

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

By

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SUMMARY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PART II

POPULATION MOVEMENTS AND URBANISATION

CHAPTER 6.

CONTEMPORARY MOBILITY PATTERNS;
EVIDENCE FROM THE VILLAGE.

6.1. INTRODUCTION.

This, and the subsequent chapters, will examine population mobility from an intensive study of three villages in Kuala Pilah district, and also from a tracer survey of migrants from the three villages who were in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban at the time of the survey.

It has been shown in the previous section how the spatial and temporal aspects of mobility changed, firstly in colonial and later in post-colonial times, from a simple mobility pattern to a more complex one. The task here is to examine the contemporary mobility patterns, the context in which these patterns develop, the motivation as well as the commitment of individuals to the rantau (destination) and the home-village, and the impact of migration on the village. Whereas secondary and census data in the previous section have highlighted the main mobility patterns at a larger scale, to examine the various aspects of contemporary mobility requires detailed data which can only be gathered by observing these patterns at a small scale. The approach here is to examine three villages in detail. The socio-economic structure of the villages will be described first and having set the context, some contemporary mobility patterns and their characteristics will be examined.

6.2. A BRIEF REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE ON THE PATTERNS OF
POPULATION MOBILITY IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES.

The term population 'mobility' embraces a variety of permanent and non-permanent moves. Permanent moves are associated with 'migration' while non-permanent moves are collectively known as 'circulation'. According to Chapman (1977, 1) 'the study of circulation focuses upon all those forms of movement that involve no change in permanent place of residence and which are usually repetitive, cyclic and oscillatory'. Studies of population movements in the Third World have shown that the bulk of the people circulate rather than migrate.

Early works on population movement as circulation in the Third World were confined to Africa (see Goldstein, 1978, 6). Several researchers

examined various forms of movement with particular emphasis on circular migration (Michukell, 1961; Eikan, 1967; Gugler, 1969; Mabogunje 1974, Swindell, 1979 for review). Similar studies were later carried out in the Pacific (Chapman, 1970; 1974; 1977 and Bedford, 1973) and in various parts of Asia (see Goldstein, 1978; Mc Gee, 1978 for reviews).

In recent years, studies of population circulation conducted in a variety of cultural areas in the Third World have shown that the patterns of mobility are indeed complex. Hugo (1975 ; 1978), for example, studied 14 villages in West Java, Indonesia and analysed several forms of population movement and their effects on the village. These forms of movement show clearly the complex nature of population movement in that area. Mantra's (1978) research in Central Java found that there were several local terms that characterised various types of move in that area. Merantau was used by the people to refer only to those who went to another island for a relatively long period but eventually returned to the village of origin. Nelain refers to those who travelled to a place but returned from it the same day; nginap, for those who remained away for several days before returning; nondok for individuals who remained in their community for several months or years. In terms of moves, Mantra showed that 92 percent of the moves were commuting, 8 percent circulation and less than 1 percent permanent migration, whereas in terms of movement status 16 percent of the people were commuters in one village and 84 percent in another; a considerable proportion experienced both circular migration and commuting. The complexity of population movement forms has also been shown in several other areas, such as in Thailand by Lauro (1977) and Singhaneutra - Renard (1977), and in the Philippines and other parts of Asia (see Goldstein, 1978, for a review). In Peninsular Malaysia, Nagata (1974) found a constant oscillation of people between cities and rural areas, and between zones.

This short review shows that population movement patterns in the Third World are complex, and the census data reveal only a part of the patterns. From the findings of these studies we can suggest that circulation is likely to be the major form of population movement in our survey villages.

6.3. THE VILLAGE SURVEY.

Chapter 2 presented the theoretical orientation - the approach as well as the techniques used in the Kuala Pilah Village Survey (and an

elaboration is given in Appendix A). Since only three villages were finally chosen for the survey, it was possible to use a complex interview schedule, supplemented by observation and detailed unstructured discussion with selected villagers. When gathering information on movers and non-movers we have the choice in the initial stages of the fieldwork either to concentrate on the "action" of individuals, in the manner popularised by Chapman (1970), or on the individual "actors" as has been more common (Hugo, 1975, 1978; Meade, 1972; Connell *et al* 1976); both have their advantages and their disadvantages. In our study villages the young and active population had gone merantau (makan gaji) leaving the children and older people in the village. If we were to concentrate on the 'action' then we would miss the bulk of those who went merantau for a "working life" unless we maintained a register for a very long period of time. Further, since a large number crossed the village boundary everyday it made it almost impossible to record all moves. We settled for collecting information on the "actors". (Chapman's, 1970, approach seems to be more suited to situations where commuting or short term circular migration is dominant).

For each household in the three survey villages we asked the head of the household or any other adult about every individual, whether present or absent from the village, belonging to the household (defined as all individuals in a house-compound sharing the same eating arrangements). For each individual, information on his sex, age, highest level of education, marital status, occupation, and presence or absence from the village were recorded. We then classified the mobility status of each individual by asking the head of the household to describe to us the types of movement that the person was involved in and the year that the first move was made; that is, whether the person had gone to work in other places and later returned to retire in the village; had gone to makan gaji; had gone to work or to school in a town but returned to the village to sleep; or pindah to live elsewhere. We also asked whether the head of the household or his spouse was "native" to the village. The next set of questions were directed to whom-so-ever were "native" to the village (usually the wives of the heads of household were native to the village). These questions concerned the socio-demographic characteristics (age, sex, marital status, highest level of education and occupation) and the whereabouts of the wives' (or the husbands' as the case may be) siblings and their mothers' siblings. We asked for information on individuals further back in time because we wanted to get some idea of the number of people going merantau

and later returning in the past. Unfortunately, the further we went back in time, the harder it was for the adults in the present households in the village to determine clearly whether their mothers' siblings had gone merantau or not. It was found also that the further we went back in time the more problems were encountered in double counting. We had to resort to an elaborate cross reference system in the survey to avoid this.

Apart from this, we also asked several sets of questions that provided the information for the subsequent chapters, which include questions on urbanisation, the residence histories of return migrants, and the socio-economic and general impact of migration on the village households.

6.4. THE CONTEXT OF POPULATION MOBILITY: THE SURVEY VILLAGES' LOCATIONAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE.

With regard to the survey villages, Figure 2.1 in Chapter 2 has shown that all three villages are located within Kuala Pilah district, in one Federal constituency and in the "enclosed land" (tanah mengandung) of the Adat (Swift, 1965). Sungai Dua Kechil is adjacent (about 7 km.) to the regional centre, Kuala Pilah, served by a secondary road and linked to Kuala Pilah by the Malay Transport Bus Limited. Juasseh is located about 1 km. from Kuala Pilah and was listed as a "town" in earlier censuses. It commands a strategic position in relation to the more remote villages surrounding it on the plain in East Negri Sembilan. Rubber plantations have been developed in the surrounding empty lands since the early decades of the century. A first class road, served by the United Bus Company and the Malay Transport, links the Kampung to Kuala Pilah and other towns. Since 1970 the State government has made an effort to develop the empty and forested areas further east, which has brought this kampung closer to the government rural development projects¹. Ibol is situated along a narrow valley 11 km. to the West of Kuala Pilah town (Ho, 1967). A first class road linking Kuala Pilah with Seremban passes through the village. Frequent bus services provided by the United Bus Company makes the kampung easily accessible to Seremban and Kuala Lumpur.

All three villages are established in mid-valley and up-valley locations (Mahmud, 1970). Houses are strung in ribbon fashion along the valley slope. Fronting the houses are padi fields while behind them, on higher ground, are rubber lands (Ho, 1967; Mahmud, 1970). The line of

1 State Development Corporation 1977, unpublished data; Felde report, 1975.

houses seems to form a boundary between the developed subsistence sawah ecosystem and the cash economy based on rubber small-holdings. The villagers have developed a working time table in such a way that they can participate in both activities. Such a strategy enables the peasants to earn cash and at the same time produce their subsistence requirements.

Some structural characteristics of the survey villages are presented in Table 6.1. The survey villages are noticed to have a lower

Table 6.1. Some Structural Characteristics of the Survey Villages.

Selected Variables	Survey Villages			Negri Sembilan Malays
	Sungai Dua	Juasseh	Iboi	
Sex ratio	90.1	82.1	96.9	100.5 97.2
Money income/ household \$M	332	412	295	1382 GDP/Capita
Sawah Hect./household	0.77	1.06	0.75	1.66 (farm)
Rubber Small- holding. Hect./household.	1.25	1.28	1.28	?
Status goods.				
Sewing Machines per 100 people	13.14	13.39	13.42	8.56
T.V. sets per 100 people	7.05	8.75	8.31	1.79

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

proportion of males than the state average. More importantly, the villages have small sawah and small rubber land holdings. Money income per household ranges from about 1/3 to less than 1/2 of the state GDP per capita, although on the possession of some status goods the villages show a higher rate than the state. Despite this, heads of households in the survey villages indicated that in the past twenty years the villages had experienced many changes for the 'better' (Table 6.2.). Land was perceived to be 'enough' to meet the needs of villagers. The villagers said that because younger villagers had gone to the towns to makan gaji there were extra rice

Table 6.7. Heads of Households' Views on Selected Socio-Economic Changes in the Village - 1970's Compared to the 1950's.
(3)

	Percentage of household heads agreeing with statement		
	Sg. Dua Kechil N.61	Juasseh N.83	Ibol N.58
a. Land in the 'Kampung' is			
1. More than enough	4.9	8.4	1.7
2. Enough	65.6	49.4	36.2
3. Not enough	26.2	40.9	60.3
4. No response	3.3	1.2	1.7
b. Fertility of land is			
1. Very fertile	36.1	37.4	1.7
2. Medium fertile	49.2	51.8	4.3
3. Not fertile	13.1	10.8	32.8
4. No response	1.6	-	1.7
c. Village socio-economic conditions now are			
1. More prosperous	62.3	65.1	67.2
2. Same	26.2	25.3	24.1
3. Less prosperous than before	8.2	8.4	8.6
4. No response	3.3	1.2	-
d. Types of change since the 1950s			
1. None	3.3	3.6	15.5
2. Infrastructure	54.4	62.7	43.1
3. Infrastructure and communications	60.7	33.7	28.9
4. No response	1.6	-	-
e. Earning a living in the village is			
1. Harder now	6.6	15.7	15.5
2. Same	19.7	16.9	31.0
3. Easier than before	72.1	67.5	53.5
4. No response	1.6	-	-
f. Sources of income for villagers have			
1. Increased since 1950s	72.1	73.5	74.1
2. Same as in 1950s	18.0	14.5	22.4
3. Decreased since 1950s	8.2	10.8	1.7
4. No response	1.6	1.2	1.7
g. Present life (HH) compared to 1950s is			
1. Better	60.7	60.2	50.0
2. Same	21.3	31.3	36.2
3. Harder	14.7	8.4	1.7
4. No response	3.3	-	-

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

plots and rubber small-holdings left for pajak or share-cropping. Widespread use of subsidised fertilisers helped to increase agricultural production. Thus, the heads of households considered people in the villages to be much better off in 1978 compared to the situation in the 1950s. Not only village-based earnings had increased in the view of these villagers, better transport facilities had also expanded the range of places in which to look for jobs. Thus, in the past twenty years socio-economic conditions for the villagers had improved, and development in infrastructure as well as expanded amenities was seen to have produced an improved quality of life in the village for the majority. Villagers also pointed out that in 1978 it was easier for their children to get an education up to post-secondary levels compared to the situation in the 1950s².

6.4.1. Agricultural Land Holding.

Since Malaysia is basically an agricultural country, land is an essential factor in production and economic welfare. Despite this, Mabogunje (1975) has stressed that many studies of the Third World skirt the major problems of rural progress, problems that are intimately related to the pattern of land holding and the general tenurial situation.

Some insights into the pattern of land holding in the villages are seen in Table 6.3, in which the first striking feature to note is the incidence of households without any land. Further, there were fewer people owning padi fields than rubber small-holdings. However, this should not be interpreted as absolute, since almost all heads of household (except for two in Ibol) stated that their wives had not yet been given a share in the ancestral property as their mothers were still alive. Neither could it be interpreted that those without land would not be able to earn a livelihood in the village. The married daughters could work a portion of the ancestral property or others could rent some from bigger land owners in the village. The second pattern emerging from the Table is the small size of holdings. This is, however, in agreement generally with the size of farm holdings in the state and the Peninsula (Ooi, 1965, 1976; Selvadurai, 1972). Ooi (1965) has shown that the average farm size in the Peninsula in 1960 was 1.9 hectares, and the size of holdings for Negri Sembilan was much lower. If it is accepted that a peasant household requires an economic

2 Bock (1950) for example, has discussed the changes in education opportunities for Malays in the post-independent years.

Table 6.3. Patterns of Sawah* and Rubber Ownership in the Survey Villages.

	Median Hec/HH	Inter- Quartile Range Hec/HH	Mean Hec/HH	s.d. Hec/HH	% Without	Gini Co-eff.
a) Sungai Dua						
Sawah	0.61	0.91	0.77	0.73	14.75	24.3
Rubber	1.21	1.76	1.25	1.13	27.86	26.5
b) Jussah						
Sawah	0.91	0.92	1.06	0.79	5.9	14.1
Rubber	0.81	0.97	1.28	1.26	22.4	16.6
c) Ibol						
Sawah	0.71	0.81	0.75	0.68	8.5	29.3
Rubber	0.81	1.42	1.28	1.33	37.3	34.3

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

* Sawah - includes house site.

size holding (according to Doi, 1965, at least 2.03 hectares for the farmer in Malaysia) the relatively small size holdings in the survey villages are likely to produce only a low level of welfare in the village. Moreover, below a given size of land-holding, the adoption of innovation from government induced change may become a risky venture and this renders innovation unattractive.

Another aspect of land ownership emerging from the village study is the incidence of land concentration which, according to Ali (1972), refers to the process of land accumulation and dispossession. The data in Table 6.4 demonstrates the tendency for a small group to accumulate a higher proportion of land. In detail, the patterns may be summarised as follows:

- 1 For sawah, land concentration is more noticed in Sungai Dua where about seven percent of households owned about a quarter of total sawah land in the village.
- 2 Land concentration for sawah is less marked than for rubber holdings.

3. Concentration of rubber land ownership is more marked in Ibol where about eight percent of the total households owned about forty eight percent of the total rubber acreage in the possession of the villagers.

Table 6.4. Land Concentration in the Survey Villages.

	Size of Holdings (Hectares)		
	0 - 0.80	0.81 - 2.42	2.42
1. Sungai Dua			
a) Sawah			
% Households owning	57.37	36.05	6.55
% total sawah area	21.76	55.69	22.53
b) Rubber			
% Households owning	32.78	49.18	18.03
% total rubber area	1.64	57.79	40.56
2. Juasseh			
a) Sawah			
% Households owning	40.00	51.76	81.23
% total sawah area	14.26	64.21	14.26
b) Rubber			
% Households owning	32.94	49.41	17.64
% total rubber area	2.97	49.02	48.00
3. Ibol			
a) Sawah			
% Households owning	57.62	40.67	1.69
% total sawah area	28.57	63.12	8.19
b) Rubber			
% Households owning	40.67	50.64	8.47
% total rubber area	1.20	50.2	48.59

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

From the village survey, there appeared to be three groups in the village that had the access and the means for further accumulation. First, those inheriting reasonably large amounts of ancestral property. As sawah land comes under ancestral property accumulation of this type was found amongst female padi land owners, because the inheritance practice in the Adat Perpatih favours the passing down of ancestral property to the female

(Swift, 1965; Lewis, 1962). In situations where a female is the only inheritor of the ancestral property, when the parents died she would inherit a large holding. This was seen in each of the three villages where several individuals owned sawat and a house site totalling more than 6 acres. Second, government servants who work in nearby towns or schools and stay in the village. One noticeable group was the teachers who seemed to emerge as a separate socio-economic group in the survey villages. Anthropologists have reported in the district of Kambau and in other parts of the Peninsula that lately material possessions have become the new measure of status and stratification of villagers (Ibrahim, 1977; Ali, 1975). A similar situation was noticed in the survey villages. The teachers and other government servants in the village became a socio-economic group by themselves who could save and later invest in rubber land. In all three villages accumulation by this group was evident. Third are the "circular" (return) migrants. Although most of them used to work in the lower ranks of the government services (such as in the para-military forces and in blue collar work), on retirement they seemed to have saved some money for investment in the village.

There were also opportunities for poorer villagers to own land. Under the Fringe Land Alienation Scheme (Bahrin, 1969) the government developed unused public lands, that were close to existing settlements, for agriculture. The lands were later divided amongst the participants in the schemes, who were recruited from the poor in the villages. The fact that we found a small proportion of agricultural households without land in each of the survey villages indicates the limited ability of this scheme to cope fully with rural landlessness. The other outlet for the poor to own land was the Felda scheme. The poor could apply to join the scheme and if they met the criteria stipulated by Felda (Bahrin and Perera, 1977) they would get a place in the scheme.

6.4.2. Incidence of Poverty in the Survey Villages.

It is generally observed that the central problem faced by all Third World countries can be described in one word, that is poverty. According to Maboganje (1973, 289) poverty refers to a situation, "in which the majority of the people in a country are incapacitated in one way or another in the urgent task of increasing their material resources and improving their quality of life".

Poverty is difficult to measure. But to get some insight into poverty in our survey villages it has to be measured somehow. The economist

uses the 'poverty line' which can be defined in many ways (see for example, Sen, 1973; Anand, 1977). For the present use, Anand's (1977) definition of the poverty line for Malaysia is sufficient; after reviewing several available approaches he defined the "poverty line" as MS25 per month of household income per person in 1970. Since 1970 the cost of living in Malaysia has continued to increase. To get an estimate of the poverty line at the time of our fieldwork in 1975 we can adjust Anand's poverty line above to the rising cost of living. One way to do this is to determine the increase in consumer price index which is available in the yearly economic report of the Malaysian Ministry of Finance. Although the price index is biased towards consumer prices in the Malaysian cities and the measurement of the inflation rate is per annum, in the absence of a better set of data the total consumer price index is useful for the present purpose. Taking into consideration the cumulative increase in consumer price index since 1970 the poverty line in 1975 was about MS41.00 per month of household income per person (see Appendix B). As Anand (1977) noted, the poverty line must always remain arbitrary; it helps to identify the households in economic difficulty.

Since we have collected information on current household size and 'income' (including wages, remittances, sales of rubber produce, money value of rice output) in the survey village we can get some idea of the incidence of poverty (defined as the percentage of households below the poverty line). It seemed that about 39 percent of the households in Sungai Dua (N, 61), 32 percent in Jussah (N, 85) and 33 percent in Tel (N, 59) were below the poverty line, compared to about 32 percent of households in Negri Sembilan and 31 percent of Malay households in Malaysia below the poverty line in 1970 (Anand, 1977, 13). Note that the poverty line is arbitrary and the incidence of poverty in the survey villages might be lower if we were to include the money value of household production of domestic animals, vegetables around the house and fruits in season. However, it does give some insight into the relative well being of households in these villages. The fact that the villagers referred to some households as orang kaya (rich people) and others as orang miskin (poor people) reflected these relative differences in living standard.

6.4.3. The Level of Socio-Economic Progress in the Survey Villages.

It is apparent from the discussion above that there are inter-village variations in the "welfare" of the people. During the survey, we noticed inter-household as well as inter-village variations in the posses-

sion of consumer durable goods, condition of housing and the quality of life. It would be useful to show these variations in more detail here. This can be achieved by ranking the three survey villages in terms of selected socio-economic variables which are assumed to reflect the level of socio-economic 'progress' of the people and the village.

The first task in the analysis is the construction of an index to measure the socio-economic progress of each village. From observations during the village survey several variables can be used to show the varying levels of wellbeing of the village households. These variables include: the possession of means of production; ownership of consumer durable goods; a set of factors which show the 'quality of life'; condition of housing; and investment in domestic animals.

These variables are certainly of varying importance to the concept of the socio-economic progress of the people. They should, therefore, be weighted but such weighting is a difficult matter. (If invalid the weights could distort the final result). Since the weights were not properly studied, an assumption was made that each of the variables is of equal importance to the concept of socio-economic progress in the village. A further step was taken to overcome the weighting problem by choosing as many items as possible to represent each variable in the following manner⁴:

1. Ownership and control of means of production. Rice and rubber land per household; ploughing machines and rubber mangles per household.
2. "Income". Average money income per household; average rice output per household.
3. Ownership of durable consumer goods. i. Percentage of households having a) bus b) private car, and average number of c) motorcycles and d) bicycles per household. ii. Number of television sets, fridges, radios, cameras, wall clocks, wrist watches, sewing machines, fans, cupboards, beds and mattresses, and desks and chairs per household.
4. Quality of life. Percentage of households using modern health facilities such as hospitals and health centres; reading newspapers daily; having contacts with a city (mainly Kuala

4 Some of these items have appeared in earlier Tables in this chapter. The majority will appear again in Chapter 12 where we assess the impacts of migration on the survey villages.

Lumpur and Saremban). Educational opportunities. As all children went to primary school, we decided to use the percent of children in high school in each village.

5. Condition of housing. Percent of households having electricity and water. The condition of house was measured by the quality of the building - this was derived by weighting 3 points if a house was made of cement, bricks and tiles, 2 points if it was made of cement and timber, and 1 point for houses with thatched roof and wooden walls. The value of the house was also taken into consideration.
6. Investment in animal husbandry; measured in terms of average number of buffaloes, cattle, sheep/goats and chickens per household.

The second step was to score each village with 3, 2 or 1 points for each item; that is, 3 points for the village with the highest item value and hence the most "progressive" socio-economically, 2 for the second village and 1 for the village with the lowest item value. These items scores were summed up to give the value for each village on the six indices. We repeated the above process for each of the indices and then summed up the total score of each village on the six indices. The result showed that Juasseh had the highest score, followed by Sungai Dua, and then Ibol, suggesting that Juasseh showed more socio-economic 'progress' compared to the other two villages. Juasseh led the other two villages in almost all the items, and Sungai Dua, in turn, led Ibol on almost all the items. The value of this short exercise lies in the fact that it shows the overall relative 'progress' of the survey villages, and the pattern has some interesting implications. For example, relating the scores of each village with the location of these villages in the settlement hierarchy, Juasseh as a collecting centre seems to have progressed more than Sungai Dua which is situated adjacent to a regional centre. In turn, Sungai Dua, close to a regional centre, showed more progress than the 'remote' village, Ibol. It may be suggested that it seems that the "neighbourhood and hierarchical effects"⁵ in the diffusion theory could have influenced the differing level

5 The neighbourhood effect states that the closer a potential adopting unit to the source of innovation, the greater the probability that it will adopt before potential adopters that are further away. The hierarchical effect implies that if one defines a base for a hierarchy, the higher the ranking of a potential unit in that hierarchy the greater the chance of adoption before units that are lower in the hierarchy (Cohen, 1972, 14 - 15).

of socio-economic progress in the villages (Cohen, 1972).

6.5. SOME STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF MOBILITY PATTERNS IN THE SURVEY VILLAGES.

The village survey detected a variety of movement patterns; routine inter- and intra-village moves to rubber lands, sawah and for shopping that are referred to as adventitious moves (Bedford, 1973); Commuting; pindah; merantau; marriage migration and the Hajj (refer to Table 2.4). These mobility patterns produce a contrasting variation in village day and night time populations, and from one point in time to another over a longer term as young people go makan gaji and later return to the village to retire. As found by Singhaneira - Renard (1977) in North Thailand and by Mantra (1978) in Central Java, we noticed a great deal of overlap in some of these patterns. For example, the commuters also engaged in welancong and in shopping trips, or had gone merantau at some time in the past. As suggested by Goldstein (1978), in order to get a greater insight into the processes and patterns of population mobility it would be useful to have two sets of data, namely information on the 'moves' and the movement status that is, we need to collect the information on all movements made by the people under investigation as well as the number of movers in each movement type such as commuters and migrants.

Although the routine movements by villagers from their homes to their padi fields and rubber small-holdings, as well as intra-village visiting and shopping trips, are part of their lives in the village they are treated minimally here, because compared to the other forms of movements their impact on the village is less. It is sufficient to record that movements to rice fields generally involved less than a kilometre travel either on foot, if the padi fields were adjacent to the people's homes, or on bicycle if the fields were slightly further away. For movements to rubber small-holdings, the villagers had to traverse a slightly longer distance, especially to those holdings obtained from the Fringe Alienation scheme. Bicycles were widely used and lately motorcycles have made an impact on the villagers. Both modes of transport reduce travelling time and help to transport the rubber latex produced daily to processing centres (including those houses having a rubber mangle). Shopping trips usually involved intra-village travel to two Chinese and one Malay shop in Ibol, over 21 shops in Juasseh (17 of which were Chinese, one Indian and three Malays including a co-operative shop), and three Malay shops in Sungai Dua. For higher order

goods, and for a wider choice, the people often travelled to Kuala Pilah town.

The other mobility patterns will be systematically examined below, using the space-time typology introduced in Chapter 2. Initially, we will first establish the relative frequency of each mobility type in the survey villages. Table 6.5 shows the relative size of some major movement types, except marriage migration and the Hajj which will be examined separately, in terms of the numbers of persons involved. Several major features can be highlighted. First, mekan gaji (merantau) was the major type of mobility behaviour in the three survey villages, and involved slightly more males than females⁶. Inspecting the various sub-groups, merantau to urban areas outside Negri Sembilan was larger compared with merantau within Negri Sembilan, and in 1961 there were more females leaving for Negri Sembilan destinations compared with the other villages. Further, merantau to rural destinations was relatively unimportant⁷, and merantau within rural Negri Sembilan was higher than to rural areas outside Negri Sembilan. Second, commuters formed the least important group, accounting for about 16 percent of total mobility. The bulk of commuters were school children whilst adult commuters contributed only about four percent to the total mobility in the three villages. It is noticed too that there were more male commuters than females, and Sungai Uja recorded the largest group of commuters. This is in accord with Hugo's (1976, 130) finding in West Java that a village close to a municipality records a high proportion of commuters. Third, return migrants contributed about nineteen percent to the total mobility, and variations were noticed amongst the three villages. Swasseh recorded a slightly higher rate than the other villages, and in all three villages there were more female return migrants than males. Fourth, the stayers comprised only about a third of the total patterns. It is noted too that there were more females than males in this group.

The various mobility patterns above are not peculiar to these survey villages alone. Reports from studies in other Third World countries (Skeldon, 1977; Hugo, 1975, 1976; Mantra, 1978; Mauda, 1978) have shown that there are a variety of mobility types that can be detected at the local

6 We suspect that the total for this group could be much larger, because many households could not determine whether their mothers' siblings, some of whom have been dead for a long time, had moved in the past.

7 This is expected because the survey villages were partly chosen because they sent migrants out to the city.

Table 6.5. Major Mobility Types in the Survey Villages.

	Villages							
	Sg. Dun Kechil		Juaosoh		Ibol		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Migrants :								
Urban Outside Negri Sembilan	74	40	127	91	87	54	463	27.23
%	26.53%	15.75%	31.91%	30.92%	32.46%	22.78%		
Urban Within Negri Sembilan	33	22	35	22	10	17	139	8.18
%	11.74%	8.65%	8.79%	8.40%	1.73%	7.13%		
Rural Outside Negri Sembilan	1	-	4	4	5	1	15	0.98
%	0.36%		1.01%	1.53%	1.87%	0.42%		
Rural Within Negri Sembilan	18	20	30	18	12	6	104	6.12
%	6.41%	7.87%	7.54%	6.87%	4.48%	2.53%		
Sub Total	156	82	196	125	114	78	721	42.41
%	44.83%	32.28%	49.24%	47.70%	42.53%	32.91%		
Commuters :								
Adult Workers	27	10	16	8	14	7	76	4.47
%	9.51%	3.94%	4.03%	3.53%	5.22%	0.42%		
School Children	31	34	31	33	40	33	204	12.00
%	11.03%	13.39%	7.79%	12.60%	16.93%	14.77%		
Sub Total	58	44	47	41	54	36	280	16.47
%	20.64%	17.32%	11.80%	15.64%	20.14%	15.18%		
Circular (return) migrants :								
Recent	25	35	49	57	21	21	198	16.65
%	8.91%	9.84%	12.31%	27.76%	7.84%	6.86%		
'Older'	22	21	35	14	16	17	127	7.47
%	7.83%	8.27%	8.79%	5.34%	6.72%	7.17%		
Sub Total	47	46	84	71	39	38	325	19.12
%	16.72%	18.11%	21.10%	27.09%	14.55%	16.03%		
Stayers	50	82	71	124	61	85	483	28.41
%	17.79%	32.28%	17.83%	51.14%	22.75%	35.85%		
Grand Total	231	254	396	252	268	237	1700	100.00

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

level. The various studies emphasise how the conventional census reveals only the tip of the mobility 'iceberg' (Hugo, 1978). Thus, to conceptualise and measure mobility in the conventional manner (Lee, 1966) may lead to misleading conclusions about population mobility in Third World countries.

6.5.1. Commuting.

Hugo (1978) defined commuters as persons who regularly (though not necessarily everyday) go to a place outside their village to work or to attend an educational institution, but who return to the village most nights. This definition is serviceable to be used in the three survey villages because it enables us to distinguish commuting from visiting and 'holidaying'⁸.

In the three survey villages there were two main components of commuting, first school children and second, working adults in non-farm occupations. Table 6.5 shows that the bulk of commuters in the villages were school children. The distance for school-commuting was constrained not only by transportation cost and time but, more importantly, also by the hierarchical distribution of educational institutions. Primary education was attainable within the village for Sungai Dua as well as Jussesh, and in the adjacent village for Ibol. The Sungai Dua population had the alternative choice of sending their children to Kuala Pilah for primary as well as secondary education. The other two villages had the option of sending their children to nearby towns and then to Kuala Pilah or Seremban for higher education. Thus, the average school commuting distance for Sungai Dua was less than four km., for Jussesh about 10 km. (either to Kuala Pilah town or to Bahau town, a growing centre in East Negri Sembilan), and about 4 km. (to Tanjong Ipoh town) for Ibol, although a few from Ibol travelled about 27 km. to attend some major schools in Seremban. Questioning the parents of children who commuted to secondary school in Seremban, Kuala Pilah, or Bahau revealed two basic reasons why they preferred their children to commute rather than to live in the town. Firstly, it would be more costly to rent a house in the town for the children or to put them in a hostel. Second, by staying at home not only could the parents supervise the conduct of their children but the children also could help with household chores. The parents also argued that there was electricity in the

8 Individuals in the armed forces often spent their leave in the village, or those in urban areas returned to spend their annual leave or weekends in the village.

village, making the village as conducive a place for study as the town. They insisted too that since there were many distractions in the town - the most feared one was the widespread incidence of young people caught taking dadah (drug abuse) - it would be better for their children to commute.

Adult commuters were generally government as well as non-government workers⁹ in the formal sector who travelled to and from the village almost daily. Their destinations were largely urban areas except for a small number of school teachers who taught in village primary schools. In terms of distance, the pattern was similar to that of the school children because most adult commuters also focused on the surrounding towns, especially the regional town, Kuala Pilah. The mean distance travelled daily was 7.5 km. for commuters in Sungai Dua (N=24), the majority of whom travelled to Kuala Pilah, about 9 km. for Juasseh (N=16), and about 17 km. for Ibol (N=14). The commuters in Ibol went to either a nearby town or Kuala Pilah town but several long distance commuters to Seremban inflated the mean distance. Juasseh, however, sent most of its commuters to nearby towns while a few travelled to Kuala Pilah.

How did these commuters travel to work? Whereas school children relied mainly on bicycles and school buses run by private individuals and also by companies, adult workers often had their own means of transport in addition to public transportation. Being close to Kuala Pilah town commuters from Sungai Dua travelled by bicycle (50%), bus (20%), motor cycle (17%) and private cars. For Juasseh, private cars (about 56%) were the main means of transport, while the rest travelled by motor cycle, bus and bicycle. In Ibol, motor cycles (43%) were the dominant transport. Some travelled by bus (21%), and private car (21%), and at least a few (14%) commuted by taxi to Seremban.

An insight was also gained into the reasons why the commuters did not stay at their workplace. Commuters in Sungai Dua (75%) and Juasseh (62%) maintained that the distance for them to cover daily was small and the availability of transport facilities reduced travelling time. For Ibol 42 percent insisted that it was cheaper to live in the village and furthermore the distance was also small (35%). We observed too that several commuters sometimes stayed at the workplace overnight, because the nature of their job (mainly watchmen) required them to remain at work at night. They

9 We also noticed commuting for the purpose of trading produce amongst the villagers, but not only was the number involved small but it was irregular. Some villagers brought produce such as rubber sheets, fruits in seasons or vegetables from time to time to sell in the towns. We did not pursue this in any great detail.

would sleep at the place of work in a room provided by the employer. This was a common pattern in West Java too (Hugo, 1978).

From discussions with these commuters we gathered that by taking the option to commute daily they ensured that their non-working family members could supplement their daily needs by working on the rice fields, tapping rubber and growing vegetables. Such a strategy enables these people to gain from both the towns (giving them fixed wages) and the village in which the low wages could be stretched further.

How do the commuting patterns above compare with findings in other Third World areas? As in the West Javan situation (Hugo, 1978), modern transport and available opportunities in surrounding towns liberate people from having to stay in the same place as the work place, although transport costs and travelling time still limit the maximum distance convenient for commuting. As one commuter argued, when the travelling cost increased to a certain level that was equal to the cost of renting a house at the work place then he had to make a choice between travelling daily, shifting his residence to the workplace or shifting to a rural location closer to the workplace. Comparable to the West Javan situation too (Hugo, 1978), there was no seasonal variation in the total number of adult commuters. This was because these individuals were employed in government or private establishments on a full-time basis.

Viewing this mobility in a wider context, this behaviour is often associated with advanced industrial countries (Zelinsky, 1971). But recent evidence from the Third World countries has shown that, even though the stage of its socio-economic development is not the one that often generates commuting, this mobility behaviour has become an important strategy for the poor (Hugo, 1975; 1978; Maude, 1978 in Indonesia) in the Third World as well.

6.5.2. Pindah and Merantau

a) Pindah

It is necessary to distinguish between pindah and merantau, two local terms that have specific meanings amongst the villagers. As has been shown, merantau is non permanent while pindah is a permanent shift at least in the peoples' declared intention. Note this classification depends on the intension of the mover as described by the respondents.¹⁰

¹⁰ In reality we cannot preclude the possibility that those who said to have pindah will return some day and those said to have gone merantau may elect to stay permanently at the destination.

From the survey, the incidence of pindah was low amongst villagers¹¹. There were 9.2 persons per 1000 villagers in Sungai Dua, 13.4 in Jussek and 12.8 in Ibol that were described to have pindah in the sense "to pack up and go". At least one family in Jussek and one in Sungai Dua abandoned their houses in the villages to take up a new living at their destination. Maule (1978) has also shown that the Miranghabau or West Sumatra were also involved in pindah.

In the Felda new villages where land-holdings are larger (on average 4.05 hectares), Bahriu and Perera (1977) have outlined the criteria for the recruitment of settlers into Felda, several of which are that the individual must have a family, the settlers must be young, and without land in the village of origin. It can be inferred that those who have pindah comprised mainly families that were economically marginal in the natal village.

b) Merantau.

Merantau was the dominant mobility pattern in the three survey villages. Although the rate varied from one village to another, generally two in five persons in the villages were absent at the time of the survey. As shown later, the current occupations of these absentees show that the bulk of these people went to makan gaji. Some females went to follow their spouses who worked in the modern urban sector. Several attended schools and colleges.

The destinations of these absentees are shown in Table 6.5 and mapped in Figure 6.1 (Note that the definition of 'destination' refers to the place of residence of a migrant outside his village at the time of the survey).

Two general features of the locational distribution of our survey village migrants may be noted. First, merantau from the survey villages has been largely to places in Negri Sembilan and Selangor. At the same time, these villages also sent varying small proportions of migrants to other states in Malaysia and to other countries. Inter-village variations were noticed: migrants from Jussek largely (over 50 percent) went to Selangor, those from Ibol also went mainly to Selangor (about 43 percent), while Sungai Dua had slightly more migrants in Negri Sembilan (38 percent)

11 Part of the reason for this low rate is that in choosing the villages we have avoided those villages that sent their members to the Felda schemes.

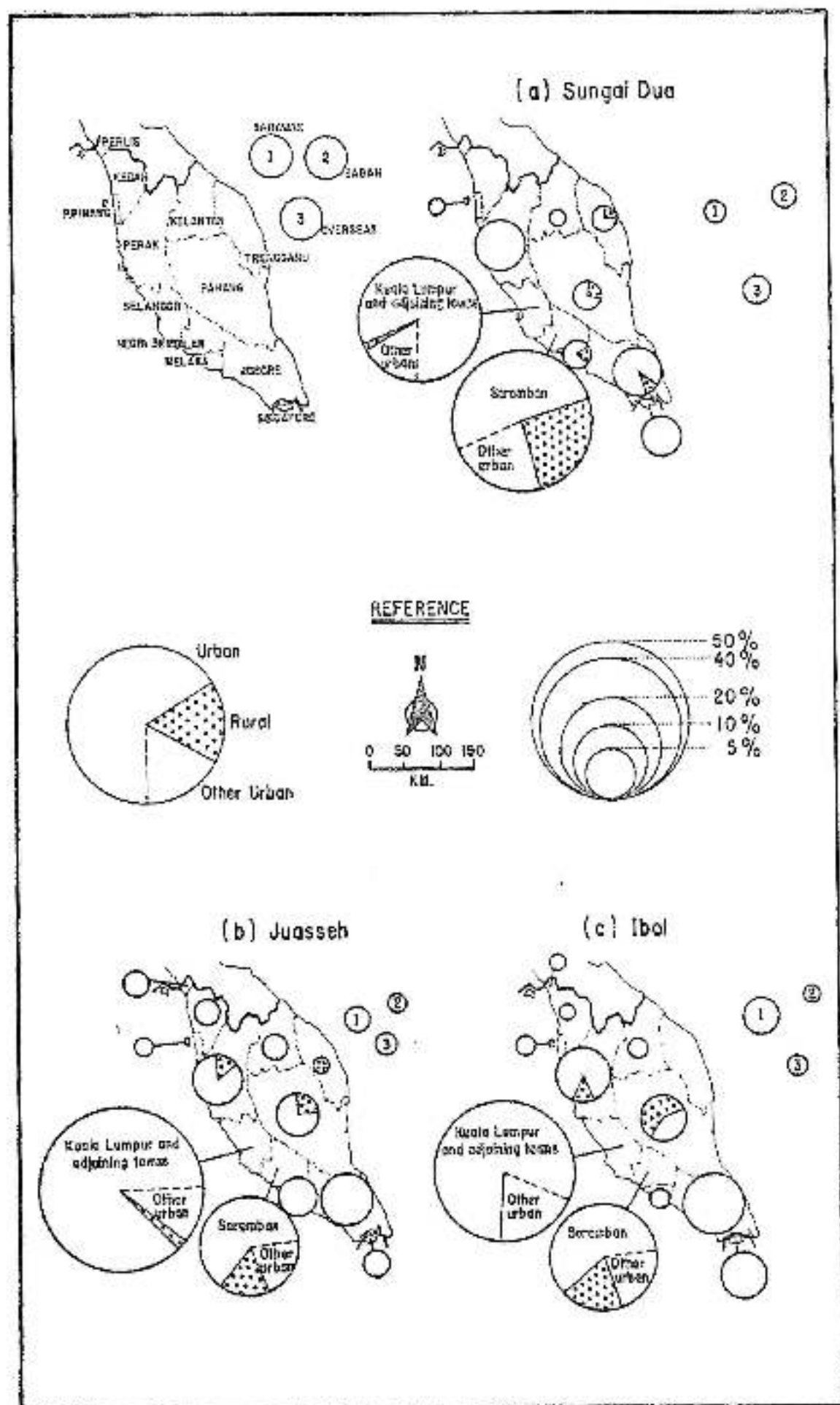


Figure 6.1: Destinations of Migrants from the Survey Villages.

Table 8.6. State or Country of Residence of Merantau 'Migrants' (Percentages).

State	Survey Villages		
	Sungai Dua N = 201	Juasseh N = 283	Ibol N = 195
Nagri Sembilan	38.3	20.1	22.5
Selangor	34.8	54.1	43.6
Melaka	1.9	2.8	1.0
Johor	5.5	6.4	8.7
Pahang	1.9	2.8	5.1
Perak	5.5	5.3	7.2
Trangganu	1.9	0.4	-
Kelantan	0.9	1.1	1.0
Pulau Pinang	0.5	0.7	1.0
Kedah	-	1.1	0.5
Perlis	-	1.4	0.5
Sarawak	1.9	1.4	2.6
Sabah	1.9	0.7	0.5
Singapore	2.5	1.4	5.1
Overseas	1.9	0.4	1.0
	99.1	100.0	100.0

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

than Selangor (35 percent). Juasseh and Ibol had 20 and 23 percent respectively of their total migrants in Nagri Sembilan. Generally, these patterns were not similar to those reported by Maude (1979, 49) in West Sumatra where he observed that less than 20 percent of the migrants from 11 nagari were recorded having settled within West Sumatra, that is within the cultural area of the people.

The outmigration field was extensive - a small number being in

overseas countries. These overseas migrants were mainly students sent by the government for training in various universities in the United States, Britain, Belgium and Australia, while one person was in Hong Kong as a naval trainee, and another in India to be trained as a tradesman for a joint venture (between the Negri Sembilan Government and a multi-national corporation in India) industry at Seremban.

Second, as shown in the diagram, merantau from the three villages has been mainly to urban areas, in particular to Kuala Lumpur and the several contiguous towns in the Kelang Valley, and to Seremban. Relatively few migrants settled in rural settlements. It is noticed from the diagrams that a proportion of the migrants to Pahang, Perak, Trengganu and Kedah (for Ibol) were found in rural areas. Generally, there were slight inter-village variations in the patterns described above. For all three villages a proportion of the migrants (about 20 percent of the total migrants in Negri Sembilan) were found in rural settlements.

The similarities in the general locational distribution of migrants from the three survey villages may suggest that similar factors might have influenced the people in all the villages. As shown later, those migrants from the survey villages in employment were working mainly in the 'formal sector' of the urban economy, the rest being in government service or in private companies based in the rural areas; one common example of those found in the rural area were police constables or school teachers (for some of those working in rural Negri Sembilan). It is evident also that the Kelang Valley including Kuala Lumpur and Seremban have the greatest influence on drawing people from these villages, as was also shown by the census data discussed in Chapter 5.

The urbanward drift by the people from the three survey villages was in accord with studies in other Third World countries. Zachariah (1966) reported that between 1901 and 1961 there was an upward trend in volume and rate of migration to Bombay, India. Likewise, Elizaga (1966) has shown a similar strong attraction of Santiago over the country people in Chile; so has Sternstein (1971) in Greater Bangkok or Maude (1979) in Sumatra in Indonesia.

6.5.3. 'Return' Migration.

The term 'return migration' is used here to refer to those who went 'merantau' but who have since returned to settle in the village at the time of survey. This topic will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter. Suffice it to note here that in our space-time framework out-

lined in Chapter 2, return migration may be considered as a special form of circular migration in that the movement circuit, involving village - rantau - village, is completed, producing a circular pattern. For convenience, return migration was divided into two groups. The first is the 'older' return migrants and the second, the 'recent' return migrants; the former refers to those who went merantau and returned before 1965 whilst the latter comprises those people returning home within the last ten years (1968 - 1978). Circular migration has recently received intensive investigation (see Bedford, 1973; Hugo, 1975, 1978; Chapman, 1979). The findings so far show that circular migration forms an important strategy developed by people to enable them to participate in both their natal village and in urban or other rural areas (Forbes, 1980), and in poorer areas such as in Indonesia these migrants contribute towards economic development in the home-village (Forbes, 1978; Hugo, 1978). In the present example these migrants brought back skills gained in the rantau and savings to be spent on houses or property in the village.

6.5.4. The Stayers.

The stayers formed as important a group as the migrants or commuters in the survey villages. Table 6.5 earlier shows that almost three in ten in the survey villages were stayers. Males were less likely to be stayers than females, a pattern which is to be expected in a Minangkabau society in which merantau has been the domain for males (Naim, 1979). As will be shown in the following section the majority of the stayers were children who could not yet leave the village to seek their own livelihood. But the presence of adult males, albeit only a few, in a society that recognises and rewards its members' merantau deserves elaboration. Observing these individuals in more detail we found that all were in their late thirties or early forties, had received only primary Malay education, and were happy with their decision to stay in the village although they were poorer compared to the migrant families. From an intensive study of two of them, we found one of them maintained that he had thought about going merantau when he turned eighteen years old. Being the only son in the family his mother objected. At present he was free from that restriction but merantau did not appeal to him any more because his own children had grown up and were preparing to go merantau. Further, his wife was working in a factory in Kuala Pilah. This helped to supplement his income from tapping rubber and gathering forest products. He argued that with his skills he could not command a good salary in the town. In this circumstance, the cost of

5.4. RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

Caldwell (1963a) observed that even before the Second World War the proportion of Malaya's population in urban areas was high for an agricultural country and abnormal for Southeast Asia. Urban growth in those years was brought about largely by immigration of Chinese and Indians to Malaya's colonial urban centres. In the post-War years, rural-urban migration became an important type of internal migration in the Peninsula and was strongly influenced by development associated with the 'Emergency' and then 'Merdeka' (Sendur, 1961). We will now examine the rural-urban migration in Phase II of the transition focusing mainly on Malay mobility with respect to Negri Sembilan. This section will draw information from the 1970 census migration statistics and in the next section some more indirect evidence will be reviewed.

One of the problems of the 1970 census with respect to rural-urban migration is that the census classified migrants into various settlement strata (metropolitan urban, large urban, small urban and rural) only at their destinations. It is difficult to determine the relative size of rural-urban and urban-urban flows. However, Soon (1974) has calculated the 'stocks' of lifetime migrant for all racial groups in the Peninsula according to their type of destination, and these data were adapted for Table 5.8 below. From the Table, lifetime migrants to Selangor moved mainly to urban areas. Migrant moves to other states were dominantly to rural destinations. For Negri Sembilan three out of every four lifetime immigrants went to rural areas. The Table also shows that lifetime immigrants to Pahang and Trengganu mainly moved to rural destinations. These patterns suggest many rural opportunities such as the Felda for the Malays, and the movement of people from the New Villages back to their rural residences (Saw, 1972) after the Emergency.

A further insight into the dimension of rural-urban movements in the Peninsula is gained by studying the inter-state most recent Malay migrant moves at the district level. The 70 districts in the Peninsula were first classified into four settlement types, namely: "strongly urban" districts when the district has two thirds or more of its total population residing in urban settlements², "Urban" districts with 40 - 65 percent

2 Defined as settlements with 1000 or more population, embracing all community. This size threshold is used here in order to reflect the predominance of small urban centres in Negri Sembilan.

going merantau was much higher than the benefit. A similar calculated rationale was also given by the second man. He was also in his early forties. Despite having a large young family and being without any land, the man felt happy to remain in the village. He had applied to join a Pelda village once but later rejected it. Although he regretted his action, today he maintained the choice was the best alternative for him in the circumstances - his children were too small at that time to be taken along to the frontier settlements. Merantau to him was also a poor alternative. He argued that if he went merantau, uncertainty in the first few initial months about getting a job would be too hard on his young family. By remaining in the village he was able to subsist.

How do these stayers compare to non-migrants in other areas? One way to compare this is to infer from what Connell et al (1976), Chapters 1, 2, 3) have shown from numerous village studies that migrants were better educated, and were not necessarily the poorest in the village. The stayers therefore, would then be poorer than migrants, with less education, fewer skills and perhaps less motivation. Certainly, in the three survey villages the stayers were the 'poorer' cousins of the movers. They found harmony with village life. From what we observed they were the ones that served to maintain the established way of life in the village and who became the 'watchmen' for the village community.

6.5.5. Other Mobility Patterns.

Three other mobility patterns that have been detected in the survey villages will be described briefly below to complete this section. They have either been discussed in earlier sections or will be examined again in later chapters.

The Hajj. In Chapter 4, the Hajj was shown to be an important form of Malay mobility, and often it is the only international circulation present in the village (Hugo, 1978). In the past the people travelled on chartered ships and the journey took six months to complete. Nowadays, the pilgrims travel by chartered jets. Consequently, travelling time has been reduced and the period of absence has become much shorter. Like the situation reported in West Java (Hugo, 1973), the Hajjis in the survey villages commanded respect from the villagers. The rate of Hajjis in the survey villages varied from 24.5 per 1000 people in Sungai Dua, to 35.7 in Juasseh, and 47.9 in Ibol. It is interesting that Ibol is low on socio-economic progress and high in Hajjis. We did not pursue this issue any further to enable us to offer a reasonable explanation for this.

Marriage migration. Connell *et al* (1976) and Bose (1967) have shown for Indian villages that marriage migration was an important form of migration at the village level. In our survey villages, marriage normally necessitates the males to move and live in the wives' villages (Swift, 1963; Lewis, 1962), although lately it has been suggested that such an arrangement has changed (Ibrahim, 1977). From the survey we found that all adults remaining in the villages had married at least once. Observing marriage migration amongst heads of household (N=205), 67 percent married within their village or adjacent villages, 27 percent came from Kuala Pilah District, about 6 percent from other areas in Negri Sembilan, 2 percent from contiguous states especially Malaka and the rest (about 4 percent) from other states. In terms of linear distance, about 88 percent originated from less than 12 km. away, 8 percent within 40 - 70 km. and 5.9 percent over 300 km. This pattern has been observed by Aspbury (1977) who has fitted several mathematical curves to describe marriage fields and change in these fields as a result of modernisation in Spain. He found that although with modernisation the marriage field had extended, the majority of marriages still took place within a short distance. Libbee and Sopher (1972) found that about 30 percent of adult villagers in rural India did not live in their village of birth and the modal distance of travel was less than 20 km.

Relocation on divorce. Does a divorce lead to relocation? Observing again the heads of household (N=205) it was noticed about 16 percent, 12 percent and 22 percent in Sungai Dua, Juasseh and Ibol respectively, had relocated at least twice as a result of divorce and remarriage. Connell *et al* (1976) and Hugo (1978) have also reported relocations of individuals following divorce in their study areas in India and Indonesia respectively.

6.6 CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS.

This section will examine the age, sex, education and the fertility of the migrants. Other characteristics of the migrants, especially their current occupations and marital status, will be examined in some sections in the subsequent chapters.

Sondut (1961) has summarised some aspects of the demographic characteristics of rural population in Peninsular Malaysia in stating that those who remained in rural villages were generally either less than 15 or more than 40 years of age, and were mainly women, whilst the young, ener-

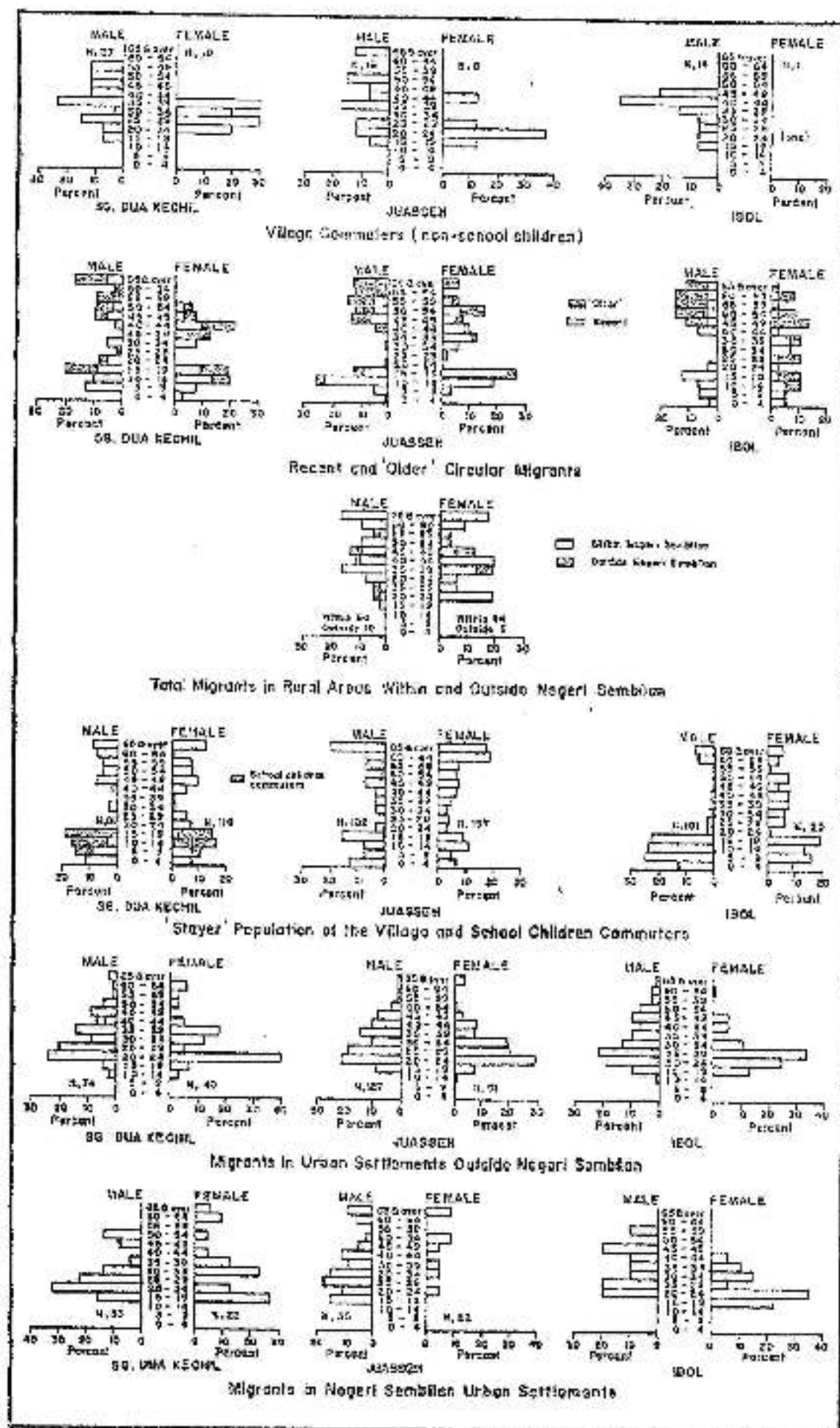


Figure 6-2: Age-Sex Distribution of Those Involved in the Main Mobility Types.

getic male and intelligent had gone to the towns. We will examine below whether this observation was true at the time of our study in 1978.

The age-sex diagram in Figure 6.2 reveals that for the commuters, males were drawn from all the age groups from 15 to over 65, whereas females were restricted to younger age groups. In contrast, both the return migrants and non-migrants showed a bi-modal age-sex distribution; one mode centred on the 45 and above age group, while the other mode was below 20. For the return migrants, those in the younger age group were the children of return migrant families.

What is noticeable also from the diagrams is the 'missing' people in the 15 and 45 age group of the age-sex pyramid of the non-migrants. Those between 15 and 45 missing from the non-migrant group were found in the migrants' age-sex pyramid. It can be suggested from the diagrams that those going merantau were young. To make this observation more concrete we aggregated the information used in the diagram to produce Table 6.7.

Table 6.7. Age-Sex Differences Amongst Merantau and Non-Merantau in the Survey Villages.

Age Group	Non-Merantau		Merantau (Percent)					
			Interstate		Within Negri Sembilan			
	M	F	M	F	Urban		Rural	
					M	F	M	F
0 - 14	37.80	25.37	-	-	-	-	-	-
15 - 54	42.68	52.43	95.83	96.0	92.31	91.80	66.67	70.45
55	19.51	22.19	4.17	4.0	76.92	8.92	33.33	29.55

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

The table confirms the impression about age selectivity obtained from the diagrams. Irrespective of the destinations, those who went merantau from the survey villages were mainly from those in the "working age group". Of those leaving for urban destinations, be it inter-state or within Negri Sembilan, more than 90 percent was in the 15 - 54 age group and about 60 percent was in the same group for those moving to rural areas within the state. Connell *et al* (1976, 39) maintained, after reviewing numerous vil-

lage studies, that almost everywhere in the Third World, migration drew extremely heavily on villagers aged 15 - 30. They associated this selectivity with a phase of a person's life-cycle because most migrants first leave their village at the start of their working life. In our survey villages, the tradition in merantau may be an added spur to send the village members out when they reached adult (working) age.

A useful way to summarise age selectivity is via the Index of Dissimilarity (I_D) which refers to a summary measure of the difference between two age distributions. This index is based on the absolute differences between the percentages in each age group. The differences between the percentages for two corresponding age groups are determined; they are then summed irrespective of sign and one-half of the sum is taken (Shryock and Siegel, 1975, 232 - 233) as follows :

$$I_D = \frac{1}{2} \sum |r_{2a} - r_{1a}|$$

where I_D is Index of Dissimilarity and r_{2a} , r_{1a} are corresponding age groups of two population distributions.

If we compare the age distribution of movers and non-movers then the I_D measures the percent of movers that would have to be redistributed between the age groups to duplicate the age distribution of male or female non-movers as the case may be.

Comparing the I_D between those who went merantau and the non-merantau population in our survey villages produces several patterns, as shown in Table 6.8. First, the I_{Ds} for males and females were more than 50, which were higher than the I_{Ds} of the migrants in some West Javan villages (Hugo, 1978, 190 - 191). The high value of I_{Ds} for male and female in our survey villages shows very considerable selectivity. Compared to female migrants, male migrants were more highly selected.

Turning next to sex selectivity, it has been shown that such selectivity has been found to vary with geographical area. Nonetheless, single males tend to dominate many migration flows. Caldwell (1969) found that in the 30 - 59 age group permanent migrants were about two times as likely to be single as non-migrants. Schultz (1971) from Colombia, on the other hand, reported an almost balanced male-female rate of out migration from rural areas.

Using the sex ratio, the pattern emerging from Table 6.9 is that

Table 6.8. The I_D for Merantau and Non-Merantau Population in the Survey Villages.

Villages	Urban			
	Inter-state		Within Negri Sembilan	
	M	F	M	F
Sungai Dua	72.5	64.5	70.0	60.5
Juasseh	67.5	59.5	52.0	56.0
Ibol	80.5	62.0	92.5	57.0

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

males were dominant in almost all ages amongst those merantau. In contrast the villages were heavily populated by females. This pattern is in accord with what Sandut (1961) had observed earlier. A partial explanation for this pattern is the tradition in merantau (Swift, 1971) which tends to emphasise sex selectivity in favour of the male.

6.6.1. Level of Education.

Reviewing the migration literature we can make three basic generalisations about educational characteristics of migrants compared with the non-migrant population. First, there is a tendency for people to leave their villages when they have acquired educational qualifications. Caldwell (1969) for example, found that the percentage of rural men who had never migrated declined linearly from 65 percent amongst those with no education to 17 percent amongst those with secondary education. Hart (1971) found in Caticugan, Philippines, that the average length of schooling amongst adult males was 4.5 years compared with 5.1 years amongst male migrants. Second, educational selectivity differs with the types of village; poor villages will send out people, even those with low education (Connell *et al.*, 1976, 61). In such villages, opportunities to earn a livelihood will be very low. The villagers tend to have a straightforward choice between starving or moving out to areas that offer them better opportunities. Third, education differentials are not as clear cut in the literature as age-sex differentials (Hugo, 1978).

The data on education of migrants in our survey villages in Table 6.10 show that there is a tendency for those with some education to go merantau. A large proportion of those who went merantau generally had

Table 6.9. Sex Ratio Amongst Non-Merantau and Merantau

Age group	Non-Merantau	(Male to Female) Merantau		
		Inter-state	Negri Sembilan	
			Urban	Rural
0-4	1.2	-		
5-9	1.2	-		
10-14	.8	1.5		
15-19	.9	1.3		.8
20-24	.4	1.2	.2	1.6
25-29	.1	1.7	1.0	1.7
30-34	.5	1.2	2.5	1.1
35-39	.2	2.6	1.0	0.8
40-44	.3	2.4	1.6	1.0
45-49	.5	4.0	3.0	6.0
50-54	.2	6.0	6.0	1.7
55-59	.6	4.0	2.0	-
60-64	.5	1.3	1.5	1.0
≥ 65	.7	1.3	1.5	1.0
0-14	1.03	-	-	-
15-54	.56	1.6	1.3	1.3
≥ 55	.61	1.7	1.2	1.5

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

Table 6.10. Highest Level of Education Attended by Movers and Non-Movers.

Level of Education	Mover*				Non-Mover (Adults)**			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Without Formal Education,	1	0.37	3	1.53	11	6.63	87	32.45
Primary & Religious	118	44.19	93	47.43	136	81.92	158	59.85
Lower Secondary	48	17.98	32	16.33	8	4.82	13	4.92
Upper Secondary	84	31.46	57	29.08	5	3.01	4	1.52
College	7	2.62	7	3.57	8	3.61	2	0.76
University	9	3.37	4	2.04	-	-	-	-
Total	267	100	196	100	166	100	254	100
*Figures confined to children of present households only.	Male I _D		44.9		**Figures excluding recent (1968 on-wards) return migrants,			
	Female I _D		43.7					

Source: Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1973.

completed at least secondary level education, whereas non-migrant adults had mainly primary education and a substantial proportion were without any formal education. Such a pattern is broadly in agreement with findings in other Third World countries. In spite of that it is not possible to generalise about educational selectivity in these villages since from the table a substantial proportion of the migrants had only primary level education.

Relating this pattern to the village socio-economy, low level opportunities in wage income tended to push people out. The survey villages offered limited possibilities for wage employment. Economic activities in these villages were limited to rice subsistence, rubber small-holding and odd-jobs that would bring limited and inconsistent amount of money income. Most of the villagers stated that a person was able to eat everyday if he stayed in these villages. But if he was aspiring to possess lands and durable consumer goods, and to give his children good education he had to

get employment outside the villages. This together with the tradition of merantau certainly has become an important factor in making it attractive for people with all levels of education to move out of the village.

6.2.2. Migration and Total Fertility,

The village and the tracer survey allow some observations to be made on fertility differences between females in the merantau and the non-merantau groups in the villages. Since the total observations for all groups is too small for a meaningful calculation of current fertility, a more useful way to use the data is to calculate total fertility in terms of children ever born to females in the ages 20 - 49. The result in Table 6.11 highlights that only migrant females in the younger age groups (20 - 29) show a much lower average number of ever-born children than the

Table 6.11. Average Number of Children Ever Born to Merantau and Non-Merantau Females.

Present Age Group	N, 69 Merantau	Non* Merantau N, 159.
20 - 24	0.87	2.0
25 - 29	1.96	3.0
30 - 34	3.46	3.5
35 - 39	4.7	4.6
40 - 44	6.2	5.5
45 - 49	-	5.7

Source: The Kuala Pilah Village Survey; Urban Tracer Survey, 1978.

* Residing in the survey villages during the survey, excluding recent (1968) return migrants.

non migrants. In the older age groups, the reverse is true. Some studies have shown that migrants have lower fertility than non-migrants. Elizaga (1966, 377) for example, has shown that in migrant females had a lower average number of son (3.12) compared to the average for natives in Santiago city (3.32). The present data from the survey fail to show any distinct relationship between migration and total fertility. But this fits in with

the growing literature indicating the absence of a general relationship between migration and fertility. Zarate and Zarate (1973) provide one possible explanation for the lack of consistency in fertility differences between migrants and non-migrants, in that the different studies have different data and methodologies appropriate to their interest. Elizaga's (1966) study, for example, was based on census data, while others have been based on surveys. Our village study data on fertility are not only limited but also less important to the total study; the present data are inadequate to provide any conclusion.

6.7. CONCLUSION.

This chapter has highlighted the various mobility patterns in the three survey villages that have a mixed economy of subsistence farming and cash production on small scale rubber holdings. Due to the definition adopted in classifying permanent and non-permanent moves from the villages, the incidence of pindah in the survey villages is low. But all three villages recorded a high rate of merantau, involving both males and females, although males are more dominant than females amongst movers. Compared to the non-migrant population in the survey villages, those who go merantau are mainly in the working age group and have better education. Amongst the married females the average number of children ever born for the older age-group is higher for the mover than the non-mover.

Although smaller in volume, adult commuters and return migrants have also been observed in these villages. In addition to these mobility groups are other movement types that are linked to socio-cultural practices, such as marriage and the Hajj. Circular migration is receiving a great deal of attention at the moment. Since the return migrants in the survey villages have completed the circular mobility circuit, involving the movement out of the village to other destinations and later returning to the village, it is useful to study them in more detail. The next chapter will address itself to this.

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

Harta pusaka	- Ancestral property.
Tanah pusaka	- Ancestral land.
Haj	- The pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the Five Pillars of Islam.
Haji	- Someone who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, an honorific title.
Hari Raya Puasa	- Feast day to celebrate the end of fasting, and the day of sacrifice during the pilgrimage is known as Hari Raya Haji.
Imam	- Prayer leader.
Kampung	- Malay village.
Kampung asal	- Village of origin; natal village.
Kati	- Unit of weight approximately equal to 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> . 83
Upah	- Remuneration.
Waris	- The rightful heir of the state.
Yang di-Pertuan Besar (Yam Tuan)	- Ruler of Negri Sembilan.

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

A Summary of Fieldwork Procedures.

1. Fieldwork calendar.

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

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

2. Fieldwork Procedures.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Sungai Dua Kechil - Kuala Sungai Dua.

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

2. Juasseh.

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

3. Ibol.

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

2.1. Preparation of the Village Survey.

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2. The Village Survey.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. The Urban Tracer Survey.

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

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

Kuala Lumpur several years earlier.

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

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

4. Editing and Coding of Village and Urban Questionnaires.

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX A2: QUESTIONNAIRES.

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

Schedules 2 and 3: Migration and 'merantau'.

Schedule 2:

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

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

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

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

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

Schedule 3:

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

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

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

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

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

Schedule A: Present Socio-economic CharacteristicsI. Land ownership

1. Could you tell us about

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

II. Occupation

1. What is your daily occupation ?

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

2. What is your wife's main occupation

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

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

Acreage worked

1. Owner-operator

2. Working for wage

3. Renter

4. Rent land out

5. Other (please write)

4. Acreage developed and production

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

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

1. enough

2. not enough

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

Schedule 4: Present Socio-economic CharacteristicsI. Land ownership

1. Could you tell us about

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

II. Occupation

1. What is your daily occupation ?

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

2. What is your wife's main occupation

Main occupation

Supplementary occupation

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

Acreage worked

1. Owner-operator

2. Working for wage

3. Renter

4. Rent land out

5. Other (please write)

4. Acreage developed and production

Number of Workers	Type of "padi"	Technology 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 M.A. against questions not applicable.

A. Bio-data

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

Self

Spouse

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

Father's occupation

Present occupation.

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

A.1. Business

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

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

6. How do you obtain your goods

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

7. Where did you get your capital ?

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

8. What motivated you to enter business ?

9. Could you say that this enterprise is doing well

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

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

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

11. Who are your major clients

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

B. Present Socio-Economic Structure

12. Possession of the following in city

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

13. Present house

a) Type

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

b) Status

Owned	1
Rented	2
Other write	3

c) If renting, amount/month

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

d) Owned

Fully paid	1
Still paying	2

e) If still paying

Payment/month _____ /month

Total months for installment _____ month

f) Location of your residence in this city

14. House amenities

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

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

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

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

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

Age _____ years

17. Family member list

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

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

Schedule 8: Urbanisation

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2
Others (Please write)	3

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

b. Information about city

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

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

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

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

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

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

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

Thoughts.

c. Journey to the city for the first time

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

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

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

b. Its fare, if applicable:

13. Who paid for the journey to this city:

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

Borrowing	6
Other (Please write)	7

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

15. Who accompanied you to this city

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

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

Kampong	1
Other (Please write)	2

d. Arrival for the first time in city

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

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

18. How long did you stay there ?

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

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

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

e. First job and urban labour absorption

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

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

21. Who helped you find the first job

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

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

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

f. Arrival of other people

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

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

24. Who come to join you in the city ?

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

II. Experience and adaptation to city life

g. Life in city as opposed to life in kampong

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

to stay in the city.

Far better	1
Just as expected	2
Less than expected	3

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

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

Housing

Job

Life in general

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

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

28. Has your life become worse ?

n. Participation in city life - neighbours

29. Do your neighbours consist of the following :

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

30. What type of neighbours do you have :

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

31. How is your relationship with your neighbours ?

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

32. Do you visit the following friends ;

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

33. Who are your close friends in the city ?

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

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

b) Type of Associations/Institutions

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

Yes	1
No	2
Other (Please write)	3

37. What part do you play on the Association

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

i. Link to valley/changes in city

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

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

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

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

40. What do you do during holidays

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

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

a) Which is a better place to raise children

In city	1
At kampong	2

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

In city	1
At kampong	2

c) Which place is easier to save

In city	1
At kampong	2

d) Which place is better to have big family

In city	1
At kampong	2

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

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

42. Name main Malay areas in the city

Code	
None	1
3	2
4 - 8	3
8	4

43. Newspaper reading and type

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*III. Rural-Urban Relation

j. Visits

47. How often do you go back to kampong

Never	1
Rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Weekly	5

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

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

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

Rarely	1
Everytime coming home	2
Never	3

k. Letters

50. How often do you send letters home

Never	1
Seldom/rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4

51. Do you send money or things to kampong

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

Note: If none go to question No 56 below.

52. To whom it is sent

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

53. For what purpose is the money used

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

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

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

55. How do you send the money

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

*1. Link from kampong

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

Yes	1
No	2

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

Daily expenditure	1
Education	2
Other (Please write)	3

57. Do kampong folk visit you here ?

Never	1
Seldom/rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Monthly	4

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

Poorer	1
As normal	2
Other (Please write)	3

*m. Link with kampong

59. Is your wife/husband

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

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

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

b): i) Have you a house in kampong

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

iii) For whom the house is built

Self	1
------	---

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

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

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

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

Yes	1
No	2

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

APPENDIX B.

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

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

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

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

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

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

APRIL 1971

STATE OF ORIGIN RESIDENCE

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

STATE/PLACE	MALES	FEMALES	CHINESE	INDIAN	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	OTHER	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	TOTAL
JOHORE	6,158	1,180	1,285	4,873	4,535	4,780	1,230	4,772	125	12,300	1,280	60,247	241	61,932
SELANGOR	2,780	411,724	1,105	568	1,585	2,623	15,865	17,114	7,745	4,855	241	671,932	241	672,415
PUTRAJAYA	2,454	2,251	400,452	1,059	1,525	12,642	1,158	1,885	12	11,181	408	12,414	408	12,822
NEGERI	11,102	558	755	10,100	5,471	2,228	100	7,128	125	11,502	548	12,050	548	12,598
W. MALAYSIA	4,928	554	1,185	2,275	17,581	2,421	1,141	3,825	125	4,375	2,401	18,479	2,401	20,880
W. MALAYSIA	1,117	605	1,118	655	1,711	17,586	575	2,701	1,117	3,811	110	24,227	110	24,337
SELANGOR	1,384	18,510	889	818	1,220	2,191	19,285	12,842	1,384	27,566	1,384	30,250	1,384	31,634
PUTRAJAYA	3,874	12,382	2,188	1,575	4,778	6,525	12,822	801,482	1,384	1,384	1,384	1,384	1,384	1,384
NEGERI	545	2,558	186	133	273	132	122	1,482	83,545	1,482	8	81,063	8	81,071
PUTRAJAYA	4,055	1,516	1,271	1,050	5,121	5,499	1,505	10,445	218	10,445	218	10,663	218	10,881
PUTRAJAYA	4,205	750	2,101	375	525	1,118	425	1,118	425	1,118	425	1,118	425	1,118
TOTAL	60,452	580,574	24,200	101,022	106,234	101,815	121,341	637,759	41,907	581,545	107,621	1,171,880	107,621	1,279,501

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

STATE/PLACE	MALES	FEMALES	CHINESE	INDIAN	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	OTHER	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	EUROPEAN	AFRICAN	TOTAL
JOHORE	1,000,454	1,183	1,795	12,773	14,214	11,707	1,452	4,716	384	13,779	1,452	1,171,041	1,452	1,172,493
SELANGOR	2,413	824,442	1,183	1,339	2,271	1,514	6,710	15,142	10,411	15,142	889	175,719	889	176,608
PUTRAJAYA	2,413	2,258	400,452	1,158	1,885	12,642	1,158	1,885	12	11,181	408	12,414	408	12,822
NEGERI	21,399	512	719	10,100	19,031	4,163	1,539	3,471	125	17,127	512	22,441	512	22,953
W. MALAYSIA	11,184	2,234	1,185	2,275	17,581	2,421	1,141	3,825	125	4,375	2,401	18,479	2,401	20,880
W. MALAYSIA	4,928	554	1,185	2,275	17,581	2,421	1,141	3,825	125	4,375	2,401	18,479	2,401	20,880
SELANGOR	4,308	18,510	1,082	1,220	2,191	1,925	12,822	801,482	1,384	27,566	1,384	30,250	1,384	31,634
PUTRAJAYA	11,971	24,551	2,188	1,575	4,778	6,525	12,822	801,482	1,384	1,384	1,384	1,384	1,384	1,384
NEGERI	545	2,558	186	133	273	132	122	1,482	83,545	1,482	8	81,063	8	81,071
PUTRAJAYA	4,262	1,182	2,756	2,116	20,362	16,244	4,262	41,176	67	1,122,001	1,780	1,221,143	67	1,221,210
PUTRAJAYA	4,262	751	1,428	375	525	1,118	425	1,118	425	1,118	425	1,118	425	1,118
TOTAL	1,170,041	901,919	102,108	306,274	421,837	442,196	680,126	1,471,942	171,429	1,471,942	325,988	3,072,930	325,988	3,398,918

Source: Department of Statistics, 1971.

APR 1983, 12

Most Recent Malay Interstate Migration, 1970

State of Previous Residence	Present Place of Residence												
	Johor	Kedah	Kelantan	Malaka	Negeri Sembilan	Perak	Perlis	Pahang	Perak	Perlis	Selangor	Terengganu	Total
Johor	161270	512	1273	5105	3734	5557	1330	3273	70	11002	1101		192215
Kedah	1251	121140	1273	586	1202	2734	11952	53176	5564	6078	548		195202
Kelantan	1734	2522	212765	145	1203	16049	1024	7013	453	5253	19316		153503
Malaka	5545	115	620	31452	3568	1889	453	1048	45	12002	287		47163
Negeri Sembilan	5513	561	202	4913	16502	3568	817	7572	74	14172	472		89717
Pahang	2347	131	1402	447	3744	10070	969	2623	160	5537	2158		31218
Perlis Pising	1758	11745	620	425	372	2053	23309	8293	837	5011	221		64158
Perak	2261	11137	2547	2123	3170	5015	3017	144504	982	21720	842		216150
Perlis	128	2315	132	75	203	783	726	1327	10621	317	21		21013
Selangor	4527	2104	2483	4747	1075	5512	2020	12460	705	123752	1580		166528
Terengganu	2314	602	4022	132	575	12136	176	598	54	7571	6053		81007
Total	192215	135042	139401	25151	64421	108402	82570	391664	23745	219615	55643		1,511,453
La localities afraid birth	452460	477427	552266	150251	205225	121553	166158	565915	65192	206346	259932		

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

APPENDIX 64

Ultimate Return Migration, 1950.

Previous Residence	Birthplace and place of current residence										
	Johor	Kedah	Kelantan	Malaka	Selangor	Pahang	Pulau Pinang	Perak	Perlis	Selangor	Terengganu
Johor	144573	152	776	1124	1126	459	119	710	10	779	290
Kedah	372	139433	187	77	155	99	2943	1342	379	265	60
Kelantan	205	776	112100	109	209	307	135	405	10	207	1094
Malaka	965	5	191	1455	709	38	75	242	14	555	74
Selangor	778	95	135	1167	10627	272	117	537	19	1103	50
Pahang	642	305	967	102	695	57675	102	940	27	504	813
Pulau Pinang	144	2335	120	63	94	175	27801	1127	49	289	47
Perak	545	2601	576	290	445	115	1247	121071	290	2170	304
Perlis	26	1006	78	3	15	5	105	331	27419	52	6
Selangor	1182	761	505	1474	1571	394	391	5078	81	82575	799
Terengganu	725	57	1732	30	87	113	46	176	8	474	64277
Total	151065	147120	514080	19322	16754	54096	12765	157177	8332	89501	66945
Return migrant	5052	7938	4766	4574	8132	6776	4706	11001	1443	6517	2821

Source: Department of Statistics. (unpublished).

(Malays only).

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

1. INTRODUCTION.

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

2. THE METHODOLOGY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. THE RESULTS.

1) Private Car Counts:

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

Average people travelling: 2

Total = 50 individuals.

2) Bus Counts:

1.	SKS - Seremban Kuala Lumpur Express:		
	Our count = 120. Drivers estimate 100.		
2.	Foh Hup Company.		
	Our count = 90. Drivers estimate 80.		
3.	Total:	Our count	210
		Drivers estimate	180
		Average	195
4.	Grand Total:	Bus	195
		Car	50
			245

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

APPENDIX E: ESTIMATING THE 1978 POVERTY LINE FOR MALAYSIA.

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

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

Table 1. Estimating the Malaysian Poverty Line for 1978.

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

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

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

UPPER STATUS

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

MIDDLE STATUS

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

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

LOW STATUS

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

APPENDIX G: URBANISATION INDICES FOR THE HOLOGRAM

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

Sector A. Background Information.

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

Index 1. Urban residence in early years.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 3 Higher status occupation
- 4 High status occupation

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

Sector B. Migrants Socio-economic Background.

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

Index 4. Migrant's educational achievement.

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

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

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

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

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

Years after 15th birthday before entering Seremban / Kuala Lumpur

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

Sector C. The Environment of Entry into the City.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sector D. Attachment to Kuala Lumpur/Seremban.

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

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

Present age - 14

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

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

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

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

- 1 No

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

Index 13. Have you acquired properties in this city ?

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

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

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

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

Index 15. Income

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

Index 16. Household amenities

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

Index 17. House ownership.

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

Index 18. Location of house

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

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

Index 19. Possession of status goods.

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

Sector F. Urban - Rural Link.

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

Index 20. Where were your parents ?

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

Index 21. Did you visit your kampong often ?

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

Index 22. Did you remit money regularly ?

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

Index 23. Marital ties

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

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

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

Index 24. Friendship pattern

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

Index 25. Friendship visits.

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

Index 26. Members of Association.

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

Index 27. Newspaper reading

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

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

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

Sector H. Urban Attitudes.

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

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

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

Index 30. Which place was better to raise children ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

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

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

Index 32. Which place was better for saving ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

Index 33. Which place was better to stay permanently ?

- 1 Kampong
- 2 Same
- 3 City
- 4

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

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

Index 36. Which people tended to be more religious ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

Index 37. Which people tended to be better educated ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

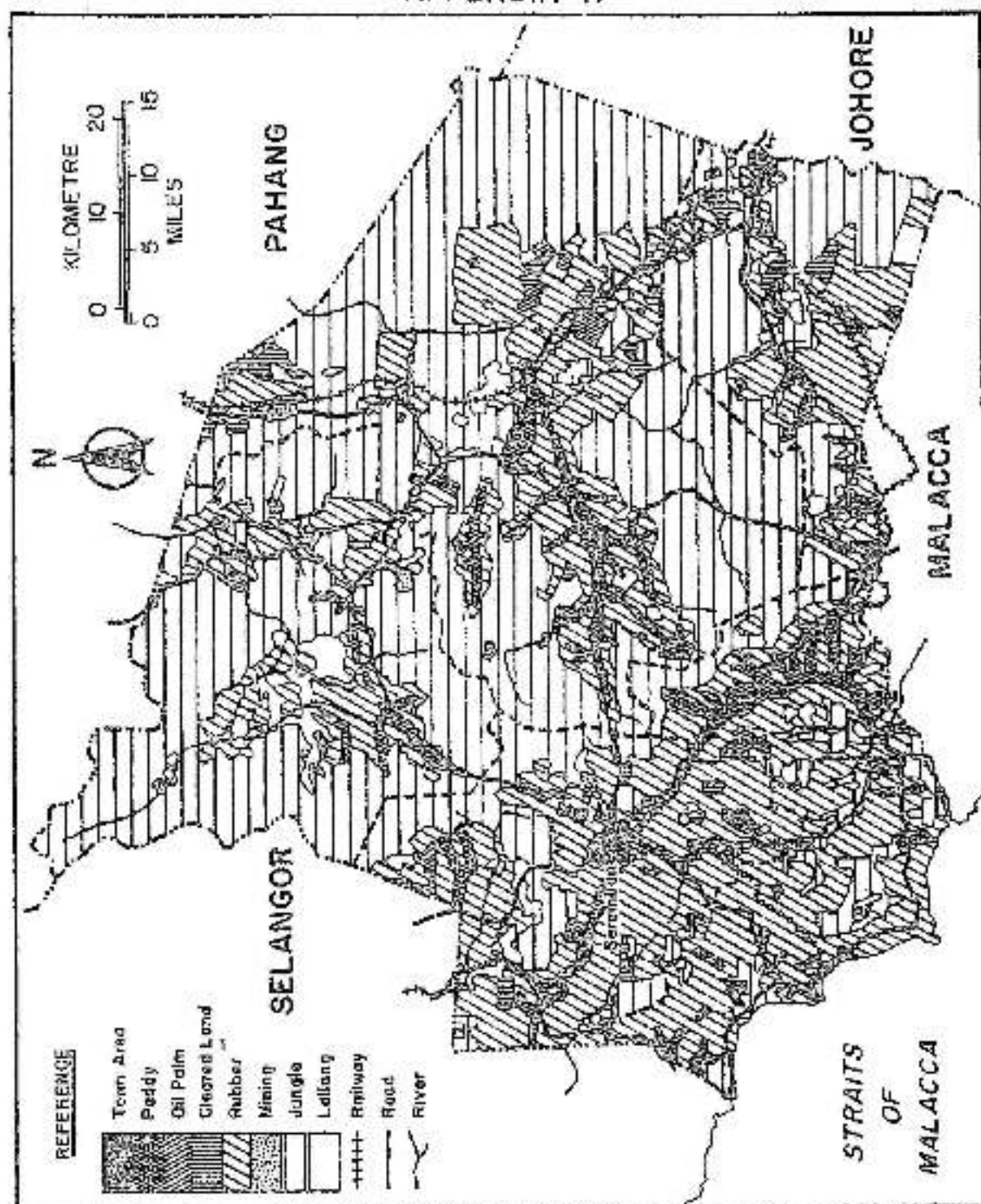
Index 38. This index is a supplement to index 37. Which people tended to be more knowledgeable ?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

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

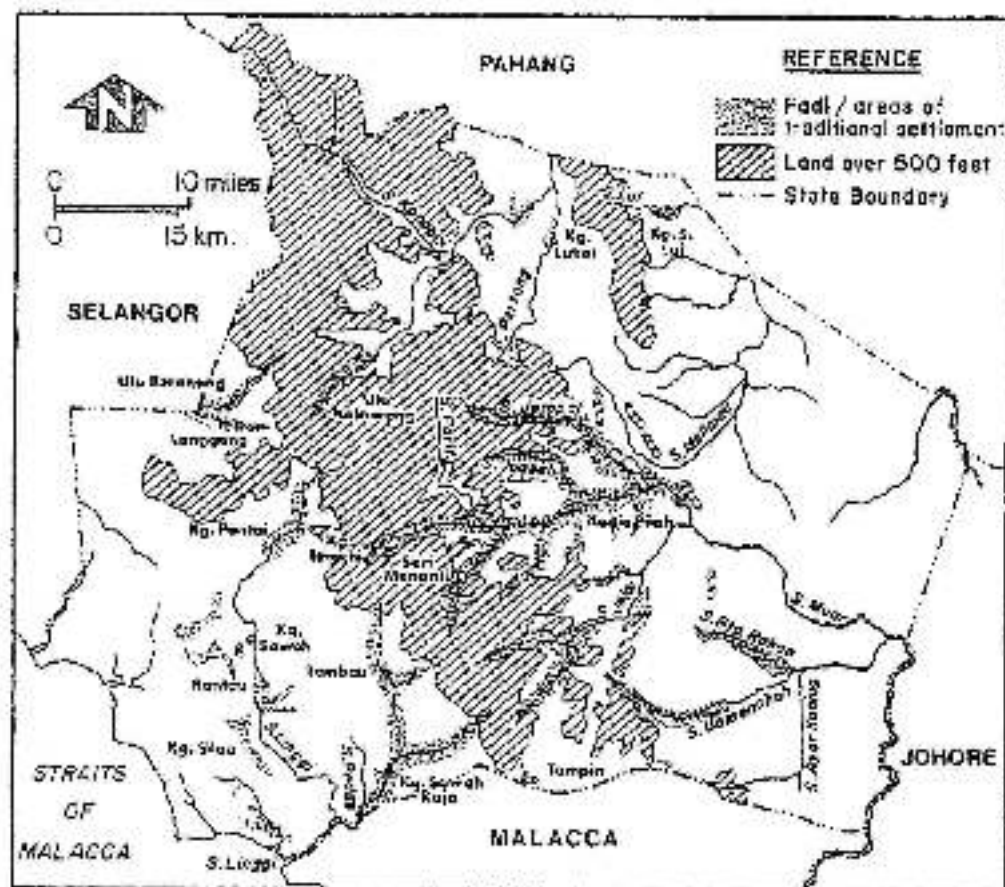
- 1 Rural
- 2 Same
- 3 Urban
- 4

APPENDIX H



Landuse in Negri Sembilan (1966)

APPENDIX I



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

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