSPP No 13, 1979), reliance of population mobility study on census data will fail to show the complex nature of population movements in Third World countries. The census data at best reveal only what Hugo (1978) considered as the tip of the mobility iceberg. Approaching the mobility patterns from the language of the community under study partly overcomes the problem (Chapman, 1969). One can identify several mobility types that are meaningful to the community. Unlike some of the concepts in physical geography, some of the concepts in population mobility cannot be measured precisely and therefore various authors have used definitions of terms about mobility that tend to have specific meaning to a

specific community under study. To date there appears to have been little agreement on the precise definitions of terms (Goldstein, 1978, for review). We suppose that there never will be any agreement on this. This study neither resolve nor contribute towards providing precise definitions of mobility terms.

With respect to the characteristics of migrants, the study has shown that the movers were young, mainly in the 15 - 45 age group. These patterns are in accord with the macro patterns of migration differentials in the Peninsula (Pryor, 1979a). In a wider context, the fact that the movers were young provides support to the theory of migration differentials proposed by Thomas (1938) that has found support in a wide variety of Third World situations (Yap, 1977 and Caldwell, 1969). As in the many village studies reported by Connell *et al* (1976) the movers from our survey villages also had slightly better education and were mainly males.

13.2.3. Findings on 'Circulation' or 'Permanent Movement'.

In a further examination of 'circulation' in the survey villages with the main aim of answering the question 'how circular is the movement of the Negri Sembilan Malays'?, we focus on the residence histories of the return migrants in the survey villages, the present absentees from the survey villages and the traced migrants. Defining a move as one that the movers themselves perceived as a transfer of residence away from the village, it was noticed that going merantau by the people in the survey villages as in West Sumatra (Maude, 1979; Naim, 1973) involved a stay of some period of time at the destination. This means the migrants from the survey villages, unlike the people in Java, were in a somewhat more permanent move. We can summarise the movements of these people in the following manner:

1. To go merantau by these people takes them to places that are mainly urban and into various occupations that require them to stay in the rantau for a substantial period of time. While in the rantau they return home to visit relatives and their parents. Eventually, at the end of their working years, the migrants return to the home village.

2. However, the present absentees appear to live permanently at the rantau although we cannot preclude the likelihood that some of them will return eventually to the village and that some may stay permanently out in the rantau. Note also that even amongst the return migrants, while they were merantau as measured by the Index of Circular Migration

many of them about (60 percent) were not involved in constant coming and going from the village. They lived at the places where they worked. Thus, in contrast to the previous section which examines the various mobility forms based on the declared intention of the actors, an analysis of the longitudinal data produced a pattern of movement that appears to be more 'permanent' than circular. As shown for New Guinea (Young, 1977) and for the New Hebrides (Bedford, 1973) involvement in permanent occupations in the 'formal' urban sector requires these migrants to stay more permanently at the 'job' place. Whether one concludes circulation that is in this case return migration or more 'permanent' migration is the dominant form of movement depends largely on the data and definition of concepts of movement adopted in a study. As illustrated in this study, both circulation and permanent migration seem to overlap one another and this study support Young's (1978a) observation in her study in New Guinea.

It has become clear from the previous sections that our study deals with a different type of migrant than in many Third World studies. We are concentrating on migrants who come from a community that has a tradition in going on temporary migration, a strong tradition in education and a relatively long history of participation in formal and administrative sector. Note also that the strong role of the Federal government in modernising the Malays has further contributed to the involvement of the community in more permanent moves. In many studies of mobility in the Third World this group of migrant often forms only a small proportion of total migrants, and for this reason this group has often been overlooked in concentration on those migrants in the informal sector (Hugo, 1978; Forbes, 1978; Jellinek, 1978).

13.2.4. Motivations for Leaving the Village.

Studies of population movements in Third World countries have tended to be concerned mainly with the 'situation' rather than the 'setting' of migration (Bedford, 1980). Due to this, the studies often fail to make any generalisations and consequently the development of theory of mobility gets further into a cul-de-sac (Forbes, 1980). However, it is maintained here that both the situation and the setting are important to account for mobility patterns. That the pre-occupation solely with the 'situation' of migration may perpetuate the study of uniqueness of population mobility needs no further emphasis. In turn, examining population mobility purely in terms of the 'setting' may lose

perspective of the cultural elements which may be equally important in population movement.

The micro-level approach adopted for this study enabled us to carry out an intensive study of the motivations of a potential migrant to move or to stay. It was found that economic considerations are the main motives for the potential migrant to move. As found by studies in other Third World societies, the village is perceived to be peaceful and a cheap place to live in but it suffers from the 'not enough' syndrome in providing opportunities and security of livelihood (Caldwell, 1969; Connell *et al.*, 1976; Nogo, 1978). Further, it was found also that there are a number of factors that impinge on the potential migrant making the decision to move or to stay. These include the community values and the general economic well-being of the country (and we suppose the latter is also related to the manner in which the Malaysian economy is being integrated into the World economic system). It was found that as in other Third World studies the potential migrant seems to face somewhat less straightforward choice between to move or to stay. He has the choice to stay, to migrate, to commute, to go makan gaji, or to make an in situ adjustment in the village.

From the discussion above it has become clear that approaching the study at the individual level provides insights into various factors motivating people in the survey villages to move. The fact that economic factors were dominant in the potential migrant decision making reflects a more fundamental process of social change. This situation necessitates us to examine macro level factors as well. If our interpretation is right, it is important then in a mobility study to examine the micro and macro factors as well. If this is accepted, then we come face to face with a problem of how to relate the micro-level factors with the macro-level ones in a single model.

One suggestion to solve this problem is to study intensively the social and economic 'context' within which the decision is being made (Fugo, 1978). Another suggestion is that we approach the decision making through the family and community level (De Jong, 1979). Another plausible suggestion is to view migration in the manner suggested by Bedford in which we examine migration in terms of the 'situations' and the 'settings' that is the former referring to the local factors and the latter the fundamental social change arising from colonial penetration, and its aftermath, of the Third World society (Bedford, 1980).

13.2.5. Findings on Migrant's Adjustment to City Life.

That Malaysia has no indigenous urban system and the present urban system was founded by colonial capitalism, and peopled mostly by Chinese and Indians immigrants has been widely accepted (Lim, 1978). This suggests that the Malays, for the most of their history, have been peripheral to urban development and urban living. As pointed by Mc Gee (1968; 1975), it is this social reality that the Malay migrants face when they moved to the city in the post-War II years. Our study has attempted to examine the migrants' adjustment to Kuala Lumpur and Seremban as a group and as an individual. Observing the adjustment of the migrants as a group to the city first, it was found that the peasants enter the city mainly through familiar channels formed by kinship and friendship networks. These networks have their roots in the village of origin. There are also those who enter through some urban institutions such as those joining higher educational institutions, the police or those on employment transfer. Those entering the city through the kinship and friendship networks stay with familiar people and mix with groups from the natal village. These networks also eventually put the migrants into the right contacts for gaining work. Thus the networks cushion the shock of the migrants' entry into the city; they provide them with initial shelter, food and even pocket money to help them get established in the city. These findings are similar to those observed by researchers in many other parts of the Third World. Amongst others, Levine (1973) in Ankara, Turkey, found that informal networks in the city cushion the Turkish peasants from any sudden exposure to urban life and facilitate urban participation gradually. That the migrants seem to have urbanised 'without breaking down' (Wirth, 1938) supports the observation of earlier studies in other Third World areas (Bruner, 1959; Mc Gee, 1975; Kugu, 1978).

Our study also examined change at the individual level. With the help of a hologram technique, it was found that each migrant shows different levels of adaptation to various situations in the city, and that the majority of the traced migrants adapt marginally to the city. The variations in the level of adaptation suggest the different degree of migrants commitment to the city. The observation also confirmed further that the migrants as in other Third World areas urbanise 'without breaking down'. However, this observation has a far reaching implication with regard to circular migration and the circular form of relation bet-

ween the origin and the destination. Assuming that those migrants who have stake in the city will remain permanently in the city while those who have minimal stake will return to the home village to live then the marginal adapters in our study will move back to the village. Should this be acceptable then the bulk of our traced migrants will eventually return to the village to complete their mobility circuit. There is another dimension to the discussion. From the argument above these marginal adapters can be changed to become permanent city dwellers if they are given more 'stake' in the city life such as a chance to own some properties and a better minimum pay. If the NEP is successful in giving the Malays more stake in the city then in the future more migrants from the survey villages will remain permanently in the city. The village will gradually suffer from depopulation.

13.2.6. Urban-Rural Links and Benefits from Migration.

Like similar studies in other Third World countries (Connell *et al.*, 1976; Caldwell, 1969) the study has found that migrants from the survey villages maintain personal links with their home villages. They send money, and news, and visit their relatives and parents in the village. In this respect the finding supports observations in other Third World areas (Adepoju, 1974; Hugo, 1978). The return visits, however, do not coincide with any seasonal activities as in the village of Sulawesi (Forbes, 1978). Like the situation in West Java (Hugo, 1978) the migrants from our survey villages appear to return mainly at the end of each month or during the Muslim festive season particularly during Hari Raya Puasa after the fasting month. We observed that migrants in places within Negri Sembilan and in Kuala Lumpur seem to come and go at their own convenient time. Those migrants in distant states seem to return when they are on leave or during the festive season. We have suggested that if in the future more migrants tend to stay permanently in the city urban-rural relation may slowly decline.

The micro-level approach in our study allowed us to assess the impact of migration on the villages. Available theories differ as to whether migration brings benefits or not to the village. Our study found that migration certainly brings benefit to the individual migrants and their families in the villages. Generally, the migrants' families in the village received material help, and relatively more exposed to urban life and to urban attitudes. At the individual level, the return migrants seem to be better off than they were had they remained in the village. We noticed also the rise of a new social formation in the village. Whereas traditional leaders have declined in importance and in function the salaried or ex-salaried individuals appear to have emerged

as a new 'socio-economic class'. Several cases of return migrants appear to be able to become entrepreneurs in the study villages. They not only provide services to the villagers but also manage to control some of the village economy.

In terms of the impact of migration on the wider village community, we found some changes in the social structure of the villages. Whether migration contributes to development in the sense that there is an expansion of opportunities for people in the community is still not clear. However, a few ex-migrant entrepreneurs in the villages run small scale businesses in which they employ a few villagers. Beyond this the contribution to the whole village welfare is minimal. For the average household, the extra money from remittances increases consumption on food and on durable consumer goods. New ideas that diffuse back to the village help to integrate the villages with the mainstream of development. If we can assume that migrants from other villages in the State also bring benefits to their village then at the regional level one will expect the region to gain eventually.

We have suggested that to conclude whether migration brings benefit to the village or not depends on the level that the analysis is done. The individuals actually involved and their immediate families gain, and the village community gains. But the fact that our study villages still remain poor relatively implies a more basic problem of the whole Malay society. This problem centres on the widespread poverty in rural areas the causes of which have their roots in colonialism. Migration by the villagers, as suggested by Amin (1974) in West Africa, is mainly to find work, that is to escape from unemployment and lack of opportunities in these villages. Remittances to kin in the village is mainly to help sustain the villagers.

13.2.7. Limitations of Present Theoretical Approach and Suggestion for the Adoption of an Alternative One.

As stated in the introduction, one of the problems of studying mobility in a Third World country is the lack of a comprehensive theory of mobility. That our study is empirical and concerns an intensive investigation of three villages allows us to use a flexible theoretical approach. In this, description is combined with hypothesis and model against a range of theories (Bedford, 1973; Hugo, 1975). The approach seems to suit our purpose to understand the phenomenon. This 'inductive' approach towards theory building (Brookfield, 1973a) permits us to appre-

ciate the complexity of mobility patterns and processes at the micro-level. An understanding of the patterns and processes enables us to offer explanations and thereby building the theory from 'below'. "The defect of this particular structure, however, is the assumption that the processes of ordering and structuring data are somehow independent of the theory ultimately constructed" (Harvey, 1973, 34). Consequently, such an approach has come under heavy criticism lately (for example by Forbes, 1980). This approach tends to offer a fragmented explanation to the various mobility patterns and it is more concerned with localised factors than the fundamental explanation. Despite the criticism, the micro-approach allows us to understand the complex mobility patterns and the related processes from many angles of observation. More importantly, in Malaysia, there has been a call for detailed analysis of mobility (Sidhu and Jones, 1979; Chani, 1979; Chan, 1980) to complement the substantive macro-studies. At the middle range level, the study does produce some useful results which can fill the need of Malaysian planners for some theoretical solutions to several specific day to day problems while waiting for the whole world economic order to change, if ever it will take place. In terms of the development of a comprehensive theory of mobility, and long term policy prescription, therefore, the study may have achieved limited success.

One possible alternative approach in which one can engage in detailed examination of a micro-area and at the same time be able to draw generalisation is probably to use the framework that has been synthesised by Bedford (1980). Simply put, we can look at population mobility in terms of what Mitchell (1978) refers to 'situations' of migration and 'setting' of migration. Bedford's (1980) synthesis has shown that the explanation of circulation for example can be examined in the following manner :

1. The role of centripetal and centrifugal forces in a socio-economic environment where there is a regional division of activities and obligations.
2. The relevance of a strategy of risk minimization to be an 'inefficient' investment of labour in a wide range of productive activities in different locations.
3. The nature of change in the socio-economic structures within which individual decision-making takes place. This change relates to the penetration of the capitalist mode of production into Third World societies.

The first two highlight the particular sets of social and economic situations in which migrant find themselves whilst the third calls for an

examination of the setting within which the socio-economic structures of a Third World country have evolved. The setting involves a use of a perspective in which circulation is viewed as a part of a wider process of labour exploitation resulting from the integration of the country into the international capitalist economy. In this situation,

"there is a need for both macro and micro-perspectives, and in this context Mitchell's (1978, 14) comment that research thus becomes a working out of the dialectic between settings and situations' is particularly relevant" (Bedford, 1980, 31).

13.2.8. Can We Generalise From the Study ?

It is pointed out in Chapter 2 that there was not a suitable sampling frame to draw a random sample of population mobility in Negri Sembilan nor had we the resources to conduct a sample study involving a total sample of villages that is statistically acceptable. To overcome these problems, this study selected purposively three villages and conducted an intensive examination of population mobility and the processes shaping them. This study, therefore, lacks the necessary requirements of 'deductive scientific study' (Harvey, 1973, 34). Against this lack of random sample, as other recent studies of population mobility in Third World countries have shown (Brookfield, 1973a; Chapman, 1970), the study has the advantages of having to come to grips with detailed observations of the patterns and the processes shaping them. The materials gathered allow us to understand not only the patterns of mobility and the processes shaping them but also the general socio-economic and cultural condition of the village population. To the extent that this study examines population mobility in three villages in rural Kuala Pilah in Negri Sembilan and that these villages are neither typical of all villages in the district nor in the state, the results cannot be generalised. In this sense the study is concerned merely with a detailed case study of population mobility.

However, that a geographic phenomenon has both elements of uniqueness and generality enables us to attempt to make some cautious general statements from the results of this study. This study has observed several mobility patterns, namely :

1. Going merantau. This is circular by definition. In reality the people may be involved in somewhat lengthy absence from the home villages.
2. Commuting. The mover regularly, though not

necessarily everyday, goes outside of his village to work or attend an educational institution but returns to the village most nights.

3. Pindah. This involves an intention to leave the village (although contacts with kin are maintained),

There appears to be some similarities and differences between these patterns of mobility and those reported in several Third World countries in recent years as shown in Table 13.1. Note from the table that the various authors adopted different definitions of the various mobility forms that they observed. This makes it difficult to compare the various patterns directly. Some authors used specific time thresholds to differentiate between migration and circulation (Mautra, 1978; Maude, 1980). Others used the intention of the movers to determine "migration" from other mobility forms (Young, 1977; Singhanetra-Renard, 1977). The absence of a standard definition of terms suggests either that we talk about completely different things when we refer to migration and circular migration or that we refer to the same things but giving different emphasis. From reading these studies there can be no doubt that certain elements concerning the mobility forms and the socio-economic environment in which these mobility types take place appear to have similarities to the mobility forms and the socio-economic environment in which they take place in our survey villages. We can recognise some general patterns that seem applicable to all areas. All the micro areas studied intensively by the various writers appear to suffer from poverty, lack of opportunities to earn a living, limited life chances for the population compared to the urban areas, and in some cases the presence of limited opportunities for secular education. Further, the economy of these areas seems to hinge on food subsistence, and in some cases, this is combined with the production of agriculture for exports. Within this environment the population of each of these local areas circulates to places that offer them opportunities; these places appear to be mainly urban areas.

In contrast to these similarities there are marked differences in the mobility patterns found in our villages than the other areas. We cannot deny that the various studies have different aims and emphases. More importantly, to assume that each of these micro studies reveals some elements of mobility forms and processes which are unique to the particular area under study is reasonable to make. Not only the locality, cultural

Table 13.1. Definitions of Forms of Mobility.

A. Southeast Asia

Hugo (1976a) - Indonesia.

i) Commuting: the mover regularly (though not necessarily every day) goes to a place outside his village to work or attend an educational institute, but returns to the village most nights.

ii) Circular migration: the mover's absence usually involves him sleeping at his destination for continuous periods of up to six months.

iii) Migration: the mover is absent continuously from the village for six months or more.

Mansra (1978) - Indonesia.

i) Commuting: a movement across the dukuh (hamlet) boundary for at least six hours and no more than twenty-four hours.

ii) Circulation: a movement across the dukuh boundary for at least one day, but less than one year.

iii) Migration: an intentional shift of residence across the dukuh boundary for one or more years.

Manda (1980) - Malaysia.

i) Commuting: involves movement to work in another district or main urban area within the same district where the person returns to live in the household at least once a week.

ii) Circular migration: an absence from the village for up to twelve months.

iii) Migration: an absence from the village for more than one year, although this does not necessarily mean such migrants will never return to live in their village home.

Singhanetra-Benard (1979) - Thailand.

i) Circulation: based on intention of migrants. Regarded as circulation, even if the migrants stayed for a long time at destinations, when they returned to the village.

B. Malaysia

Bedford (1973) - New Hebrides.

i) Oscillation: routine daily movements - shopping, the journey to work and to school, visiting - and other movements involving an absence from home of less than one month.

ii) Circular migration: moves involving an absence of more than one month, where the intention of the mover is to return to live in the village at some stage.

iii) Migration: moves where the intention of the mover is to settle at the destination. He/she may visit the village periodically, but has no plans to return there to live.

Young (1977a) - Papua New Guinea.

i) Oscillation: routine daily movements as well as brief casual visits on business or for social reasons.

ii) Circular migration: this occurs when a migrant has returned to his village of origin after a period in residence elsewhere, and has no plans for subsequent movement.

iii) Migration: persons residing outside their village of origin at the time of the survey.

Source: Bedford (1980, 2); Goldstein (1978).

and socio-economic environments of our survey villages are different from West Java, Thai or New Hebridean villages but also the details of the mobility patterns appear to be different. In most of the countries the people seem to circulate between the village and the city. In our villages the people tend to stay much longer in the urban areas although they often return home for visit.

It seems from reading those works in the table that the less developed countries tend to show predominantly circular migration. In contrast the relatively more developed countries seem to have more permanent movements. Note that this trend in the relationship between mobility and development seems somewhat an oversimplification. Permanent moves have also been found dominant in places whose socio-economy is somewhat still less developed such as in New Guinea. Further in those areas where movement is somewhat more permanent we cannot preclude the likely hood that the urban migrants will return some day. More importantly, as shown in this study, the people maintain links with the natal village. We like to suggest, therefore, that there are other equally influential factors as economic which ascertain the people to maintain a movement circuit. In our study these factors include adat and Islam.

13.3. POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY.

The concern to form a Malaysian society that is multi-racial and harmonious has become the basic issue of nation building ever since Malaysia emerged from colonialism. Now that the country is twenty two years old a truly harmonious multi-racial Malaysian society has not been established. A basic difficulty encountered in building the society is the multi-racial components of the population. This situation is exacerbated by socio-economic inequalities that have racial connotation and are concentrated in noticeable regional divisions. In Peninsular Malaysia spatial imbalances can be equated with racial inequalities. A policy to redress one will affect the other. That such noticeable racial and spatial polarisation is not healthy for the development of a strong and stable state has been accepted by almost all people in the country. Policy makers have formulated policies and strategies to correct these inequalities, and these policies and strategies have been used to guide the various Development Plans. The Second and the Third Malaysian Plans, however, have been based on the New Economic Policy. Through this policy the government attempts to restructure the existing Malaysian society and to eradicate poverty irrespective of race. It is hoped that in a future Malaysian society there will be no identification of ethnic groups with economic activities. The policies and strategies to achieve this have direct and indirect effects on population redistributions in the country. Several findings of this study have a wider implications for social planning and these allow us to make some assessment of some of the prevailing policies aiming at building a Malaysian society. To simplify the presentation, the policy implications of this study are divided into two parts, namely; implications of migration at the city end and implications at the rural end.

13.3.1. Policy Implications of Migrants in the City.

Unlike some Third World government policies that aim to restrict rural exodus of youths to the city (Mc Gee, 1977; Hugo, 1978), the Malaysian government pursues a policy of deliberate urbanisation as an approach to modernise the rural Malays. Berry (1973) regarded this as a direct intervention from above to modernise the rural areas. Mc Gee (1977) viewed it with caution because, if it is concentrated into one city the policy may lead to racial confrontation. To a certain extent such deliberate urbanisation policy is welcome. As found by

Selvaratnam and Dissanayake (1976) in East Negri Sembilan, youths from our survey villages who cannot find jobs in the village will leave for places that can offer them opportunities. At present these places are the major cities that continue to grow at a faster rate than the rest. Experience such as that of Jakarta or Bangkok has shown that even when the city legislates against the movements of rural migrants into the city, the city will continue to swell with migrants. In this context, there is no way one can control the coming of these rural peasants when the city continues to receive high productivity projects. In addition, as in other Third World countries, (Connell, *et al*, 1976; Caldwell, 1969) there is less incidence of unemployment amongst migrants from the survey villages. The migrants accept any kind of occupation offered to them. Narayanan (1975) and Sooa (1978) have shown this to be true for all migrants in Kuala Lumpur. Thus, contrary to popular beliefs migrants in the city do not pose problems of unemployment. Rhoda (1979) has drawn from many studies of rural-urban migration in the Third World to show that even if the city authority legislates against rural-urban migration to reduce urban poverty, this poverty will not diminish. It is the urban natives who are responsible for increasing urban poverty.

The continuing immigration of rural people to the city appeared to bring two main problems which Ghani (1979) has summarised, namely: first, the swelling of the labour force seeking jobs. Second is the concern about labour shortage to work in agriculture. (We will examine the latter problem in the next section).

Concerning the first, it has been reported that the Kuala Lumpur city authority has to create about 429000 jobs by the year 2000 to continue to be able to absorb the increased labour force (Malaysia Monthly, July, 1979, 2). In recent years the number of unemployed youths has increased in the city (Ghani, 1979). One consequence of this is the large proportion of the Kuala Lumpur population living in poverty. If we take M\$500 income per month per household in 1979 as the poverty line in the city, the estimated total of households below the poverty line was between 30 and 40 percent (Ghani, 1979). Associated with poverty are the problems of squatters, provision of amenities and cheap housing and the creation of better life chances (Shaari, 1976; Pirie *et al*, 1976; Raa, 1971). As long as the Malaysian economy continues to expand and the economic cake is large enough for all people to have a share, the deliberate urbanisation policy brings more advantage to the country. However, the continued concentration of immigration into one or two ci-

ties, as shown by the village survey and the census data, may in the long run militate against the advantages of the deliberate urbanisation policy. This is because should the economy fail to sustain the increasing labour force, what Mc Gee's (1973) has feared about racial confrontations will materialise again.

Closely related to the issue above is that the manner in which the migrants from the survey villages adjust to Kuala Lumpur and Seremban should also attract the interest of planners. Migrants from our survey villages, like most Malays in Kuala Lumpur (Mc Gee, 1968) and migrants in other Third World societies (Brener, 1959; Levine, 1973) do not find problems of adjustment in the city. The informal networks that originate from the village of origin mediate their entry into the city. Whereas their entry into the city is well cushioned from the impact of the city the use of the informal networks may prevent an active intermixing of the migrants with the wider society. This is exacerbated by the fact that migrants largely keep to the 'Malay' parts of city life. This is unhealthy in some ways because it may lead to a further polarisation of racial groups unless steps are taken to avoid it. To some extent, the government has sought to prevent this from happening when it aimed to restructure the society through the New Economic Policy. At least today there appears to be some mingling of people of different races in new housing areas or flats. In the past the intermixing of racial groups seemed to take place only amongst the 'elite'. However, more effort is needed to ensure that in the course of restructuring the Malays, the others are not made to feel left out. Otherwise, racial polarisation will become more acute. Therefore, more action is needed in the provision of new racially mixed housing areas. Once these people are settled in these housing areas efforts should be made to ensure that the proportions of the various ethnic groups are always maintained.

Another important policy issue that emerges from this study concerns the overt concentration of our migrants in the formal sector particularly in government and multinational corporation employment. Similar pattern of concentration of Malays is found in the country (Kirschmann, 1975). The government is concerned with it, and through the NEP it hopes to restructure the pattern. From our observation in this study it is certain that more efforts are needed to attract Malays into business. Now that several government agencies such as UDA and MARA are available to assist them, the Malays have a good prospect in this pursuit in future. However, the experience of several traced migrants in busi-

ness shows several major problems still work against the participation of Malays in business. Amongst these problems include the lack of supports from buyers and the problem of credit. What is immediately needed is to collect more information on the problems and prospects of Malays in business so that more positive steps can be taken to help them attain the 30 percent share of the economy by 1990 as stipulated by the government.

13.3.2. Policy Implications of the Situations at the Rural End.

The second problem relating to the persistent rural-urban migration is the declining rural labour force to work in agriculture. The issue is 'who is going to mind the agriculture?' (Chani, 1979), agriculture being the mainstay of the Malaysian economy. There is necessity then to retain at least some active labour in the rural areas. The Felda has, to some extent, attracted some of these migrants. But the fact that youth continues to leave for the city suggests that the rural area is not attractive to this people. Despite the various strategies to modernise and to develop rural Malaysia (Chan, 1980), as shown by several other studies (Selvaratnam and Dissanayake, 1976; Norconsult Report, 1974), the village survey found that most of the village people are still relatively poor. This problem is not peculiar to our area alone. It straddles the whole rural area in the country (Malaysia, 1976; Salih, 1977). Most of the poor in the survey villages worked in village based activities; owned either small parcels of land or none at all. People in this predicament cannot reap much benefit from development policies and strategies that continue to emphasise what Friedmann and Wulf (1975, 22) call 'growth supporting' innovations without increasing at the same time the growth inducing innovations. It appears that these villages have so far received largely the growth supporting innovations. New roads, electricity and water, for example, are important amenities for these villages to have. One wonders what significant benefits do these things offer to the poor families which find it difficult to raise a substantial sum of money for the initial capital outlay to install them. To compound their problems, monthly electricity and water tariffs increase their expenditure pattern above their normal monthly committed expenses. Unless their income is increased also, these benefits may remain a burden or something beyond their reach. Note that a similar remark can be made on other innovations such as modern irrigation and higher yielding rice varieties in these villages. As shown in other Third World areas (Hugo, 1978), these innovations tend to benefit the rich in

the village. The solution to the problem is easily said than done. One immediate need is to increase the level of income. To a certain extent the government has initiated this. Thus, we noticed at fieldwork time projects, such as the fringe alienation scheme, have been implemented. At best these are specific solutions at the local level whose benefits may often be limited to a few individuals.

Another issue that should attract the attention of the planners is the benefits from migration to the rural areas. Our analysis showed that migration benefits, to a certain extent, the individual migrants and their household kin in the survey villages. It also produces some changes to Adat. But it does not really produce an overall structural change. In some respect, migration tends to produce a new group formation in the sense that a new village 'elite' emerges from the salaried and ex-salaried return migrants. Migration, therefore, does not improve the opportunities for the whole community to improve themselves. The deliberate urbanisation policy benefits somewhat those who leave for the city but the region of origin can expect little development from it. It becomes clear that life-chances in the villages are limited. At the regional level, opportunities are also limited (Selvaratnam and Dissanayake, 1976).

The present policies and strategies of rural development appears to make it difficult to attract young people to stay in the villages or in the regional centres.

13.4. REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AS AN ALTERNATIVE FORM OF DEVELOPMENT.

Since Merdeka the government has attempted to reform and develop rural Malaysia. That the policy of development centres on rural area is not only politically expedient but also socially desirable. The rural base of the Malaysian ruling party and the fact that the rural population, consisting the bulk of the country's population, mainly lives in poverty make it necessary to develop the rural area. Chan (1980) has summarised the various policies and strategies that have been found in the various Five-Year Development Plans. Suffice it to say here that the government is mounting large scale efforts to restructure society and to eradicate poverty with the long term view of moulding a stable and harmonious Malaysian society. On the one hand, the government policy of development has achieved some remarkable results, on the other there are still major problems that remain to be solved. Projects undertaken by

Pelá (Bahrin and Perera, 1977) and industries developed through the industrialisation policy have brought some relief to unemployment. They have also improved life chances of the rural and urban people. Despite that poverty is still widespread. Anand (1977), for example, has shown that the rural population is still mainly poor compared to those in the city; (note that urban poverty is also increasing at present). Uneven growth and inequalities still exist between the racial groups and within each group, and between one area and another (Salih, 1977; Lo and Salih, 1979; Lim, 1975). It appears from the analysis of development in the country that the past policy and strategy of rural development produced more spatial inequality (Richards, 1977; Baharuddin, 1979). In recent years, social scientists have argued that the "top-bottom" development should be replaced by "bottom-top" strategy, and the rural development policy and strategy should be changed to regional development (Lo and Salih, 1979; Lo, Salih and Douglass, 1978; Douglass, 1979). A form of planning that is termed the "agropolitan approach" has been put forward (Lo, Salih and Douglass, 1975). In this the focus shifts from spatial development to territorial development. The former refers to progress towards desired goals through the process of urbanisation and diffusion through the settlement hierarchy while the latter concerns development in specific areas (Douglass, 1979, 19). In the agropolitan approach, a necessary condition for rural development is to reduce rural-urban distortions through the creation of mutual rural-urban linkages on an equal basis at small territorial units of interaction. These rural-urban units may be referred to as "agropolitan districts". Some essential features of these districts include:

1. A small geographical area.
2. Self-sufficiency and self reliance.
3. It is based on the rural people's participation and co-operation.
4. Diversification of rural employment to include both agriculture and non-agricultural activities; encouraging small scale rural industrialisation.
5. Urban/rural industrial functions and their linkages to local resources and economic structures.
6. Utilisation and evaluation of local resources and technologies (Lo, Salih, Douglass, 1978, 46).

The role of the central government will be to facilitate an accelerated rural development including the abandonment of strategies that tend to work against the rural area and the poor people. The scheme emphasises equal development, and it has to adopt 'regional closure', which refers to the granting of greater power at local levels to bargain over the terms of relation with external markets, and higher levels of economic and political organisation.

The idea of regional closure seems attractive. Amongst other things, it tries to retain as much surplus leaving the rural area. The planning unit is large enough to encourage a diversification of local economic activities and yet small enough to provide easy access to political and economic functions in the main city. According to Douglass (1979, 23), this strategy involves, "a transformation of the essentially parasitic relations of both the state and the city with the rural periphery towards facilitative and supportive efforts for an accelerated rural development ..."

In such a development strategy there appears to be a prospect of retaining the young people in various regional areas. The various regions can be revitalised and over-concentration of population movement to one or two cities can be avoided. In some respect the government has adopted this strategy by emphasising regional development epitomised by such regional development areas as the Pahang Tenggara and South-West Johor region. It is hoped that the Negri Sembilan Timur regional development can generate enough opportunities so that a more even growth in the state can be achieved and the persistent youths outmigration can be reduced.

13.5. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.

Although this study has a broad coverage of the patterns of population movement to, from and within Negri Sembilan there are still important gaps in our understanding of mobility patterns and processes in the study area. One such gap is in the knowledge of the proportion of people who have gone merantau but failed to return to the home-village. One of the difficulties to answer this problem is to collect the appropriate information. One possible solution is to gather more longitudinal data. The family genealogies as used by Leuro (1978) in his study of village demography in Central Thailand seems to be an approach worth exploring. Another is the need to concentrate on female migration and

the problem of adjustment to the city. We found in this study that female migration is also important but we have given minimal attention.

A more immediate need is to extend this type of study to the rest of the Peninsula. Although Gosling (1963), Maude (1980) and Nagata (1974) have shown the presence of circular movement in the East Coast States and in the North respectively, it is useful to study the similarity and the variation in the forms of circulation in mainly padi area, mixed farming area, fishing villages and villages located close to towns and in other communities of the Peninsula. The study should examine the micro-level patterns and processes. Then the whole study is set in the broad societal changes in the country following the integration of the communities into the whole world economic system. Such an approach also necessitates an examination of the social structure of the communities. As stated earlier, studying mobility in this framework will enable us to compare the findings directly with the forms and processes of population mobility in other Third World countries. According to Forbes (1980) analysing population mobility in this manner will improve our understanding of population mobility and it will allow us to generalise; forms of mobility can be related to their processes directly. A comprehensive mobility theory can then be developed. At the same time the micro-level analysis will enable one to understand mobility at the local context.

13.6. CONCLUSION.

The community that we have studied has a long history of mobility; the people are known for their peripatetic behaviour. In their cultural practices moving out of their birth place has become an established way of life. In recent years, the peripatetic behaviour has merged with the general nationwide population redistribution. This redistribution is initiated by the government as a strategy to correct social inequalities and spatial imbalances that cut along racial lines. The New Economic Policy attempts to restructure this so that the poor can have better life chances. Since the Malays are mainly poor the policy affects them more directly, thus creating uneasy reactions amongst the non-Malays. The task of the Malaysian planners is an unenviable one. They shoulder the responsibility to mould a Malaysian society from such a diverse ethnic composition with different interests and varying stages of development. Population redistribution becomes an important strategy

for achieving social transformation. It is imperative to direct more research towards this problem as it impinges directly on the question of nation building and the future of Malaysia.

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 300 grams.
Kebun getah	- small plot under rubber.
Khenduri	- Religious feast.
Lebai	- A religious specialist, generally one has not yet made the pilgrimage.
Lembaga	- Clan chief.
Luak	- <u>Adat</u> district.
Makan gaji	- 'to eat one's salary', working/earning a living.
Makan angin	- Holiday travel; 'eating the wind'.
Malu	- Shame (a broad and important concept) - swift (1965)
Melancung	- Makan angin - recreational travel usually involving long distant travel.
Membeli-belah	- Shopping.
Mendreh getah	- Tapping rubber.
Merdeka	- Independence - August, 1967 for the Peninsula formerly Malaya.
Merantau	- Temporary movement.
Mukim	- Area surrounding a mosque from which the minimum congregation of 40 is drawn; nowadays, a division of an administrative district.
Negeri	- State.

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

1. enough

2. not enough

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

Schedule 4: Present Socio-economic CharacteristicsI. Land ownership

1. Could you tell us about

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

II. Occupation

1. What is your daily occupation ?

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

2. What is your wife's main occupation

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

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

Acreage worked

1. Owner-operator

2. Working for wage

3. Renter

4. Rent land out

5. Other (please write)

4. Acreage developed and production

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

1. enough

2. not enough

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

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

III. Accumulated income

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

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

>1500

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

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

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

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

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

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

1	more than sufficient	1
	sufficient	2
	not sufficient	3

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

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

6. Do you receive money and goods from rantau

Yes	1
No	2

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

8. a) Do you keep money

Yes	1
No	2

b) In the form of

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

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

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

IV. Possessions

1. Does the family own

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

2. a) Is this house

1	bought
2	"pusaka"

- 3 "rented"
4 other (please write)

b) If rented how much/month

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

4. Bathroom

- | | |
|-----|---|
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |

5. Toilet

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| open | 1 |
| pump | 2 |
| Others
(please
write) | |

6. Pipe

- | | |
|----------|---|
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |
| Electric | |
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |

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

V. General

1. Do you read newspaper?

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

2. Type of newspaper read

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

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

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

VI.

1. Type of family

Extended	1
nuclear	2
Other (please stated)	3

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

I. 'Merantau' in general

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

Probe

Economic

Social

Situational

Psychological

Others

II. Conditions of Kampong

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

More than enough	1
enough	2
not enough	3

2. Could you say that the village is,

fertile	1
medium fertile	2
not fertile	3

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

very important	1
equally important	2
less important	3

- b) Why do you say that

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

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

b) Bought land

Yes	1
No	2

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

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

e) For what it was sold

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

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

More difficult	1
About the same	2
Easier	3

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

Increased	1
About equal	2
Decreased	3

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

More prosperous	1
about equal	2
less prosperous	3

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

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

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

b) Why,

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

More now	1
about the same	2
less now	3

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

as above

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

as above

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

as above

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

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

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

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

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

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

agree	1
disagree	2

- b) Why

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

agree	1
do not agree	2

- b) Why

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

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

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

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

B. Knowledge on rural-urban contrast

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

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

b) Why say that

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

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

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

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

1. life
2. behaviour
3. social able

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

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

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

7. Which place is easier to earn some money

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

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

Always helpful	1
Sometimes helpful	2
Not helpful	3

9. Do they help with,

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

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

many chances now	1
difficult	2
limited	3
no chance	4

b) Why say that ?

4. Impact of merantau

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

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

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

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

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

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

much poorer	1
poor	2

same	3
other (Please write)	4

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

late	3
same	2
earlier	3

b) Why

IV. Future Plan

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

3. If "No" go to section V.

If "Yes" where to?

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

V. Migration and Negri Sembilan

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

still migrate	1
No	2
No response	3

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

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

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

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

much better	1
better	2
same	3
not that good	4

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

VII. Commuter

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

a) Where do you sleep during the week ?

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

VIII. Knowledge and Contacts with Urban areas & Places

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

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

7. Do you often visit the following places/town

IX. Your children's Plans

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

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

Yes	1
-----	---

No	2
----	---

2. If no where to ?

3. Why choose that place ?

Schedule 6:

Name of 'Kampong'

HHH No

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

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

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

Note: Answer all questions. Put 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 (1)	No (2)	Not sure (3)
Housing			
Job			
Life in general			

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

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

28. Has your life become worse ?

n. Participation in city life - neighbours

29. Do your neighbours consist of the following :

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

30. What type of neighbours do you have :

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

31. How is your relationship with your neighbours ?

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

32. Do you visit the following friends ;

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

33. Who are your close friends in the city ?

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

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

b) Type of Associations/Institutions

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

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

37. What part do you play on the Association

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

i. Link to valley/changes in city

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

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

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

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

40. What do you do during holidays

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

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

a) Which is a better place to raise children

In city	1
At kampong	2

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

In city	1
At kampong	2

c) Which place is easier to save

In city	1
At kampong	2

d) Which place is better to have big family

In city	1
At kampong	2

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

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

42. Name main Malay areas in the city

Code	
None	1
3	2
4 - 8	3
8	4

43. Newspaper reading and type

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*III. Rural-Urban Relation

j. Visits

47. How often do you go back to kampong

Never	1
Rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Weekly	5

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

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

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

Rarely	1
Everytime coming home	2
Never	3

k. Letters

50. How often do you send letters home

Never	1
Seldom/rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4

51. Do you send money or things to 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 secun- dary education - (000).	5	15	12	5	33	6
Students	7768	28155	16312	10715	22608	11197

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

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

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

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

APRIL 1971

STATE OF ORIGIN RESIDENCE

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

STATE/PLACE	JOHORE	KUALA	CELANUTAN	PAHANG	SEREMAN	PERAK	TRANG	TERAP	PERAK	SELANGOR	SENGKAP	TOTAL
JOHORE	6,158	1,180	1,285	4,262	4,535	4,780	1,230	4,772	25	12,300	1,280	60,247
TRANG	2,280	411,224	1,110	568	1,382	2,622	15,865	17,145	7,745	4,855	241	671,932
CELANUTAN	2,424	2,251	410,452	1,059	1,525	12,642	1,158	1,885	119	1,885	11,228	671,932
PAHANG	11,102	558	785	10,100	5,471	2,228	100	7,128	42	11,101	408	174,316
SEREMAN	4,928	554	1,185	2,275	175,581	2,421	1,141	3,825	119	11,502	108	186,699
PERAK	1,117	605	1,118	655	1,711	175,686	575	2,701	1,117	8,311	110	24,227
SELANGOR	1,384	18,512	889	818	1,220	2,191	198,285	12,841	1,384	47,586	1,016	308,287
TRANG	3,874	12,322	2,188	1,575	4,738	6,525	11,822	801,462	1,384	1,074	8	91,151
TERAP	545	2,538	186	133	273	132	122	1,482	83,545	1,074	8	81,264
SELANGOR	4,055	1,516	1,271	1,050	5,121	5,499	1,505	10,445	218	17,401	745	614,264
SENGKAP	4,205	750	2,101	375	525	1,118	425	1,118	48	1,228	11,457	172,265
TOTAL	60,452	580,574	55,203	101,022	176,234	101,815	131,341	637,259	41,907	581,545	174,621	1,437,880

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

STATE/PLACE	JOHORE	KUALA	CELANUTAN	PAHANG	SEREMAN	PERAK	TRANG	TERAP	PERAK	SELANGOR	SENGKAP	TOTAL
JOHORE	1,000,456	1,182	1,285	12,773	14,214	15,701	1,452	4,716	384	13,773	1,452	1,112,041
TRANG	2,424	411,224	1,110	1,339	2,271	1,314	6,710	17,145	7,745	15,322	241	575,719
CELANUTAN	2,424	2,251	410,452	1,110	1,525	15,874	1,275	1,425	122	1,885	11,228	174,316
PAHANG	11,102	558	785	10,100	5,471	2,228	100	7,128	42	11,101	408	186,699
SEREMAN	4,928	554	1,185	2,275	175,581	2,421	1,141	3,825	119	11,502	108	24,227
PERAK	1,117	605	1,118	655	1,711	175,686	575	2,701	1,117	8,311	110	308,287
SELANGOR	1,384	18,512	889	818	1,220	2,191	198,285	12,841	1,384	47,586	1,016	91,151
TRANG	3,874	12,322	2,188	1,575	4,738	6,525	11,822	801,462	1,384	1,074	8	81,264
TERAP	545	2,538	186	133	273	132	122	1,482	83,545	1,074	8	81,264
SELANGOR	4,055	1,516	1,271	1,050	5,121	5,499	1,505	10,445	218	17,401	745	614,264
SENGKAP	4,205	750	2,101	375	525	1,118	425	1,118	48	1,228	11,457	172,265
TOTAL	1,112,041	580,574	55,203	101,022	176,234	101,815	131,341	637,259	41,907	581,545	174,621	1,437,880

Source: Department of Statistics, 1971.

AP221422, 02

Most Recent Malay Interstate Migration, 1970

State of Previous Residence	Present Place of Residence											Total
	Johor	Kedah	Kelantan	Malaka	Negeri Sembilan	Perak	Perlis	Selangor	Tengganu	Total		
Johor	161278	513	1273	5105	3734	3557	1330	3373	70	11022	1101	193215
Kedah	1251	121140	1075	586	1702	2734	11957	53176	5764	6078	548	195202
Kelantan	1734	2632	212765	145	1203	16049	1024	7013	453	5253	19316	153603
Malaka	5545	115	682	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	162	5137	2158	11218
Perlis Pagar	1734	11745	621	421	372	2053	23309	8293	837	5011	221	64158
Perak	3281	11137	2547	2123	3170	5015	3017	144504	982	21729	842	216150
Perlis	128	2315	132	75	203	783	726	1327	10421	317	21	21012
Selangor	4137	2104	2483	4747	1075	5512	2020	12461	705	121752	1580	166528
Tengganu	2314	602	4022	132	575	12136	176	598	54	7571	6053	81007
Total	192353	135042	139401	25151	64421	108402	82570	391664	23745	219615	55643	1,514,453
La localities afrika borch	452460	477427	555286	150351	205225	121553	166158	565915	65192	286346	259932	

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

APPENDIX 64

Ultimate Return Migration, 1950.

Previous Residence	Birthplace and place of current residence										
	Johor	Kedah	Kelantan	Malaka	Selangor	Pahang	Pulau Pinang	Perak	Perlis	Selangor	Terengganu
Johor	144573	152	776	1124	1126	459	119	710	10	779	290
Kedah	372	139433	187	77	155	99	2943	1342	379	265	60
Kelantan	705	776	112100	109	209	307	135	405	10	207	1094
Malaka	965	51	191	14555	709	38	75	242	14	555	71
Selangor	771	95	135	1167	10627	272	117	537	19	1101	50
Pahang	642	303	967	102	695	57675	102	940	27	504	813
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	1471	1571	394	391	5078	81	82571	799
Terengganu	725	57	1732	30	87	112	46	176	8	471	64277
Total	151065	147120	514080	19322	16754	54096	12765	157177	8332	89501	66945
Return migrant	5052	7908	4766	4574	8132	6776	4706	11001	1443	6517	2821

Source: Department of Statistics. (unpublished).

(Malays only).

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

1. INTRODUCTION.

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

2. THE METHODOLOGY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. THE RESULTS.

1) Private Car Counts:

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

Average people travelling: 2

Total = 50 individuals.

2) Bus Counts:

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

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

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

4. Grand Total:	Bus	195
	Car	50
		245

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

APPENDIX E: ESTIMATING THE 1978 POVERTY LINE FOR MALAYSIA.

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

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

Table 1. Estimating the Malaysian Poverty Line for 1978.

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

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

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

UPPER STATUS

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

MIDDLE STATUS

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

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

LOW STATUS

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

APPENDIX G: URBANISATION INDICES FOR THE HOLOGRAM

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

Sector A. Background Information.

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

Index 1. Urban residence in early years.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 3 Higher status occupation
- 4 High status occupation

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

Sector B. Migrants Socio-economic Background.

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

Index 4. Migrant's educational achievement.

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

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

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

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

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

Years after 15th birthday before entering Seremban / Kuala Lumpur

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

Sector C. The Environment of Entry into the City.

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

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

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

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

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

- 1 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

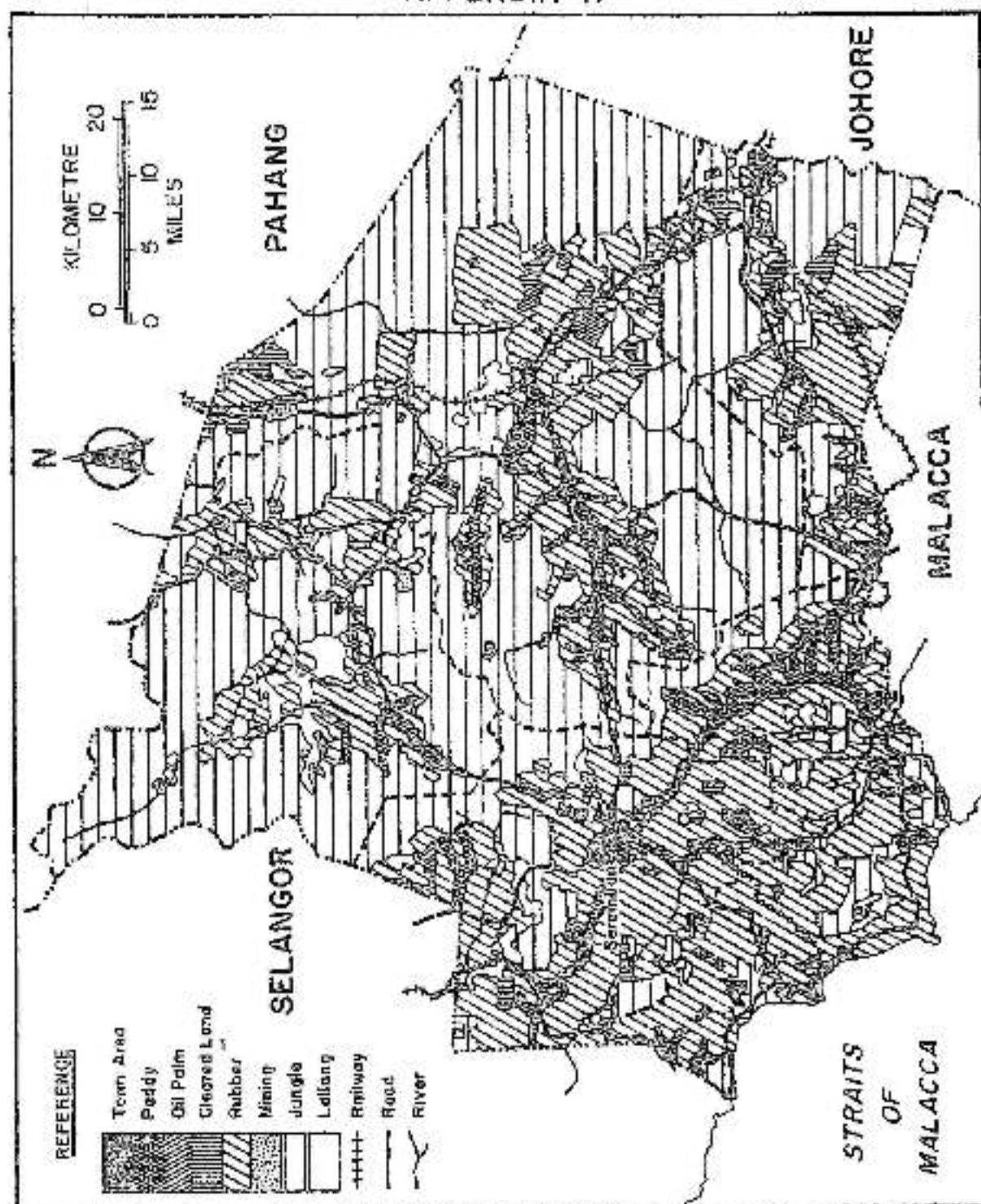
Index 38. This index is a supplement to index 37. Which people tended to be more knowledgeable ?

- 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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