CHAPTER 4
MOBILITY AND MIGRATION IN THE VILLAGE
THE TWO-CIRCUITS IN THE REGIONAL-LOCAL CONTEXT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The national patterns of migration operating within the two-circuits were discussed in the previous chapter. This chapter complements the macro-patterns by examining in greater depth, at the micro-level, the patterns and processes of mobility and migration at the village. Because the study is from the source-end, it is able to capture the whole village[1] population examining the issue of migration from a total mobility structure (including stayers, and commuters) who are usually excluded from census and other large-scale surveys. These different mobility groups can be analyzed within a life-cycle framework, elucidating their inter-relationships, further adding to our knowledge of outmigration itself.

The underlying question is: to what extent is the pattern of mobility and migration viewed from the village perspective similar to the two-circuit system found in the earlier chapter on the migration streams between 1965-70, bearing in mind that six years have elapsed since the implementation of the NEP. Related to the first question is: what are the processes, which can be studied at this level, that influence the particular nature of migration in the village. Integral to this issue is the extent to which this village-level pattern is defined by ethnicity as a determinant of this mobility structure. The analysis will also attempt to examine the two-circuit hypothesis through isolating the impact of the life-cycle, such as age, marital status and related factors, and the contribution of schooling to the breaking of the two-circuit as measured by urban destination and formal sector-type occupations.

The relationship between socio-demographic factors, such as the life-cycle, and ethnicity and education as they affect the employment characteristics within the two-circuit structure of migration and mobility may be examined in a number of ways. The macro-approach in Chapter 3 had examined the four streams of migration in terms of strata and sector. Using data from the field survey the approach in this chapter is cross-sectional, analyzing micro-level mobility data at one point in time. Bearing in mind the inherent inadequacies of this type of data, the last section and Chapter 6, will examine the migration question from the longitudinal life-history retrospective approach.

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[1] For convenience "village" refers to all the study villages of Simpang Empat, Kedah.

The structural analysis of village mobility involves a two-step methodological strategy. First, a typology of mobility groups has to be constructed which is incorporated into the two-circuit framework. Second, the characteristics of these mobility groups, in terms of their socio-demographic and economic factors are studied. This is integrated as processes which tend to destroy or preserve the two-circuit structure of migration from the village.

The first section of this chapter sets the background to the study area.[2] It briefly highlights the development of the state of Kedah, deemed as one of the poorest. Not surprisingly, this state has Malaysia's largest *padi* growing region, Muda, where the most highly invested *in situ* project, that of the Muda Agricultural Development Authority, MADA, is located. The characteristics of the six *kampungs*, generally called Simpang Empat in this thesis will be discussed. In the next section, the typology of mobility groups and its relationship to the two-circuit framework which is to be verified at a village-level is explored theoretically. The socio-demographic characteristics of the mobility groups are examined in order to analyze the impact of the life-cycle factors on the structure of migration and mobility. The next section considers the employment and economic characteristics of the mobility groups. Ethnicity formed an integral component of the analysis of the earlier chapters and in this section, its interplay with sectoral, and locational factors continue to feature as importantly, especially in the question of the preservation and dissolution of the two-circuit structure of migration.

In the final part, the links between micro-level decision-making with the macro-level structural factors are analyzed through application of a concept of critical moves. Subjecting this index to a classificationary device allows for analysis of common profiles that incorporate the structural breaks associated with a locational-job move. An analysis of the pre- and post-1957 cohorts and the Malay and Chinese cohorts are also carried out.

4.2 KEDAH STATE AND THE MUDA REGION: THE VILLAGES IN CONTEXT

The villages that were studied are located in Kedah, a lagging state in Peninsular Malaysia, which displays most features of the lower-circuit system. The most important

[2] All the national level data for this chapter goes up to the 1970s. They have not been updated on purpose as they describe the study area at the time of the survey research.

factor which has contributed to Kedah's relative economic progress compared to the other underdeveloped states in the east coast is its location. Being on the west coast, Kedah is more accessible than Kelantan and Terengganu, and being close to Pulau Pinang meant that Kedah has enjoyed some of the economic spillover. For the same reasons, Kedah has larger proportions of Chinese and Indians than the underdeveloped states of the east coast.

The physical features of Kedah have influenced its economic and urban structure. Most of Kedah is coastal plain, below 10 feet above sea level. To the north, the plain continues into Perlis and the flat landscape is disrupted by monolithic limestone outcrops. To the south, the plain ends abruptly in the forest of Gunung Jerai (4,000 feet above sea level). The soil is sedimentary clay with a slight tendency to being acidic. It is mainly suitable for *padi*. Rubber is grown along the undulating foothills of the Main Range towards the east and south-west. Fishing is carried out along the coast and estuaries while fresh-water fishing occurs along the canals and *padi* fields. The latter is mainly for home consumption. The climate is tropical with the monsoon beginning from May to September, high humidity (about 80 per cent) and high uniform temperatures of around 70° - 95°F.

Table 4.1 shows the major socio-demographic, economic and urban characteristics of Kedah compared to the other states in the peninsula. Kedah is both the fourth most populous and densely settled state in Peninsular Malaysia with a mostly Malay population. The age-sex structure of Kedah is similar to the national one, with a high dependency ratio. The Chinese and Indians are displaying fertility declines. The sex ratio is balanced. Kedah, like the rest of the lagging states has a higher proportion of divorced persons, probably due to the large Muslim Malay population. An indicator of underdevelopment is low educational levels of which the mainly Malay states, including Kedah, have a high proportion.

The low economic development of the state is evident in the large proportion of the labour force engaged in *padi*, as agricultural workers who are self-employed or work as family labour. The secondary and tertiary sectors, particularly manufacturing and commerce, are underdeveloped in Kedah and the other east coast Malay states. Furthermore, the small proportion of Kedah's population using electricity and gas as a cooking fuel (in contrast to charcoal and wood), and not owning a car or motorcycle points to its disadvantaged economic position in comparison to the developed states.

The economic structure of the state affects urban development. Being a basically rural

Table 4.1
Peninsular Malaysia: Socio-Demographic, Economic and Urban Characteristics of Population by State, 1970

	Underdeveloped States				Developed States						
	Kedah	Perlis	Kelantan	Terengganu	Selangor	Penang	Perak	Negeri Sembilan	Johor	Melaka	Pahang
Socio-Demographic											
Population											
Total population 1970	954,947	121,062	684,738	405,368	1,630,366	776,124	1,569,139	481,563	1,277,180	404,125	504,945
Population density											
Per sq.ml	262	394	119	81	515	1945	193	188	174	634	36
Community (%)											
Malay	71.0	78.3	92.3	53.1	34.4	31.7	43.3	44.1	53.1	53.1	61.4
Chinese	20.0	17.8	5.9	5.7	46.5	55.9	42.4	39.6	39.0	39.4	31.0
Indian	7.6	1.5	0.6	0.9	18.4	11.3	14.0	16.0	7.4	6.8	7.4
Sex (%)											
Male	50.1	48.2	50.0	50.8	51.0	50.2	50.1	49.7	50.2	48.5	52.2
Marital Status (%)											
Single	41.6	38.8	34.2	36.8	47.2	47.0	45.6	45.0	47.2	49.1	41.2
Married	51.0	52.9	55.6	54.4	47.2	45.8	47.5	47.4	46.7	44.0	52.0
Schooling (%)											
No schooling	44.1	40.6	54.7	51.7	35.7	35.3	38.3	37.2	40.1	37.4	42.4
Primary	45.0	47.2	35.2	37.8	44.1	45.7	47.2	47.5	46.5	47.5	45.9
Secondary	10.9	12.2	10.1	10.5	20.2	18.9	14.5	15.3	13.4	15.5	11.6
Economic Structure											
Usual Industry (%)											
Padi	41.6	65.4	44.0	35.7	5.5	10.1	12.9	8.3	0.8	5.0	15.5
Rubber	28.2	4.8	22.4	15.3	12.5	6.8	24.8	46.4	41.8	35.7	34.4
Occupation (%)											
Agricultural workers	74.6	76.1	70.5	62.2	28.0	26.8	48.9	60.8	59.8	48.5	65.5
Production workers	7.0	6.2	11.9	18.1	27.8	24.2	21.3	12.7	15.5	16.8	14.4

Table 4.1 (continued)

	Underdeveloped States				Developed States						
	Kedah	Perlis	Kelantan	Terengganu	Selangor	Penang	Perak	Negeri Sembilan	Johor	Melaka	Pahang
Employment Status (%)											
Self-employment	32.8	37.4	44.8	45.4	17.4	21.89	25.4	22.6	21.5	23.1	30.2
Employee	37.3	19.7	23.8	30.6	63.3	56.5	50.7	50.1	54.2	55.6	44.7
Family worker	23.5	36.8	26.0	18.7	8.6	10.4	15.1	15.5	15.7	10.8	19.1
Cooking Fuel (%)											
Electricity and gas	4.8	5.3	4.8	5.7	15.7	15.1	9.5	7.3	7.2	8.3	6.5
Vehicle Ownership (%)											
Car	8.0	6.7	7.8	9.1	23.1	14.8	12.0	16.5	10.8	13.7	16.6
Motorcycle	17.1	13.7	13.5	15.7	24.5	25.5	21.0	21.7	20.2	17.4	21.1
Urban Structure											
Proportion urban	13.0	-	15.0	26.6	44.9	51.0	27.3	22.0	26.0	24.7	19.1
Towns sizes											
> 100,000	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	1	-	-
10,000 – 99,999	3	-	5	5	5	4	7	3	6	2	4
5,000 – 9,999	3	1	3	1	14	5	19	4	8	2	3
Total	6	1	8	6	21	10	27	7	15	4	7

Source: Malaysia, Department of Statistics, 1974.

population, both urbanization and the proportion living in a conurbation are low. There are only six urban centres compared to comparable-sized states such as Perak and Selangor with totals of 27 and 21, respectively, in 1970. Another indicator of Kedah's mainly rural population is the common feature of periodic markets (usually weekly) which serve a mainly agricultural community.

4.2.1 The Muda Region

Bearing in mind the aims of the thesis, three criteria were used to select the study area. The criteria were: an area where there was mobility and outmigration; with a Malay-Chinese ethnic composition for a comparative study; and a region of relative physical and economic homogeneity to ensure that both population characteristics and population components are not so susceptible to chance variation.

The Muda region of Kedah, located in the north-west coast of Peninsular Malaysia, fulfilled these criteria (see Figure 4.1). There is evidence of outmigration from this region. Farm land sizes in the area have not decreased significantly in the last 20 years despite natural population increase (Jegatheesan, 1976: 24-6). Although the national average annual population growth rate was 3.1 per cent between 1957-70, the rate of increase in 26 *padi mukims* in Kedah was only 1.54 per cent over the inter-censal period. Studies in the FTZs in Bayan Lepas, Penang (Chapter 5) suggest that at least 27 per cent of the labour force is from Kedah. An analysis of the flow of interstate lifetime and variable-period migrants[3] from the 1970 Population Census showed that Kedah ranked third in the country with a total of 103,765 lifetime migrants and 81,487 variable-period migrants. Kedah ranked fourth with 212,296 intrastate migrants. These figures suggest the importance of both long and short distance migration. Pre-survey discussions with local authorities, agricultural officers, and local leaders reinforced the evidence of relatively high rates of migration.

Initial field work revealed that the purposive selection of a village with both Malays and Chinese for comparison would make the study atypical. Instead, a more likely and typical Malay-Chinese population would be found in an area consisting of a *pekan* (small town of under 5,000) populated mostly by Chinese and its contiguous *kampungs* of almost exclusively Malays.

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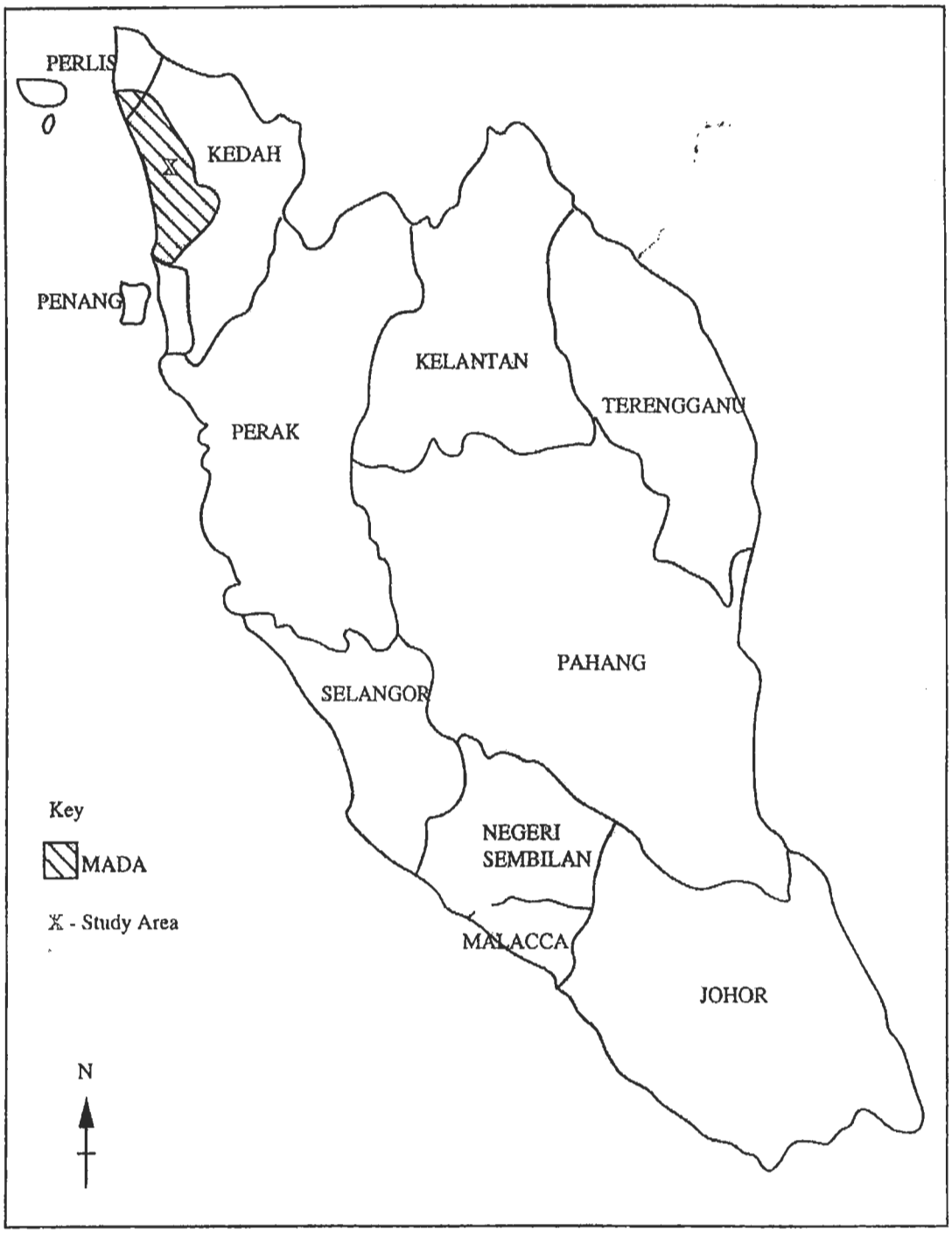
[3] Interstate migrants are defined as migrants whose state of birth was different from the state of enumeration during census-taking. Variable-period migrants are defined as migrants whose state of previous residence was outside the state of enumeration during census-taking.

Figure 4.1
Location of Study Area, MADA Region, Kedah, Peninsular Malaysia



The Muda region is relatively homogeneous. It is an old-established rice-growing area in which political, economic and social changes have been relatively uniform over a long period. Physically, it is a large, flat, coastal plain of about 263,000 acres, fed by the Sungai Muda. Known as the "rice bowl of Malaysia", it has been associated with rice-growing from as early as 1 A.D. and during the kingdoms of Langkasuka, Srivijaya and Majapahit (Afifuddin, 1973: 2).

Most of the Muda region consist of the Muda Irrigation Scheme, a product of the physical output phase of Malaysian rural development.[4] It was conceived in the early 1960s. The engineering costs alone totalled RM227.8 million (RM135 million loaned from the World Bank) making it at that time the most heavily invested *in situ* development scheme in Peninsular Malaysia.[5] There were many reasons for developing the Muda region. The population was predominantly Malay engaged in *padi*-farming. To raise *padi* production was a direct attack on a major poverty group. It was politically expedient to increase the incomes and living standards of a large rural community of Malay voters. Therefore, despite the fact that rice could be more cheaply bought from the rice-surplus neighbours of Thailand and Burma, Malaysia launched a rice self-sufficiency policy and subsidized local rice production.

The Muda region is Malaysia's largest contiguous rice-growing area (26 per cent of Peninsular Malaysia's rice acreage). It has traditionally been the rice granary of the country being a source of outmigrants to the other major rice-growing areas of Prai, Krian and Tanjong Karang. The region encompasses all of the coastal plains of Kedah and Perlis extending 263,000 acres and 60 miles from north to south and 20 miles from east to west (Figure 4.1). Agriculture in the scheme is characterized by almost complete dependence on *padi* cultivation which accounts for 77 per cent of land use and constitutes the major source of income for 50,000 farm families and over 325,000 persons (MADA, No. 20, 1972). Double-cropping was launched in 1970 and by 1974 this region contributed 33 per cent of Peninsular Malaysia's cropped *padi* acreage and 44 per cent of the domestic rice production.

The Muda Agricultural Development Authority (MADA) was formed in 1970 with the aim of "promoting, stimulating, facilitating and undertaking economic and social

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[4] This occurred in the 1960s, soon after Independence in 1957 when much of government spending was geared towards infrastructural development in the neglected rural areas.

[5] See MADA No. 2 (1970) and No. 19 (1972) for a discussion on the background to the development of the Muda Irrigation Scheme.

development in the Muda region". This was achieved through increased *padi* production (double-cropping and higher yielding varieties) and adoption of modern farming technology. The approach to development was coordinated and integrated with amenities (piped water and electricity), community facilities (health clinics and schools) and infrastructure such as transport (over 500 miles of bund road), marketing and rice-drying facilities, and support activities for agriculture (especially mechanisation and credit facilities) being developed alongside education extension, cooperatives and farmers' associations (27 in MADA).[6]

Owing to the recency of these developments (except schools, health clinics and utilities), much of the effect of double-cropping on the region occurred after 1970. For example, Alor Setar, the capital of Kedah, has grown from 60,000 in 1970 to an estimated 75,000 in 1975 (per. comm., Department of Statistics, Malaysia, 1976). Although there are economic variations between areas within the MADA region,[7] signs of affluence are noticeable.

There has been a steady growth of small centres such as Simpang Empat, the survey area, which, due to accessibility and location, service an area with a radius of over 10 miles. One notices the new shops added to these urban settlements. Driving through the region, one is struck by the number of new houses, additions to houses, and the relocation of Malay houses along major roads. Other evidence of wealth are the good condition of the houses, the array of new consumer products, including the upsurge of Honda motorbikes. Although spending power is affected by the seasonality of *padi* production, the size and business of the *pasar minggu* (weekly markets), of daily trading in the market, food stalls and shops in Simpang Empat, and the number of farmers participating in the Saturday night visit to Alor Setar all point to increasing prosperity. Furthermore, the number of Malays making the *haj* and the growing number of villagers joining guided tours to other parts of Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore all attest to the prosperity enjoyed by this region in the last five years compared to similar *padi*-growing areas straddling similar arterial roads, for example, the Krian region in Perak.

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[6] See MADA, No. 15 (1972) for discussions on integrated planning and implementation of agricultural development and institutional building in the MADA region. For an examination of the organizational structure and management policy, see MADA, No. 3 (1970). Aspects of integrated technology of rice cultivation are dealt with in MADA, No. 10 (1970). For sociological perspectives (attitudes, values, leadership and farming behaviour), see MADA. No. 18 (1972).

[7] The major causes of income disparities are farm sizes, soil types (24 per cent of the MADA region has acid sulphate soil which has to be heavily limed to produce higher rice yields -- see MADA, No. 5, 1970), tenancy, traditional rice varieties (see MADA, No. 6, 1970 and MADA, No. 11, 1971, for discussions on seed and fertilizer experiments), and cultivation practices (MADA, No. 4, 1970).

Therefore, it is in a dynamic region, undergoing tremendous changes as a result of agricultural development with overt signs of affluence, that the micro-study is located. Migration is of great interest to MADA as it holds important implications for the following issues. The first problem is land pressure, felt most noticeably in the last 5-10 years. This has been caused mainly by population increase although government resumption of land for irrigation canals, roads, rice-drying warehouses, and more landlords taking up farming again have all added to the problems of land-hungry farmers. Thus, of major concern to the planning authority is how to alleviate land pressure.[8]

The second but equally important problem which relates to migration is that of labour shortage which has been aggravated by the rigid time-table of double-cropping. Even in the days of single-cropping there was a labour shortage. Farmers have tried to stagger the periods of peak labour demand of planting and harvesting (due to the seasonality of rice production) by growing the same or different maturing rice varieties at different times. The fact that the monsoon rains take about three months to cross the region has also helped to even out the peak periods of labour demand. Besides, additional seasonal labourers from Kelantan and Pattani in South Thailand (11,600 persons between 1961-69 for an average duration of two months' stay) eased the traditional labour shortage. But with the onset of double-cropping which meant the strict adherence to an inflexible schedule, the planting and harvesting periods have been shortened by at least six weeks. Also, it has meant that in order to keep to the irrigation time-table, the same type (short maturing variety) of *padi* must be grown at the same time. Meanwhile, the development of double-cropping in Kelantan and the restriction by the government of seasonal Thai hired labour has cut off this vital supply of labour. Thus, the MADA region is short of labour during both planting and harvesting, in spite of the presence of unemployed youths registered in the labour exchange in Alor Setar. The seasonal labour shortage problem has important implications for MADA's goal as it affects the costs of production and, therefore, farmers' income. The importance of labour cannot be underestimated for labour inputs comprise between 55 and 64.4 per cent of the total costs of production (MADA, No. 15, 1972: 28-32). Evidence suggests that the labour shortage problem is going to increase. The average family size is estimated to be 6.0, with a balanced sex ratio. If the working age is assumed to be 16-60 years, then only

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[8] See Jegatheesan (1976; 1977) for a discussion on land tenure and its implications for productivity, income distribution and reform policy and Lim *et al.* (1975) for the nature of land tenancy in one locality in the MADA region. Horii (1972) studied one village and its land tenure system while Kuchiba (1977) analyzed the socio-economic changes and structure of a Malay village in Kedah.

49.5 per cent of the population falls into this category (MADA, No. 1, 1970). Thus, mechanization is imperative if farmers are to increase their incomes.[9]

The final problem which faces MADA, and has bearings on migration is the paradoxical situation of unemployment amidst an area of labour under-supply, especially at peak demand periods. Even if these unemployed youths worked during the harvesting season (planting is almost exclusively a female task), for the greater part of the year they remain unemployed or underemployed. High unemployment is related both to the mismatch of education and labour needs, and to the rising expectations and aspirations of the new generation of youths who are reluctant to work in *padi*.

This fact, and the increase in population has made it necessary for MADA to develop agro-based industries such as strawboard manufacturing to absorb the children of farming families. There are also government and private-sector joint-ventures for shoe manufacturing, bicycle assembly, livestock breeding, and fish culture in the region.

Evidence suggests that outmigration from this region has been occurring for some time. MADA has accepted the fact that the labour deficit in the scheme cannot be filled by local youths and that mechanization is inevitable for increased productivity. Despite the close inter-relationships between these factors and migration up to 1976, there has been no research specifically on migration in this region. Thus, the micro-study should contribute to knowledge in this sphere with implications for policy and planning.

4.3 THE SURVEY AREA: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SIX *KAMPUNGS*

The previous sections have discussed Kedah and Muda, providing the background for the survey villages (*kampungs*). The aim of this part is to examine some of the major characteristics[10] of the six survey villages of Kampung (Kg.) Simpang Empat, Kg. Jalan Tokai, Kg. Selarong Panjang, Kg. Selarong Batang, Kg. Benua and Kg. Pisang (see Appendix B).

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[9] For the arguments for mechanization see MADA, No. 7 (1970), No. 14 (1971), No. 20 (1972), No. 25 (1974), No. 22 (1973) and for studies of different types of machines appropriate for the Muda region see MADA No. 8 (1970), No. 9 (1970) and No. 12 (1971).

[10] Households were classified into four groups: stay and eat together (94.7 per cent), stay together, eat separately (3.6 per cent), stay separately but eat together (0.8 per cent – old Malay parents living in a separate house next door), and share the same head of household (0.8 per cent – polygamous Malay men).

Three major factors influence the nature of these villages. They are located in MADA, a large development scheme where most of the facilities and amenities of modern living have been available since the mid-1960s. Consequently, they are undergoing unprecedented changes. With the exception of Kg. Pisang, these villages are situated near or along the north-south arterial road which means they enjoy easy accessibility and exposure. Their proximity to Alor Setar (8-10 miles) further enhances the villagers mobility and their perception of urban conditions. The range of shops (wholesale and retail) and services (private clinics, car and motorbike mechanics, petrol station, hairdressers, photographers and tailors) are illustrations of Simpang Empat's economic diversity.

The population from these villages may be treated as a group for mobility and migration analysis for the following reasons. First, all the villages, except Kg. Pisang, are contiguous covering an area of 5.2 square miles. Although Kg. Pisang is not adjacent to the rest of the villages, it is merely separated by a wide expanse of *padi*-fields. Second, these settlements are close enough to each other to share similar features. Third, the first survey was a complete census of the *kampungs* (as against sampling) which statistically validates the population of these villages to be combined for analysis.

Table 4.2 shows some of the basic household characteristics of the six *kampungs*. In terms of distance from Alor Setar,[11] most of the *kampungs* average between 8-10 miles, with the exception of Kg. Pisang. A similar pattern occurs when distance is calculated from the nearest *pekan* (Simpang Empat and Kota Sarang Semut – another nuclear settlement four miles south of Simpang Empat). Data on the total persons ever-lived, currently living and having left the household show differences between villages caused by the higher proportion of Chinese families in their total number of households. The Chinese have larger means than the Malays for total persons ever-lived in a household (10.6 persons and 6.7 persons), currently living in the household (8.3 persons and 5.2 persons) and having left the household (3.6 persons and 2.8 persons). Kg. Jalan Tokai, Kg. Benua and Simpang Empat have higher proportions of Chinese households (91.7 per cent, 54.6 per cent and 52.7 per cent, respectively) which result in the higher means for household size in these *kampungs*.

[11] Distance from Alor Setar was measured from the house location by road to the boundary of the township of Alor Setar.

Table 4.2
Simpang Empat: Characteristics of Households by Ethnicity, 1976

Characteristics		Malay	Chinese
Distance			
*Distance from Alor Setar (mls)	mean	7.7	6.8
F = 45.9	standard deviation	1.4	0.8
*Distance from nearest *pekan* (mls)	mean	0.9	0.4
F = 32.7	standard deviation	0.9	0.4
Household			
*Total no. ever lived in household	mean	6.7	10.6
F = 68.1	standard deviation	3.1	5.6
*No. currently in household	mean	5.2	8.3
F = 65.7	standard deviation	2.5	4.4
*No. left household	mean	2.8	3.6
F = 12.6	standard deviation	1.8	2.5
	N	315	246
Migrants			
**Sets of family migrants	mean	1.5	1.4
F = 0.5	standard deviation	0.9	0.0
	N	23	33
**No. of married male migrants	mean	1.7	1.0
F = 2.4	standard deviation	1.2	0.0
	N	34	12
Income			
*Total household income per month	mean	316.3	530.3
F = 12.0	standard deviation	330.3	773.8
	N	591	370
*Average household income	mean	68.7	75.1
per month	standard deviation	81.8	98.2
F = 0.5	N	591	370
Land			
**Average cultivated land (relung)	mean	9.7	9.0
F = 0.6	standard deviation	8.0	10.0
	N	372	110
**Average owned land (relung)	mean	8.2	10.3
F = 1.5	standard deviation	6.4	13.1
	N	140	21
N		592	377

Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.
Note: + Where N is not shown it is similar to the household totals of each of the *kampungs*.
* P<0.01 ** P>0.05

An investigation of he sets of amily migrants, and number of married male migrants who have left the households in the villages shows that the village

means are not significantly different.[12] Similarly, the averages for total household income and average household income between villages are not significantly different although Kg. Pisang has the lowest average and Simpang Empat the highest average.[13] However, the mean amount of cultivated land varies between *kampungs*, with Kg. Jalan Tokai recording the lowest (5.1 *relung*[14]) and Selarong Panjang the highest (14.2 *relung*). A reason for this is Kg. Jalan Tokai consists mainly of Hokkien and Teochew vegetable gardeners (who use less land as it is intensive) compared to the Hakka and Cantonese *padi*-farmers of Selarong Panjang.[15] The average amount of owned land is less than the average amount of cultivated land (which include rented land) in all villages. Kg. Jalan Tokai, Kg. Benua and Simpang Empat recorded smaller averages for owned land due to the larger family-size and greater density of population. Besides, Selarong Panjang and Kg. Pisang recorded high means for Chinese land ownership (19.5 *relung* and 34.5 *relung*). Overall, although there are some variations between the *kampungs*, generally, they share many similarities which can justify their amalgamation into one population.

Ethnicity is of far greater importance than location in explaining the differences within the sample (see Table 4.2). The Chinese tend to live closer to urban centres than the Malays. Although they have larger families than the Malays, the Chinese have fewer sets of family and male married migrants. These differences are due to cultural factors. Chinese tend to be rigidly patrilineal, setting up nuclear households on marriage (except for the Teochews who prefer laterally extended families). On the other hand, Malays tend to be bilocal, with a preference for matrilocality. It is not unusual to find newly-wed daughters living with their husbands in the wife's parents' house among Malay households.[16] The Chinese on average enjoy higher incomes than the Malays, although there is considerable variation within the Chinese. While the Chinese farmers cultivate, on the average, a slightly larger amount of land than the Malays, in fact, few Chinese

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[12] Sets of family migrants are numbers of joint families which have left the interviewed household. Married male migrants are men who got married, and continued living in the interviewed household before leaving it.

[13] Total household income is the total stated income of all current members of the household earning an income. The stated income was checked against our own estimates. No provisions were made for family labour, home-produced food, etc. Average household income is the total household income divided by the number of current members of that household.

[14] One *relung* is equivalent to 0.7 acres.

[15] Market gardening is intensive agriculture with higher returns per relung than double-cropping *padi*. See Huang (1975) for an analysis of the profitability of *padi* cultivation.

[16] The same finding is reported by Horii (1972) in his detailed analysis of land tenure in a Malay *kampung* in Muda.

own land (5.6 per cent of all Chinese households compared with 23.6 per cent of all Malay households). But where Chinese do own land, the mean is 13.1 *relung* compared to the Malay's 6.4 *relung*. Thus, a few Chinese families own a large amount of land.[17] These are the descendants of the earliest Chinese settlers in the area who, very early on, decided to invest in land and made Malaya their home rather than return to China. The inequitable distribution of land among the Chinese is caused by their inability (all expressed the desire to acquire more land) to buy land from Malays due to the Malay Land Reservation Act.[18] Land owned by the Chinese was bought before the Act or acquired by the Chinese (in Kg. Benua and Simpang Empat) from Malays who pawned their land and lost while gambling in *kerbau* (water buffalo) fighting.

4.4 A TYPOLOGY OF MOBILITY GROUPS

The aim of this section is to construct a typology of mobility groups in an attempt to take a holistic view of migration. Although it is argued that the pattern of migration in Malaysia operates within a two-circuit system, a meaningful micro-study of migration should be extended to encompass the other mobility groups. The reason for this approach is the contention that migration represents one aspect (albeit more important in the context of the two-circuit because of its potential to break the circuits) of a broader mobility continuum or spectrum. Understanding the other forms of mobility within a total village mobility situation will help to throw light on migration and reveal the complexities of the migration process as well as the intricacies of the two-circuit system. These forms of mobility usually escape the normal census-taking owing to time and money constraints faced by governments (see Cho, 1976; Cho and Hearn, 1984). Not only is migration the only mobility data collected in most censuses but the definition of it is based on convenience; migration being usually defined by birthplace or place of previous residence (see Appendix A). Thus it is usually in surveys collected by researchers with the explicit aim of studying temporary movements that the issue of mobility in the form of circulators or commuters is raised.[19] However, a review of the

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[17] For example, the Chinese land-owner with the largest amount of land in Selarong Panjang has 40 *relungs* while the Chinese farmers of Kg. Pisang average 34 *relungs* owned land.

[18] The Malay Land Reservation Act forbade the purchase of Malay-owned land by non-Malays. Land owned by non-Malays, if sold to Malays revert to Malay alienated land. In an environment of land pressure owing to population increase, aggravated by rising profitability through double-cropping, insufficient land becomes a severe limitation for Chinese farmers.

[19] In recent years, more interest has been paid to mobility (different forms of circulation) in countries other than Africa where it had been documented since the 1940s. See for example, Elkan (1967) and Gugler (1969) and Mitchell (1969). For examples in the Pacific see Bedford (1973) and Chapman (1976); for

plethora of research on migration in Third World countries will show the tendency for researchers to either examine migrants exclusively, or at most, within a mover-stayer framework.[20] In all cases, there has been no attempt to interrelate all these mobility groups into a stayer, commuter, intending migrant and outmigrant continuum.

4.4.1 Concepts, Definition and Data Source

Before devising the typology of mobility groups from the village-level, it is important to discuss the concepts and definitions.

The concept of the mobility groups may be divided into the following categories: inmigrants, stayers, commuters, intending migrants, outmigrants and return migrants. But owing to the cross-sectional nature of the survey of the village which categorized the whole village population at the time of the survey, the actual village population consisted only of stayers, commuters, and intending migrants. Although outmigrants were derived from household reconstruction during the village survey, their current mobility status at the time of study was as outmigrants even though they were technically not the current village population (as they were no longer living in the village).

For the same reason that the definitions were based on the status at the time of the survey, inmigrants could have become any of the above mobility groups (i.e. an inmigrant who came to the village in 1962 is now categorized as a stayer). Likewise, a return migrant would also have fallen into one of the other mobility categories (i.e. a return migrant came back to the village in 1974 but is now, at the time of survey, a commuter). Thus, the time element is a crucial consideration in the definition of a mobility group.

The data for this chapter are derived from the Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey, I (see Appendix B for a discussion of the background to the selection of the field area and the questionnaires) which are cross-sectional in nature. As such they suffer from the limitations of a transverse study. But as the main aim is to examine a profile of the total village mobility groups at one point in time, the survey serves its

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Papua New Guinea see Curtain (1981) and Young (1978); for Indonesia see Forbes (1979), Hugo (1975) and Jellinek (1978) and Mantra (1977); for Thailand see Lauro (1979) and Textor (1956).

[20] In particular, see Amin (1974); Caldwell (1969); Connell *et al.* (1976), Findley (1977); Lipton (1980); and Simmons *et al.* (1977) for some studies and reviews on Third World migration.

purpose. The life-history matrices which constitute part of the Stage II data are longitudinal and will provide the complementary historical perspective through individual migration experiences.

Mobility group is used as a generic term to encompass inmigrants, stayers or non-migrants, commuters or circulators, intending migrants or potential migrants, outmigrants and return migrants. However, the total village population at one point in time consists only of stayers, commuters and intending migrants, their definitions being listed in Table 4.3.

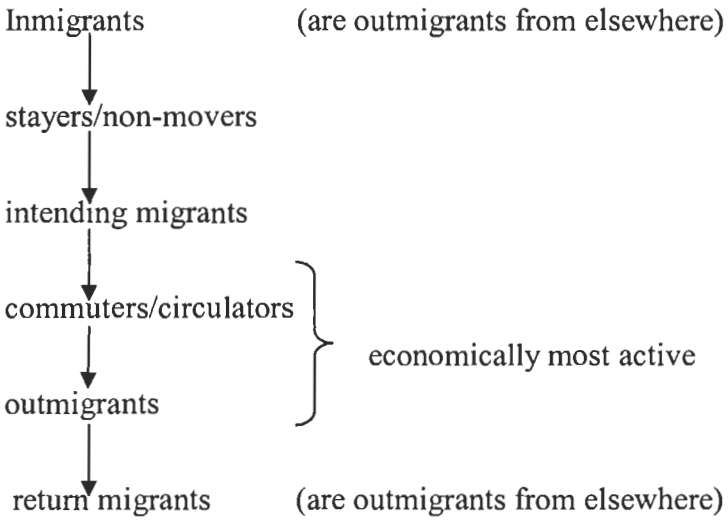
Table 4.3
Definition of Mobility Groups

Type of Mobility Group		Definition of Status		
1.	Stayer	Person who has no declared intention of leaving the *kampung*.	Current Village Population	Ever-lived In Village Population
2.	Intending Migrant	Person who has stated intentions of leaving the *kampung* to live elsewhere within the next six months.		
3.	Commuter/ Circulator	Person who journeys to work outside but returns nightly, or at least three nights to sleep in the *kampung*.		
4.	Outmigrant	Person who has left the *kampung* to live elsewhere on a permanent basis, returning mainly for social visits.		

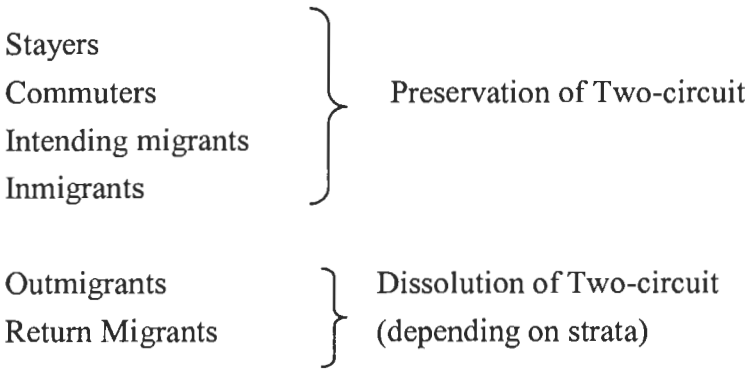
One is aware of the problems associated with stated intentions as a defining factor for intending migrants, who in fact are non-migrants at the time of the survey. But the objective here is to get some idea of who are the people who have some plans of leaving. This does not assume that all who state they want to leave would eventually leave. Similarly, some become outmigrants even without saying they plan to leave. So technically, the non-migrant population in a village are the stayers, commuters and intending migrants. The reason for distinguishing non-migrants beyond a simple migrant-non-migrant framework is to extricate some of the more complicated processes

which may be disguised within a simple mover-stayer dichotomy.

The typology of mobility groups sets the framework for the two issues discussed in this chapter. First, the argument that the different patterns and characteristics of the mobility groups are interrelated, linked by the stages of the life-cycle in a mobility continuum which can be distinguished by their socio-demographic characteristics. This is set out below:

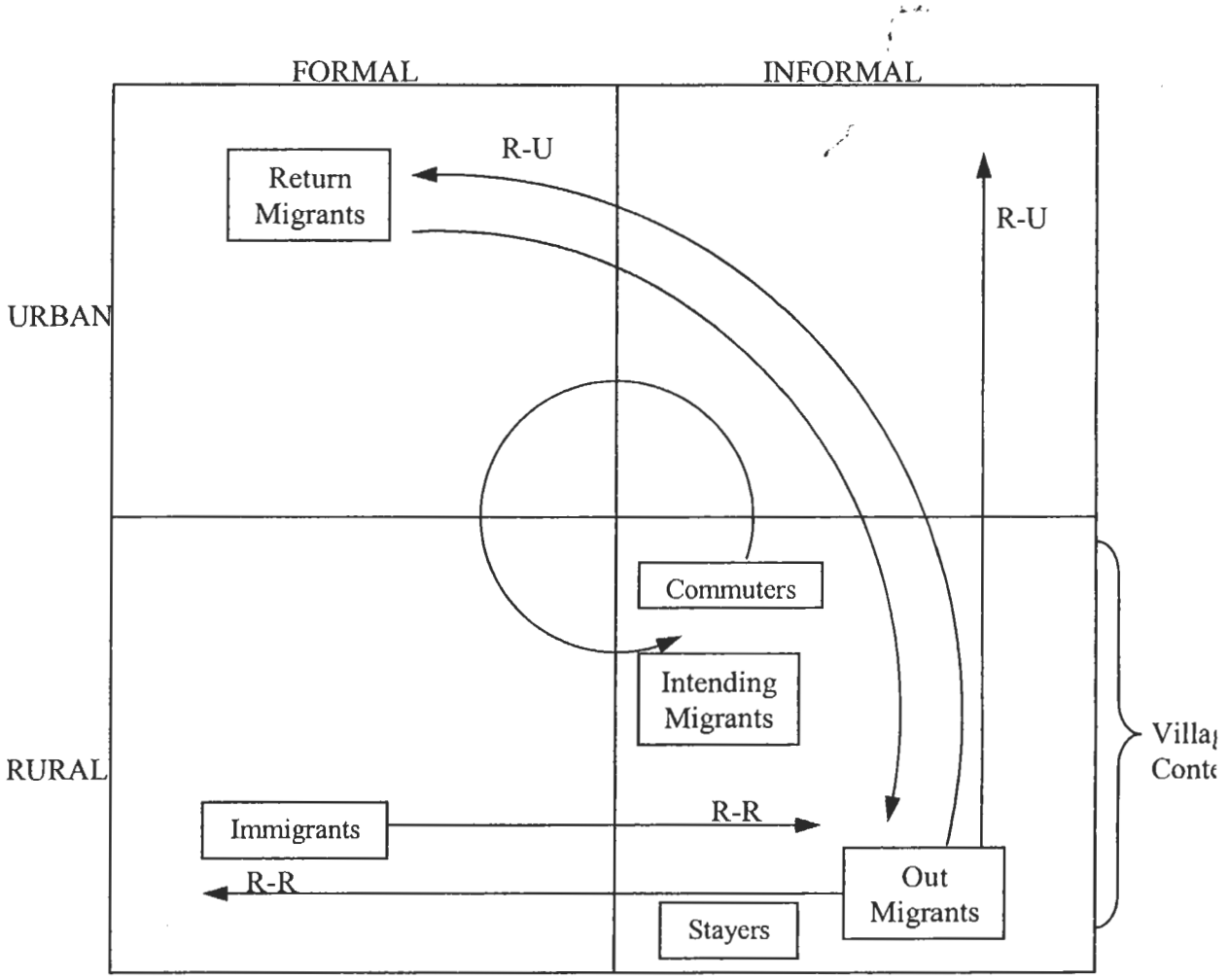


Second, in terms of the two-circuit system, these mobility groups may be classified according to whether they are part of the preservation or the dissolution of the two-circuits as shown below:



If the two major determinants of the two-circuit framework, namely strata (urban or rural) and economic sector are used, then these relationships can be formulated as in Figure 4.2. This represents the cross-sectional view of the mobility and migration structure at the village-level with the different mobility groups arranged according to the mobility continuum or life-cycle stage, and the preservation-dissolution processes of the two-circuit framework.

Figure 4.2
Mobility Groups and the Two-Circuit System



The first part examines the extent of these mobility groups as an introduction to the rest of the chapter. The second analyzes the socio-demographic characteristics of these mobility groups as they are linked through the life-cycle. The third section develops this theme further by discussing their economic features, arguing that these mobility groups are better understood if viewed within their economic roles. It is here that the two-circuit system can be assessed and see how it reflects the patterns discussed in the previous chapters. A special section is devoted to outmigrants as they constitute the major group which breaks the circuit.

4.4.2 Mobility at the Village Level

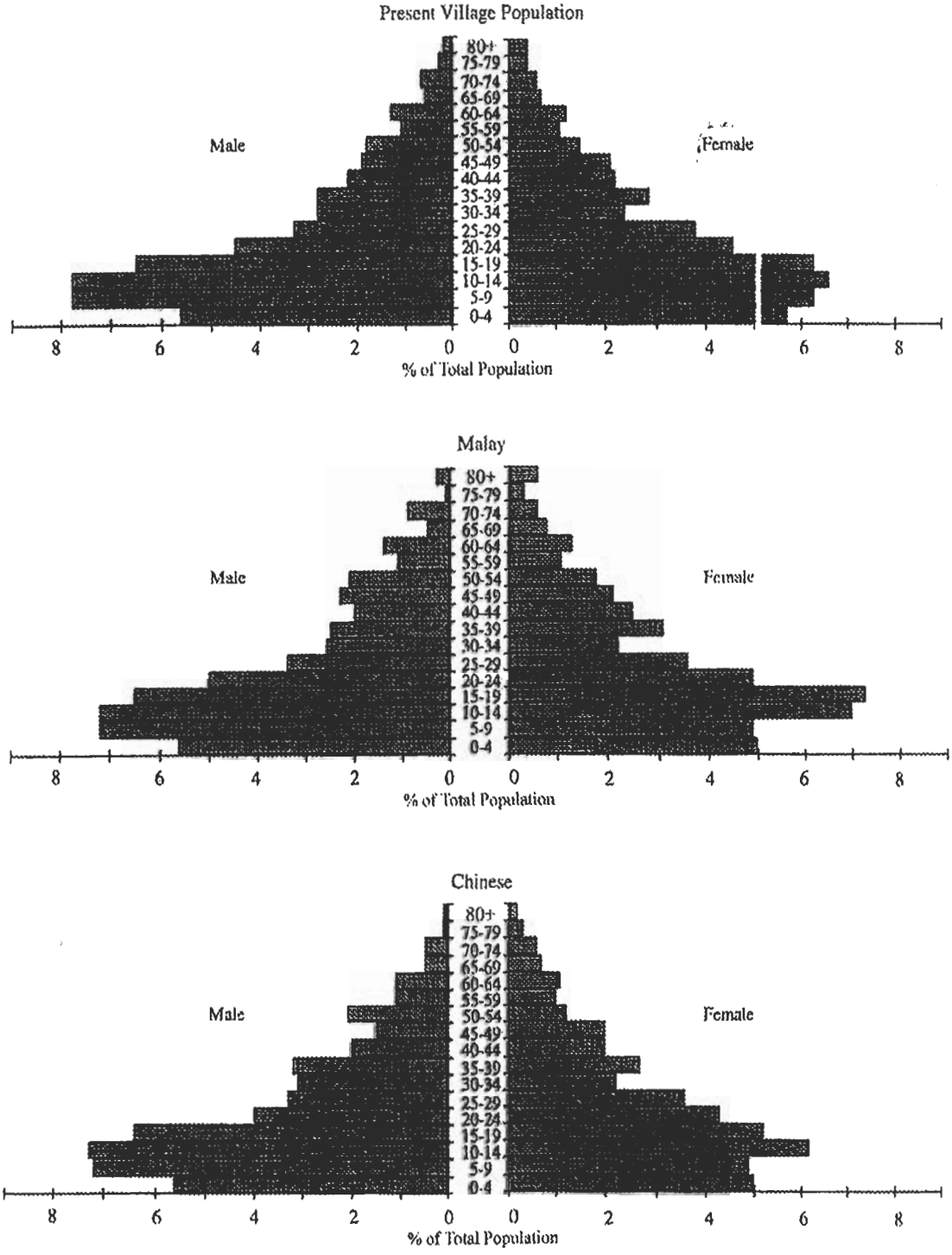
The village population consisted of a total of 6,297 persons, 49.9 per cent were Chinese and 48.6 per cent were Malays. The Indians and others comprised 1.5 per cent, too few to be included in the analysis for the rest of the study.

Before reviewing the different mobility groups it is useful to look at the age-sex structure of the total village population, as this determines to a certain extent, the demographic structure of the mobility groups (Figure 4.3). The age-sex structure is that of a young population (39.5 per cent under 15 years) which is male-dominated (104:100). The male dominance is a remnant of the immigrant characteristic of the Chinese population. This is clearer when the population is examined separately for Malays and Chinese. The Chinese have fewer females than males (121:100) compared to Malays where the sex ratio was 103:100. This may be explained by the immigrants among the older segments of the Chinese population, but more importantly, by the larger proportion of female Chinese who migrate out of the village to work (20-29 years). Although both communities display the impact of falling fertility, larger shrinkages are occurring among the Chinese in the 0-4 age-group. The Malays have a smaller dependent population under 15 years (36.9 per cent) than the Chinese (42.5 per cent). This may be explained by the larger proportion of younger Malays who migrate with their family.

A comparison of the age-structure of the six *kampungs* illustrate similar features to those of the total village population: a young population, male dominance (especially among the Chinese), and possibly declining fertility (Figure 4.4). Small variations between villages tend to be caused by the differing Malay-Chinese composition of the village population.

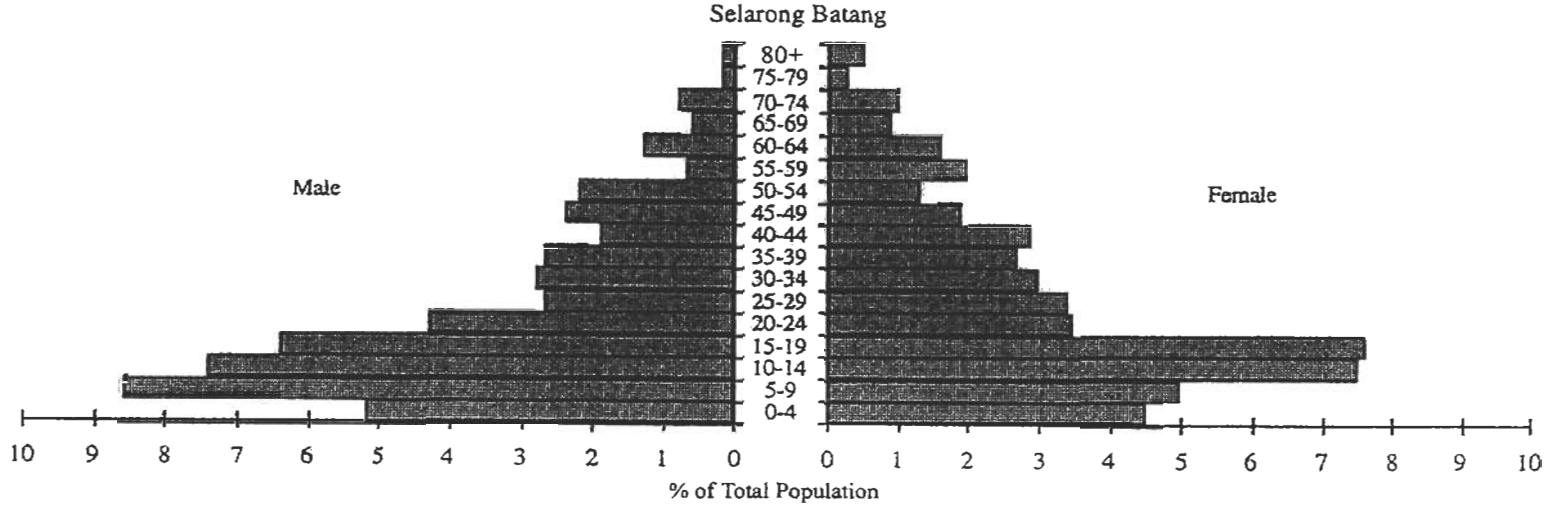
Figure 4.3

Simpang Empat: Age-Sex Structure of the Total Village Population, 1976



Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

Figure 4.4
Simpang Empat: Age-Sex Structure of the Different Villages, 1976



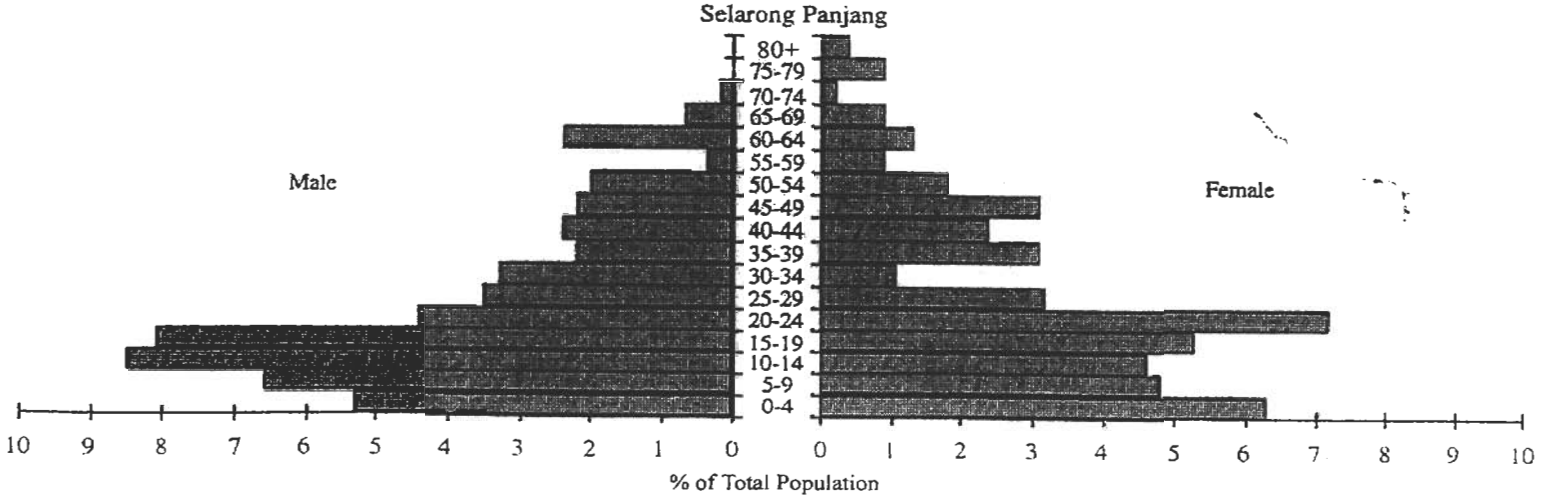
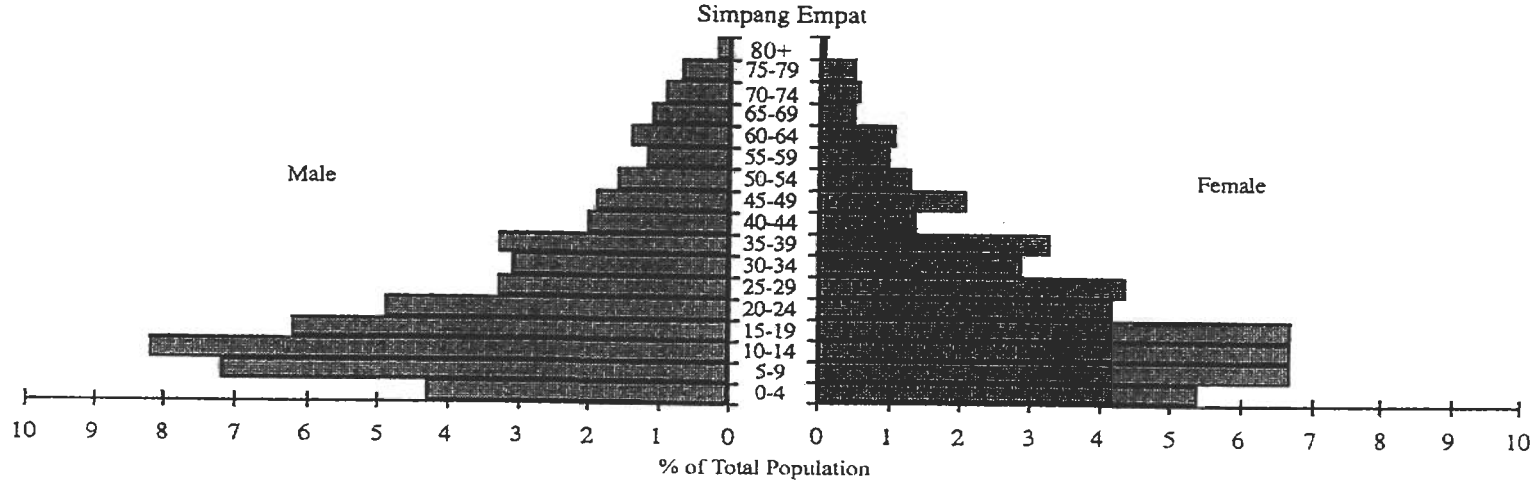
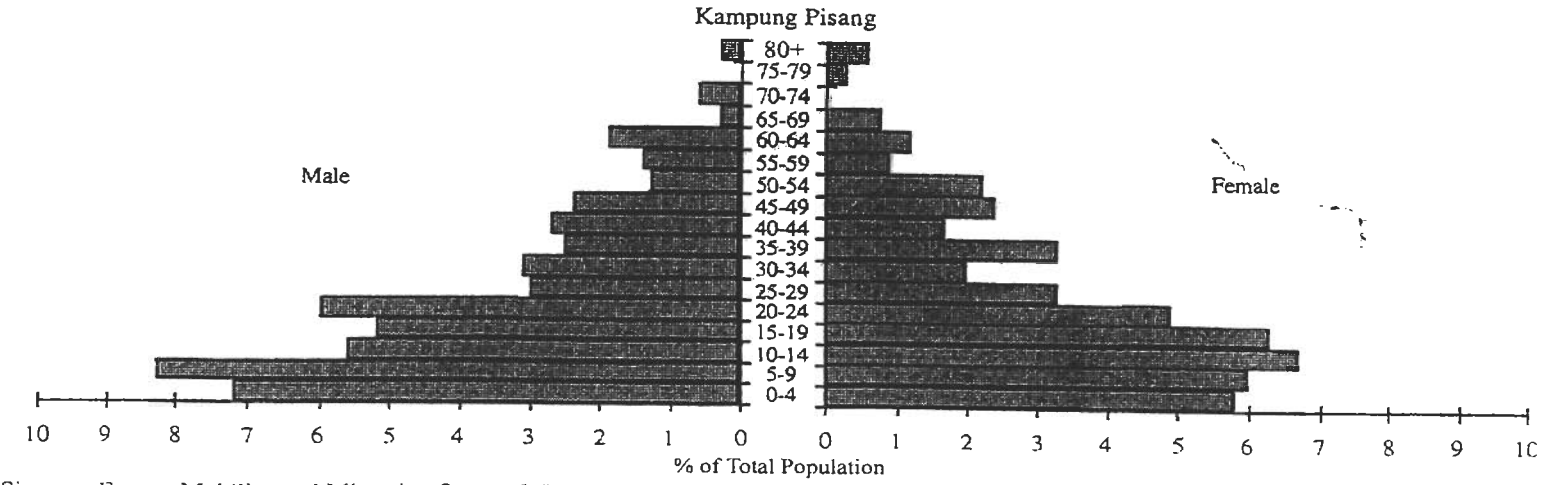


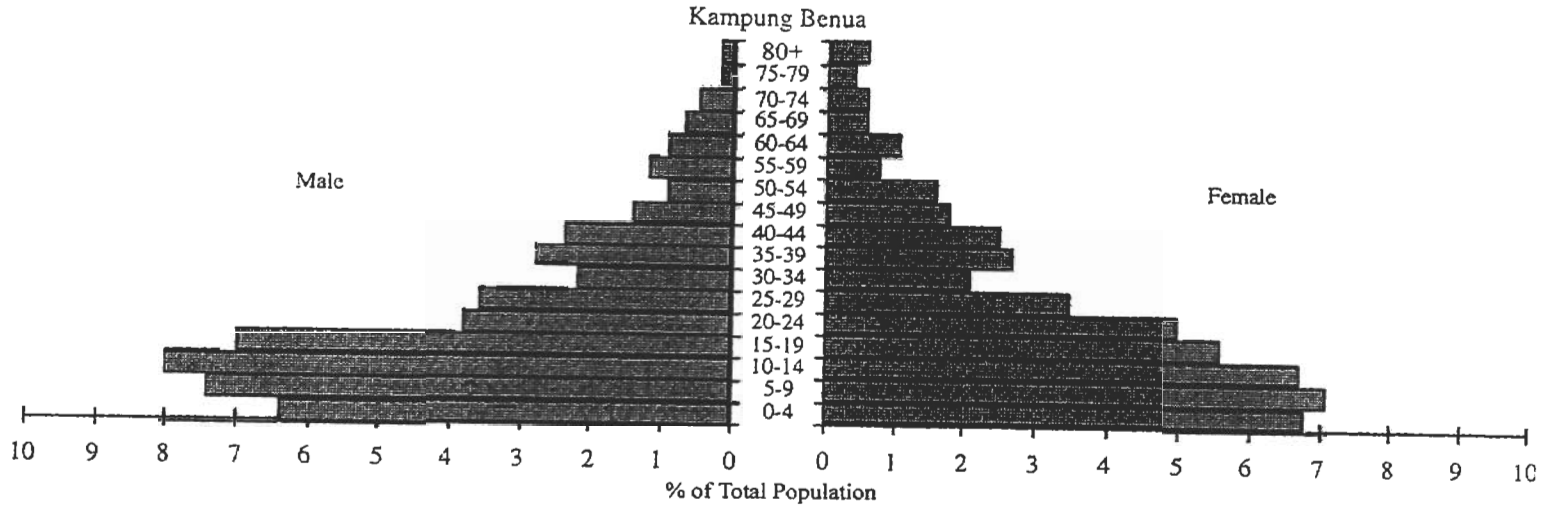
Figure 4.4 (Cont.)

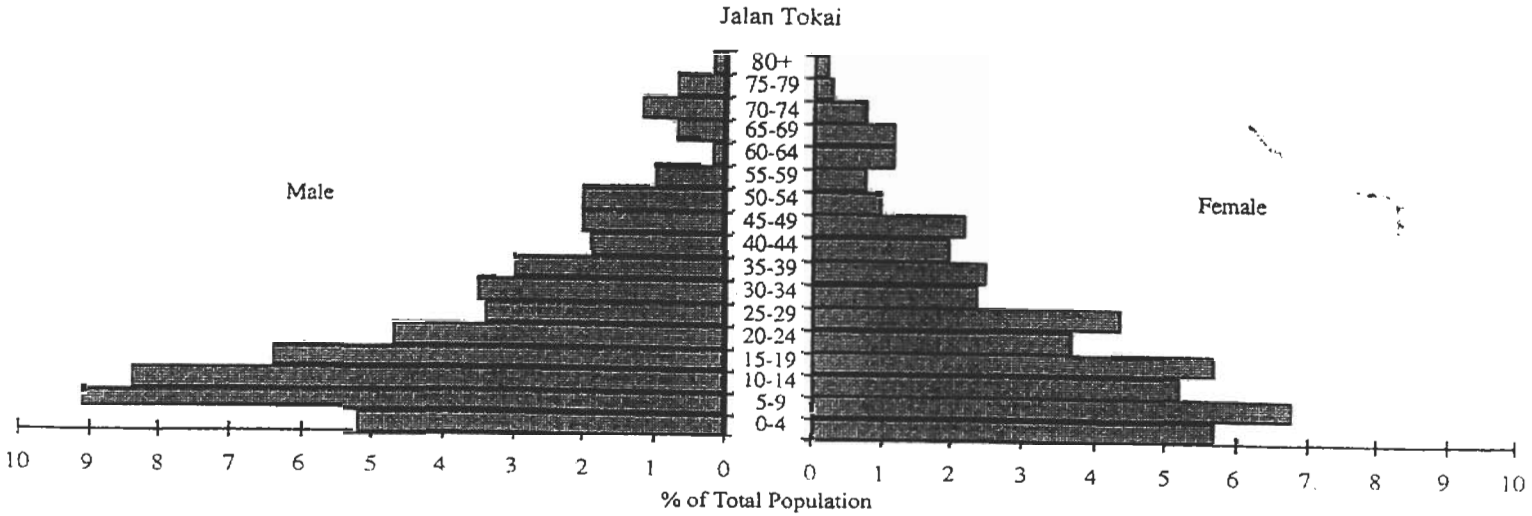




Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

Figure4.4 (Cont.)





Stayers constitute about 80 per cent of the village population, with commuters and intending migrants taking up the rest, of 12 per cent and 8 per cent, respectively (Table 4.4 and 4.5). There are more Chinese than Malay stayers, due mainly to the larger proportion of intending migrants among Malays. There are three reasons for the large proportions of intending migrants among Malays. They generally have a higher job expectation level than the Chinese (see McGee, 1969 for Malay job expectations among youths in Kuala Lumpur and Malay aspirations concerning education). This is particularly obvious among those with higher secondary education. The second reason pertains to those with little or no schooling. Unlike the Chinese, Malays have far more opportunities to migrate to other agricultural land owing to land development schemes like FELDA, and more contacts (relatives and friends) in rural areas.

Finally, at marriage Malays of both sexes may migrate owing to family circumstances and available opportunities within the kinship framework of bilocality. For the Chinese, marriage means leaving to start a new home with the husband or to live with the husband's family.[21]

The bigger proportion of commuters among Malays is due to the larger number of students in this group who commute daily to school outside their *kampungs*. This is particularly true of Kg. Pisang which is less accessible and predominantly Malay. It has schools and a commuter rate of 24.8 per 1000. Owing to its undiversified economic structure (98 per cent in padi farming) all who work outside agriculture have to commute or migrate. Selarong Batang has a low stayer rate due to its high rates of intending migrants, which can be attributed to its higher levels of education. In contrast, the high stayer rate in Selarong Panjang is a result of the relatively lower educational levels of the Malays there and the availability of land for farming. On the whole, the mobility differences between *kampungs* may be explained by their economic structure.

Age is perhaps the most important demographic factor affecting the nature and extent of mobility groups. Figure 4.5 illustrates the age-specific mobility rates of stayers, commuters and intending migrants. The stayer curve has an inverse pattern

[21] To illustrate the strictly patrilocal and extended nature of Chinese families as compared to Malays, 32.2 per cent of Chinese families in the village population were patrilineal compared to 9.0 per cent noted by Malays. While 33.5 per cent of the Chinese came from extended families, the proportion for the Malays was only 17.5 per cent.

Table 4.4
Simpang Empat: Mobility Groups by Ethnicity, 1976
(in percentage)

Mobility Group	Ethnicity		Total
	Malay	Chinese	
Stayer	76.5	83.8	80.2
Commuter	12.9	10.4	11.6
Daily[a]	(11.4)	(9.0)	(10.2)
Other[b] (1.5)	(1.4)	(1.4)	
Intending Migrant	10.6	5.6	8.2
Total No.	3,156	3,173	6,329
%	100	100	100

Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

Note: [a] Commuter who returns each day to sleep in the village.

[b] Commuter who returns to sleep in the village at least three nights a week.

Table 4.5
Simpang Empat: Proportion of Mobility Groups by Ethnicity, 1976

Mobility Group		Proportion of Mobility Group as Percentage of Village Population				
		Malay	Chinese	Indian	Other	Total
Total Present Village Population		48.6	49.9	1.5	0	6,297
Stayer		46.9	51.7	1.3	0	5,145
Commuter		53.1	45.1	1.8	-	738
Intending Migrant		62.6	34.6	2.8	-	532
Total Village Mobility Groups	No.	3,139	3,177	97	2	6,415
	%	48.9	49.5	1.5	0	100

Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

Figure 4.5(a)
Simpang Empat: Community Age-Specific Mobility Rates of Stayers, 1976

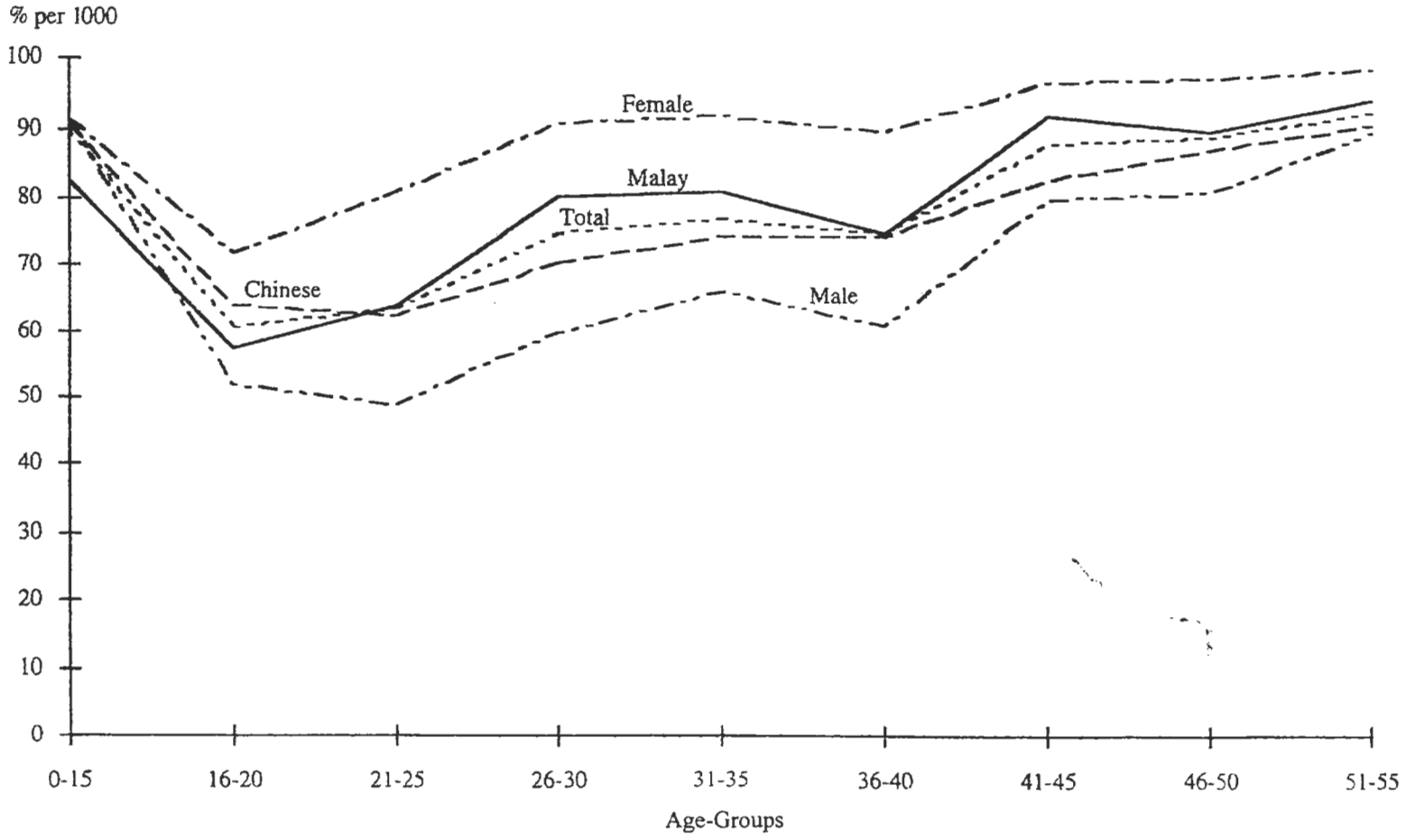


Figure 4.5(b)
Simpang Empat: Community Age-Specific Mobility Rates of Commuters, 1976

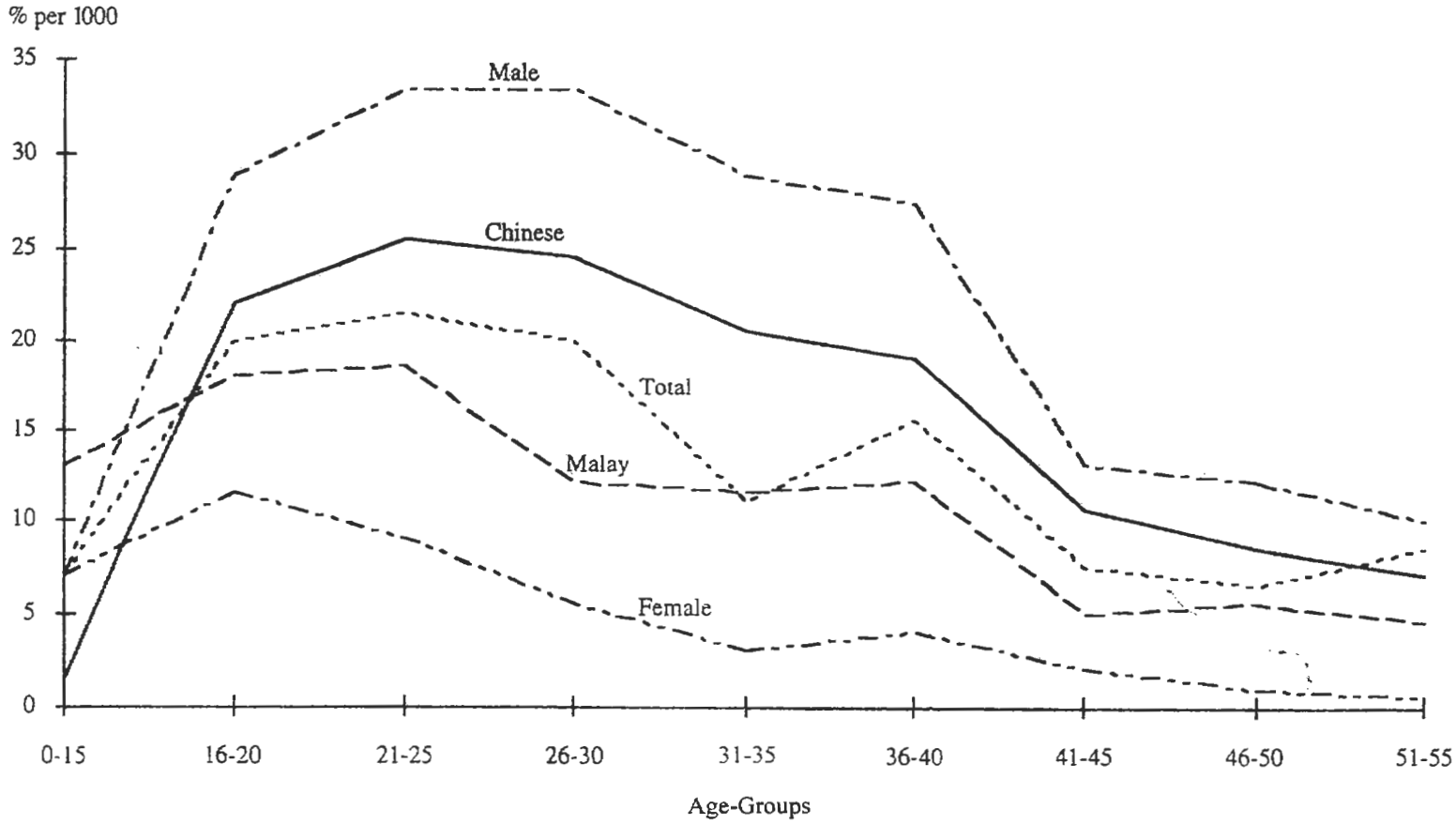
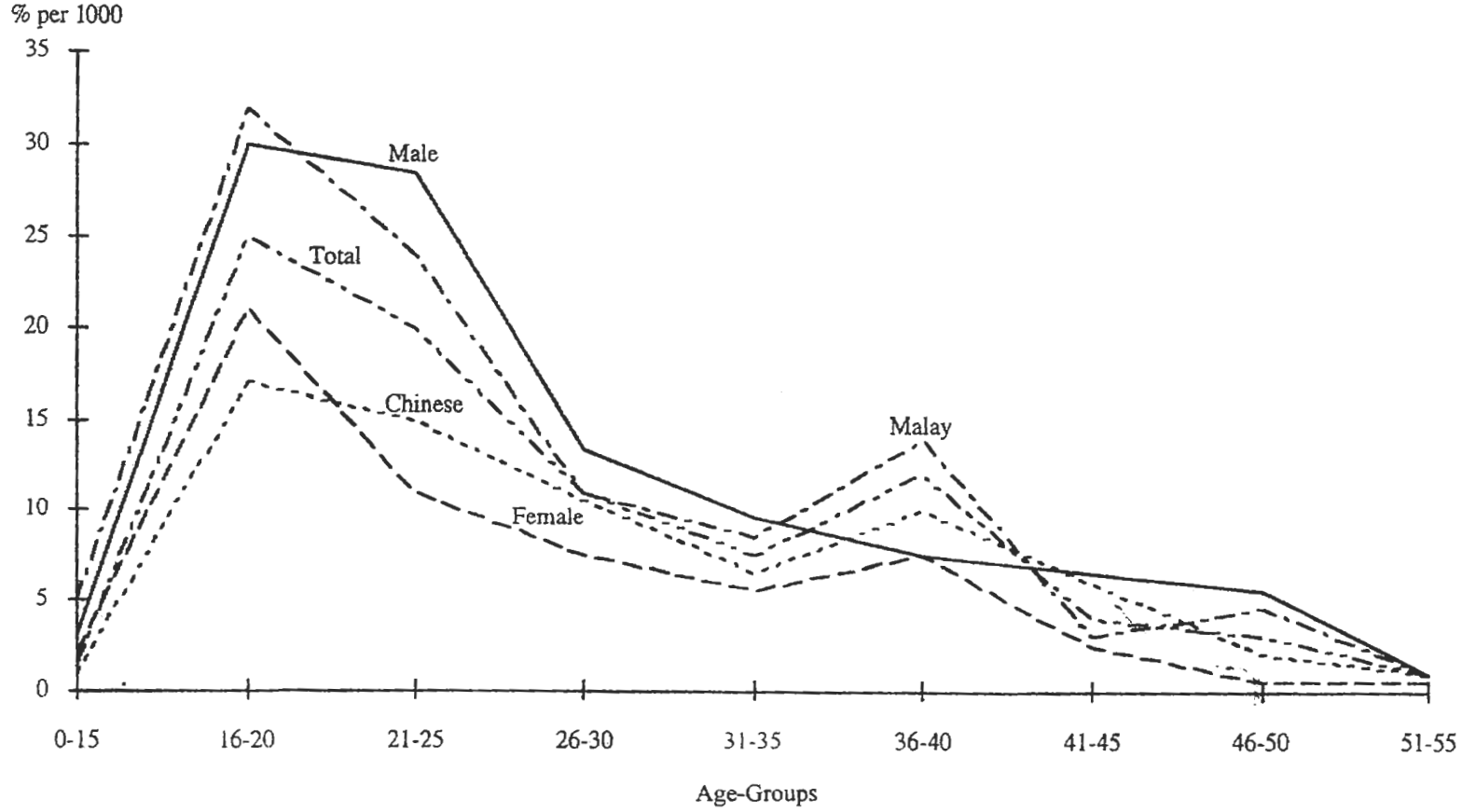


Figure 4.5(c)
Simpang Empat: Community Age-Specific Mobility Rates of Intending Migrants, 1976



Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

to that of commuters and intending migrants. Stayers are found mainly among those aged 0-15, being lowest among the most mobile ages of 16-25. Another low is found among those aged 36-40, a mirror image of the peaks for commuters and intending migrants. These 'kinks' are related to the second major stage of the life-cycle when people are about to venture into a better job. From the age group of 36-40, the stayer rates increase steadily with advancing age, reaching the highest rate of 93 per 1000 among those aged 51-97. Thus stayers are mainly the very young and the old.

In contrast, intending migrants peak at ages 16-20 and again at 36-40, declining with increasing age. The importance of school children among commuters is clear from the rate of 7 per 1000 among those aged 0-15 years. The other peak, aged 36-40 consists chiefly of working men. As we shall see in the next section, these mobility groups represent certain phases of the life-cycle.

Ethnic factors, depicting different socio-cultural norms and economic opportunities affect mobility. The Chinese have higher stayer rates than Malays among the young of 0-15 and 16-20. This is due to the higher outmigration of young Malays following their families which is possible as they join the government or open new land elsewhere. From the age of 16-20, the stayer rate of the Chinese is lower than that of the Malays, caused by the larger proportion of commuters among the Chinese. The major difference between Malay and Chinese commuters in that there is a far higher rate of Chinese who are commuting to work. As shown previously, there are fewer Chinese intending migrants at all ages, except in the 36-40 age-group.

The importance of perceived expectations and opportunities among Malays, compared with that of the Chinese is clear from the very high rates of intending migrants aged 16-25 among Malays.

Table 4.6 shows the age-standardized rates for mobility groups by ethnicity and by sex. Age is not the reason for the different mobility rates between Malays and Chinese, and between the sexes. Even when the rates are standardized, Chinese still have higher rates of stayers and Malays higher intending migrant rates. Malay youths have higher expectations than the Chinese and expect to leave the village for better opportunities. As expected, males dominate in all the mobility groups except as stayers.

Table 4.6
Simpang Empat : Age-Standardized Rates of Mobility Groups
by Ethnicity and Mobility Groups by Sex, 1976

Mobility Group	Rates per 1000	
	Unstandardized	Standardized
Ethnicity		
Stayer		
Malay	789.7	796.2
Chinese	846.9	840.6
Commuter		
Malay	128.1	127.7
Chinese	106.2	112.9
Intending Migrant		
Malay	108.8	107.7
Chinese	60.0	62.2
Sex		
Stayer		
Male	770.7	765.3
Female	892.1	891.2
Commuter		
Male	166.8	171.2
Female	63.2	63.4
Intending Migrant		
Male	103.3	111.6
Female	62.2	60.9

Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

An examination of the sex age-specific mobility rates (Figure 4.5) show that at all ages the female stayer rates are higher. Among commuters, not surprisingly, males are an overwhelming majority over females. However, when the economically active are excluded, both the male and female rates are identical at the school-attending ages of 0-15 except at the school-attending ages of 0-15 where both rates are identical. Among intending migrants, both males and females peak at 16-20 years although male rates are higher right throughout.

4.5 THE STAGES OF THE LIFE-CYCLE AND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MOBILITY GROUPS

This section investigates the socio-demographic characteristics of the different mobility groups as a complement to the next section which studies their economic features. An attempt is made to identify the main socio-demographic features of the mobility groups which are linked by the stages of the life-cycle.[22] The life-cycle affects all irrespective of community, representing what Nalson (1968: 173) calls demographic circumstances, "which place certain limitations upon some members of a family and give certain advantages to others". While such an approach may be criticized for being unitary, for the purposes of this section it is useful. The three major demographic variables used to illustrate the stages of the life-cycle of a village population at one point in time are age and marital status for males and females. As will be shown in the latter part of this chapter on critical moves, and especially Chapter 6, the simplistic life-cycle model has been expanded into the life-course approach.

Most of the work on life-cycle and mobility have been tested in industrialized western developed countries.[23] Owing to the universality of this concept, except for the actual age, the stages are the same. In the Malaysian rural context, the major stages appear to be school attendance, leaving school, getting the first job, subsequent job changes, marriage and marital dissolution, family formation and dispersal, and old age. Comparing Malays and Chinese, variations in these patterns as they relate to non-migration, mobility and migration are caused by community norms. For example, based on the survey data, the following observations can be made: age at marriage (Malays tend to marry younger), selection of spouses (particularly the role of matchmakers and parents),[24] residence at marriage (Malays tend to be bilocal while Chinese are strictly patrilocal),[25] and attitudes towards nuclear families (dependent Malay parents prefer to

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[22] From this section onwards, outmigrants will be included in the same tables as the mobility groups of the present village population even though they may not be strictly comparable.

[23] These studies treat migration and mobility as one of the effects of the life-cycle. Little attempt has been made to integrate non-migrants, migrants and other mobility groups within the framework of the stages of the life-cycle.

[24] This is changing with the increasing outmigration of single men and now, women to work outside the *kampungs*.

[25] Although the lineage system in Kedah is *adat temenggong* (generally patrilineal in contrast to *adat perpatih* practised by the Minangkabaus), decisions on residence after marriage are flexible. There are cases, particularly when the wife is very young, for a "adaptation period" when the newly-weds live for periods both in the wife's and husband's original homes. The major factors which influence the decision to live with the wife appeared to be proximity to husband's work place from wife's home, higher status of wife's family, no sons in the wife's family (very important if it is a farming household) and the availability of land from her family.

live alone, close to their children unlike the old Chinese who expect to live with their children).[26] Therefore, the examination and identification of the salient characteristics of the different mobility groups provide a typology of the different stages of the life-cycle experienced by both Malays and Chinese.

4.5.1 Age-Sex Structure of Mobility Groups

An examination of the age-sex pyramids of the different mobility groups demonstrates their age and sex selectivity characteristics of that particular stage of the life-cycle. One would expect sex and ethnic differentials as evidence of the norms and opportunities opened to females compared to males, among Malays and Chinese.

Stayers have more females than males (100 males : 110 females) due to there being more males among working commuters and intending migrants (refer Figure 4.6). There is a predominance of the very young and old, as depicted in the high dependency ratio of 110.5 per 1000.[27] Again, this may be attributed to the concentration of the economically-active population among commuters, and to a lesser extent, intending migrants. In this group are those too young to go to school (13.5 per cent), currently attending school in their *kampungs* and the old who constitute invalid parents, semi-retired folk and return migrants retired from government service.

Among the females, other than the very young and the old, stayers are housewives, unpaid Family workers including teenage girls helping in the household while awaiting marriage.[28] Among stayers the economically active are farmers (usually with land), family workers, hired labourers, people who work in the *kampungs* and who generally have nothing to gain should they leave. In contrast, among stayers there is another group which is at the bottom of the economic ladder, those who simply cannot afford the risk of migrating and are compelled to remain in the village.[29] There are also some adult children who cannot leave owing to family obligations. Most of the men

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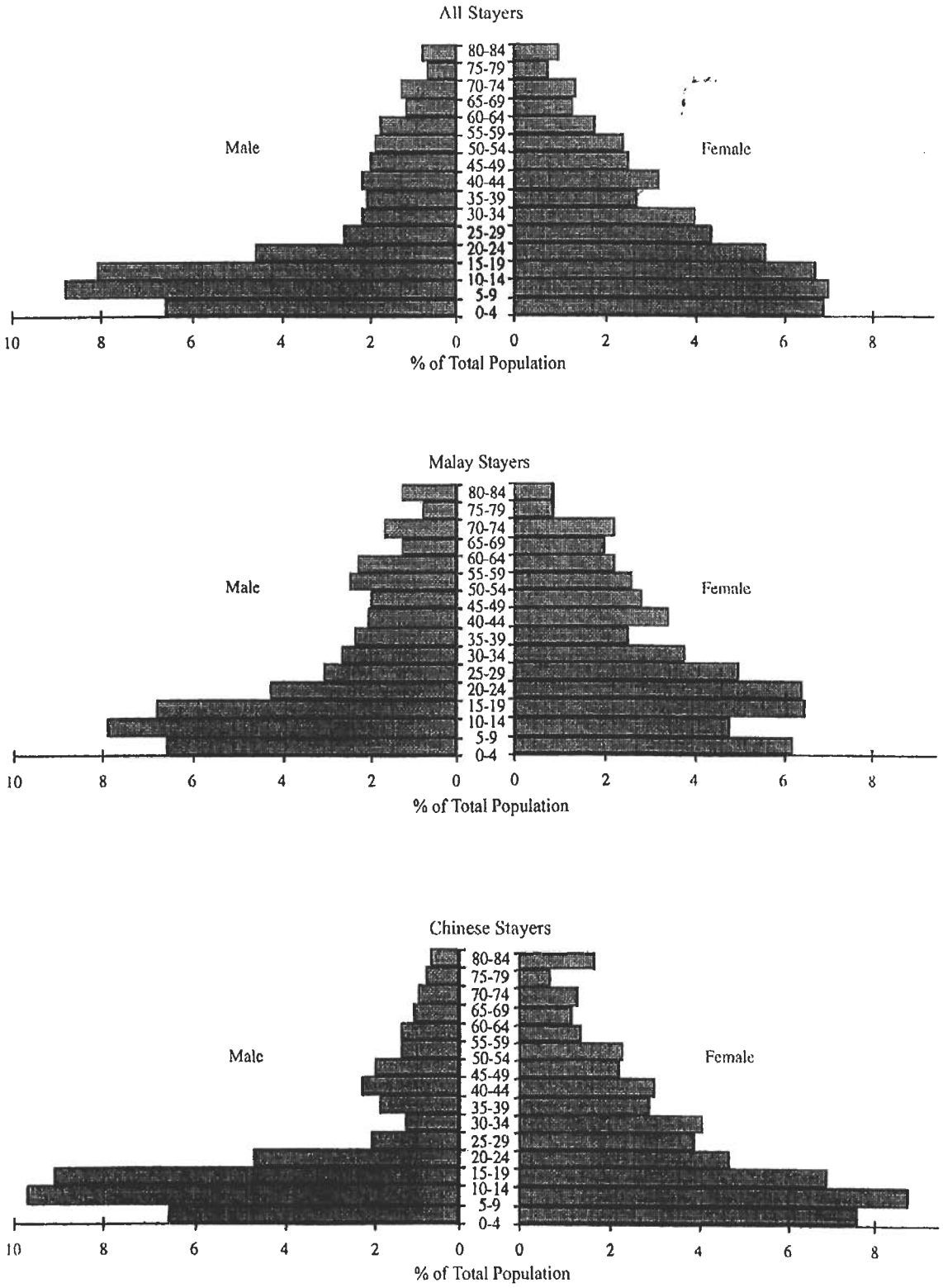
[26] Even among the Chinese there are differences due to dialectal norms. For example, Teochew favour large laterally extended families unlike the Hakkas and Cantonese and to a lesser extent, Hokkiens.

[27] Dependency ratio: $\frac{\text{number aged 0-14 + 60 and over}}{\text{number aged 15-59}}$

[28] The impact of the FTZs in Penang in drawing single Malay girls into electronics were not felt in this area yet.

[29] Studies in India (Connell *et al.*, 1976; Lipton, 1977), and Indonesia (Forbes, 1979; Hugo, 1975; Jellinek, 1978) support the finding that those who migrate from villages are not necessarily the poorest.

Figure 4.6
Simpang Empat: Age-Sex Structure of Stayers, 1976



Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

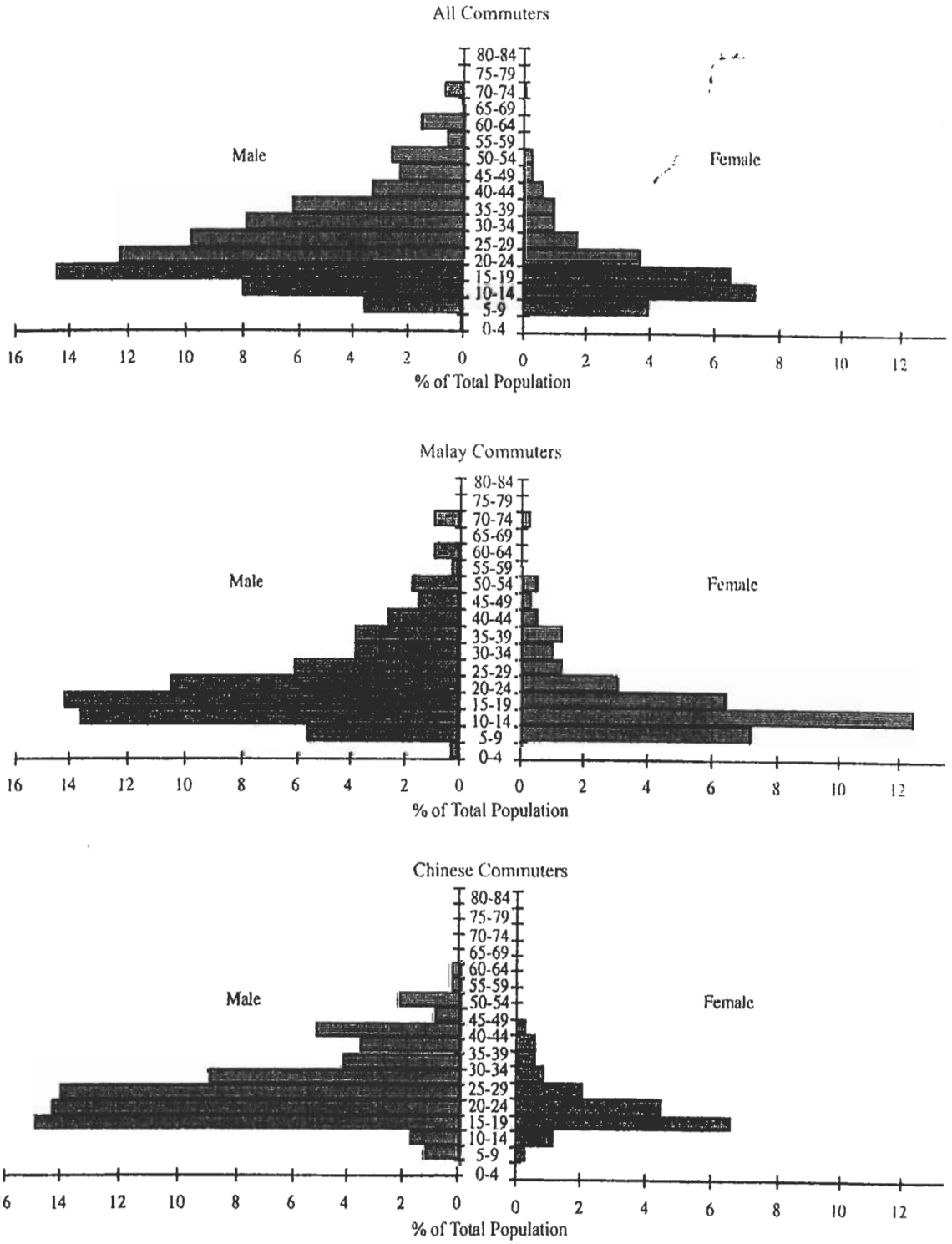
aged between 20-59 among stayers are commuters and economically-active.

The age-sex structures of Malay and Chinese stayers reflect that of the total stayer age-sex pyramid. However, there are Malay Chinese differences. Chinese males in the economically-active group are under-represented because more of them are working commuters. Similarly, there is a larger proportion of Chinese school children compared to Malays as fewer of them commute to school as they are not in as scattered households as Malays. Among females, the effect of patrilocality at marriage among Chinese (in contrast to the bilocality of Malays) and higher Chinese rates of female outmigration and commuting for work is evident from their smaller proportions in the Chinese stayer age-sex structure.

While there is a preponderance of females among stayers, they are conspicuously under-represented among commuters (100 males : 36 females) (Figure 4.7). Unlike stayers, commuters are comprised almost solely of the economically-active population aged 15-39. The other group are the school-going children who make up 22.9 per cent of the total. There are fewer female commuters as most have to, or prefer to work at home. When ethnicity is taken into account, both Malays and Chinese stayers tend to be male if economically-active. There are again some differences. The Chinese sex ratio is higher (100 males : 20 females) than the Malays, despite the higher commuter rate among Chinese females compared to Malay females. Fewer Chinese children commute to school, as they live in *kampungs* where school is available. There are more Chinese commuters than Malays in the older age-groups – a function of their economic roles, which will be elaborated upon in the section on Economic Characteristics.

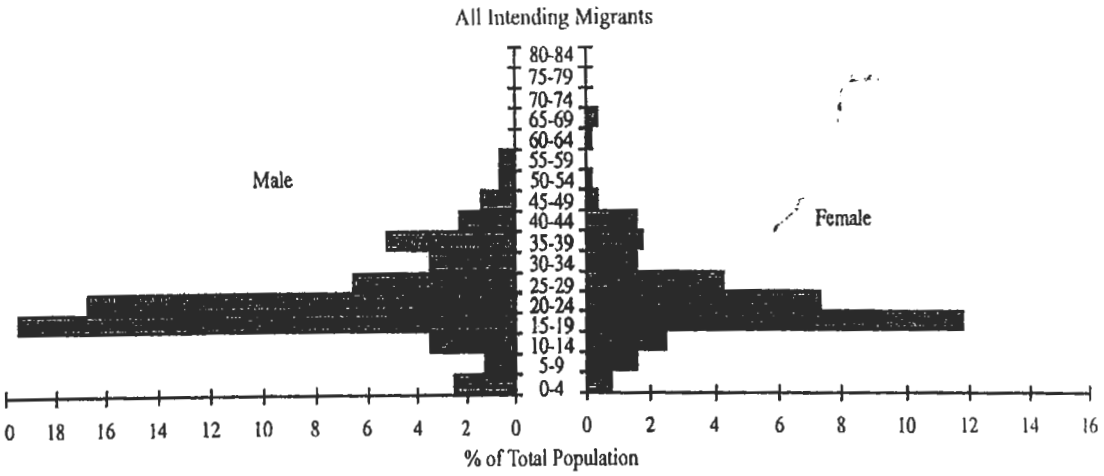
Intending migrants portray a similar age and sex structure to that of outmigrants (Figure 4.8). There is nearly twice the number of males compared to females (100 males : 57 females). Those under 10 years are passive, following their parents who are intending migrants. Those aged 15-24 comprised the bulk of intending migrants (57.3 per cent of all intending migrants). These are students planning to leave for further or better education, young school leavers searching for their first job, or better work outside the *kampung*. Intending migrants above 25 years old are wishing to leave in search of better opportunities, better jobs, land or intending to expand their businesses.

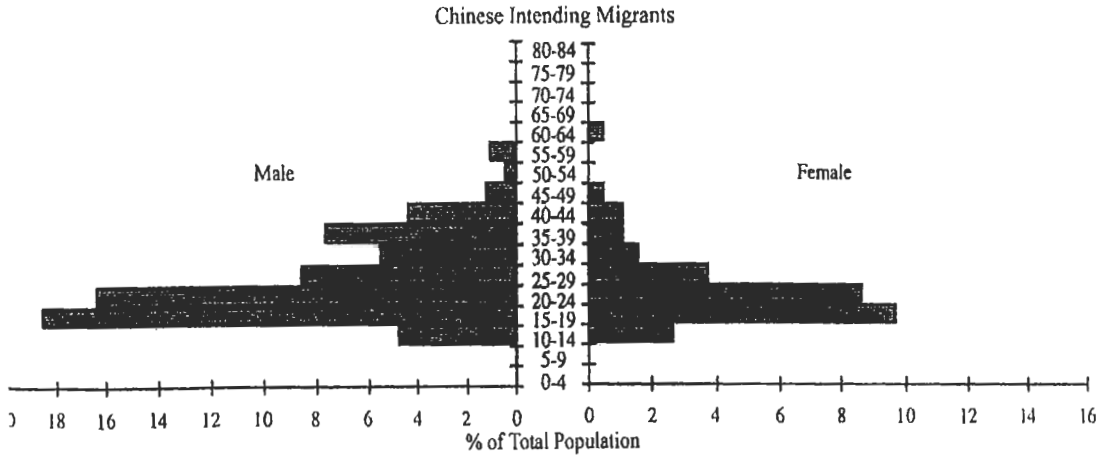
Figure 4.7
Simpang Empat: Age-Sex Structure of Commuters, 1976

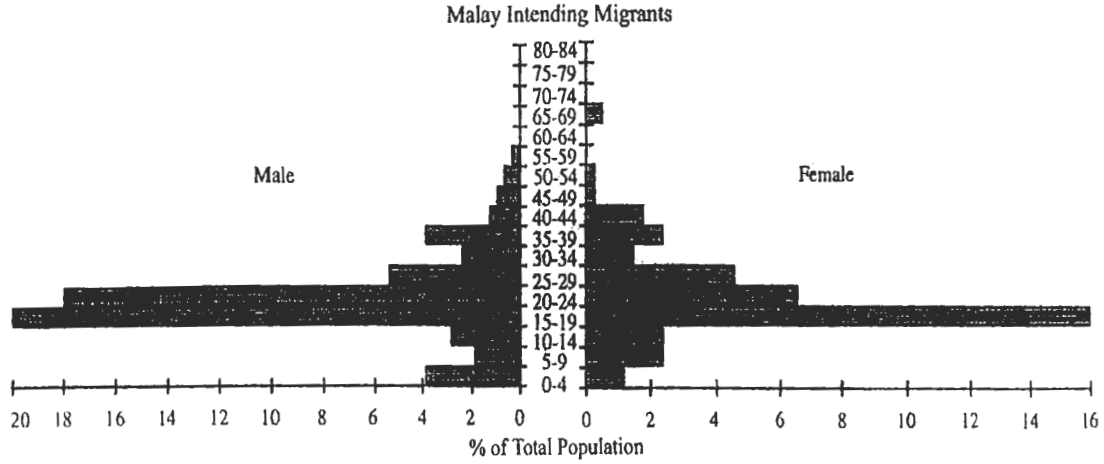


Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

Figure 4.8
Simpang Empat: Age-Sex Structure of Intending Migrants, 1976







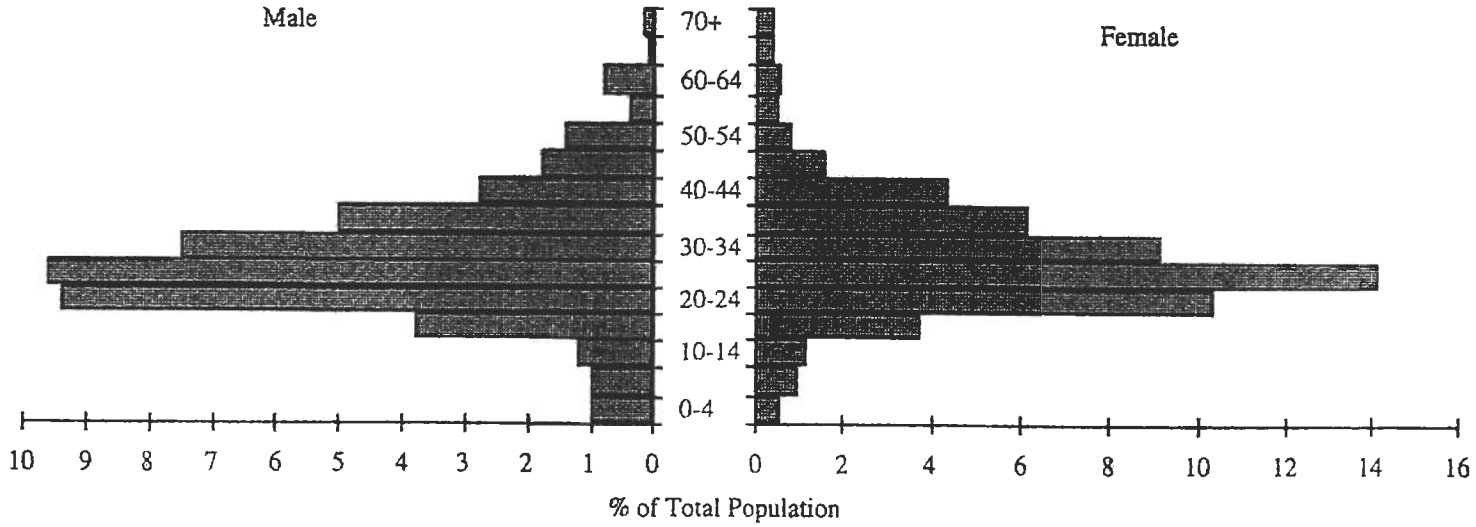
Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

As shown earlier in the age-specific mobility rates, the group aged 35-39 constitute a large proportion of those embarking on the second major phase of their economic life-cycle. Also in this group are government servants awaiting transfers. For both Malays and Chinese, most of the female intending migrants are passive, stating that they will have to leave when their husband or parents leave. The prevalence of intending migrants among Malay students compared to Chinese is evident in the exaggerated proportions aged 15-19 of both males and females. The second peak of intending migrants, of those aged 35-39 is clearer among Chinese than Malays, although it is prominent in both structures. Among girls aged 17-24 are those about to marry within the next few months. Because of patrilocality among the Chinese, this tends to be more common among Chinese girls than Malay girls. And as in the case of commuters, more Chinese than Malay girls intend to migrate for work.

Figure 4.9 shows the age-sex structure of outmigrants, one phase ahead of intending migrants. Their similarities are clear. However, there are more females than males among outmigrants (100 males : 120 females) explained by both passive and marriage migration. The dependency ratio is low among outmigrants, being only 8.2 per 100, a sharp contrast to that of stayers. Most of the young, under 15 years, are passive migrants. The economically-active, particularly those aged 20-34 constitute 62.1 per cent of the total outmigrant population. The majority of voluntary outmigrants have found a job elsewhere (whether it be their first or a better one), found own land or more land, have married or left for further education. A comparison of Malay and Chinese outmigrants show some differences. The sex ratio of Malays is more balanced than that of the Chinese (100 males : 146 females). Migration for Malays is still primarily male, in the economically-active ages. For Chinese, outmigrants are mainly female, due to marriage and female outmigration for work.

The sex of mobility groups by ethnicity is shown in Table 4.7. They show the same features as the age-sex structures of mobility groups. There are more females than males among stayers and outmigrants explained by the prevalence of housewives, unpaid family workers and marriage migrants, respectively. Among commuters there are nearly three men to one woman. Similarly, the sex ratio is in favour of males among intending migrants. A comparison of the Malay-Chinese sex proportions show certain community norms. While the Malay male age-standardized outmigration ratio is 231 per 1000, the Chinese male equivalent ratio is 214.1 per 1000 – a reflection of the bilocality of Malays on marriage and rural opportunities open to them. The

Figure 4.9
Simpang Empat: Age-Sex Structure of Outmigrants, 1976



Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

Table 4.7
Simpang Empat: Mobility Groups by Ethnicity by Sex, 1976
(in percentage)

Mobility Group	Ethnicity								
	Malay			Chinese			Total		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Stayer	47.7	52.3	2,413	47.2	52.8	2,657	47.5	52.5	5,070
Commuter	65.5	34.5	397	83.0	7.0	335	73.5	26.5	732
Intending Migrant	61.5	38.4	354	71.4	28.6	206	65.2	34.8	560
Outmigrant	51.0	49.0	859	39.2	60.8	855	45.1	54.9	1,714

Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

contrast is sharper among females. While Malays have 49.0 per cent females among outmigrants, the Chinese proportion is 60.8 per cent, explained by both marriage migration and increasing search for work among single Chinese girls. This pattern is evident from a comparison of the Malay and Chinese age-standardized outmigration ratios of 230 and 316.3 per 1000, respectively. The opposite image is in the higher standardized Malay female rates of 970 per 1000 compared to the equivalent of 920.7 per 1000, among Chinese female stayers.[30] The higher proportion of females among Malay intending migrants compared to the Chinese is due to the presence of involuntary migrants, mainly wives. The larger share of female commuters among Malays is explained by their larger commuting student population, for the reasons mentioned earlier.

4.5.2 Marital Status of Mobility Groups

The marital status of mobility groups is directly related to age and sex patterns and their life-cycle stages (Table 4.8). Most intending migrants and commuters are single owing to the larger proportion still at school or about to enter the labour force. Because of the importance of marriage and family migration, a high proportion (71 per cent) of outmigrants were married. Stayers have a large proportion of single persons consisting mainly of young dependants. They also have a concentration of divorced and

[30] The standardized Malay and Chinese male stayer rates are 745.3 and 761.1 per 1000, respectively.

Table 4.8
Simpang Empat: Mobility Groups by Marital Status by Ethnicity, 1976
(in percentage)

	Ethnicity											
	Malay				Chinese				Total			
Mobility Group	Single	Married	Divor/ Widow	Total No.	Single	Married	Divor/ Widow	Total No.	Single	Married	Divor/ Widow	Total No.
Stayer	53.6	40.5	6.0	2,412	65.2	30.7	4.1	2,660	59.8	35.5	4.7	5,059
Commuter	71.5	27.5	1.0	397	51.3	47.2	1.5	335	62.3	36.5	1.2	732
Intending Migrant	68.6	29.9	1.4	354	68.9	28.6	2.5	206	68.7	29.5	1.8	560
Outmigrant	19.7	79.2	1.2	860	35.9	63.3	1.8	850	27.7	71.3	1.0	1,710

Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

widowed persons explained by the older stayer population and their general immobility. The reason for the higher component of married people among stayers is that many of their single persons have become commuters (71.5 per cent and 51.3 per cent Malay and Chinese commuters, respectively). There is a larger proportion of married Chinese among commuters because most of them are older, already in the workforce, unlike the Malays. The higher per centage of single outmigrants among the Chinese is due to their greater rates of individual migration rather than family migration so characteristic of the Malays.

Against the background of the life-cycle, the following typology emerges. Stayers tend to be the dependants, the very young, the old, and the housewives. Intending migrants are those on the threshold of a new stage of their life-cycle, for example, about to continue further education or seeking their first job after leaving school.

Outmigrants are closely related to intending migrants, being one stage ahead. The majority have found a job elsewhere, whether it is their first, or have left to search for better opportunities, marriage, and for further education. Commuters represent the economically-active group, presently engaged in jobs or attending school outside their village.

4.5.3 Educational Level of Mobility Groups

While the life-cycle is mainly determined by demographic variables, as shown earlier, other factors, such as cultural norms, and ethnicity also impinge on it. This section will continue to delineate the typology by reviewing the educational and occupational characteristics of the mobility groups. Such socio-economic variables are highly affected by national policies, which are easier to unravel in comparison to less tangible ethnic and class-specific factors such as socialization, attitudes and perception.

The level of schooling is perhaps one of the most important factors influencing mobility rates, where the individual migrates to, and consequently, the impact on the two-circuits. An analysis of the level of schooling age-standardized rates of each mobility group showed that the stayer rate decreased with increasing education. Conversely, outmigration ratios increased with higher educational levels. Intending migrants and commuters displayed the same pattern as outmigrants. This finding is further reinforced in Table 4.9.

The group with the largest proportion with no schooling are the stayers (22.1 per cent). Those with the highest level of education are intending migrants. The reason for the smaller than expected proportion of outmigrants with education is the passive migrants (wives and pre-school children) and Malay farmers who left for more land among outmigrants. That the more educated will become outmigrants and intending migrants will be seen more clearly in the next analysis of mobility groups which selects only those in the labour force. be seen more clearly in the next analysis of mobility groups which selects only those in the labour force.

Table 4.9
Simpang Empat: Mobility Groups by Level of Schooling , 1976
(in percentage)

	No. of Years in School					Total	
Mobility Group	0	1-6	7-9	10-11	11+	No.	%
Stayer	22.1	56.2	17.1	4.4	0.2	3,953	100
Commuter	4.7	52.7	22.5	17.2	2.9	725	100
Intending Migrant	5.5	39.1	21.3	28.3	5.8	530	100
Outmigrant	14.0	55.4	14.2	11.8	4.6	1,625	100

Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

It was shown in Chapter 3, on the national patterns of migration, that for Malays to break the two-circuit system of migration and thus attain a modern sector job, education was essential. It was also shown that compared to the Chinese, the Malays had higher levels of schooling in the rural-urban flow. Among the mobility groups, proportionally more Malays than Chinese have higher than 11 years (Form 5) of schooling[31] and this is particularly true of outmigrants and intending migrants (Table 4.10). This further supports the argument that owing to the employment structure in Peninsular Malaysia, for Malays to migrate to the urban areas they have to be better educated than the Chinese as they must seek jobs in the formal sector.

[31] Level of schooling is divided into the major catgegories of up to Standard 6 (1-6), up to Form 3 (7-9), up to Form 5 (10-11) and above Form 5 (11+) years.

Table 4.10
Simpang Empat: Mobility Groups by Level of Schooling by Ethnicity, 1976
(in percentage)

	Malay							Chinese						
	No. of Years in School					Total		No. of Years in School					Total	
Mobility Group	0	1-6	7-9	10-11	11+	No.	%	0	1-6	7-9	10-11	11+	No.	%
Stayer	24.7	53.7	16.3	5.0	0.3	1,942	100	19.6	58.6	17.9	3.7	0.1	2,011	100
Commuter	3.3	49.5	21.8	21.6	3.8	394	100	6.3	56.5	23.3	12.1	1.8	331	100
Intending Migrant	5.5	29.3	21.6	36.6	7.0	328	100	5.3	55.0	20.8	14.9	4.0	202	100
Outmigrant	15.9	48.3	16.2	14.4	5.3	835	100	11.9	62.9	12.4	9.0	3.8	790	100

Not only are outmigrants, intending migrants and commuters better educated than stayers, but they also have the largest proportion educated in English (Table 4.11). Compared to the Chinese, the Malays are almost exclusively educated in the Malay-medium and *ugama* (religious) schools.

Up to the 1970s, English is certainly the main language of the private sector.[32] There is evidence that those with English education finds it easier to get jobs outside rural areas. While only 9.4 per cent of Malay outmigrants are English educated, the share for the Chinese is 25.8 per cent. For Malays, an education in Malay is able to secure a government job, but it does not provide the flexibility for private sector work.

4.6 ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF MOBILITY GROUPS

This section continues to explore mobility differences by examining the important economic characteristics of the ever-lived village population of stayers, commuters, intending migrants and outmigrants. The main aim here is to analyze the economic features of the major issue in this thesis – that of the two-circuit system. The preservation or dissolution of the two-circuit system as argued earlier, is best assessed as occupational and industrial changes. At the same time, this discussion will throw further light on the mobility typology.

Owing to the integral relationship between occupational and industrial changes, on the one hand, and geographical mobility, on the other, this section evaluates the impact of the NEP on the case-study area in Kedah. Thus, it is also a study into the processes which result from attempts to break the two-circuit system. By comparing all types of mobility groups and the resulting economic structure of Malays and Chinese in a village context, some insights will be gained into the effect of the NEP, seven years after its introduction. Before surveying occupations, it is necessary to look into the labour force participation rate of the mobility groups.

[32] In fact up to the 1990s, English is still the preferred language in the private sector. Recent research on graduate unemployment which involved interviews with employers in the private sector found that they all preferred graduates who were fluent in English (Kamal and Young, 1990).

Table 4.11
Simpang Empat: Mobility Groups by Medium of Schooling by Ethnicity, 1976
(in percentage)

	Ethnicity											
	Malay				Chinese				Total			
Mobility Group	Malay[a]	English	Chinese	Total No.	Malay	English	Chinese	Total No.	Malay	English	Chinese	Total No.
Stayer	97.3	1.9	0.8	1,470	2.8	20.8	76.4	1,630	47.6	11.8	40.6	3,100
Commuter	91.3	8.2	0.5	378	0.6	29.4	70.0	310	50.5	17.7	31.8	668
Intending Migrant	90.1	9.9	-	292	-	32.0	68.9	172	56.7	18.1	25.2	464
Outmigrant	89.8	9.4	0.3	597	-	25.8	74.2	671	42.3	18.3	39.4	1,268

Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976
Note: [a] Includes *ugama* (religious) schooling which constitutes part of Malay education.

4.6.1 Labour Force Participation Rate

The labour force participation rate of the different mobility groups show that outmigrants have a higher proportion in the labour force than non-migrants (Table 4.12). This is both an indication of the stage of the life-cycle and the selectivity of migrants. It is consistent with findings from other migration studies in the country (McGee, 1969; Suresh, 1975; and Pryor, 1975). Among the village population, commuters and intending migrants have the largest share in the labour force, explained by their higher per centages in the economically-active age-groups. Stayers have 72.7 per cent outside the labour force as evidenced in the proportion of children at school, pre-school children and the old and sick. Commuters have a far higher proportion currently attending school (36.7 per cent).

An analysis of the ethnicity of the labour force participation rates of the mobility groups reflects the macro-patterns discussed in Chapter 3 (Table 4.13). In all mobility groups, Chinese have a higher employment rate than Malays, the greatest difference being among intending migrants. Among intending migrants, 63.0 per cent of the Chinese are already employed, in contrast to the Malays where students alone comprise 32.8 per cent. This shows the different perceived opportunities and attitudes between Malays and Chinese. While intending migrants among Malays are students who expect to leave the village for further education (usually supported by government) or a new job, the Chinese intending migrants are already employed and want to leave for a better job.

4.6.2 Employment Status

Outmigrants have nearly twice the proportion of employees than non-migrants and a much smaller element of unpaid family workers due to participation in non-familial type occupations (Table 4.14). Within the village population, stayers have over twice the the proportion of self-employed recorded by commuters and intending migrants who, like outmigrants, are primarily employees. The reason for the high proportion of unpaid family workers among intending migrants is the large number of youths looking for their first job and passive migrants awaiting the head of household's move, biding their time in the village by helping their families. Consistent with the macro- patterns of the country, there are more Chinese employers in all mobility groups, being most common among stayers, commuters and outmigrants. The proportion is most pronounced among Chinese stayers because almost all the shops

Table 4.12

Simpang Empat: Primary[a] Labour Force Participation of Non-Migrants and Migrants, 1976 (in percentage)

	Non-Migrants				Migrant
Labour Force	Stayer	Commuter	Intending Migrant	Total Village Population	Outmigrant
Employed	25.5	60.0	47.2	31.3	45.4
Unemployed	1.8	0.5[b]	10.4	2.3	0.5
Labour Force Participation	27.3	60.5	57.6	33.6	45.9
Housewife	19.6	2.5[c]	13.3	17.1	41.6
Schooling	28.1	36.7	24.8	28.8	9.1
Not Yet Schooling	21.0	0.3[d]	3.9	17.2	2.7
Others (Too Old, Sick, etc.)	4.0	-	0.4	3.3	0.7
Out of Labour Force	72.7	39.5	42.4	66.4	54.1
Total No.	5,071	732	517	6,320	1,547
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

Note: [a] Primary denotes the major activity.

[b] Four individuals, classified unemployed were daily commuters as they worked in the family farm/business.

[c] Eighteen women stated their primary occupation as housewives but again commuted to work in the family farm/business.

[d] Two children, too young to be at school, followed their mother to work in the family farm/business.

Table 4.13
Simpang Empat: Labour Force Participation Rates of Mobility Groups by Ethnicity, 1976

	Stayer		Commuter		Intending Migrant		Outmigrant	
Labour Force	Malay	Chinese	Malay	Chinese	Malay	Chinese	Malay	Chinese
Employment Rate	(92.7)	(95.6)	(99.3)	(99.6)	(79.9)	(85.3)	(98.4)	(99.4)
Unemployment Rate	(7.3)	(4.3)	(0.7)	(0.4)	(20.1)	(14.7)	(1.6)	(0.6)
In Labour Force	34.1	20.6	38.5	85.1	49.3	73.9	49.9	42.3
Housework	17.6	22.0	1.5	3.3	11.4	15.8	37.5	45.4
Schooling	25.6	30.2	59.5	11.6	32.7	10.3	10.5	7.8
Not Yet at School	18.7	23.2	0.5	-	6.6	-	0.9	4.3
Others, Sick, Too Old	4.0	4.0	-	-	-	-	1.2	0.2
Out of Labour Force	65.9	79.4	61.5	14.9	50.7	26.1	50.1	57.7
Total No.	2,414	2,659	392	333	333	184	736	811
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

Table 4.14
Simpang Empat: Primary Employment Status of Non-Migrants and Migrants, 1976
(in percentage)

	Non-Migrant				Migrant
Employment Status	Stayer	Commuter	Intending Migrant	Total Non-Migrant	OutMigrant
Employer	8.9	6.0	2.4	7.4	4.1
Self-Employed	46.4	18.8	16.4	36.6	24.2
Employee	22.3	66.5	61.1	36.9	66.7
Unpaid Family Worker	22.4	8.7	20.1	19.1	5.0
Total[a] No.	1,293	436	244	1,973	702
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

Note: [a] Totals of related tables do not correspond owing to inadequate data.

in Simpang Empat *pekan* are Chinese-owned. Chinese dominance as employers is due to the nature of their occupations, being in trading and commercial activities. This has important implications for the breaking of the two-circuit system because of the apparent difficulty faced by Malays in trying to penetrate these traditionally Chinese-dominated businesses. Malays have a larger share of self-employed in all groups except commuters owing to their being *padi*-farmers. The self-employed among commuters are Chinese who are hawkers. Among outmigrants Malays have two large proportions, as employees as they migrate mainly into the government service (breaking the circuit) and as self-employed, migrating into agriculture (preservation of the circuit). Thus, 37.1 per cent Malays are self-employed compared to the Chinese equivalent of 10.6 per cent. The employment status of outmigrants show the entrenched nature of the economic structure of the country. Even when Malays migrate, a chance of getting out of the lower-circuit, they move primarily into wage labour or farming, with fewer options available to them than the Chinese. These patterns are further elaborated in the analysis of the occupations and industries of these mobility groups.

4.7 OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF NON-MIGRANTS AND OUTMIGRANTS

What is striking is the difference in occupations between the village population (non-migrants) and outmigrants. Over half the village population is in agriculture compared to one-fifth of outmigrants. There are large proportions of outmigrants in services, professional-technical and production and transport workers. Among non-migrants, these occupations are not well-developed enough in the villages, therefore, people must work outside (as outmigrants or commuters) if they want these types of jobs. Sales workers among commuters are mostly Chinese hawkers.

A closer examination of the occupational structure of mobility groups show sharp contrasts between Malays and Chinese, similar to the macro-patterns of Chapter 3 (Table 4.15). In all mobility groups, the Malays are mainly in agriculture; the Chinese are chiefly in sales, and production and transport work. The only deviation from his pattern is the large proportion of Malays in service work among outmigrants, a pattern very similar to the national level analysis of migrants between 1965-70. Even among intending migrants, over half the Malays are in agriculture while over half of the Chinese are in production work.

Table 4.15
Simpang Empat: Occupation of Mobility Groups by Ethnicity, 1976
(in percentage)

Occupation	Mobility Group							
	Stayer		Commuter		Intending Migrant		Outmigrant	
	Malay	Chinese	Malay	Chinese	Malay	Chinese	Malay	Chinese
Professional, Technical & Related Workers	1.3	1.1	24.5	4.3	14.5	6.0	13.6	7.0
Administrative, Managerial & Clerical Worker	2.4	0.6	14.3	3.9	10.7	3.5	6.3	5.5
Sales Worker	4.5	27.9	9.0	31.3	3.8	25.0	4.2	27.5
Service Worker	1.6	1.9	7.7	1.4	7.6	3.5	27.7	5.3
Agricultural, Animal Husbandry, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting	85.5	42.9	23.2	7.8	54.2	9.4	41.3	3.8
Production, Transport, Equipment Worker	4.7	25.6	21.3	51.3	9.2	52.6	6.9	51.1
Total No.	758	527	155	281	131	116	361	345
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

This bifucation is tempered somewhat by a larger proportion of Malays in service work among outmigrants. There are two reasons for Chinese outmigrants not moving into agriculture. The first is the inability to attain agricultural land, for much of that is locked up as Malay Reservation Land. The second is an apparently strong preference for urban jobs, particularly skilled work. These require apprenticeship and are the only means to a skill among the less-educated Chinese.

Among commuters, the Malay concentration in agriculture, professional-technical and administrative-managerial work is contrasted to the Chinese dominance in sales, and production and transport work. Even among stayers, this same pattern emerges. There is an important implication for the two-circuit system in these occupational differences. The largest difference between stayers and outmigrants are in agriculture, service, and production and transport. While Malay outmigrants have shifted into agriculture (41.3 versus 3.8 per cent among the Chinese) and service (27.7 versus 5.3 per cent of the Chinese), most of the Chinese outmigrants have shifted into production and transport (51.1 against 6.9 per cent of the Malays).

A breakdown of the occupational categories illustrate the important contrasts between Malays and Chinese revealing the more detailed aspects of the two-circuit system. Among outmigrants, the major groups are production and transport, agriculture, service and sales work. In production and transport, the Chinese tend to be in skilled work, such as tailors, electricians and carpenters. These occupations may be attained with limited education as their means is through apprenticeship. Based on the Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey, Stage II (see Appendix B for an elaboration), it was found that many of the Chinese villagers realize that higher education is out of reach for their children. Instead they stress the need to acquire a skill to make a living, preferably a skill which allows the person to be self-employed, and therefore, more independent. Thus, there is a sharp difference between the values of the peasant and working class Chinese, on the one hand, and the Chinese middle class, on the other. While the middle class have always inculcated the need for further education as a passport to upward social mobility (and this is the case even among the moneyed and less-educated Chinese), the working class Chinese in the village emphasize a skill through apprenticeship. This does not mean that the Chinese villagers do not think that a government job is ideal. They do. They talk about the security and prestige offered by that position. But they know too well that they will have little chance in getting such jobs, especially when they will be competing with better-educated urban Chinese, for a very small quota. As a result of preferential

treatment of Malays for government jobs, more Chinese are forced into the skilled-type work and commerce, their traditional domain. What is of concern here is that the traditional system, that is the two-circuit, instead of being broken, may well be reinforced, inadvertently. The fact that Malays do not seem to be entering the commercial and small-scale services sector is not due to their being unable to penetrate the sectors "controlled" by the Chinese. It is also related to their reluctance to learn to become electricians, mechanics and other similar work. In their context it is understandable. If they have the chance of being a government servant with all the advantages of such a job, including the prestige, the security without the pressures of the private sector, and the other fringe benefits including pension at retirement, they obviously would find it so much more desirable than the other types of more informal skilled work. Then, there are the characteristics of the apprenticeship system which makes it difficult for a Malay to join, even if he wants to.

Malay and Chinese parents have very different job expectations for their children. The Malays would like their children to get a government job because it offers security (regularity of income and a pension) in contrast to the rural pursuits with all the insecurities. The government job also means prestige and social standing. On the other hand, Chinese did not mention work with the government (except as teachers), often feeling it is out of their reach. What was interesting in their response was the need for their children to acquire a skill. They felt a skill would give their children a more independent livelihood which allows them to be self-employed, if necessary.

As expected among Malays, and now evidenced in the amount of *tanah terbiar* (abandoned land) in the country, is the strong wish that their children do not remain in agriculture. And this is occurring even in a highly-invested double-cropping environment of the Muda where *padi*-growing is more lucrative than elsewhere. Parents felt that *padi*-growing is very back-breaking work for small returns. This same sentiment is reflected again in the 1980s among the electronics workers and their families (see Chapter 5).

Such differences between Malay and Chinese expectations came through clearly from discussions with parents and youths in the village. In that sense, the rural Chinese felt that education could not help them much as it was hard for them to do well compared to the urban Chinese. It was therefore better for them to gain a skill through the apprentice system.

The apprenticeship system is the informal traditional means to learning a skill. Youths, at an early age are sent to work with a '*see fu*' (expert) in the particular job. Here the boy lives with the employer, and learns the trade from the basics. For this he gets a minimal wage (more like pocket money). Often such systems tend to draw on people of the same ethnicity (usually Chinese as these trades tend to be Chinese-dominated) and even the same dialect group. These are for reasons of ease of communication, and of living together (the Muslim would find it very difficult to eat and live with the Chinese employer because of the ramifications of religion such as not eating pork, etc.). Thus the difficulty of entry for Malays (if he wants to be apprenticed in the first place) lies in the nature of the system. The major way for the Malay to learn such skills are through formal schooling – the vocational schools. As a result, the Chinese are found in more skilled jobs than the Malays, a pattern found in the characteristics of recent migrants at the national-level (refer Chapter 3). Another interesting observation of the narrowness of employment among Malays is that while the Malays and Chinese are categorized as equipment drivers and operators, in a variety of industry in the private sector, including lorry transport business, the Malays are solely government drivers of trucks, vans, etc.

Sales work also demonstrates the same manner of labour absorption described among production workers. Few Malays are sales workers or hawkers. This may be explained by the family nature and exclusiveness of most small-scale Chinese businesses. Malays have been able to make in-roads into banks and insurance because of the formal recruitment processes of these large firms. In services, Malays are almost exclusively protection workers, in the uniformed services such as army, police, etc. while the Chinese are domestics, cooks and hairdressers. Even in the professional-technical category, the Chinese tend to occupy the more qualified positions of architects, engineers and doctors while the Malays are teachers.

These patterns are very similar to the national one and suggest the entrenchment rather than the disintegration of the two-circuit system up to 1977. Where Malays become outmigrants, over half of them move into agriculture, the rest into protective services, and teachers, all within the umbrella of the government service. The Chinese, on the other hand, with limited posts available to them in the government sector, and finding it very difficult to get agricultural land, are forced to diversify into production and transport occupations and traditional niches such as sales work and domestic services.

An analysis of the occupations of stayers show that even among the non-migrant village population, the Chinese are far more diversified than the Malay (Table 4.16). Nearly 85 per cent of Malay stayers are in agriculture, twice the Chinese proportion. In other

categories, the Malays register less than 5 per cent. In contrast, there are over 28 per cent of Chinese in sales and another 25.6 per cent in production and transport. Thus, in the village context, the Chinese are already more diversified than the Malays. Outmigration for the Chinese is an extension and broadening of their occupations in the village. For the Malays it is an escape to government, a break in the two-circuit, or remain in agriculture. Commuters' and intending migrants' detailed occupations also reveal that Chinese are more diversified than Malays and that these two mobility groups reflect the occupations of outmigrants (Table 4.15). Among commuters, most Chinese are in production and transport (as transport and equipment workers, tailors and electricians) and sales while 18.8 per cent are hawkers.

Table 4.16
Simpang Empat: Occupation of Stayers and Outmigrants by Ethnicity, 1976
(in percentage)

	Stayer			Outmigrant		
Occupation	Malay	Chinese	Total	Malay	Chinese	Total
Professional, Technical & Related	1.3	1.1	1.3	13.6	7.0	10.3
Administrative, Managerial, Clerical	2.4	0.6	1.6	6.3	5.5	5.7
Sales Worker	4.5	27.9	14.1	4.2	27.5	15.6
Service Worker	1.6	1.9	1.7	27.7	5.3	16.7
Agri., Forest., Fish. & Hunt.	85.5	42.9	68.0	41.3	3.8	23.0
Production, Transport Equip.	4.7	25.6	13.3	6.9	51.1	28.7
Total No.	758	527	1284	361	345	706
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Simpang Empat Mobility and Migration Survey I, Kedah, 1976.

Hawkers are an interesting group for they comprise the informal sector characterized by ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership, small-scale operation, labour-intensive, adapted technology, skills acquired outside the formal school system and operate in the unregulated and competitive markets (Hart 1973; McGee, 1978: 13-28). Vendors in this study demonstrated these characteristics which is probably one reason for the lack of Malays. The concentration of Chinese as hawkers may be viewed as a necessary means of livelihood for an uneducated poor section of the population who are unable to obtain agricultural land. Of the 57 hawkers among commuters, 53 were Chinese. As high as 73.5 per cent of them operated in markets,