

**'PERMANENT' OR 'CIRCULAR' MIGRATION
IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA: THE
EXPERIENCE OF THREE VILLAGES
IN NEGRI SEMBILAN**

by

Abdul Samad Hadi

Sinopsis

Kertas ini cuba menjawab persoalan sama ada perpindahan di kalangan orang Melayu itu berlaku dalam bentuk 'sekular' atau 'tetap'. Dengan mengambil tiga kampung di Kuala Pilah, Negeri Sembilan, sebagai contoh dan mentakrif 'pergerakan' sebagai perubahan tempat kediaman mengikut tanggapan mereka yang terlibat, kajian ini mendapati bahawa perpindahan di kalangan penduduk kampung-kampung itu adalah lebih berbentuk 'tetap' dari 'sekular'. Pola ini wujud kerana sebahagian besar daripada mereka ini mendapat pekerjaan di sektor kerajaan, dan pola ini adalah berbeza dengan pola yang biasanya terdapat di negara membangun.

Synopsis

This paper attempts to answer the question whether the movements amongst the Malays are circular or permanent. From a fieldwork in three villages in Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan, and by defining a move in which the mover perceives to involve in a change of residence, the study found that the people are involved in a more permanent relocation. This is because these movers are employed mostly in permanent occupations especially in the government sector. The finding differs somewhat from what is normally found by studies in Third World countries.

Introduction

Studies of population movement in Third World countries have suggested that people tend to involve in circulation than migration. Circulation refers to movement in which those involved eventually return to their places of origin in contrast to migration which involves a change in usual place of residence. The former will produce a circuit of movement whilst the latter shows a trajectory that is unidirectional. In real life situation the distinction is not always clear cut. People who have lived away from their villages of origin for a substantial number of years may eventually decide to return home to retire. Others leave the natal village with the intention to return home may

be attracted to remain permanently at that place. Both circulation and migration have different effects on population distribution and on the patterns of settlement growth and development. In this respect these patterns of movement have different implications with regard to the present population redistribution policies. This paper examines the movement pattern of the Malays by taking three villages in Kuala Pilah as examples to answer the question, is the movement of the Malays circular or permanent?

Previous Studies on Population Circulation in Peninsular Malaysia

Studies of population movement in the Peninsular have (mostly) tended to examine internal migration (Pryor, 1971; Soon, 1974; Singh, 1977; Sidhu and Jones, 1979). As a result we have become accustomed to thinking that people in this country involve in migration.

The concern with population circulation in the Peninsular dates back to 1963 when Gosling reported the presence of seasonal movements of labour from the East Coast States to participate in rice harvesting in the northern states. McGee's (1968) intensive studies of Malay urbanisation in Kuala Lumpur indirectly suggested that the Malay migrants are mostly having the tendency to circulate; after working in Kuala Lumpur these workers have the intention to return to the home village of usual residence. In recent years Nagata (1974) and Young (in progress) have shown that the Malay people tend to come from and go to the village of origin. Nagata (1974) suggested that such 'oscillating' movement from and to the village tends to blur rural-urban differences. Other observations have suggested also that the Malays tend to circulate (Nordin Selat, 1970; Khatijah Muhammad, 1978).

From the short review of works on circulation it appears that the people are involved in circular migration. Relating the pattern to other Third World studies, it seems that what the studies above have shown has also been observed in most other Third World countries (Swindell, 1979; Hugo, 1978; Forbes, 1978; Jellinek, 1978; Bedford, 1973). In the view of Chapman and Prothero (1977) circulation is important in Third World countries.

However, the literature on circulation in Malaysia has left a gap in that it does not consider the relative importance of circulation and migration. This study attempts to examine this issue.

The Data

The data for this analysis are based on residence histories of 'adults' aged 15 and over in three survey villages in Kuala Pilah districts, Negri Sembilan (Figure 1). School children, even though they are above 15, and in-migrants from other states who have settled in the survey villages are excluded. During the village survey we interviewed these adults about their past mobility experiences. Adults who had experienced *merantau*¹ (henceforth termed 'return' migrants) were then interviewed in detail. A move was defined as one which the people perceived as an actual change in residence. Oscillating move (referring to short duration circulation) such as *melancong* and social visits were, therefore, not counted. A move then involved the person staying at the destination for a period of at least three months. (This time threshold is arbitrary and it is adopted here to coincide with the rice season, the school term and the length of time taken for training new recruits in military and paramilitary occupation during the Emergency in which lot of villagers went to find employment). We feel that this definition is appropriate for the patterns of population movement in the survey villages. As will be shown later most of the people moved from the village either to work or to attend schools outside these villages. These people had to stay for a substantial period of time at the destinations. This type of movement is often ignored in mobility studies in some Third World countries because it involves only a small proportion of movers in those countries (Hugo, 1978; Forbes, 1978). We tried to enumerate as completely as possible all the adults that had experienced going *merantau*. Unfortunately there were a number of housewives who were reluctant to supply us with information on their residence histories after we had taken the residence histories of their husbands. Their objection was mainly because their residence histories that involved movements out of the village were the same as those parts of their husbands' residence histories after their marriage. Thus, in terms of number of respondents the data underestimate those housewives who moved as dependents. But insofar as the patterns of past movement of the 'return' migrants in the villages are concerned we feel that the data are representative of all the movements of these return migrants in the villages.

A feature of the interview was the construction of a detailed residence history which focused on the time of move, destination, age at each move, education, employment, accompanying dependents and reasons for the move. Several recent studies of population mobility have

¹The local term "merantau" is very often used to mean temporary migration.

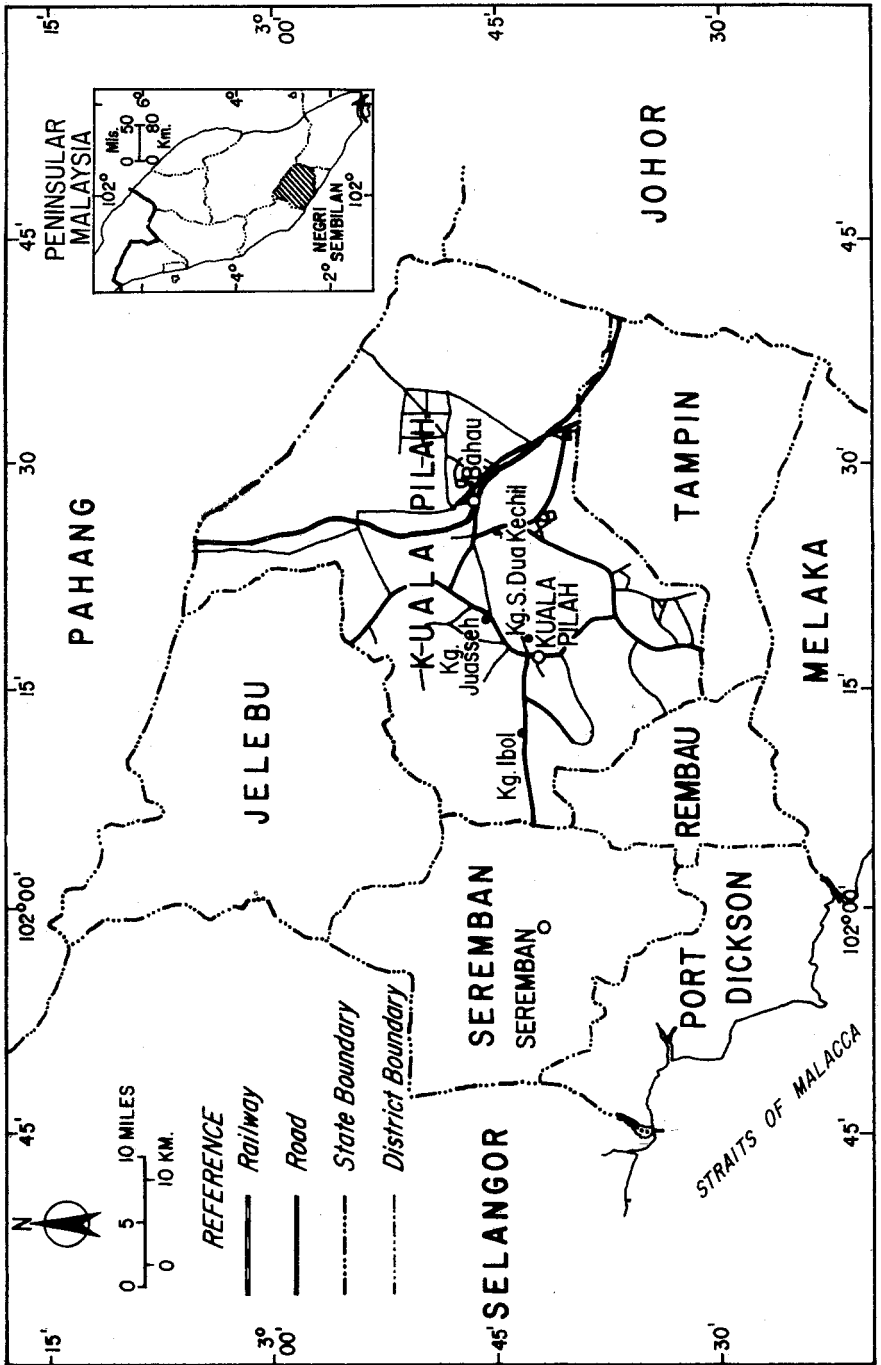


Figure 1: Location of the Survey Villages in the District of Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan.

used this technique of gathering information on mobility. All those who have used it found it to be a useful technique to gather mobility data (Balan *et al.*, 1969; Perlman, 1976; Lauro, 1978).

Residence histories collected retrospectively inevitably suffer from inaccuracies because they are affected by the problem of recall. We feel, however, that the level of inaccuracy in our data should be low because the interviews concentrated on the residence histories systematically in a form of a story. We led them to relate in chronological order their birth date, school days, occupation, marriage, and other activities such as sickness and the Hajj. We also crosschecked, whenever possible, with the people's peers in the villages about their past activities.

For the purpose of comparison, ideally migration histories of the present absentees in the various *rantaus* (destinations) should also have been collected. We made an attempt to do this but on many occasions we found that the respondents at the village end faced many difficulties in recalling the details of migration histories of the absentees. Instead of collecting all the details, we asked the heads of households in the village whether, since leaving the village, the absentees had ever made any return moves to the community in the village. By collecting such information we were able to determine whether those absentees were involved in circular movement or in a more 'permanent' one. To supplement the information about the absentees collected from the village end, we also collected the residence histories of the traced migrants in our urban tracer survey. Although the traced migrants were not representative of all the absentees from the survey villages, they formed about one-third of absentees from the survey villages who were then in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban. At least they would give a reasonable coverage of the mobility patterns of the absentees residing in Kuala Lumpur and Seremban, which attracted the bulk of the present migrants from the survey villages.

Merantau: Circular or Semi-Permanent?

To determine whether the people in the survey villages engaged in circular migration or moved more 'permanently', we need to assess the position of the home village in relation to the other *rantau* that the people moved to. There are a number of ways by which we can achieve this (see Pryor, 1979). Bedford (1973), for example, used a modified version of Shimbel's (1953) accessibility index to compute a 'circulation index' on the basis of the migration experience of each migrant. He achieved this by treating the movement patterns of a migrant as a network which then enabled him to devise a graph

theoretic measure. Shimbél had derived an accessibility index of transportation networks. The index expresses the average topological distances (L) that all nodes (j) in a network (S) are from a particular node (i). By summing all the L (i, j) over j for a given network (S) a measure of the average topological distance separating the various nodes in the network from it is obtained; if the sum is large we know that on average the various sites of the network are far removed from site, i, and if the sum is small that the various sites of S are readily reached from i. The Shimbél's index above was modified by Bedford to give him a circulation index C (i, s). According to Bedford (1973: 84—85) by dividing the total distance of all nodes (j) from the home village (i) by the number of nodes minus the home-village the size of the network (in terms of the number of nodes) became irrelevant, and the degree to which circulation in the network has occurred is the important measure. If the index does not exceed 1.0 all out movements have been started from the home village and any subsequent moves have been back to this village directly or through one other place of residence. Movement between different residences without any return to the village result in a circulation index of more than 1.0, showing that the movements have been 'stepwise' rather than circular.

More recently, Young (1977, 1978a, 1978b) has developed a circular Migration Index which is calculated as follows.

$$\text{Index of Circular Migration (ICM)} = \frac{\text{Number of return moves to the village} \times 2}{\text{Total number of moves}} \times 100$$

This index gives values ranging from zero to 100. An index with a value of 100 indicates that every outmovement is followed by a return move to the village (circular migration is at a maximum). A zero ICM shows that there has been no return move, implying that outmovement *at present* appears permanent. According to Young (1978a: 13) the index could be calculated for a single individual or for a group of individuals who shared common characteristics. These characteristics could be the level of education, income or occupation type, or age and sex. The index is easy to calculate and quite useful to show the importance of return moves to the village in relation to all other moves that the individuals have made. It was decided that the present study should use this index.

The index of circular migration (ICM) for each of the 148 individuals who had experienced movement in the past in the three survey villages was calculated, and the result is presented in the following section.

Past Mobility Experience of the Return Migrants

We found that the 148 respondents made a total of 851 moves which took place in a time period between the early years of the century and the 1970's. From the total moves, 218 (about 26 percent) involved the home-village, that is 1 in 3.9 moves was related to the home-village in the movements of these people.

There were variations from one person to another in the number of return moves made to the village. To some, every other move took them back to the village of origin, whereas to others several moves were made without making any return move to the village. From Table 1 about 43 percent of the 148 respondents had an index of circular migration of 100, showing that every residential move out of the village was accompanied by a return move to the village. In contrast 10 percent of the respondents had an index of circular migration below 25, showing that those individuals made several moves without any return move to the village. If we take the index of circular migration of 50 as a cut-off point to show those experiencing a more intense circular movement (ICM of 50 and over) from those experiencing less intense circular migration (ICM below 50), then about 70 percent of the respondents experienced a more intense circular migration.

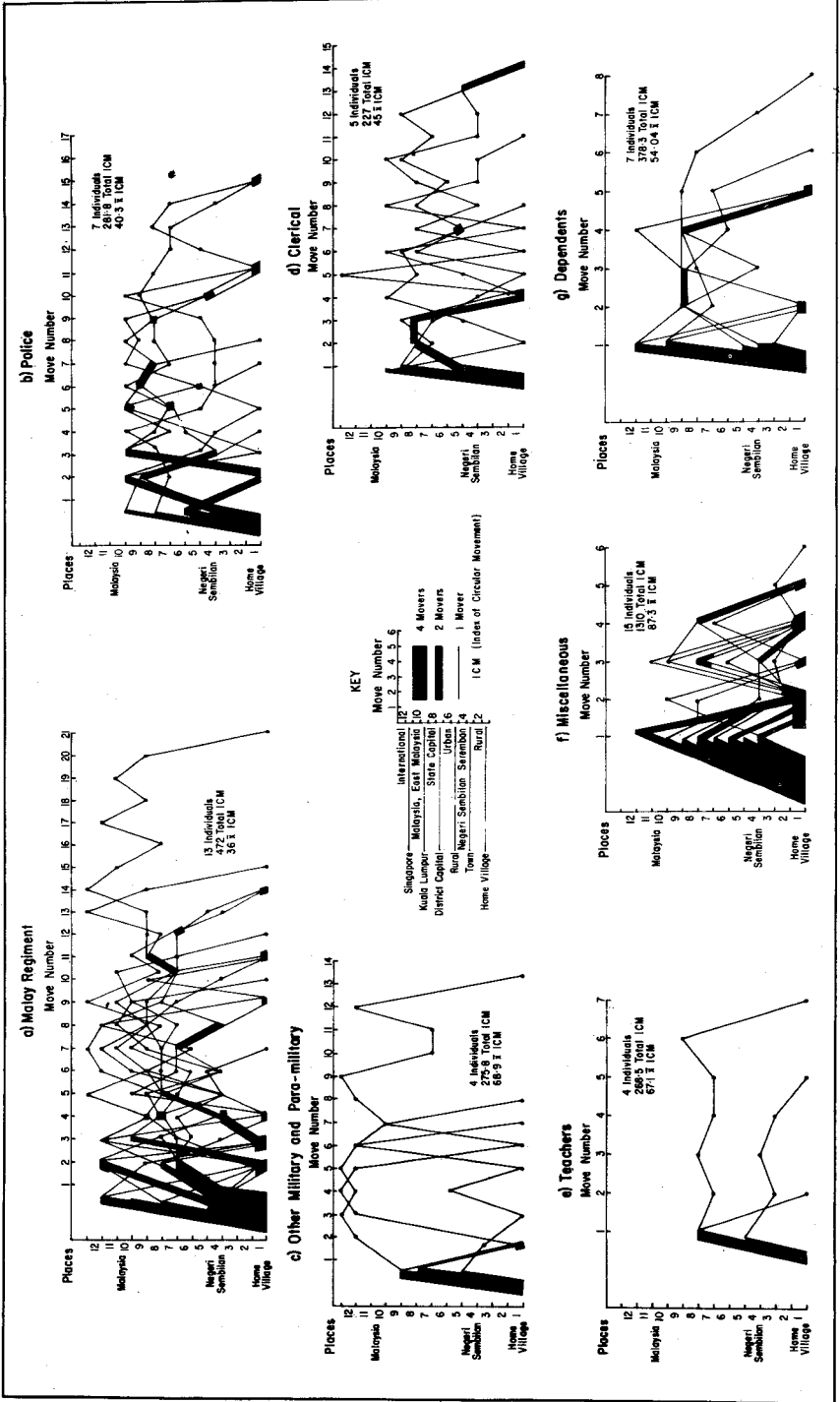
Table 1
Distribution of Index of Circular Migration

ICM	Total	Percent
100	64	43.2
50 — 99.9	39	26.3
25 — 40.9	30	20.3
25	15	10.1
Total	148	99.9

Source, Kuala Pilah Village Survey, 1978.

The individual differences in the intensity of circular migration above were not found only in our survey villages. Bedford (1973), for example, found that some of his respondents were involved in 'step-

Figure 2: Various Mobility Patterns of People in the Various Occupation Types



wise' migration, referring to the situation in which the people experienced several moves without making any return move to the home-village, and others were involved in circular migration. Young (1977) also reported in her study of several villages in Papua-New Guinea that some of her respondents appeared to have stayed away more permanently while others circulated more frequently between the village and the city.

It has been suggested that most people in the Third World seemed to come and go from the home-village all the time. Circulation, therefore, has been said to be a major movement pattern in Third World societies (Chapman and Prothero, 1977). Evidence from some other Third World countries has suggested that out movement of people from their village of origin tends to be somewhat permanent, and not repetitive in the manner of circulation as suggested by Zelinsky (1971, 1979). Thus, Young (1977, 1978a) suggested from her study of migration in Papua-New Guinea that in recent years the out movement of her respondents from the home-village appeared to have become more permanent. Bedford (1973) has also found a tendency for some of his respondents in his study of circular migration in the New Hebrides to be involved in more 'permanent' moves.

We grouped our respondents at the village end according to the year of their first move and then summed up the index of circular migration for each 'migration cohort'. The result is presented in Table 2, from which it is noted that the ICM did not decline through time as found by Young (1977, 1978a) in Papua-New Guinea although further aggregation into pre-War, War and post-War Years, in the bottom panel of the table, shows that the ICM declined slightly in the post-War Years, that is people tend to stay longer in the *rantaus*. The ICM also did not vary from one migration cohort to another. However, the ICM increased slightly for the War Years migration cohort because most of them made their other move the return to the village at the end of the war.

Several writers in recent years have shown that the nature of employment in the past or present determines the movement patterns of people. Some occupations encourage circular migration while others, especially employment in skilled occupations, often lead to transfer without return to the home-village (Bedford, 1973; Young, 1977; Hugo, 1978). Figure 2 illustrates that this finding is also true in our study. This diagram shows the various mobility patterns of people in the various occupation types. From the diagram we can summarise the following characteristics:

1. Those who joined the police force and the Malay Regiment had low indices of circular migration. They experienced many relocations without making any return move to the home-village. The reason for most of the moves was the transfer of place of work. Thus, in most of the moves, the people were not free in making the decision.
2. Those in the para-military forces created during the Emergency, especially the special constabulary, in the British Army based in Singapore during the colonial times, and in employment during the Japanese Occupation of the Peninsular showed higher indices of circular migration. Almost every other move involved the home-village. These people stated that they did not make any relocations of their base of operation, although they experienced numerous movements connected with their work for short periods of time. A special constable during those times had to 'hunt' for the communist guerillas at many places all the time. Hence, they were on the move all the time. Similar descriptions apply to those in the British Army or in the Japanese establishments during the War Years. As a whole people in these occupations had high indices of circular migration because their residential moves were limited to a few permanent camps. The ICM did not show the actual spatial mobility that these occupations demanded.
3. Teachers and those in clerical occupations also experienced many residential relocations due to transfer. For this reason their indices of circular migration tended to be low.
4. There was one group amongst the respondents who experienced almost maximum circular migration. To simplify description those in manual and unskilled occupations, those who went to a *pondok* for religious education and those doing several unskilled jobs at any one time were grouped under the 'miscellaneous'. These people seemed to have made almost every other move to the home-village. Their indices of circular migration showed near maximum values.
5. The group labelled as 'dependents' did not include all those who had moved as dependents. Those presented here were for the purpose of completing the descriptions. It should be pointed out that the movement patterns of these dependents reflected the movements of their husbands. These could be in one of the four categories described earlier.

Turning our focus next to the present absentees from the survey villages, they appeared to have moved more permanently. Only about

10 percent amongst the absentees (N = 380) had ever made at least one return move to be the home-village, according to the information given to us by their kin in the survey villages. The rest seemed to have gone to the cities to *makan gaji* without as yet making any return move to the village. Some support to this finding is given by the ICM of the 100 traced migrants in Kuala Lumpur — Seremban. From Table 2 it can be suggested that the migrants *at present* appeared to have moved permanently from the village. Thus, within the constraint of the definition of a 'move' used in this paper, the absentees at present seemed to have permanently moved to the *rantau*.

Two qualifications have to be made in order to put the patterns of movement of the absentees in the right perspective. First, although the absentees at present appeared to have moved permanently we should not rule out the possibility that one day they will return to the village to complete the in-movement circuit. It is assumed that almost all of the absentees went to *merantau*, and by the definition of *merantau* suggested earlier they all had the intention to return home some day. Second, although these absentees appeared to have moved permanently they returned to the village from time to time to pay their kin social visits, for weddings, for religious celebrations and for other specific purposes such as the death of a relative. If we were to consider such regular home visits as 'moves' then all the present absentees would be found to have been coming to and going from the home-village, producing more intense circular migration.

Table 2
Index of Circular Migration of Traced Migrants in
Kuala Lumpur and Seremban

Traced Migrant	N	Moves		ICM		
		Total	To Home Village	Total	\bar{X}	
Male	44	44	0	0	0	
	8	132	11	530.1	66.6	10.2
Female	43	43	0	0	0	
	5	88	5	273.4	54.6	5.6
Total	100	220	16	803.5		

Source: Urban Tracer Survey, 1978.

Viewing the circulation patterns of our return migrants and present absentees in the survey village against Zelinsky's (1971: 226) definition of circulation that "embraces a great variety of movements, usually short term, repetitive or cyclical in nature; all have in common the lack of declared intention or permanent change in residence", the circulation patterns of our respondents were less repetitive and cyclical. They had the declared intention of going to *merantau* after which they would return to the home-village. In the case of the return migrants, they had completed their movement circuit.

Compared to the labour circulation patterns found in Africa (Mitchell, 1961; Elkan, 1967), Asia and the Pacific (Goldstein, 1978) or even the patterns of labour circulation in the East Coast States of Peninsular Malaysia, reported by Gosling (1963), our data indicate a different form of circulation. Instead of the constant coming and going of labour from the home-village in search of work, our respondents made a more permanent move, although the return migrants finally made the return move to the home-village. The differences in our finding could arise from the manner in which a 'move' was defined, and could also be attributed to the fact that our present absentees from the survey villages, and the return migrants, were mostly involved in permanent employment in the formal sector of the urban economy. This involvement necessitated them to stay more permanently out of the village. Thus, our study largely deals with a specific group of people, namely workers in permanent occupations. Note that this point and its implication for the village will be developed in later parts of the paper.

The Transition from Circular to Permanent Migration in the Survey Villages: A Comment

The analysis of circular migration above shows that circular and permanent migration merge together into one process. Some of the return migrants who found employment in non-permanent and unskilled occupations such as the blue collar occupations participated in maximum circular migration. The majority, who were in semi-skilled, permanent, modern sector employment, tended to be less intense in their circular migration. Some of them, especially those in the military and other skilled service occupation such as the teachers, did not make repetitive moves to and from the home-village when they were away *makan gaji*; they moved between towns, following transfers, without returning to the village. With regard to the present absentees, the bulk of them appear to have moved permanently from the village. We arrive at this conclusion because of the defini-

tion of 'move' adopted in the paper. However, if we regard 'visits' to the village as 'moves', the past movement experiences of the return migrants and the experiences of the present absentees showed repetitive and cyclical moves in the manner observed by Nagata (1974) amongst the Malays in the northern states of the Peninsula. Thus, whether circulation in the survey villages is wide-spread or not, as suggested by Zelinsky (1971, 1979) when a society is in Phase II or Phase III of the mobility transition, depends on the definition of 'move' and the type of data used.

We also observed that our return migrants and the *present* absentees were mainly employed in permanent modern sector occupations, especially in the government sector. (This is in accord with several previous observations, see for examples, Hirschman, 1976). This pattern of employment has two far reaching implications as far as the transition from circular to permanent movement is concerned, and we will develop these below.

First, with respect to our return migrants in the survey villages, since most of them found employment during the colonial times, their absorption into the unskilled, semi-skilled and army occupations can be regarded as participating in occupations peripheral to those held by colonial personnel. Colonial policy and practices (Furnival, 1984) designed this by ensuring that the Malays received at best only Malay primary education (Loh, 1975). Since the bulk of our return migrants received only primary Malay education their absorption into the unskilled and semi-skilled occupations in the towns was commensurate with their qualifications. The fact that they could only find lower income occupations encouraged them to maintain links with (and eventually to return to) the village. When we asked them the reason for their return move to the village they responded by saying either that they had 'retired' or that they had 'left' their low paid occupations. From detailed informal talks, it appeared that many of these people returned to the village because they had no savings or pension, or that their pension was insufficient to enable them to subsist in the towns. In short, they had no stake in urban life; for example none of them had any property in the towns, much as they wanted to own some. It is implied, therefore, that if these people had been able to accumulate property or any other state, such as getting opportunities for business in the city, many would have stayed away in the towns. Two families from the survey villages, who remained in Seremban after the heads of the families had retired, illustrate the possible outcome for most of these people. These two families had managed not only to invest in urban homes but also to give their children a

reasonable education, so that all of them worked and made their base in the city.

In the light of the argument above, many of the present absentees can be expected to remain permanently in the cities. This is because the present absentees are better educated than the people in the village, and they have found employment in professional as well as unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. The professionals would find it within their reach to invest in urban properties. More importantly, the present favourable attitude of the government, which is contained in the New Economic Policy, towards the Malays provides the encouragement for these people to be more committed to the city. Various agencies have been created to provide the Malays with more stake in the urban life. Mc Gee (1975) has analysed the adaptation of Malays to Kuala Lumpur city. He found that those migrants who participated in and were fully committed to the life of the city became 'urban men'. The study implies that those who were committed to the city, as measured by various factors including the ownership of property and attitudes to the city, will remain in the city. For the future, the present absentees will find the city more attractive than the village to retire to as they become more committed to it.

Second, since both the return migrants and the present absentees in the town and cities found occupations in the modern sector, especially in government service, a question then arises: what type of mobility will evolve when the modern sector can no longer continue to employ all the migrants? As long as the Malaysian economy continues to expand, the government can create more jobs and the New Economic Policy can be implemented at a fast rate so that the Malays will continue to get a big share of the occupations in the modern sector. Consequently, any movement from the village will become more permanent. But should the economy experience a prolonged recession and modern sector employment become saturated more migrants in the future will have to go without formal employment. Studying the situation in several Third World countries (Mantra, 1978; Forbes, 1978; Jellinek, 1978 for Indonesia; Singhanetra-Renard, 1977, for Thailand; Mukherji, 1975, for India) in which urban unemployment is high and the informal sector employs the bulk of the migrants, circular migration becomes an important mobility strategy in those areas. Should the Malaysian modern sector economy fail to employ most of the Malay migrants further it is suggested that, in the light of the experience of other Third World countries at the moment, the unemployed migrants might resort to circular movement.

However, judging from the performance of the Malaysian economy at present the second possibility above may be somewhat remote for the survey villages. The Malaysian economy continues to expand and there is a reasonable amount of wealth to ensure that Malaysians will continue to enjoy a reasonable standard of living (Far Eastern Economic Review, August, 22-28, 1980). In this situation many of the rural migrants will continue to be absorbed in permanent occupations in the modern sector. This suggestion is a reasonable one to make. From Table 3 the Malays appear to have been increasingly employed in non-agricultural occupations in the past. This trend is expected to continue in the future since the government, through the New Economic Policy, continues to encourage Malays to participate in the modern sector of the economy.

Table 3
The number of Malays Employed in Non—Agricultural
Occupations, 1931 — 1990

Year	Total Malays Employed	Percent of All Ethnic Groups
1931	94773	14.82
1947	140578	23.70
1957	227962	28.49
1967	318964	35.10
1970	513020	35.32
1975	749859	40.23
.....
1990	1817084	49.65

Sources: Data for 1931 — 1967 were adapted from Hirschman (1975), Affendix D, Table D.1, 94-96; Note that the data referred to employed *male* labour in the Peninsular only. Data for the other years (1970-1990) were adapted from Malaysia, 1976, Third Malaysia Plan, Table 4 — 14, 78 — 79; for Peninsular Malaysia. The Data referred to employed labour only.

The increasing participation of the Malays in non-agricultural occupations suggests that any *merantau* by the people in the survey villages in the near future will be increasingly permanent in the sense that more people will have to stay longer at the destinations. Young (1977: 1978a) has also found this trend in Papua-New Guinea; so has Bedford (1973) in the New Herbrides, Hugo (1978) in West Java and Maude (1979) in West Sumatra.

Some Policy Implications

Since the study village population involves in a more permanent type of circulation it has some direct impacts on the concept and measurement of population movement, on the villages of origin and on the destinations namely the city. With respect to the concept and measurement of population movement the fact that the people circulate, albeit a more permanent one, shows the inadequacy of Western definition of migration to study population migration in our study area. In the Western conception of migration, a person migrates when he makes a permanent unidirectional move. Since the Malaysian census adopts a Western definition of migration, the migration data in the census shows only the "tip of the mobility iceberg" (IUSSP, No. 13, 1979; Hugo, 1978). We need to collect more longitudinal migration data in order to show the real world situation in the survey villages. For proper social planning the collection of proper data on population redistribution is imperative.

Moving next to the implications of the movement patterns on the sending villages, the move certainly affects the availability of manpower to work on village based occupations. The problem is 'who is going to mind the agriculture' (Mohd. Nor Ghani, 1979). As stated in the Norconsult Report (1974) a lot of ricefields were not utilised in Negri Sembilan Timur planning region as a result of outmigration. We also found that in the survey villages a substantial proportion of rubber holdings in the villages was not tapped for over six months. In the situation of persistent outmigration the survey villages have to find alternative strategy such as to move into mechaniation or to import labour from outside. One wonders how rubber tapping can be mechanised since the present technology does not allow this to take place. The alternative is to bring in outside labour and this seems to be a reasonable proposition. The problem is where can the labour force be recruited from? The whole of rural Malaysia seems to be facing the same problem of labour shortage at present (Mohd. Nor Ghani, 1979). One possible solution is to import foreign labour.

At the destination, the fact that these movers are involved in a more permanent circulation, they will require proper occupations and housing for shelter. As most of these migrants are employed in low paid occupations, they will require cheap housing in the city. The policy of the present government to provide more low cost housing for the low income group in the city is certainly heading in the proper direction. We hope more of such shelter be built in the future to cope with fast increasing demand for new houses.

Conclusion

By defining a 'move' as one that the respondents regarded as involving a change in residence, our data on the past movement experiences of the return migrants show that most of them had indices of circular migration higher than 50. These indicate that they moved back to the village reasonably frequently. In contrast, the present absentees from the survey villages in the city seemed to have moved more permanently, but this is not to suggest that they will in fact remain in the city at the end of their working life. We found also that employment in modern sector occupations tends to make the people participate less in repetitive movements from and to the home-village.

References

- Balan, et al, (1969) A Computersied Approach to the Processing and Analysis of Life Histories obtained in sample surveys, *Behavioural Science*, Vol 14, 105-120.
- Bedford, D, (1973) *New Hebrideam Mobiling: A Study of Circular Migration*, Dept. of Human Geography Publication HG/a Australian National University, Canberra.
- Chapman (1977) Circulation Studies at the East-West Population Institute, Honalulu. *The Indonesian Journal of Geography*. Vol. 3, No. 33, pp. 1-4.
- Elkan, W (1967) Circulation Migration and Growth of Town in East Africa, *International labour Reveiw*, Vol.96 No. 6, pp 581-589.
- Far Eastern Economic Review, August 22-88, 1980.
- Forbes (1978) Urban-Rural Interdependence: The Trishaw-Riders of Ujong Pandang, pp 269-236, in Rimmer, D., et al, *Food, Shelter and Transport in Southeast Asia and the Pacific*, Department of Human Geography, Publication HG/12, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Goldstein (1978) Circulation in the Context of total Mobility of Southeast Asia', Paper No. 53 of the East West Population Institute, Honolulu.
- Hirschman, C (1975) *Ethnic and Social Stratification in Peninsular Malaysia*, Arnold and Caroline Rose Monograph Series of the American Sociological Association.
- Hugo (1978) *Population Mobility in West Jawa*, Gajah Mada University Press, Yogyakarta.
- Jellinek, L (1978) Circular Migration and the *Pondok* Dwelling System. A Case Study of Ice-Cream Traders in Jakarta, pp. 135-154, In Rimmer, P.J., et al. *Food, shelter and Transport in Southeast Asia and the Pacific*, Department of Human Geography, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Khatijah Muhamad (1978) Migration and the Matrilineal System of N. Sembilan, Unpub. Ph.D. Thesis Univ. of Pittsburg, U.S.A.

- Lauro, D (1978) Life History Matrix Analysis: A Progress Report. Paper for a Seminar of Residence History Analysis, Department of Demography, Australian National University, Canberra (Mimeo).
- Mantra, I.B (1978) Population Movement in West-Rice Communities: A Case Study of Two *Dukuh* in Yogyakarta Special Region. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Department of Geography, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
- Mc Gee (1968) Malays in Kuala Lumpur City: A Geographical Study of the Process of Urbanisation. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.
- Mc Gee (1975) Malay Migration to Kuala Lumpur City: Individual Adaptation to the City, pp 143 — 178, in Du Toit, B.M. and Safa H.I. (Eds.) *Migration and Urbanisation, Model and Adaptive Strategies*. The Hague.
- Mitchell, J.L (1961). The Causes of Labour Migration, in *Migrant Labour in Africa South of the Sahara Abidjan: Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara*, pp 259-80.
- Mukerji, S (1975) A Spatio-temporal Model of the Mobility in a Multi-ethnic Population, Hawaii, pp 325-347, in Konsinski L.A and Prothero, R.M. *People on the move*, London, Methven.
- Nagata, J.A. (1975) Urban Interlude: Some Aspects of Internal Malay Migration in West Malaysia. *International Review*, 8 pp. 400-409.
- Nordin Selat (1970) The Concept of Merantau in Adat Perpatih in N. Sembilan, *Federation Museum Journal*, 15 (New Series) Museum Department, Kuala Lumpur, pp 121-128.
- Perlman (1976) *The Myth of Marginality*, Bekerly, University of California Press.
- Pryor R.J. (1971) *Internal Migration and Urbanisation: An Introduction and Bibliography Ordinary Monograph Series No. 25*, Geography Department, James Cook University, Townsville.
- Pryor R.J ed (1979) *Residence History Analysis*, Studies in Migration and Urbanisation No. 3, Department of Demography, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Shimbal, A (1953) Structural parameters of Communication Network, *Bulletin of Mathematical Biophysics*, Vol. 15, pp 501-7.
- Sidhu, M.S and Jones, C (1979) Population, Distribution in Peninsular Malaysia: Historical Trends and Contemporary Issues', *Asia Profile*, Vol 7, No. 5. pp 459-480.
- Singh, H (1977) Report on Internal Migration, in chander, R. (1977) *General Reports of the 1970 Population and Housing Census*, Vol 2, Kuala Lumpur, Dept. of Statics.
- Singhanetra - Renard A (1977) Circular Mobility of the Northern Thai Village East-West Population Institute, Honolulu (Mimeo).

- Soon Lee Ying (1974) An Economic Analysis of Internal Migration in West Malaysia with Special Reference to Economic Imbalances and Regional Development. Unpublished M. Econs. Thesis Univ. of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.
- Swindell, K (1979) Labour Migration in Underdeveloped Countries; The Case of Sub-Saharan Africa', *Progress in Human Geography* Vol 3 No. 2, pp 239-259.
- Young, EA (1977) Simbu and New Ireland Migration, Unpub. Ph.D Thesis, Australian National Univ. Canberra.
- Young, EA (1978) Circular and Permanent Migration in Papua-New Guinea: The Experience of Simbu and New Irelanders. Paper for the International Seminar on cross - Cultural Study of circulation, East West centre, Honolulu, April 3-8 1978, Hawaii (Mimeo).
- Young, EA (1978 b) Residence, History Analysis: Papua-New Guinea, Seminar on Residence History Analysis, 5-6 October 1978, Department of Demography Australian National Univ. Canberra (Mimeo).
- Young, M.L (Forthcoming) Internal Migration in Peninsular Malaysia. Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Zelinsky, W (1971) The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition, *Geography Review* Vol 61, pp 219-49.
- (1979) The Demographic Transition: Changing Patterns of Migration. *International Union for the Scientific Study of Population*, Seminar on Population Science in the Service of Mankind, Liege, Belgium pp 165-188.

