

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

By

Abdani Samad Hadi, B.A.; M.A. (Cant.).

Norhafiz HJ Ibrahim
Pensyarah
Jabatan Sains Komuniti
Fakulti Pengajian Pendidikan
Universiti Pertanian Malaysia
43400 UPM Serdang, Selangor D. E.

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Norhaini Hj Ibrahim
 Pengajar
 Jabatan Sains Komuniti
 Fakulti Pendidikan, Pendidikan
 Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
 43400 UPM Serdang, Selangor D. S.

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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 I
THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER 2

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. INTRODUCTION.

In order that we can fulfill the aims of the study it is important to set out the theoretical approach that will guide the study towards answering the problems and the questions that have been raised. This is done in the first part of the chapter, in which some relevant theoretical approaches to the study of internal migration and urbanisation are reviewed, and from the review the theoretical approach for the study is developed. We argue that in the Malaysian context and due to the emphasis of the study it would appear that a flexible theoretical approach which combines several hypotheses and models is most appropriate. Having established the theoretical approach the second part considers in detail the sources of data and the methodology of the study. The final part will define and classify the various movement patterns that we have gathered from the people to aid description of the movement patterns.

2.2. A BRIEF REVIEW OF SOME THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF INTERNAL MIGRATION AND URBANISATION.

Although migration studies have been the poor cousin of studies of mortality and fertility, interest in population movement has grown remarkably in recent years so that at present there are a wide range of published works on the subject (See Olsson, 1965a; Mangalam, 1968; Pryor, 1971; Shaw, 1975; Windley, 1977, Swindell, 1979 for review). From these studies there appear to be consistently recurrent patterns in the volume and direction of migration, and in the differentials between the migrant and non-migrant population of an area. It is on the basis of these regular patterns that the attempt has been made to construct migration theory. At present, various theoretical approaches to the study of internal migration have been developed and used in a wide variety of studies. We will select and review a few of the relevant ones for our purpose here.

2.2.1. Migration Stream.

A consistently regular finding in migration analysis concerns the volume and direction of migration and the destinations of migrants.

Models relating migration to distance as well as to variations in the distribution of social and economic opportunities date back to Ravenstein's (1885 and 1889) 'Laws of Migration'. The observations that the great body of migrants only proceed a short distance and that migration between two areas diminishes as the distance between them increases (Ravenstein, 1885, 198 - 9) have been made in a variety of cultural areas. Since then the basic formulation has been extended into several mathematical models (Morrill, 1963; Morrill and Pitts, 1967; Kallidorff, 1955), and the social gravity models (Olsson, 1965a, 1965b; Harvey, 1969; Carrothers, 1956; Isard, 1960). All these have been applied to various circumstances with varying success.

The various distance - interaction models, however, merely describe the data-set under study and do not offer any explanation of the processes shaping migration (Harvey, 1969, 266 - 7). In addition, Olsson (1970, 227) has commented on the parameters that describe the effect of distance on migration volume. He concluded that the results derived from distance - interaction models indicated more about the spatial distribution of the social and economic opportunities that influence both the distance and the volume of migration streams than about the migration itself.

An extension of the distance - interaction model is Stouffer's 'intervening opportunity' model in which the number of persons migrating is proportional to the number of opportunities at the destination, and inversely proportional to the intervening opportunities (Stouffer, 1940, 845). Though the model is an improvement on the distance - interaction model, determination of the intervening opportunities has proved difficult.

ii) Migration and Economic Opportunity.

Another approach argues that economic opportunity is an important factor in migration. In this approach, employment, income and occupation are regarded as major influences in individuals' decisions to move (Da Vanzo, 1976; Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1969; 1971; 1976; and Harris and Todaro, 1968; 1970). Migration then, is seen as an equilibrating mechanism because the move is seen as peoples' response to changing economic opportunities (see Herrick, 1965, 10 - 22; Olsson, 1965a, 23 - 27, for reviews). It has been shown, however, that studies concerning the relationship between migration and regional variations in income are inconclusive not only in Western countries (Olsson, 1965a, 27) but also for the Third World, because the factors influencing migration are com-

plax. Other factors such as the presence of relatives and friends at the destination have also been found to be important in influencing migration in the West, and more so in the Third World.

iii) Migration and Information.

Another approach to an attempt to explain migration streams is centred on the significance of information flows on the perception of opportunities at various destinations. Hagerstrand (1957, 151 - 152) hypothesised that the number of migrants from an origin to a destination was directly proportional to the number of vacancies at the destination and the number of contacts potential migrants had in that destination. He went on to demonstrate the growth and changes in migration fields over a century for Asby parish in Sweden. He argued that the migration field of a community at any time is the result of an information feedback process maintained by active and passive migrants - the former deliberately seeking alternative places of residence while the latter 'follow impulses' coming from their friends. Brown (1966, 2) carried the argument further by saying that migration is a relocation-type diffusion, and the locational pattern of migrants at any time is functionally related to previous patterns. Due to this contact, it is observed that every major stream of migration has a counter-stream (Ravenstein 1885, 199; Lee, 1966, 35).

iv) Multivariate Explanation of Migration Streams.

There are attempts also to explain the occurrence of migration using a single factor or a multivariate model. Since there are many factors that influence migration, a single factor explanation is not sufficient. A multivariate explanation is more in keeping with reality. Karieš (1963), for example, used the multiple regression model to account for population growth due to migration in the United States. The study was cast within the 'pull-push' theory of migration. From other empirical studies four independent variables that were hypothesised to be associated areally with migration were selected, and the regression coefficients were determined to show whether the association between migration and each independent variable was weak or strong. Studies using this approach often merely establish the association between the presence of migration streams and factors 'which were believed to attract migrants to areas,' (Karieš, 1963, 214).

2.2.2. Migration Selectivity.

Most migration studies also incorporate observations on migration differentials (although usually differentials are examined in a systematic and thorough manner). Amongst the population characteristics repeatedly analysed have been age, sex, marital status, race, occupation, income level, educational status, intellectual ability and also fertility, in the hope to show differences between migrants and non-migrants (Thomas, 1958; Shaw, 1975; Beshers and Nishiura, 1961; Zarate and Zarate, 1975). Thomas (1958, 313) concluded from her review that the only consistently recurring pattern in these studies was that persons in their late teens, twenties, and early thirties were more migratory than other groups. In the Third World the typical rural-urban migrant is younger and better educated than the average rural resident (Pryor, 1979; Yap, 1977; Myerlee, 1974; Herrick, 1971; Nelson, 1976). Yet even differences in migration according to age are influenced by economic, spatial as well as temporal factors (Thomas, 1938, 1958). Bogua's (1961) set of hypotheses concerning principles of selectivity under certain environmental and population conditions is an improvement in theory development on migration differentials. Where the pull factors in cities was greater (such as income and employment) selectivity was marked; in contrast, where the push was strong from the village (droughts, famines, poverty etc.) selectivity was minimal. When a move involved a major change in community type (such as from a rural area to a city) the younger and more resilient members of the community of origin were dominant. Initially, men dominated the stream, but in later stages sex differentials disappeared. Beshers and Nishiura (1961) extended this theory building on migration selectivity. They suggested that the relationship between environment, social structure and migration decision can be expressed in terms of the head of household as a decision-maker being restricted by occupational goals. They proposed that the nature of an individual's occupational goal and the extent to which such goals could be satisfied in a particular locality would influence the decision to move or stay. When the means of attaining a goal was located in a certain territory, constraints would limit mobility. If goals were based on specific skills and knowledge that were transportable then the persons would have a greater propensity to migrate.

With regard to other differentials there has not been much achieved in the way of generalisation, although generally it could be said that migrants have lower fertility, better education and are more

likely to be single compared to non-migrants.

2.2.3. The Migration Decision-making Process.

In an attempt to understand more fully the nature of the processes operating at the aggregate level, there has been an increasing concern with the structure of the decision-making process at the individual level.

In the geographical literature, this approach was stimulated largely by Wolpert's¹ (1965) model of a migration decision-making framework integrating concepts related to human behaviour. Wolpert (1965, 161) viewed migration "as a form of individual or group adaptation to perceived changes in environment, a recognition of marginality with respect to a stationary position and a flow reflecting an appraisal by a potential migrant of his present site as opposed to a number of other potential sites". By introducing the concept of 'bounded rationality' into the framework, Wolpert replaced 'economic man' with the 'satisficer', that is man who made his decisions under limited knowledge of the environment as well as limited ability to perceive and store information.

1. Place Utility and Action Space.

In his behavioural scheme, Wolpert (1965) argues that each individual has an aspiration level which he seeks to satisfy through a variety of activities in an environment centred on his residence, and the degree to which this is actually satisfied depends on his expected rewards from remaining in the same place. This 'place utility' measures the individual's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with respect to his residential location in relation to alternative locations, evaluated according to his aspirations. This is why, according to Wolpert, information about prospects is so important in migration because it must compensate for lack of personal experience. Migration to a place occurs when the characteristics of the place offer higher utility than other places known to him. The search for a new location is constrained to those alternatives within the individual's 'action space', by which Wolpert means the limited portion of the total environment with which a person is familiar. Since there are personal variations in sources of information the action space often has distortions. These distortions produce directional bias in individual migration. Further, these action spaces also vary with stages in the individual's life cycle, and due to the overlapping influences of age, education, occupation, income and ethnicity individual's action spaces converge with those of others. In a subsequent for-

ulation Wolpert (1966) argues for an ecological decision-making model. In this model the individual's social as well as physical needs are conceptualised as a set of demands from the environment. A set of places in his action space provides positive or stressful impulses. Environmental stress is always present but it becomes important only when a certain threshold has been surpassed. In that situation the person will make a decision either to make an in situ adjustment or to move. It is important to note that recent studies in the Third World have shown that the potential migrants have other alternatives because they can simply put up with stress, reject stress or circulate rather than migrate (Hugo, 1978). Measuring the degree of environmental stress, however, is difficult. Extension and application of Wolpert's (1966) model has been mainly for intra-urban moves (Brown and Moore, 1970; Brown and Longbrake, 1970). In recent years, other approaches to decision-making in migration have appeared in the social sciences. Arguing for the importance of norms in the decision to migrate, Hugo (1975, 1978, 1979) has examined the decision to migrate of potential migrants in West Java. He indicated that, amongst other things, what the community expects is also an important variable in individuals' decisions to move. De Jong and Everett (1979) argued for yet another approach, one which is based on value-expectancy. This model is psychological in orientation, and it is asserted that the strength of a tendency to act in a certain way depends on the expectancy that the act will be followed by a given consequence or goal and the value of the consequence to the individual.

2.2.4. Mobility and Modernisation.

The most widely discussed approach to examining population mobility in the last few years is the 'Mobility Transition', first formulated by Zelinsky (1971). In the formulation, Zelinsky (1971, 221 - 2) hypothesised that there are definite regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space-time during recent history, and that these regularities comprise an essential component of the modernisation process. The Mobility Transition is expressed in a schematic form of five sequential phases corresponding to the phases in the Demographic Transition. Zelinsky argued that at a fairly high level of generalisation it is possible to distinguish mobility patterns that propagate themselves onwards through time and outwards through space from centres of rapid development and change. Changes in mobility patterns accompanying modernisation reflect radical changes in the spatial characteristics of personal mobility, as well as an increasing extent of migration amongst

all sections of the population.

Many studies have used this approach. Findings from cross-cultural analyses covering a variety of levels of socio-economic development are varied. It has been reported, for example, that Staveley (1973), working in a marginal physical resources and economic development area in Newfoundland, found that the propagation in the spread of migration existed independently of the spread of modernisation. Fuchs and Demko (1978) reported some discrepancies in recent population mobility in some Eastern European countries from those expected in Phase V of the Mobility Transition. Three major discrepancies were noted. First, there was an abrupt decline of migration, second, a rapid rise in commuting and third, declining migration distances. Despite these criticisms these authors did not argue against the acceptance of the fundamental idea of the Mobility Transition.

A more critical appraisal of the hypothesis comes from studies conducted in a variety of Third World communities. Chapman (1970) and Bedford (1973) in the Pacific, Hugo (1975, 1978, 1980) and Mantra (1977) in Indonesia, and Skeldon (1977) in Peru, for example, have found substantial variations from Zelinsky's original formulation. One problem that has been highlighted is that often the most explicit changes in personal mobility were started by colonialism and not by modernisation. Furthermore, many Third World societies have a history of mobility that pre-dates modernisation and which has influenced present patterns. Although some of these studies demonstrated patterns that deviated from those expected in the mobility transition, Skeldon (1977) maintained that the framework still proved useful in viewing migration and mobility even in a local area. The strength of the hypothesis perhaps lies in its being highly generalised, descriptive and classificatory. Many short-term and micro-level irregularities have been ignored. By implication, therefore, at a lower level of generalisation irregularities would be expected to emerge, but these irregularities disappear at a higher level of generalisation. Nevertheless, in a subsequent review paper Zelinsky (1979) responded to these test findings by re-examining his first formulation. Inevitably the exercise led to his modifying the initial formulation. In a rather compromising tone he (1979, 188) suggested the following inclusions:

1. political factors
2. mobility transition in its relation to social, economic and technological development

3. an extension of Phase V to accommodate the "turnaround" in super-advanced societies
 4. a further phase, for uncertainty in the future
- and
5. considerations for Third World conditions.

As in the Davilaian cycle of landscape change the Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition is highly generalised and it is not a very useful framework of analysis to explain population circulation.

2.2.5. The Study of Circulation.

In recent years there has been an increasing study of population circulation as opposed to migration in Third World countries (see Goldstein, 1978; Swindell, 1979). It is common to explain circulation by one of these two approaches namely:

1. Circulation is said to be the outcome of centripetal and centrifugal forces. It has been argued that movement takes place because the distribution of population and the location of goods and services that the people want or need are different. In this situation centrifugal forces encourage the mover to leave his village of usual residence while centripetal ones draw him back to the village. The mover will then move back and forth between his usual residence in the village and the urban centres (Chapman and Prothero, 1977; Mantra, 1978; see Bedford, 1980).

2. Circulation is the outcome of risk-minimisation. It has been argued that in the game against uncertain world a mover retains the security of his traditional socio-economic system in the village while making use of opportunities to gain some perceived advantages in the urban areas. In this way he minimises risk as a disadvantaged worker in the urban area and at the same time he is able to participate in the economic activities of the village. Long term absence from the village of residence may result in loss of social prestige or other privileges. The mover has to keep continuing interest in the village affairs (see Bedford, 1980; Brookfield and Hart, 1971).

2.3. A SURVEY OF THEORIES OF URBANISATION

Urbanisation is generally taken to mean the percentage of a

nation's population in urban centres. The controversy about the urbanisation process in the Third World centres on two conflicting viewpoints. First, that the process of urbanisation in the Third World today follows a similar pattern to that of Western urbanisation one and a half centuries ago, in which urbanisation stimulated economic development. Second, that the process is dissimilar because the context of urbanisation in the Third World today is different. Urbanisation, therefore, does not necessarily lead to or is accompanied by economic development (Friedmann and Wolf, 1975).

The first viewpoint could be traced back to the idea that cities are centres of either orthogenetic or heterogenetic transformation (Redfield and Singer, 1954). The former refers to pre-industrial cities that are centres of tradition. Orthogenetic cities are hypothesised to change in response to Western capitalism to become heterogenetic cities in which the local tradition gives way to a new culture based on industrialisation; urbanisation therefore leads to economic development. Hoselitz (1960), on the other hand, dichotomised cities into generative ones, when they contribute to economic growth in the country in which they are located, or parasitic ones when they do not induce development. Although he recognised that orthogenetic cities are not necessarily parasitic with regard to economic growth, his theory expects that traditional peasant economies would change following the establishment of Western rule in which the city is dominant.

These examples of the first viewpoint have a similar basis in that they apply the economic growth model of the advanced capitalist countries to a situation totally different in the Third World today. Many have reacted against such a perspective by presenting evidence that is contradictory to those expected by the models (Soyani, 1964; Frank, 1967; Brookfield, 1968; Mc Gee, 1971). For the Southeast Asian situation Mc Gee (1971) and various other contributors have produced evidence to question the application of Western models to the Third World situation (Hugo, 1978; Caldwell, 1969; Logan, 1972). The Third World countries today are not homogenous socially, politically or economically, and each country has its own culture which necessitates different prescriptions for its development since it has its own emphasis and priority.

The second viewpoint asserts that urbanisation in the Third World countries today is different from the path taken by Western urbanisation. One trend of thought is that of Castells (1977, Chapter 3) who

proposed in his concept of dependent urbanisation that the study of urbanisation in the Third World must be integrated into an analysis of underdevelopment (Frank, 1967). A society was said to be dependent when the articulation of its social structure, at the economic, political and ideological level, expressed unbalanced relations with another social formation that holds power. To deal with underdevelopment was to study the penetration of one social structure by another. This necessitated an analysis of the social structure of the indigenous society before penetration as well as the mode of articulation, that is the type of domination. The urbanisation process then became "the expression of this social dynamic at the level of space where Western capitalist mode of production penetrates the remaining social formations at different technological, economic and social levels" (Castells, 1977, 44). There are three types of domination:

1. colonial exploitation
2. capitalist - commercial domination by importing raw materials at a lower value and exporting industrial products to the dependency at a higher value
3. capitalist industrial and financial domination together with speculation in investment leading to the creation of local industries which tend to control the movements of import substitution. Dependent urbanisation reveals the concrete articulation of these economic and political relations.

Before penetration, cities in the region were essentially political and administrative, controlling surplus agricultural production and supplying services in return. Upon this, colonialism imposed colonial cities that were 'reproduced' cities of the mother country as well as commercial cities. Industrialisation proceeded in the urban areas, but it was a dependent form of industrialisation with limited effects on surrounding regions. Accelerated urban growth arose from an increase in the rate of natural growth in urban and rural areas and rural-urban migration. Rural-urban migration in turn was induced by more than just the push effects of the breaking-down of rural society together with the dynamic pulls of city life. Neither was it due to a favourable cost-benefit balance sheet at the individual level. It was in response to Western values as well as new types of urban life style diffused by the mass media. The whole productive system was reorganised according to

the interests of the dominant society. If demographic pressure on land existed it was because the system of land ownership and land use favoured the interests of the landlords. Should the familial system decline as the basic economic institution it was due to its dependence on an uncertain world community market for agricultural products. Dependent urbanisation then caused an over concentration in the urban areas, but failed to produce an urban network that could stimulate development (Linsky, 1965).

Another contributor, perhaps a more important one, to the second viewpoint is Mc Gee (1971) whose arguments could be traced under two separate headings (Friedmann and Wulf, 1975). First, he strongly asserted that in the context of a majority of the Third World countries a theoretical framework which regarded the city as a catalyst of change must be discarded, and that to understand the role of cities it was necessary to study underdevelopment in these countries, of which cities were only a part (McGee, 1971, 31). This leads him to see Third World cities as parasitical on the rural hinterland. Second, a more substantial contribution is his theory of urban involution¹. Using a sectoral model of the urban economy, Armstrong and Mc Gee (1968) reformulated the core-periphery relationship by introducing the concept of dependent capitalism. This he superimposed on the bazaar economy, that is the labour-intensive and indigenous sector of urban production. It was in this sector that an endless multiplicity of work took place to absorb the growing population in the sector. Mc Gee argued that capitalist enterprise would tend to squeeze the bazaar and the peasant economies, pushing surplus labour into cities as well as reducing the capabilities of the bazaar economy to compete with the corporate sector. Urban involution may continue if the capitalist penetration can be contained. Thus, the process of capitalist penetration into the peasant system would not always involve the collapse of the peasant system of production, and the capitalist system would not necessarily take its place. In this situation, rural to urban moves should not be equated with social and economic mobility, but rather with movement between broadly similar systems of economic and social relations.

1 Urban involution refers to the process whereby economic activities become more and more labour intensive and complex as population continues to grow. The term is derived from 'agricultural involution' used by Geertz (1963) to describe the extraordinary capacity of the peasant agriculture of Java to absorb increasing labour as population grows.

2.4. THEORETICAL APPROACH ADOPTED IN THIS STUDY.

From the review there is clearly no single approach which will allow us to view population mobility comprehensively. The basic assumptions underlying most of the approaches, and the methods required to implement them, are appropriate to the type of society with which most were originally concerned - a Western, capitalistic, free-enterprise state. Transferring such models directly into a Third World situation may raise more problems than the models can solve. Many researchers have expressed concern over the appropriateness of the indiscriminate transfer of models formulated in the West to account for phenomena in Third World countries (Mc Gee, 1971; Waddell, 1977; Hugo, 1978).

Although in recent years there has been an increasing study of mobility as opposed to migration in Third World countries (see Swindell, 1979), for Africa; Pryor, 1979a, for Southeast Asia) there is still no comprehensive theory of mobility (Bedford, 1973; Hugo, 1978). It has been suggested that the main reason for this is because of the lack of a suitable explanatory framework. Forbes (1980) has shown that many mobility studies in Indonesia, for example, based their explanation on local socio-economic factors that affect the community under study or were focused on the 'tradition' of mobility in that community - making it difficult to generalise the results. Following this, an increasing number of researchers on mobility have started to look into other modes of explanation. One such mode is to view mobility in the context of the broader structural changes taking place in Third World societies (Swindell, 1979; Mc Gee, 1978; Forbes, 1980), in which there have been increasing pleas to use a marxist paradigm that examines the various modes of production that determine various other structures in the society (Browett, 1980, 57 - 70).¹ Although the marxist paradigm offers a great potential for a holistic analysis of mobility, the framework is not that easily used in the Malaysian context².

A more specific suggestion concerning an appropriate framework for the study of mobility centres on the possibility of adopting Amin's (1974) theory for West African mobility (Forbes, 1980). Amin (1974, 65 - 121) argued that modern labour movements in West Africa can best be understood through an analysis of the uneven impact of Western capitalist expansion on tribal societies, the resulting regional imbalances, and the different policies that have been implemented in the

2 See comments by Mc Gee (1976) for the Third World situation.

various regions in order to ensure a supply of labour, including such means as an urban biased education. In this situation, migration is a direct result of the reorganisation of West African society brought about by Western capitalist intrusion and the need for labour. Forbes (1980) considered this approach to have the potential of giving more satisfactory explanations of population mobility. In spite of this, Forbes (1980, 17) admitted that at this point in time the approach "is important not because it explains mobility but because it provides us with a starting point and many questions to ask ...". The ideas are interesting and useful to give a fresh view on mobility. However, since the approach is concerned more with the broader social changes it does not offer many specific solutions to the daily problems confronting decision makers (Clements, 1980). We have to meet this day to day need for solutions to problems too.

In the light of the theoretical development of mobility studies discussed above, and since the focus of this study is an empirical one that is based on a detailed examination of a local area, we will adopt a theoretical approach that is widely known as 'the flexible theoretical approach' similar to the approach used in several other studies on population mobility in the past (Bedford, 1973, 6 - 7; Hugo, 1978, 3; Kaim, 1979)³. In this approach we will combine descriptions with hypotheses or models about aspects of mobility drawn from a range of theories. By adopting this approach we feel that we can come into grips with realities in the survey villages and in Malaysia. There are aspects of life in these villages that have been affected by colonial and Western capital intrusion. At the same time there are elements existing in juxtaposition which are non-capitalistic in nature. These elements are essentially adat and Islam which are still important in ordering life in these villages and in Malaysia. In this situation motives expressed by people in the survey villages may be a rationalisation within the constraints determined not only by external economic forces but also by adat and Islam. Thus, we feel that to approach the study purely in the manner suggested by Anin earlier will tend to oversimplify the existence of the non-capitalistic elements in the community. Further, a flexible theoretical approach will enable us to view realities in the survey villages from many angles. This approach, hopefully, will

3 Olsson (1968) and Chamberlain (1897) had argued for the advantages of such an approach.

lead to a realistic understanding of the patterns of mobility and urbanisation amongst the people. Through this approach we hope also to come up with generalisations that may be useful for solving day to day problems facing the Malaysian planners. Against the advantage of being flexible, Bedford (1973) has cautioned us that such an approach does not guarantee that the study will form a coherent and integrated whole. In addition the explanation towards mobility may be emphasising a great deal of localised factors instead of the fundamental reason, making it possible only to make short term policy prescriptions.

2.5 DATA SOURCES.

We have stated in the aims of the study that we will also look at the macro-patterns of population movement to, from and within Negri Sembilan in order to put the patterns of mobility derived from a micro-study in the right perspective. To fulfill the aims, the study uses both secondary data and materials collected in intensive studies of small communities in Negri Sembilan.

2.5.1. Sources of Aggregate Migration Data in Peninsular Malaysia.

There is no one comprehensive source of migration data in Malaysia that we can use in our study. Pryor (1978; 1979a, 61 - 62) has made an examination of several macro-data sources on migration in the Peninsula, and a summary of these sources is given in Table 2.1 in which the census provides the most suitable data for our study. Since this study will use mainly materials from the census in examining the patterns of population movement at the macro-level, we will make a detailed critique of the utility of the census materials in migration studies.

Peninsular Malaysia has been taking censuses at fairly regular intervals since the beginning of the century, and the 1970 census seems to be the most comprehensive in its coverage of information. The 1970 census, like any other census in the past, took a count of people in the country on a de-facto basis. According to Chander (1977, 256) a fair

Table 2.1. Main Sources of Migration Data in Malaysia.

Source	Type of Migration Data	Collection Units	Advantages	Disadvantages	Main User
1. West-Malayan New Family Survey.	Life-time	Samples from 11 states in Malaya- politan, other urban and rural strata.	Useful to illustrate broad migra- tion est- imates in the Penin- sula.	Not useful for small areas. Limited to families aged 15 - 65.	Pryor (1978)
2. Socio- economic sample sur- vey of households, 1957 - 1968.	Life-time	Five broad groupings of States in the Peninsula.	as above	Not useful for small areas.	Nagata (1974) Pryor (1978)
3. Identity Card change of address.	Life-time	Covered 11 States.	as above	Data difficult to obtain for a small area since the sur- vey was by year and not by State.	Pryor (1974; 1978).
4. Electoral rolls.	Life-time	voting regions	as above	Accuracy sus- pected since registration mandatory but not enforced.	Pryor (1974)
5. Local sur- vey.	Life-time/ longitudi- nal	Local area	Often with specific aims	Not directly useful for us.	Pryor (1978)
Rural Corp. Malayan Family Life Survey, 1970	Longitudi- nal/life history	Sample/all States, Penin- sular Malaysia	Not seen	Not seen	RAND CORP. (1978)
6. Census, 1921 - 1957	Life-time	State	See text	See text	Mc Gee (1966) Pryor (1978)
1970	Life-time "Most- recent migrant."	District	None	None	Soon (1974)

Sources: Census, 1921 - 1970; Pryor (1978).

degree of comparability was maintained with the 1947 and the 1957 censuses in that the questionnaires that were used covered approximately the same range of items of information. The census was administered in two stages; the first stage involved the listing of dwellings and households over a period of two weeks, whilst the second stage collected information about the households and individuals also covering a period of two weeks. Both stages of the census covered the whole country, which had been divided into 19,332 enumeration blocks.

The 1970 census was the first Malaysian census to collect statistics on most recent migration. The following questions from Form 5 of the Population and Housing census are relevant to migration studies.

18. Born in Malaysia ?
19. State of Birth ?
20. Country of Birth ?
21. How long in total have you lived in Malaysia ?
22. How long have you lived in this kampong, town, mukim, district, state since birth; in some other place in Malaysia, town, mukim, district, state; outside Malaysia).
23. What was the name of the place where you lived before ? (Kampong, town, mukim, district, state).

These questions allow the separation of intra-state from interstate "most recent" migration (those who previously lived in a state other than their state of enumeration) and "lifetime" migration (those enumerated in a state other than their state of birth). The following information can be extracted from the tabulations:

1. International migration.
 2. Interstate lifetime migrants.
 3. Interstate most recent migrants.
 4. Intra-state most recent migrants.
 5. Lifetime return migrants.
- and
6. An insight into non-migrant/stayer characteristics
- 1965, 1960 and 1947 migrants can be extracted by manipulating the length of residence in the locality

and then cross tabulating between place of enumeration with state of birth or place of previous residence.

Despite the improvement in the 1970 census in migration data, there are problems that may limit their usefulness. We examine below some of the problems in the data on lifetime migration, most-recent migration and migration differentials.

1. Lifetime Migration Data.

Although Peninsular Malaysia has been taking censuses at regular intervals since the beginning of the century, information on internal population migration has been very limited. In each census, individuals were asked their state of birth, and comparing this information with their state of enumeration gives data on lifetime migrant movement, in which a migrant is a person whose state of birth is different from the state of enumeration. In this context the lifetime migration data refer to the 'stocks' account of people taken at a point in time rather than migration movement per se (see Pryor, 1978; Hugo, 1975 for discussion).

One of several other objections to these data is that multiple moves made by a person will be lost and counted only once at the terminal move before the census. Another objection to the lifetime migration data is that they only refer to inter-state migrant moves, and not to moves within each state. Nagata (1974), in her study of population mobility in the Northern States of the Peninsula, has suggested that local moves seemed to be more dominant in the areas she studied. If this is true then lifetime migrant data reveal only a small part of total population movement in the Peninsula. The fact that the data are only available at the state level makes it impossible to study migrant movement at lower levels, such as the district or mukim, and therefore to identify some of the areas suffering from widespread outmigration and the areas gaining through immigration. In the 1970 census information about lifetime migrant moves was also collected at four settlement strata namely, metropolitan urban, urban large, urban small and rural strata. But the breakdown into these strata was made only at the destinations, which thus makes the information less useful for migration studies because we do not know the characteristics of the place of origin of these moves.

In the absence of other migration data that comprehensively cover the whole Peninsula the life-time migrant movement data offer reasonably useful information for determining the overall migration pattern.

2. "Most Recent" Migrant Movement Data.

The 1970 census recorded for the first time information on previous place of residence in addition to birthplace information, providing for cross-sectional data on migrant movement being tabulated at the district level. This additional information opens many possibilities for migration studies at the macro-level. But an inspection of the "most recent" migration data reveals problems which may limit their usefulness.

Hugo (1975, 158 - 165) in his work in West Java has examined closely the relation between life-time and most recent migrant statistics in Indonesia and his arguments have relevance to the Malaysian case. He demonstrated that the subset of "most recent" migrants enumerated in each province will differ from the corresponding subset of life-time migrants for the census due to :

1. The addition of migrants returning to their province of birth.
- and 2. The province of origin of multi-stage lifetime migrants being the province in which they last resided before moving and not their province of birth.

The relationship between the two subsets of migrants is such that the number of immigrants (M_i) in a province is equal to the number of lifetime migrants from all other states (L_i) plus return migrants born in the state (R_i). Thus,

$$M_i = L_i + R_i \quad (1)$$

Because M_i and L_i are known, R_i can be obtained as a residual. The return migrants identified are only those who returned to their province of birth, and not those who moved to some other province in which they had lived previously.

A similar simple equation does not apply when one examines the number of outmigrants recorded by a province. The complexity is intro-

duced by multi-stage movers from outside the province. Two cases of multi-stage movement to a province B are :

1. A person who was born in A but lived in C immediately before moving to B.
2. A person who was born in C but lived in A immediately before moving to B.

Both persons would be designated lifetime and "most recent" immigrants to B. But person 1. above would be enumerated as only a lifetime out-migrant from A and not from C where he is a "most recent" outmigrant, while the reverse applies to person 2. Hence the number of outmigrants (M_o) from a province A will be equal to,

$$M_o = L_o - M_b + M_r + R_o \quad (2)$$

where L_o = Persons born in A but enumerated in another province.

M_b = Multi-stage migrants born in province A who had lived in some other province before moving to their present province of residence.

M_r = Multi-stage migrants born in another province but who had lived in province A before shifting to their present province of residence.

R_o = Return migrants who had lived in province A before returning to their province of birth.

For Malaysia as a whole M_b must equal M_r because the number of lifetime outmigrants (L_o) and return outmigrants (R_o) must be equal to the total lifetime immigrants (L_i) and return lifetime immigrants (R_i). They may not equal each other in one state. From the argument above, most recent migrants will be different from the lifetime migrants, and logically the total of most recent migrants must be more than the total lifetime migrants. The 1970 Malaysian census tabulations on most recent migrant movements show a reverse picture in that the total for most recent migrants was smaller than for lifetime migrants, due to underestimation (which we examine below).

Pryor⁴ (1979a) has also raised this discrepancy in the 1970

4 Personal communication, 1979.

census. He (Pryor, 1979a, footnote 4 Chapter 7) argued that the previous residence (most recent migrant) totals in the 1970 census were less than the total lifetime interstate migrants because of the method of tabulation. The Department of Statistics in Kuala Lumpur responded to his query in 1975 and amongst other points stated that the birth place question only asked the state of birth. On the other hand the place of previous residence question asked the locality of last previous residence. On the basis of this Pryor proposed that it was quite probable that the number of 'previous residence' (most recent) interstate migrants could turn out to be less than the number of lifetime interstate migrants. The following table taken from Pryor (1979a, footnote 4, Chapter 7) is reproduced in full to illustrate his explanation for the under-estimation of the most recent migrant total.

State of residence at enumeration in 1970	State of birth	State of previous locality	Migrant Status	
			According to lifetime migration definition	According to Place of previous residence (most recent) migration definition.
Selangor	Perak	Selangor (moved from one locality to another within Selangor)	Migrant (since state of birth differs from state of residence in 1970)	Non-migrant (since state of previous residence is same as state of residence in 1970)

Due to this underestimation the data should be used with some care. Consequently, these data will be used only to illustrate aspects of migrant moves in the Peninsula from, to and within Negri Sembilan to supplement the life-time migrant movement data.

3. Data on Migration Differentials.

Apart from the problems concerning the migration data there are major shortcomings also in the information regarding the characteristics of migrants. The age, occupational and marital status of the people referred to the situation at the time of the census and not at the time immediately after the people moved. These people could have changed their occupations and their marital status between the time of their first move and the census. A more serious problem in the 1970 census regarding the

characteristics of migrants has been summarised by Pryor (1979d,82) who indicated that 'information is not available on the age, sex or other characteristics of migrants in the district and state matrices' of the origin and destination of migrants. Some unpublished aggregate data on the various characteristics of migrants were available and Pryor (1979a) made use of some of this data.

A quotation from Pryor (1979a,82) on the problems of the migration data in the 1970 census provides a useful summary to conclude this section,

"Unfortunately the data at the district level are not available cross-tabulated by length of residence, to provide some control over residence period. Neither data on place of birth nor on place of previous residence give any indication of multiple moves or the date of migration, and international migration and mortality eliminate an unknown number of internal migrants from consideration".

2.6. THE KUALA PILAH VILLAGE SURVEY AND THE URBAN 'TRACER' SURVEY.

The second data set of the study was gathered through the Kuala Pilah village survey, henceforth known as the 'village survey', and the survey that traced migrants in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban town, henceforth known as the urban 'tracer' survey, both of which were conducted while on fieldwork in Malaysia from January to December, 1978. A major part of the thesis is based upon the information obtained from these surveys. In the following section we will examine the methodological approach and field procedures used in the study.

2.6.1. Methodological Approaches to the study of Population Movement.

Population movement involves a complex process. It has been shown that at any point in time people who are involved in any type of mobility are at one of several stages of that mobility and in the case of rural to urban mobility individuals can be located in any one or other of eight stages of that mobility (Hugo, 1979, 4 - 5) as follows :

1. Rural people who have not yet ever thought

about moving to the city.

2. Rural people who have thought about moving but abandoned it.
 3. Rural people who are about to leave for the city.
 4. Individuals who are en-route to the city.
 5. Individuals who have moved to the city permanently.
 6. Individuals who have moved to the city and have intentions of returning to the village.
 7. Persons who are en-route home to the village from the city to which they had moved earlier.
- and
8. Returnees to the village of origin who have been working in the city.

If we want to understand the entire process of population movement data should be collected at all these stages of the movement. From the literature, several approaches have been developed and used to collect information on the various stages of the movement. Table 2.2 provides a summary of these approaches from which we formulate our own methodological perspective.

Clearly, there are various methodological approaches which can be adopted in our study. Since two of the specific aims of the study are to examine the impact of migration on the village of origin and the reasons for moving or staying in a decision-making framework, and given that we were working under constraints of time and money, it seems that the approach from the rural end offers more advantages than disadvantages. Not only it is theoretically more justifiable, since most important decisions about migration must have taken place at the rural end of the process (Caldwell, 1969; Hugo, 1975, 1979), but also studies from the rural end can highlight many of the socio-economic and cultural situations in which the decision is made that an entirely urban survey cannot reveal. In addition, rural-based surveys are able to record all types of movements that have originated from the village, and rural-urban movements can then be put into their correct perspective (see Hugo, 1975).

The rural-end approach is not without its problems. The most important one is that the permanent migrants in the city who do not

Table 2.2. Methodological Approaches to the Study of Population Mobility.

Main Approaches	Advantage	Disadvantage	Users in Southeast Asia/Pacific
1) Prospective Approach that questions the same individual as he passes through the stages.	Insights into entire process	Procedural, logistic difficulties, costly in time and money.	Chapman (1975)
2) Study different individuals with similar backgrounds at each stage of the migration process.	Information from individuals at each stage of the migration process. Requires less recall of past experiences. Can observe contemporary migration attitudes	Costly in time and money. Different individuals studied at the respective stages.	

Variations.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| a) A survey of origins of migrants and the major rural areas identified and surveyed. | Sprague (1969) in Taiwan. |
| b) Rural survey and later urban survey. | Falderell (1969) in Africa. |
| c) Sample of migrants in city so that their geographic origin was limited to a particular region and they conformed to particular age, sex, marital status and length of residence in city. To show differences between up- and non-migrants. | Cardano and Simmons (1975) in Peru. |
| d) Each urban respondent asked to match himself with a particular rural man from the same sub-
class about the same age and educational level. The man is subsequently traced and interviewed. | Wallerstein (1973) |

Data Approaches	Advantage	Disadvantage	Users in Southeast Asia-Pacific
To study individuals at rural end, enroute, and at urban end, and 'reconstruct' their experience.	Least costly; logistically very demanding.	Problems of recall; poor and partialization. Information mainly on particular types of migrants, i.e. permanent migrant in the city.	
<u>Variations</u>			
At urban end; the most common.	Less costly; sampling frame available.	Neglect the prior economic situation in the village.	Xo Gao (1968); Ali (1961)
En-route, rare	Can survey individuals at a particular stage.	Logistically difficult and costly.	Meinkoth (1962)
Rural end; growing	Can detect people at first four stages of the movement process shown earlier; insights into the decision making process about moving or not. Useful when the dominant movement is circular migration. Easy to contact them in the village.	Permanent migrants are not able to be interviewed although non response by family reconsecration and non relations of neighbours.	Hugo (1978); Mansu (1978); Rodriguez (1979)

Sources: Hugo, 1979, 1 - 16; Caldwell, 1969; Weisner, 1972.

return to the village at the time of the survey cannot be interviewed. It has been suggested however, that this problem could be overcome by the use of a technique similar to the 'family reconstitution' procedures used in historical demography (Hugo, 1975; 1978). The "family reconstitution", according to Wrigley (1966, 96), concerns "the bringing together of scattered information about the members of a family to enable its chief demographic characteristics to be described as fully as possible". Many studies have used this technique, one that allows the researcher to conduct a kind of population census concerning all living persons ever born in a household and to trace all persons who have moved from the house (Caldwell, 1969, 209; Hugo, 1975; Khuri, 1967). It follows that the technique is useful when the unit of analysis is the household and not individuals.

Although this approach cannot interview current outmigrants it can gather information on people who are en route and who are at the urban stages of the process. According to Hugo (1979, 11 - 13) the information can be collected from two sources: first, the retrospective accounts of villagers who have returned after spending some period in the city and second, the questioning of members of village households from which other members have left from the village. In cases where entire families have moved information is sought from neighbours or relatives. The fruitfulness of this approach in a community that is characterised by close primary group associations has been shown by Hugo's research in West Java, Indonesia (Hugo, 1975).

A major difficulty facing this approach is that it is difficult to detect entire extended families who have moved. If when a man marries he leaves his parents' home to stay in his wife's village and later moves to the city, he should be detected in the migration history given by the respondent in his parents' household. When the entire family has moved, it is more difficult to trace. In the Kuala Pilah villages in Negri Sembilan there were a few cases of extended families who could not be detected either because they had completely moved away or because most members had died.

A major problem in the application of this procedure to the village in Negri Sembilan is that although the people have strong family, kinship and local ties many of the moves are 'permanent'. While migrants do maintain strong links with the village community a study from the village and will often not be able to get detailed and reliable informa-

tion on the migrants' activities in the city. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that most of the return migrants in the village were found to have limited experience of city life because they had been ex-servicemen, primary school teachers and labourers whose experience was limited to small towns or rural areas.

In order to overcome this problem and at the same time to fulfill the aim of understanding the commitment of migrants to the city vis-a-vis the village, it was decided that it would be rewarding to supplement the rural and procedures with an urban and survey that concentrates on tracing the migrants from each household in the village who were away in the city during the survey. To carry out the 'tracer survey' was possible in the circumstances since, as said earlier, the migrants kept personal links with the village, and by asking the cooperation of the villagers we could get into contact with the kinship and friendship networks that would help in the tracing of these individuals.

In short, the methodological approach adopted for the study concentrates on the rural end first and then on the city end, giving a complete circuit of rural and urban survey. Two 'middle-range' theoretical orientations guide the collection and arrangement of data in this study. Brookfield's (1962; 1973a; 1973b) 'micro-geographic (local area) study and comparative method' is one. Briefly, in this "we felt it is more productive to know a lot about a little than to know a little about a lot" (Brookfield, 1973a, 10), and this method allows us to seek intrinsic connections between phenomena by research in depth. Another was 'matching of samples' (Weisner, 1973). It was necessary to match migrants with people in the village following the assumption that such a method would lead to a deeper understanding of the interaction between migrants and population in the place of the origin, especially as it affects the village.

2.6.3. Fieldwork Technique (See also Appendix A).

The fieldwork strategy is summarised in Table 2.3. To simplify description the fieldwork is divided into two stages, namely the village survey and the urban tracer survey.

a) The village survey.

Phase I involved choosing the villages for the survey. Several considerations governed the number of villages chosen.

First, a study conducted at the village level will permit an

Table 2.3. Fieldwork Strategy

Stage	Activities
First stage : Village Survey	
Phase I : Choice of village	a) Preliminary analysis of census data, archival materials, and reports. b) Informal interviews, discussions with officials in appropriate government departments in Kuala Lumpur, Seremban and the districts. c) Meeting village heads and village people. d) Choosing the study villages. e) Training of survey assistants.
Phase II: Moving into the survey villages.	a) Contacts with villagers. b) Developing village questionnaires. c) Pilot testing of questionnaires.
Phase III: Interviewing villagers.	a) First stage; Listing of houses. b) Second stage; Interviews. c) Coding. d) Listing of migrants and developing, and trying out, urban questionnaires.
Second Stage: Urban Tracer Survey.	
Phase I : Tracing the migrants.	
Phase II : Interviewing traced migrants.	

intensive investigation into mobility patterns and the processes shaping them. Results from such an investigation, however, are not representative for the population and they cannot, therefore, be generalised. If the research intends to generalise, a village study is obviously far from appropriate. But if the intention is to understand the phenomenon, then the details from a village study will produce materials illustrative of some mobility forms and the variables shaping them. Moreover, if a study is to be representative it requires a random sample. In the present case the sample has to be drawn from an appropriate sampling frame that shows the patterns of population mobility in Negri Sembilan. A short stay in the field reveals that not only is such a frame absent at a lower level than the census enumeration block but information pertaining to population mobility is in general lacking at a lower level than the district. Further, villages in the rural areas are far from homogeneous. In 1978 there were 192 villages with Development Committees⁵ in Negri Sembilan, and to take a random sample of a manageable number, one or two, of these villages would raise more problems that it could solve, whereas to take the number of villages that would be statistically acceptable would be beyond the resources available from the research project. In such a predicament the alternative is to select a manageable number of villages on some structured basis and then study them in detail.

Analyses of reports, census data and existing localised studies provided some insight into the present mobility patterns and their importance at the regional level, and to a certain degree at the village level, in Negri Sembilan. This, together with some previous experience in rural areas in the state as well as about three months of intensive observations and discussions with people through the administrative hierarchy in the state, contributed information to form the basis for the selection of villages. Reports, archival materials as well as census data were collated and some were analysed at Flinders University prior to the fieldwork. More examination of records in several relevant institutions in Kuala Lumpur and later at the State Secretariat at Seremban, Negri Sembilan, was made between January and March, 1978. Discussions were also held with officials at the State Secretariat at Seremban and at the district capitals before going to a lower level, the village. While analyses of these materials produced some information regarding migration patterns at the regional level, only impressions could be formed

5 A few small traditional Kampongs have been amalgamated into bigger ones for the purpose of development.

about the state of mobility and socio-economic development at the 'mukim' and the kampung level. Informal talks with several village heads and villagers throughout the state provided further background regarding the patterns of population mobility and the socio-economic conditions at the village level in the state. Local studies on population movement in the University of Malaya and Universiti Kebangsaan libraries helped to strengthen these early impressions on the structure and level of population mobility at the lower level. From these various sources several conclusions on the state of population mobility and socio-economic development in the State can be advanced. First, all "traditional villages" in Negri Sembilan produce various forms of population mobility. Second, contrary to popular beliefs about 'merantau' there is a small proportion of males in the village population who opts to stay in the village and never set foot in the cantau. Third, some people commute from the village to another village or town for education or work. Fourth, some return to settle in the village after a working life spent in the city.

After considering all the points raised earlier three kampungs (villages) were finally chosen based on the presence of major rural to urban population movements. The location of the villages is shown in Figure 2.1 in which it is shown that Sungai Dua is situated adjacent to Kuala Pilah town; Jussah is on the plains in the eastern parts of the Kuala Pilah district lying between the booming Bahau town and Kuala Pilah town (Cohen, 1980), and Ibel is located on the main road from Kuala Pilah to Seremban. Administratively, all the three villages are in the district of Kuala Pilah and politically, they are parts of a voting region of the Federal parliament.

Phase II. Once the kampungs had been chosen a formal application for permission to carry out the survey was lodged with the District Development Officer who also put us into direct contact with the Penghulu mukim (administrative head of a mukim) and the village heads. We paid the village head a visit as soon as all the formalities had been completed at the district office. Each village head was furnished with the relevant information about the survey. With the help of the village heads the boundary of each village to be surveyed was then determined. We also sought his help in announcing the survey to his 'anak buah' (villagers), as well as getting a list of the household heads.

A total of six months was spent in rural Negri Sembilan, three

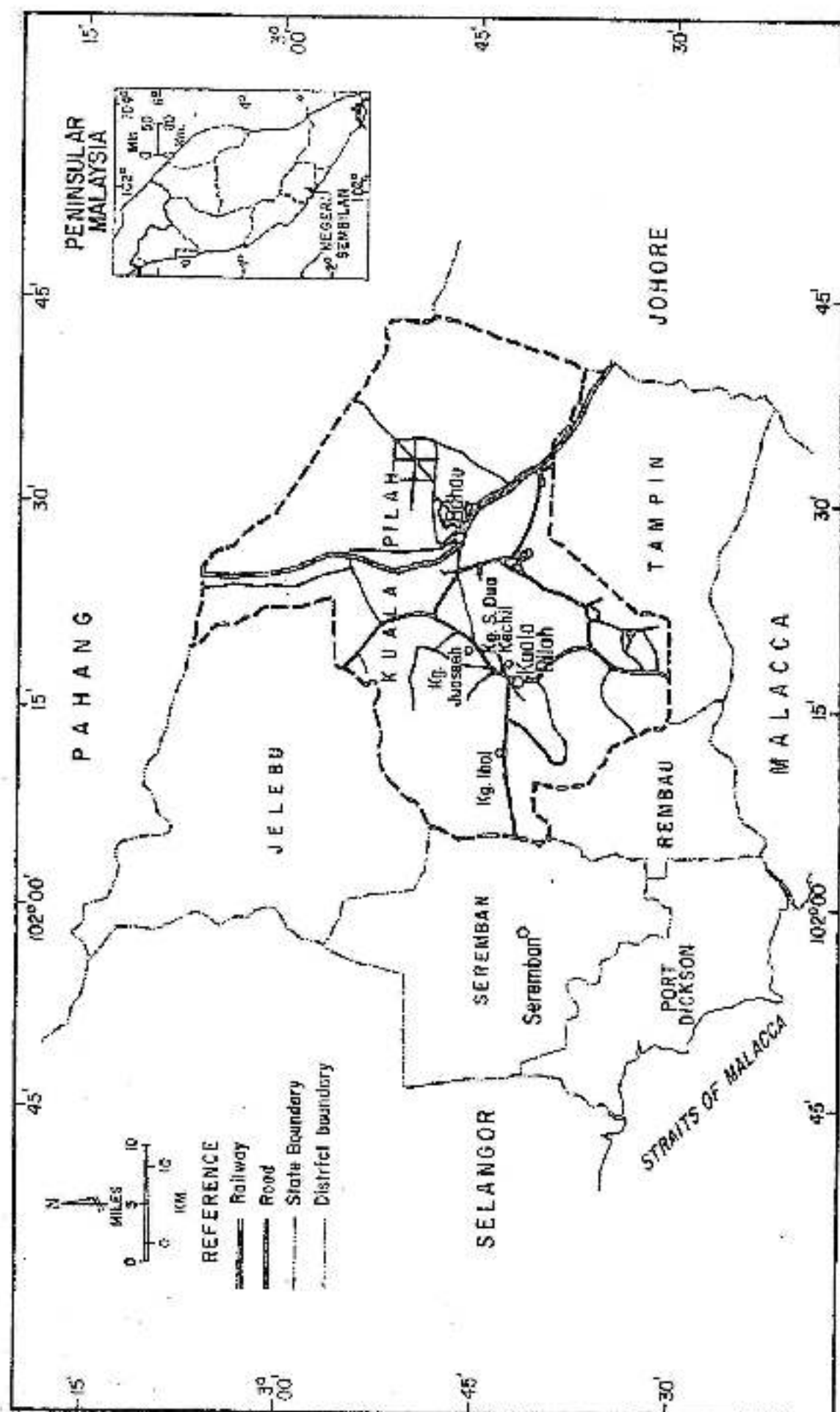


Figure 2-1: The Location of the Survey Villages in the District of Kuala Pilah, Negeri Sembilan

months travelling to establish some basic idea of conditions and mobility patterns in Negri Sembilan villages, and making contacts as well as narrowing down the choice of villages. From these initial contacts and subsequent meetings a village questionnaire was gradually developed. At the same time five survey assistants were selected and trained. They were social science students at the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, who had had some experience in interviewing techniques. Since we were all conversant with the local dialect and we came originally from the same state, we were easily accepted by the villagers and we felt that the information gathered was reliable. In March 1978 we moved into the villages to establish a base in each village. The village questionnaires were tried out in the adjoining kampung to the first survey village. From the pilot test, some alterations were made to the questionnaires by making questions shorter where necessary.

Phase III. The actual village survey started in late April. Initially, we faced the problem of meeting our respondents at a time convenient to them. After two weeks, the survey progressed satisfactorily. After the survey in the second village had been completed, coding was started and checked. At the same time, a list of movers, their addresses and their characteristics was prepared. As the coordinator of the survey, I had, at this stage, to divide my time between supervising and taking part in the village survey and preparing for the urban tracer survey. An urban questionnaire was prepared and tested on several urban families in Seremban as well as in Kuala Lumpur.

While we were interviewing the last village in July 1978, the Federal Government called for a snap general election in which formal political rallies were made illegal for security reasons. In their place the government allowed what was then known as a 'whisper campaign' involving small group or house to house discussion by political campaigners. This affected our survey because the villagers often mistook our intention. To avoid any further problems that would affect the reliability of the information collected the village survey was temporarily suspended as from the middle of June, and the remainder of our survey in the last village was completed after the election. A total of 205 households were interviewed intensively. Some comments on the data collected will be made again in Chapter 5 and in subsequent chapters whenever appropriate.

b) The Urban Tracer Survey.

The second part of the survey involved the tracing and interviewing of migrants from the three villages who were in Kuala Lumpur city and Seremban metropolitan area at the time of the survey. This survey was started as soon as the village-survey had been completed. Several months were initially spent to locate and up-date the addresses of migrants collected at the village and since information gathered at the village was generally incomplete. On failing to contact a migrant at his home in the city a search was then made at his place of work. The latter involved visits to government departments, semi-government agencies, private firms as well as individuals (especially from Negri Sembilan) who could help in the search for the migrants from the villages. When contact was made the migrant was informed about the survey and the reason for selecting him for the interview⁶. A time most convenient to the migrant was then agreed upon for the interview, each of which lasted about one hour. A few migrants insisted on completing the questionnaires on their own. When this happened detailed instructions were left with the questionnaires, and at the time of collecting them a check was made to ensure that all questions had been answered.

A list of migrants from the three survey villages was prepared while the village survey was in progress. Ideally, all the movers from each household who were resident in the city should have been traced and interviewed. It was realised that this was not feasible given the constraints of time and finance. Since most migrants were in the Kuala Lumpur metropolitan area and the Kelang Valley in Selangor, as well as in Seremban, Negri Sembilan, it was finally decided to confine the search for the migrants to those areas⁷. The strategy in tracing the migrants was such that traced migrants would match as many households in the survey villages as possible. In six cases, two migrants each from the same

- 6 It was not uncommon to meet migrants who had known about the survey from their kin in the villages. Problems of acceptance therefore were minimised.
- 7 However, visits were also made to other cities in the Peninsula where a few migrants had gone to work. No tracing was done nor any interview conducted. But informal discussions with some migrant groups (not necessarily from Negri Sembilan) in migrant suburbs in Johor Baharu and Ipoh, helped to understand migrant problems in urban areas.

household in the village were interviewed. These were village households that had several members both in Seremban and Kuala Lumpur. Ten migrants were traced from households that were completely absent in the villages, due to the fact that their mothers had died and therefore everyone had moved from the village or the whole nuclear family had shifted to look for jobs in the city. A total of 101 migrants were finally traced and interviewed. Only the information for 100 migrants was processed, since the last one was found to be from a village household from which two urban migrants had already been surveyed.

In pursuing the tracer survey many problems were encountered. Since the strategy was to match the traced migrants with as many households in the village as possible it was demanding on time to search for such individuals. It was easier however, to contact all migrants from several village households who were in the city at the time of the survey since these individuals maintained a close link with one another. In addition, most migrants⁸ were in employment which posed the difficulty of locating them as well as finding a suitable time for an interview. It was not uncommon to have to make several visits to complete the questionnaires. Despite those problems, many of which were technical, the tracer survey was a worthy and rewarding procedure in a study such as the present one. Weisner (1973, 122) suggested four methodological advantages in using a comparative rural-urban study. They are :

1. It provides a base line for studying urbanisation which helps to avoid inaccurately imputing characteristics to rural or urban communities.
2. It provides opportunities for employing comparable methods of data collection.
3. It makes it possible to control for differences and similarities between urban and rural residents by the use of matching or other techniques.
4. It allows the researcher to participate in and observe the interaction between village and city.

In contrast to Weisner's approach, the present study conducted

8 Only a few females from the survey villages were full-time housewives. Those in employment worked from Monday to Saturday afternoon, leaving only evenings on week days as well as parts of Saturday and Sunday for the interview. Often Sundays were reserved for home visits.

a survey at the village and first and then in the city. This enabled one to follow the rural-urban circuits of migrants. The experience contributed towards an increasing understanding of the environments in the sending as well as the receiving area.

2.7. POPULATION MOBILITY IN NEGRI SEMBILAN: CLASSIFICATION AND DEFINITION OF LOCAL TERMS.

The local people whom we studied used several terms to describe the various movement patterns in their community. A useful first step towards coming to grips with the complexity of the movement patterns in the area is to arrange the various movement types within a typology. Several researchers have developed their own frameworks for this purpose. Pryor (1971), for example, has classified various types of migration streams in Peninsular Malaysia within the late Phase II of the 'Mobility Transition'. However, the fact that it is designed for internal migration streams renders it unsuitable for our use. At first glance, Naim's (1979) typology could provide an alternative but the Peninsula does not have the cultural diversity upon which the typology is based nor have the various relations in the typology been empirically tested to make it useful for use in the present study. In 1975, Gould and Prothero suggested a space-time model which seemed to possess the basic elements required for the present study, as well as having the capacity to encompass the various mobility patterns described by the villagers in the present study. The space-time framework will be used in this study mainly to aid the presentation of the macro and micro data that have been collected, and not to predetermine the classification of the various patterns into certain categories.

2.7.1. A Space-time Classification.

Each move has two basic dimensions, its time and its spatial property. Based on their African experience, Gould and Prothero (1975) have proposed a space-time classification of African mobility, an adaptation of which has been applied to a study in West Java (Ruge, 1978).

According to Gould and Prothero (1975, 39) the spatial element in migration may be approached through its distance and/or its direction. One way to approach these two in Malaysia is through official administrative units. Until 1970, the state boundary was used to measure lifetime migrant flows. Lifetime migrant data from all censuses are only

available at the state level. The 1970 census for the first time asked the previous place of residence, which was tabulated at a lower level than the state (the district as well as metropolitan, urban small and rural strata). The administrative hierarchy, therefore, provides one way to classify migration spatially and the main administrative hierarchy in the Peninsula is shown in Figure 2.2. In recent years, some studies have suggested an alternative in which cultural-distance was more appropriate to identify some migration moves. This was especially important in a culturally diversified region such as Indonesia. Thus, a move is a merantau if it terminates outside the Minangkabau cultural area in West Sumatra (Nain, 1973). A cultural constraint was also imposed by Hugo (1978) in defining certain types of mobility for his study of population in West Java. For the Peninsula, the state boundary is taken to coincide with each 'cultural' area and the state boundary is, therefore, used to differentiate between one 'cultural area' and another. But some people may raise the problem of Negri Sembilan and parts of Melaka which are said to follow the Adat Perpatih (customary practices akin to that of the Minangkabau in West Sumatra). Since we do not have the precise spatial boundary of the Adat Perpatih community in Melaka and since most census data are available only at a state or district level, for convenience we will treat the migrant flows from Negri Sembilan to other states including Melaka as merantau and similarly we will treat the migrant flows from the other states including Melaka in the same manner.

A time dimension is also necessary to provide a threshold for differentiating between pindah (to migrate in the Western sense), visits and merantau. Bedford (1973, 3) has differentiated 'oscillation' from 'circular migration' by labelling the former as routine daily movements such as shopping, commuting and any other short term movements (Skeldon, 1977; Zelinsky, 1971, referred to it as pendular movement), while the latter involves a much longer absence from the natal village. An arbitrary time-division of one month's absence of a New Hebridean from his birth-place village was used to delineate exclusively circular migration from oscillation (Bedford, 1973). Hugo, (1978) used a sixth-month time threshold to isolate circular migration from other forms of moves. This threshold coincided with the time constraint imposed by village registrars in West Java on villagers' absence from the village. Agreement on a time threshold to determine one type of move from another has not been reached nor would we expect any universal threshold to ever be applicable. Thus, Mantra (1977, 1978) for example, distinguished an absence of



Figure 22: The Main Administrative Hierarchy in Peninsular Malaysia.

one year and over as a permanent migration irrespective of whether the mover returns or not while Singhanetra-Renard (1977) regarded a migrant who has been away from his village over a span of working life and later returns as a circular migration. Although this may lead to confusion, the inability to come to a certain agreement on the time-threshold should be viewed as a strength in itself for it provides flexibility in viewing mobility in a cross-cultural situation. An absence of one working season from the village is meaningful for Sulawesi (Forbes, 1978) but it is not applicable to the relatively developed socio-economic environment of Negri Sembilan. Thus, it would seem to be better to place all types of movement on a continuum (Chapman, 1979)⁹.

2.7.2. A Space-time Classification - A Schematic Representation.

Various major movement types that have been identified in Negri Sembilan may be arranged in a space-time framework as shown in Table 2.4, based on both their time and space characteristics.

This framework serves the present need adequately because it makes it possible to place various local terms describing a number of movement types that are an intrinsic part of the village community's life style, by relating them to space-time threshold. Several of these movements would fail to be recognised by the Malaysian census which adopts a Western conception of migration. In Negri Sembilan the people recognise the following major movement types.

1. Pindah (to move out) entails an intention to 'pack up and leave' the present place of residence for other destinations. It is unidirectional and the relocation is permanent. Pindah therefore, is what the conventional Western model refers to as migration. At the village level, pindah may be used to describe a number of relocation types, such as pindah rumah (to move to a new house), pindah daerah (to move to a new district). By introducing a "space" constraint multi-level types of pindah may then be distinguished; for example, inter-district or inter-state pindah.

⁹ Personal communication, 1979.

Table 2.4. A Space-Time Classification of Population Mobility in Segri Serbilan.

Space		Time				
		Hours	Days	Months	Years	Working Life
District (including kepong)	rural-urban rural-rural	Ke'edat			zaman gaji	Pindah rumah
		membeli-belah				Pindah daerah
		bekerja ofis			zaman gaji	
		bekerja gudang				Pindah negeri
State		sekolah/universiti				
Outside Malaysia: Urban		melancong				

'urban' is defined as a place with a total population of 5,000 or more.

'urban' can be broken down into Federal capital, State capitals, district capitals or other towns. This break down is useful in tracing the changes of a person's movement in the various towns over several decades.

2. Merantau¹⁰ means to leave temporarily a cultural region such as the Minangkabau leaving West Sumatra temporarily. The Negri Sembilan Malays are said to participate in similar behaviour (Selat, 1970). When defining merantau, Naim (1973, 4) stipulated that a move is merantau when the migrant leaves the Minangkabau cultural area in West Sumatra. A similar spatial constraint can be adopted for the Negri Sembilan Malays. Thus, for the present use, merantau occurs only when the movement terminates outside Negri Sembilan. However, moves that originate and terminate within Negri Sembilan may still be referred to as merantau. Selat (1970) referred to merantau of one day's journey in earlier days (that is within Negri Sembilan) as merantau balik dapur (merantau behind the kitchen).

Since there are several terms below that the local people used to denote temporary movements from the village it is essential to have a more precise definition of merantau so that we can differentiate merantau from melancong (tourism) for example. Besides taking into consideration the intention of the mover it is important also to put some time thresholds to a merantau move.

The difficulty in arriving at a minimum time threshold in trying to define circular migration is universally acknowledged and has been discussed earlier. For the present need, a three-months cut-off point is sufficient to distinguish a merantau move from the others. This is an arbitrary but useful cut-off point in the survey villages. It coincides with the rice season in the survey villages, thus enabling us to detect any urban dwellers returning for the harvesting season only, and with the school academic term, permitting us to distinguish between those students who attend and stay at the urban school and those who move to and from the villages frequently. We feel that those students who stay in a hostel at the urban school for the school term involve in a somewhat more 'permanent' shift of residence; they need to be differentiated from those who commute from the village to the city.

10 When we asked the villagers (n: 202) what they understood by the term merantau, they gave 12 different definitions. The main ones were: 1. Looking for job in places outside Negri Sembilan (23.3%); 2. searching for a better life but will return later to the village (23.3%); 3. Going out anywhere outside the village (13.4%); 4. To go out of the village to earn a living (15.3%); the rest about eight other responses; only 2.9% replied 'don't know'. Thus, there is a general agreement on the meaning of merantau amongst the villagers that is, going out of Negri Sembilan looking for jobs and later returning to the village. Note the villagers tend to substitute 'to go merantau' for 'to go pakek gaji'.

Various other terms describe shorter durations of circulation (Table 2.4). One is bekerja kerajaan (working in the government sector) or bekerja gudang (working in a factory) when referring to paid employment (as distinct from village industries such as agriculture or village odd-jobs). Thus, the villager speaks of menoreh getah (to tap rubber) or bersawah (working on padi fields) as non-"wage" jobs. Although sometimes the term bekerja tends to get blurred in its reference to either wage or non-wage employment, it is still useful to refer to those villagers who normally sleep at home in the village during a working week but bekerja kerajaan or bekerja kilang referring to any industrial establishment in the town as commuters, while retaining menoreh getah or bersawah padi as movement to non-"wage" jobs or village based jobs in the survey villages. To these terms we may add bersekolah (going to school) as a term of commuting when it does not involve going to the village or contiguous village school.

Finally, the villagers described their adventitious moves by special terms. Melancong¹¹ (recreational travel) describes moves associated with tourism which involve long distance travel or long duration, while membeli-belah (buying things) refers to shopping travel of a particularly long distance such as to the town and pergi ke dsi (ke kedai) denotes the travel to the village shop.

2.8. CONCLUSION.

This chapter has examined the theoretical and methodological approach of the study. It is decided that the study will adopt a flexible theoretical approach in which it uses a range of theories instead of one general theoretical framework. The methodology adopted for the study will involve a village-end study first and following that an urban tracer survey. In order to simplify the presentation of the various mobility patterns that have been gathered, a space-time framework for classifying the patterns is also discussed.

In addition to explaining the theoretical and methodological approach that has been adopted it is necessary to put the community that has been studied into the context of the Peninsula. The next chapter is devoted to this purpose.

11 Also makan angin (literally translated, eating the wind) - referring to travel for leisure.

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.
Balik dapur	- Behind the kitchen.
Barah	- 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 2.3 pounds or 900 grams.
Kebun getah	- small plot under rubber.
Khenduri	- Religious feast.
Lebai	- A religious specialist, generally one has not yet made the pilgrimage.
Lembaga	- Clan chief.
Luak	- <u>Adat</u> district.
Makan gaji	- 'to eat one's salary', working/earning a living.
Makan angin	- Holiday travel; 'eating the wind'.
Malu	- Shame (a broad and important concept) - swift (1965)
Melancung	- Makan angin - recreational travel usually involving long distant travel.
Membeli-belah	- Shopping.
Mendreh getah	- Tapping rubber.
Merdeka	- Independence - August, 1967 for the Peninsula formerly Malaya.
Merantau	- Temporary movement.
Mukim	- Area surrounding a mosque from which the minimum congregation of 40 is drawn; nowadays, a division of an administrative district.
Negeri	- State.

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

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

A Summary of Fieldwork Procedures.

1. Fieldwork calendar.

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

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

2. Fieldwork Procedures.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Sungai Dua Kechil - Kuala Sungai Dua.

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

2. Juasseh.

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

3. Ibol.

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

2.1. Preparation of the Village Survey.

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2. The Village Survey.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. The Urban Tracer Survey.

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

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

Kuala Lumpur several years earlier.

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

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

4. Editing and Coding of Village and Urban Questionnaires.

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX A2: QUESTIONNAIRES.

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

Schedules 2 and 3: Migration and 'merantau'.

Schedule 2:

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

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

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

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

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

Schedule 3:

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

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

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

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

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

Schedule A: Present Socio-economic CharacteristicsI. Land ownership

1. Could you tell us about

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

II. Occupation

1. What is your daily occupation ?

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

2. What is your wife's main occupation

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

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

Acreage worked

1. Owner-operator

2. Working for wage

3. Renter

4. Rent land out

5. Other (please write)

4. Acreage developed and production

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

1. enough

2. not enough

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

Schedule 4: Present Socio-economic CharacteristicsI. Land ownership

1. Could you tell us about

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

II. Occupation

1. What is your daily occupation ?

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

2. What is your wife's main occupation

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

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

Acreage worked

1. Owner-operator

2. Working for wage

3. Renter

4. Rent land out

5. Other (please write)

4. Acreage developed and production

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

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

1. enough

2. not enough

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

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

III. Accumulated income

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

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

>1500

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

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

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

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

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

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

1	more than sufficient	1
	sufficient	2
	not sufficient	3

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

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

6. Do you receive money and goods from rantau

Yes	1
No	2

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

8. a) Do you keep money

Yes	1
No	2

b) In the form of

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

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

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

IV. Possessions

1. Does the family own

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

2. a) Is this house

1	bought
2	"pusaka"

3	"rented"
4	other (please write)

b) If rented how much/month

3. a) Building material

total rooms (excluding, bilik masak, Cooking room)

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

4. Bathroom

Yes	1
No	2

5. Toilet

open	1
pump	2
Others (please write)	

6. Pipe

Yes	1
No	2

Electric

Yes	1
No	2

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

V. General

1. Do you read newspaper?

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

2. Type of newspaper read

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

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

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

VI.

1. Type of family

Extended	1
nuclear	2
Other (please stated)	3

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

I. 'Merantau' in general

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

Probe

Economic

Social

Situational

Psychological

Others

II. Conditions of Kampong

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

More than enough	1
enough	2
not enough	3

2. Could you say that the village is,

fertile	1
medium fertile	2
not fertile	3

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

very important	1
equally important	2
less important	3

- b) Why do you say that

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

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

b) Bought land

Yes	1
No	2

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

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

e) For what it was sold

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

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

More difficult	1
About the same	2
Easier	3

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

Increased	1
About equal	2
Decreased	3

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

More prosperous	1
about equal	2
less prosperous	3

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

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

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

b) Why,

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

More now	1
about the same	2
less now	3

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

as above

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

as above

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

as above

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

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

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

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

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

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

agree	1
disagree	2

- b) Why

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

agree	1
do not agree	2

- b) Why

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

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

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

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

B. Knowledge on rural-urban contrast

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

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

b) Why say that

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

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

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

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

1. life
2. behaviour
3. social able

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

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

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

7. Which place is easier to earn some money

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

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

Always helpful	1
Sometimes helpful	2
Not helpful	3

9. Do they help with,

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

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

many chances now	1
difficult	2
limited	3
no chance	4

b) Why say that ?

4. Impact of merantau

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

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

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

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

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

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

much poorer	1
poor	2

same	3
other (Please write)	4

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

late	3
same	2
earlier	3

b) Why

IV. Future Plan

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

3. If "No" go to section V.

If "Yes" where to?

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

V. Migration and Negri Sembilan

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

still migrate	1
No	2
No response	3

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

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

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

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

much better	1
better	2
same	3
not that good	4

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

VII. Commuter

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

a) Where do you sleep during the week ?

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

VIII. Knowledge and Contacts with Urban areas & Places

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

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

7. Do you often visit the following places/town

IX. Your children's Plans

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

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

Yes	1
-----	---

No	2
----	---

2. If no where to ?

3. Why choose that place ?

Schedule 6:

Name of 'Kampong'

HHH No

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

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

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

Note: Answer all questions. Put N.A. against questions not applicable.

A. Bio-data

1. Sex
2. Marital status
3. Education
4. First job in town/city

Self

Spouse

Job in Kampong before entering city. Write 'jobless' if not working.

Father's occupation

Present occupation.

Note: If present occupation is not "business" go to question 128 below.

A.1. Business

5. If present job is in business: Type of business

Sundry shop	1
Eating shop	2
Food stall	3
Veges stall	4
Others, (Please state)	5

6. How do you obtain your goods

Credit from Chinese wholesale	1
" " Indians "	2
" " Government agencies	3
Cash from Chinese wholesale	4
" " Indians "	5
" " Government agencies	6
Other (Please write)	7

7. Where did you get your capital ?

Self	1
Borrow from Bank	2
" " MABA	3
Other (Please write)	4

8. What motivated you to enter business ?

9. Could you say that this enterprise is doing well

Running well	1
Quite well	2
Less well	3
Not well	4

10. a) If not doing well, what problems do you face in business.

b) Give suggestions on how you think the problems could be overcome ?

11. Who are your major clients

Malay only	1
All races	2
Others (Please write)	3

B. Present Socio-Economic Structure

12. Possession of the following in city

Land	_____ acre
Car	_____
Motorcycle	_____
Bicycle	_____
Radio	_____
T.V.	_____
Cooker	_____
Frig	_____
Sewing machines	_____
Other belongings (such as electrical goods)	_____

13. Present house

a) Type

Single house (Bungalow)	1
Terrace double storey	2
Teres single storey	3
Other (Please write)	4

b) Status

Owned	1
Rented	2
Other write	3

c) If renting, amount/month

/month	4
--------	---

d) Owned

Fully paid	1
Still paying	2

e) If still paying

Payment/month _____ /month

Total months for installment _____ month

f) Location of your residence in this city

14. House amenities

Piped water	Yes	1
	No	2
Electricity	Yes	1
	No	2
Telephone	Yes	1
	No	2

15. In what category is your normal monthly income now (inclusive all sources).

Less than 100 dollars	1
101 - 300 dollars	2
301 - 500 "	3
501 - 1000 "	4
1001 - 1500 "	5
1501 - 2000 "	6
2000 "	7

Note: For respondents who are housewives indicate your husband's salary.

16. We would like to know your age at first marriage (Female only).

Age _____ years

17. Family member list

- Note: 1. For married children include those who have died.
2. For those who share a house or flat write all particulars about your friends.

No.	Date of arrival in Kuala Lumpur	Sex	Age	Relation to HSH	Where from if not relations.	Working status	
						Working	1
						Not working	2
						Schooling	3
						Below school age	4

Schedule 8: Urbanisation

I. a. Arrival for the first time in the city

1. Since when have you entered into this city ? or
How long have you been in this city.

Less than 1 month	1
1 - 3 months	2
3 - 6 months	3
6 - 12 months	4
1 - 2 years	5
3 - 5 years	6
5 - 10 years	7
10 years	8

2. At the time you made the decision to leave kampong to come to this city

- a) What are the better things about this city, that you thought of at that time.
- b) What are the unattractive parts of kampong that made you leave the village.

3. Had you already been offered a job in this city before you came to stay in this city ?

Yes	1
No	2
Others (Please write)	3

4. Before you come to this city did you know anybody in the city.

No	1
Yes relative from kampong	2
Family/siblings	3
Friends from village	4
School friends	5
Others (Please write)	6

5. If yes did you expect to get aid from him/them first when you made the decision to come to this city.

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

b. Information about city

6. How did you come to know about life in this city (in the beginning)

Newspaper	1
Radio/T.V.	2
Friends from village	3

Relatives in city	4
At school	5
Visits	6
Other (Please write)	7

7. What type of information did you get from the source shown above, which made you want to come to this city.

Type of information	1
---------------------	---

8. Did the things you heard influence you to make the decision to come and stay in this city.

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

9. Who, finally, made the decision for you to come and stay in the city ?

Self	1
Parents	2
Friends	3
Relatives	4
Others (Please write)	5

10. Did you have any thought about the conditions of life in the city at the time you were about to come to the city ?

Thoughts.

c. Journey to the city for the first time

11. What preparation did you make before coming to stay in the city.

12. a. How did you come to this city to stay for the first time ?

Bus	1
Taxi	2
Bicycle	3
Motorcycle	4
Motorcar (Private)	5
Taking a ride with kampung folks	6
relatives	7
Other (Please write)	7

b. Its fare, if applicable:

13. Who paid for the journey to this city:

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

Borrowing	6
Other (Please write)	7

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

15. Who accompanied you to this city

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

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

Kampong	1
Other (Please write)	2

d. Arrival for the first time in city

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

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

18. How long did you stay there ?

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

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

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

e. First job and urban labour absorption

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

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

21. Who helped you find the first job

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

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

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

f. Arrival of other people

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

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

24. Who come to join you in the city ?

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

II. Experience and adaptation to city life

g. Life in city as opposed to life in kampong

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

to stay in the city.

Far better	1
Just as expected	2
Less than expected	3

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

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

Housing

Job

Life in general

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

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

28. Has your life become worse ?

n. Participation in city life - neighbours

29. Do your neighbours consist of the following :

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

30. What type of neighbours do you have :

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

31. How is your relationship with your neighbours ?

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

32. Do you visit the following friends ;

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

33. Who are your close friends in the city ?

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

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

b) Type of Associations/Institutions

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

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

37. What part do you play on the Association

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

i. Link to valley/changes in city

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

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

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

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

40. What do you do during holidays

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

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

a) Which is a better place to raise children

In city	1
At kampong	2

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

In city	1
At kampong	2

c) Which place is easier to save

In city	1
At kampong	2

d) Which place is better to have big family

In city	1
At kampong	2

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

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

42. Name main Malay areas in the city

Code	
None	1
3	2
4 - 8	3
8	4

43. Newspaper reading and type

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*III. Rural-Urban Relation

j. Visits

47. How often do you go back to kampong

Never	1
Rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Weekly	5

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

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

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

Rarely	1
Everytime coming home	2
Never	3

k. Letters

50. How often do you send letters home

Never	1
Seldom/rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4

51. Do you send money or things to kampong

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

Note: If none go to question No 56 below.

52. To whom it is sent

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

53. For what purpose is the money used

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

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

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

55. How do you send the money

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

*1. Link from kampong

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

Yes	1
No	2

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

Daily expenditure	1
Education	2
Other (Please write)	3

57. Do kampong folk visit you here ?

Never	1
Seldom/rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Monthly	4

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

Poorer	1
As normal	2
Other (Please write)	3

*m. Link with kampong

59. Is your wife/husband

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

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

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

b): i) Have you a house in kampong

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

iii) For whom the house is built

Self	1
------	---

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

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

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

APPENDIX B.

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

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

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

Factors	(Districts)					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Household having refrigerators.	143	820	1390	193	4208	1054
GDP / capita MS., 1970.	864	730	1728	686	863	320
GDP (Manufact.) MS., 1970.	-	2419	316676	-	34291	8591
Rubber production (smallholdings) - tons.	3648	8666	5017	3193	17788	7298
Rubber production (estate) - tons.	1745	25485	3223	4415	30851	11015

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

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

APRIL 1971

STATE OF ORIGIN RESIDENCE

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

STATE/PLACE	JOHORE	KUALA	CELANG	PAHANG	SEREMB	PERAK	PERANG	TEREN	PERLIS	SELANGOR	NEGERI	TOTAL
JOHORE	6,158	1,180	1,285	4,262	4,535	4,780	1,230	4,772	25	12,300	1,290	60,247
PERAK	2,280	411,224	1,110	568	1,382	2,623	15,865	17,145	7,745	4,855	241	671,932
CELANG	2,424	2,251	410,452	1,059	1,525	12,642	1,158	1,885	119	1,885	11,228	671,471
PAHANG	11,102	558	785	101,590	5,471	2,228	100	7,128	42	11,181	418	174,316
SEREMB	4,928	554	1,185	2,275	175,581	2,421	1,141	3,825	119	11,502	148	186,699
PERANG	1,117	605	1,118	655	1,711	175,686	575	2,701	1,117	5,311	110	24,227
TEREN	1,384	18,512	889	818	1,220	2,191	198,285	12,841	1,384	47,586	1,016	306,287
PERLIS	5,874	12,382	2,188	1,575	4,738	6,523	11,822	861,462	1,382	1,074	8	91,151
SELANGOR	545	2,538	186	133	273	132	122	1,482	83,545	1,074	8	81,564
NEGERI	4,055	1,516	1,271	1,050	5,121	5,499	1,505	10,445	218	17,401	745	614,264
SELANGOR	4,205	750	2,101	375	525	14,118	425	1,118	48	1,228	14,457	172,265
TOTAL	604,452	580,574	554,303	594,022	776,236	101,815	131,591	637,259	41,907	581,545	174,621	2,437,880

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

STATE/PLACE	JOHORE	KUALA	CELANG	PAHANG	SEREMB	PERAK	PERANG	TEREN	PERLIS	SELANGOR	NEGERI	TOTAL
JOHORE	1,000,456	1,182	1,285	12,773	14,214	15,701	1,452	4,716	384	13,773	1,459	1,112,041
PERAK	2,423	424,462	1,110	1,339	2,271	1,214	6,710	17,142	78,411	15,322	241	275,719
CELANG	2,412	2,258	410,418	1,158	1,817	15,878	1,275	1,425	122	1,827	11,118	274,756
PAHANG	21,399	512	719	101,623	19,631	4,168	1,239	1,821	119	11,181	122	224,151
SEREMB	11,180	2,219	1,143	12,304	174,715	16,162	1,817	3,471	119	11,502	148	247,461
PERANG	4,928	871	1,118	1,227	4,652	175,686	1,220	2,714	1,117	5,311	110	248,781
TEREN	1,384	18,512	1,082	1,229	2,194	3,175	198,161	12,841	1,384	47,586	1,016	210,112
PERLIS	11,971	24,551	2,182	1,575	4,742	6,523	11,822	861,458	1,382	1,074	8	1,337,218
SELANGOR	545	2,538	186	133	273	132	122	1,482	83,545	1,074	8	112,417
NEGERI	4,262	1,182	1,271	1,110	20,362	16,584	4,202	10,445	218	1,228	14,457	220,137
SELANGOR	4,205	750	1,428	375	525	14,118	425	1,118	48	1,228	14,457	220,137
TOTAL	1,120,041	901,915	552,318	594,279	776,237	101,816	131,592	637,260	41,908	581,546	174,622	2,437,881

Source: Department of Statistics, 1971.

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APPENDIX 1 (CONT.)

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

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STATE CASE TOTALS

PERIOD	2007	2006	2005	2004	2003	2002	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992	1991	1990	1989	1988	1987	1986	1985	1984	1983	1982	1981	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957	1956	1955	1954	1953	1952	1951	1950	1949	1948	1947	1946	1945	1944	1943	1942	1941	1940	1939	1938	1937	1936	1935	1934	1933	1932	1931	1930	1929	1928	1927	1926	1925	1924	1923	1922	1921	1920	1919	1918	1917	1916	1915	1914	1913	1912	1911	1910	1909	1908	1907	1906	1905	1904	1903	1902	1901	1900	1899	1898	1897	1896	1895	1894	1893	1892	1891	1890	1889	1888	1887	1886	1885	1884	1883	1882	1881	1880	1879	1878	1877	1876	1875	1874	1873	1872	1871	1870	1869	1868	1867	1866	1865	1864	1863	1862	1861	1860	1859	1858	1857	1856	1855	1854	1853	1852	1851	1850	1849	1848	1847	1846	1845	1844	1843	1842	1841	1840	1839	1838	1837	1836	1835	1834	1833	1832	1831	1830	1829	1828	1827	1826	1825	1824	1823	1822	1821	1820	1819	1818	1817	1816	1815	1814	1813	1812	1811	1810	1809	1808	1807	1806	1805	1804	1803	1802	1801	1800	1799	1798	1797	1796	1795	1794	1793	1792	1791	1790	1789	1788	1787	1786	1785	1784	1783	1782	1781	1780	1779	1778	1777	1776	1775	1774	1773	1772	1771	1770	1769	1768	1767	1766	1765	1764	1763	1762	1761	1760	1759	1758	1757	1756	1755	1754	1753	1752	1751	1750	1749	1748	1747	1746	1745	1744	1743	1742	1741	1740	1739	1738	1737	1736	1735	1734	1733	1732	1731	1730	1729	1728	1727	1726	1725	1724	1723	1722	1721	1720	1719	1718	1717	1716	1715	1714	1713	1712	1711	1710	1709	1708	1707	1706	1705	1704	1703	1702	1701	1700	1699	1698	1697	1696	1695	1694	1693	1692	1691	1690	1689	1688	1687	1686	1685	1684	1683	1682	1681	1680	1679	1678	1677	1676	1675	1674	1673	1672	1671	1670	1669	1668	1667	1666	1665	1664	1663	1662	1661	1660	1659	1658	1657	1656	1655	1654	1653	1652	1651	1650	1649	1648	1647	1646	1645	1644	1643	1642	1641	1640	1639	1638	1637	1636	1635	1634	1633	1632	1631	1630	1629	1628	1627	1626	1625	1624	1623	1622	1621	1620	1619	1618	1617	1616	1615	1614	1613	1612	1611	1610	1609	1608	1607	1606	1605	1604	1603	1602	1601	1600	1599	1598	1597	1596	1595	1594	1593	1592	1591	1590	1589	1588	1587	1586	1585	1584	1583	1582	1581	1580	1579	1578	1577	1576	1575	1574	1573	1572	1571	1570	1569	1568	1567	1566	1565	1564	1563	1562	1561	1560	1559	1558	1557	1556	1555	1554	1553	1552	1551	1550	1549	1548	1547	1546	1545	1544	1543	1542	1541	1540	1539	1538	1537	1536	1535	1534	1533	1532	1531	1530	1529	1528	1527	1526	1525	1524	1523	1522	1521	1520	1519	1518	1517	1516	1515	1514	1513	1512	1511	1510	1509	1508	1507	1506	1505	1504	1503	1502	1501	1500	1499	1498	1497	1496	1495	1494	1493	1492	1491	1490	1489	1488	1487	1486	1485	1484	1483	1482	1481	1480	1479	1478	1477	1476	1475	1474	1473	1472	1471	1470	1469	1468	1467	1466	1465	1464	1463	1462	1461	1460	1459	1458	1457	1456	1455	1454	1453	1452	1451	1450	1449	1448	1447	1446	1445	1444	1443	1442	1441	1440	1439	1438	1437	1436	1435	1434	1433	1432	1431	1430	1429	1428	1427	1426	1425	1424	1423	1422	1421	1420	1419	1418	1417	1416	1415	1414	1413	1412	1411	1410	1409	1408	1407	1406	1405	1404	1403	1402	1401	1400	1399	1398	1397	1396	1395	1394	1393	1392	1391	1390	1389	1388	1387	1386	1385	1384	1383	1382	1381	1380	1379	1378	1377	1376	1375	1374	1373	1372	1371	1370	1369	1368	1367	1366	1365	1364	1363	1362	1361	1360	1359	1358	1357	1356	1355	1354	1353	1352	1351	1350	1349	1348	1347	1346	1345	1344	1343	1342	1341	1340	1339	1338	1337	1336	1335	1334	1333	1332	1331	1330	1329	1328	1327	1326	1325	1324	1323	1322	1321	1320	1319	1318	1317	1316	1315	1314	1313	1312	1311	1310	1309	1308	1307	1306	1305	1304	1303	1302	1301	1300	1299	1298	1297	1296	1295	1294	1293	1292	1291	1290	1289	1288	1287	1286	1285	1284	1283	1282	1281	1280	1279	1278	1277	1276	1275	1274	1273	1272	1271	1270	1269	1268	1267	1266	1265	1264	1263	1262	1261	1260	1259	1258	1257	1256	1255	1254	1253	1252	1251	1250	1249	1248	1247	1246	1245	1244	1243	1242	1241	1240	1239	1238	1237	1236	1235	1234	1233	1232	1231	1230	1229	1228	1227	1226	1225	1224	1223	1222	1221	1220	1219	1218	1217	1216	1215	1214	1213	1212	1211	1210	1209	1208	1207	1206	1205	1204	1203	1202	1201	1200	1199	1198	1197	1196	1195	1194	1193	1192	1191	1190	1189	1188	1187	1186	1185	1184	1183	1182	1181	1180	1179	1178	1177	1176	1175	1174	1173	1172	1171	1170	1169	1168	1167	1166	1165	1164	1163	1162	1161	1160	1159	1158	1157	1156	1155	1154	1153	1152	1151	1150	1149	1148	1147	1146	1145	1144	1143	1142	1141	1140	1139	1138	1137	1136	1135	1134	1133	1132	1131	1130	1129	1128	1127	1126	1125	1124	1123	1122	1121	1120	1119	1118	1117	1116	1115	1114	1113	1112	1111	1110	1109	1108	1107	1106	1105	1104	1103	1102	1101	1100	1099	1098	1097	1096	1095	1094	1093	1092	1091	1090	1089	1088	1087	1086	1085	1084	1083	1082	1081	1080	1079	1078	1077	1076	1075	1074	1073	1072	1071	1070	1069	1068	1067	1066	1065	1064	1063	1062	1061	1060	1059	1058	1057	1056	1055	1054	1053	1052	1051	1050	1049	1048	1047	1046	1045	1044	1043	1042	1041	1040	1039	1038	1037	1036	1035	1034	1033	1032	1031	1030	1029	1028	1027	1026	1025	1024	1023	1022	1021	1020	1019	1018	1017	1016	1015	1014	1013	1012	1011	1010	1009	1008	1007	1006	1005	1004	1003	1002	1001	1000	999	998	997	996	995	994	993	992	991	990	989	988	987	986	985	984	983	982	981	980	979	978	977	976	975	974	973	972	971	970	969	968	967	966	965	964	963	962	961	960	959	958	957	956	955	954	953	952	951	950	949	948	947	946	945	944	943	942	941	940	939	938	937	936	935	934	933	932	931	930	929	928	927	926	925	924	923	922	921	920	919	918	917	916	915	914	913	912	911	910	909	908	907	906	905	904	903	902	901	900	899	898	897	896	895	894	893	892	891	890	889	888	887	886	885	884	883	882	881	880	879	878	877	876	875	874	873	872	871	870	869	868	867	866	865	864	863	862	861	860	859	858	857	856	855	854	853	852	851	850	849	848	847	846	845	844	843	842	841	840	839	838	837	836	835	834	833	832	831	830	829	828	827	826	825	824	823	822	821	820	819	818	817	816	815	814	813	812	811	810	809	808	807	806	805	804	803	802	801	800	799	798	797	796	795	794	793	792	791	790	789	788	787	786	785	784	783	782	781	780	779	778	777	776	775	774	773	772	771	770	769	768	767	766	765	764	763	762	761	760	759	758	757	756	755	754	753	752	751	750	749	748	747	746	745	744	743	742	741	740	739	738	737	736	735	734	733	732	731	730	729	728	727	726	725	724	723	722	721	720	719	718	717	716	715	714	713	712	711	710	709	708	707	706	705	704	703	702	701	700	699	698	697	696	695	694	693	692	691	690	689	688	687	686	685	684	683	682	681	680	679	678	677	676	675	674	673	672	671	670	669	668	667	666	665	664	663	662	661	660	659	658	657	656	655	654	653	652	651	650	649	648	647	646	645	644	643	642	641	640	639	638	637	636	635	634	633	632	631	630	629	628	627	626	625	624	623	622	621	620	619	618	617	616	615	614	613	612	611	610	609	608	607	606	605	604	603	602	601	600	599	598	597	596	595	594	593	592	591	590	589	588	587
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Source: Project Gutenberg at Midway.org, 1908.

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Most Recent Malay Interstate Migration, 1970

State of Previous Residence	Present Place of Residence											Total
	Johor	Kedah	Kelantan	Malaka	Negeri Sembilan	Pahang	Pulau Pinang	Perak	Perlis	Selangor	Tengganu	
Johor	161270	512	1273	5105	3734	5557	1330	3273	70	11222	1121	192215
Kedah	1251	121140	1273	586	1202	2734	11957	53176	5764	6078	548	195202
Kelantan	1734	2522	212765	145	1203	16049	1224	7013	453	5253	19316	153603
Malaka	5545	115	620	31452	3568	1889	453	1248	45	12002	287	47163
Negeri Sembilan	5513	561	202	4913	16502	3568	817	7572	74	14172	472	39717
Pahang	2347	131	1402	447	3744	22075	969	2623	162	5527	2158	31218
Pulau Pinang	1758	11745	625	425	372	2053	23309	8223	637	5011	221	64158
Perak	2261	11137	2547	2123	3170	5015	3217	144504	982	21729	842	216150
Perlis	128	2315	132	75	203	783	726	1327	10621	317	21	21013
Selangor	4527	2104	2483	4747	1075	5512	2020	12461	705	123752	1580	166528
Tengganu	2314	602	4022	122	575	12136	176	598	54	7572	6053	31007
Total	192253	135042	139421	25151	64421	128402	82570	391664	23745	219615	55643	1,514,453
Excluding straw birds	452460	477427	552266	152251	225225	122553	166158	565915	65192	286346	259932	

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

APPENDIX 64

Ultimate Return Migration, 1950.

Previous Residence	Birthplace and place of current residence										
	Johor	Kedah	Kelantan	Malaka	Selangor	Pahang	Pulau Pinang	Perak	Perlis	Selangor	Terengganu
Johor	144573	152	776	1124	1126	459	119	710	10	779	290
Kedah	372	139433	187	77	155	99	2943	1342	379	265	60
Kelantan	205	776	112100	109	209	307	135	405	10	207	1094
Malaka	965	5	191	1455	709	38	75	242	14	555	74
Selangor	778	95	135	1167	10627	272	117	537	19	1103	50
Pahang	642	205	967	102	695	57675	102	940	27	504	815
Pulau Pinang	144	2335	120	63	94	175	77801	1127	49	289	47
Perak	545	2601	576	290	445	115	1247	121071	290	2170	304
Perlis	26	1006	78	3	15	5	105	331	17419	52	6
Selangor	1182	761	505	1474	1571	394	591	5078	81	82575	799
Terengganu	725	57	1732	30	80	112	46	176	8	494	64277
Total	151065	147120	514080	19322	16754	54296	12765	157177	8332	89504	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 | 1 | Wholly rural |
| | 2 | More rural, less urban |
| | 3 | Less rural, more urban |
| | 4 | Completely urban |

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

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

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

- 3 Higher status occupation
- 4 High status occupation

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

Sector B. Migrants Socio-economic Background.

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

Index 4. Migrant's educational achievement.

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

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

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

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

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

Years after 15th birthday before entering Seremban /Kuala Lumpur

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

Sector C. The Environment of Entry into the City.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sector D. Attachment to Kuala Lumpur/Seremban.

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

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

Present age - 14

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

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

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

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

- 1 No

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

Index 13. Have you acquired properties in this city ?

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

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

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

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

Index 15. Income

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

Index 16. Household amenities

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

Index 17. House ownership.

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

Index 18. Location of house

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

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

Index 19. Possession of status goods.

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

Sector F. Urban - Rural Link.

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

Index 20. Where were your parents ?

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

Index 21. Did you visit your kampong often ?

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

Index 22. Did you remit money regularly ?

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

Index 23. Marital ties

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

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

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

Index 24. Friendship pattern

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

Index 25. Friendship visits.

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

Index 26. Members of Association.

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

Index 27. Newspaper reading

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

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

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

Sector H. Urban Attitudes.

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

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

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

Index 30. Which place was better to raise children ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

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

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

Index 32. Which place was better for saving ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

Index 33. Which place was better to stay permanently ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

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

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

Index 36. Which people tended to be more religious ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

Index 37. Which people tended to be better educated ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

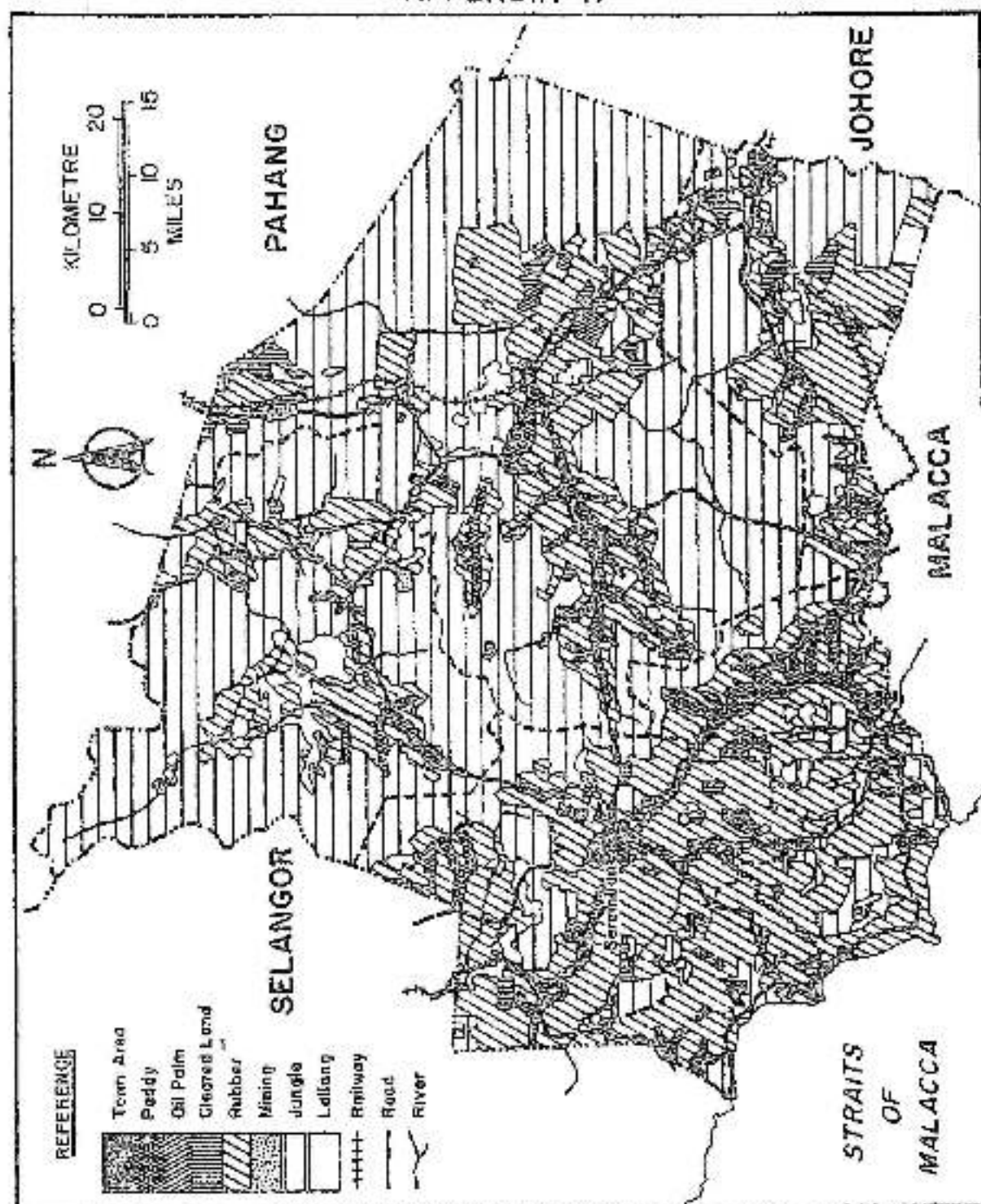
Index 38. This index is a supplement to index 37. Which people tended to be more knowledgeable ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

APPENDIX H



Landuse in Negri Sembilan (1966)

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