

POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION, URBANIZATION AND
SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

PERSATUAN EKONOMI MALAYSIA
(Malaysian Economic Association)

That international policy issues in Malaysia is increasingly clear. This paper attempts to highlight the significance of population redistribution and urbanization and their roles in Malaysian socio-economic development.

The focus is on:

- i) the importance of urbanization and its links with the development process
- ii) migration as an equalizing process leading to:
 - a) improve the relations between man's numbers and his physical environment;
 - b) reduce disparities between communities and regions in different stages of development, and
 - c) "Population Redistribution, Urbanization And Socio-Economic Development"
- iii) population redistribution as a means of achieving the goals of development; and

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Urbanization and Development

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7-10 May 1980
Penang

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That internal migration and urbanization have become important policy issues in Malaysia is increasingly clear. This paper attempts to highlight the significance of population redistribution and urbanization and their roles in Malaysian socio-economic development.

The focus is on:

- i) the importance of urbanization and its links with the development process;
- ii) migration as an equilibrating process serving to:
 - a) improve the relations between man's numbers and his physical environment;
 - b) reduce disparities between communities and regions in different stages of development, and
 - c) give rise to an increase in the productive capacity of a region;
- iii) population redistribution as a means of achieving the goals of development; and
- iv) population redistribution and other demographic changes.

Urbanization and Development

The salient features characterizing urbanization in Malaysia can be summarized:

- i) While Malaysia has experienced a rapid rate of urban growth

(in terms of the percentage change in urban population), most measures indicate only a slight rise in the level of urbanization (in terms of the percentage point change in the ratio of the urban population to total population).

- ii) At an average rate of 5.9% per annum, urban growth has been comparatively more rapid than in neighbouring South-East Asian countries.¹
- iii) This rapid urban growth was in conjunction with a slow pace of urbanization. The pace of urban growth has been about the same as the rapid growth in the rural areas with the result that the level of urbanization in terms of the proportion of total population living in urban areas of 10,000 and above has increased only from 26.6% to 32.0% between 1957 and 1975.²
- iv) With high rates of natural increase in urban areas, net rural to urban migration has not been a major source of urban growth. Even for the period 1975-1980 only one half of the annual growth rate of 4.6% is expected to be the result of rural-urban migration.
- v) The phenomenon of rural migrants streaming into the towns creating problems of unmanageable proportions has not been the

¹ See D.W. Drakakis-Smith, "Development Planning: Urban Planning - The Challenge of An Alternative Urbanism in South-East Asia." in R.J. Pryor (ed.), Migration and Development in South-East Asia A Demographic Perspective, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1979, p. 287.

² Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980, Kuala Lumpur, Government Press, 1976, p. 149.

Malaysian experience.

vi) Urban growth has been characterized by rapid expansion of only certain major urban centres. The growth of smaller towns on the whole has been slow. The concentration has been in the metropolitan areas of the Klang Valley where the bulk of modern sector development has been located.

vii) There has been a considerable turnover in the list of towns in the lower range of the urban hierarchy with many small towns becoming ungazetted and a number of new gazetted areas appearing.³

viii) The overall pattern suggests a net migrational flow from the smaller to the larger urban centres with a strong gravitational pull towards the Kuala Lumpur conurbation area. There has been a redistribution of population up the urban hierarchy with an increase in the proportion living in metropolitan towns.

Urbanization and economic growth are traditionally assumed to be concomitant phenomena in the course of socio-economic development.

This relationship is explained by the Western model which is based on the historical experience of industrialized countries in terms of migration from rural areas as the primary demographic process of adjustment to meet the demand for labour created by the concentration of economic progress in the towns which themselves experience relatively low rates of natural increase. The applicability of this basic model

³C. Hirshman and H. Singh, "Urbanization and Net Migration to Urban and Rural Areas Peninsular Malaysia 1957 to 1970", mimeo. Department of Statistics, May 1975, p. 30.

Population and Development Review, 1975, p. 73.

of economically-induced urbanization to Third World countries has been much debated. But even the "over-urbanization" thesis (which recognizes that urbanization can occur independently of the growth of economic opportunities and that it is the lack of economic progress and poverty in the overcrowded rural areas that push people into rapidly growing cities) makes the same assumption that rapid urban growth must be accompanied by changes in the level of urbanization.

The Malaysian experience of rapid urban growth but a slow pace of urbanization in conjunction with significant economic growth does not conform to the pattern suggested by either model. This is not to suggest though, that the Malaysian case is unique. To quote K. Davis,

"The truth is that neither by past standards nor by present ones is the rate of urbanization in Asia spectacular"⁴

Many people now consider the fear of uncontrolled massive rural-urban migration a chimera. The majority of population flows has in fact been to rural areas. A high rate of natural increase appears to be the major component of urban growth. And either the attraction of the cities has not been so strong, or the conditions in rural areas have not been so terrible as to significantly alter the rural-urban proportions in total population.

While no complete explanation of the Malaysian experience is yet available, it is clear that the economic structure of the country and the pattern of socio-economic development would have had substantial impact.

⁴K. Davis, "Asian Cities: Problems and Prospects," Population and Development Review, 1975, p. 73.

It must be recognized, for example, that unlike the Western model, Malaysia is heavily rural agriculture-based. The employment structure is predominantly agricultural and the agricultural workforce will continue to grow. While there has been and will be a gradual shift towards industry and services, the Malaysian government has always been keenly aware of the need to emphasize rural development and has been spurred on especially by the fact that the Malays make up the bulk of the rural population in poverty. The government's extensive rural development programmes and emphasis on frontier agricultural settlements could have significantly countered the attractions of moving into the towns. The strategy of redistributing population from overcrowded areas into new land schemes and increasing productivity and incomes for the insitu areas has provided the rural people with a viable alternative to moving to the towns.

While the operation of the "push" factors has been weakened by the improved conditions in the rural areas, the "pull" factors do not appear to have been so great either. It is not that the lure of industrial employment opportunities has not been strong; economic factors will obviously loom large in any decision to move to the towns by rural dwellers beset by poverty and underemployment and aware of the earnings gap between the agricultural sector and the modern industrial sector. But while Malaysia's development plans have devoted increasing attention to the industrial manufacturing sector, what is important to note is that the absolute number of jobs created has been relatively small because of the small initial base. In spite of being the fastest growing sector

in the economy, the manufacturing sector created only 139,000 new jobs between 1975-78, not all of which were located in towns. Manufacturing accounted for only 13.1% of total employment as against the agricultural share of 43.9% in 1978.⁵ The government has also been following a policy of dispersal of industries away from the main centres to the less developed areas and has tried to encourage the growth of small-scale industries which can be sited in rural areas. One implication of the industrial structure and these government policies is that urban employment opportunities have not been sufficient to pull large numbers of the rural population to the towns and cities. Or perhaps, as noted in the Third Malaysia Plan, "the high level of skills required for employment have made it difficult for migrants from rural areas to find suitable occupations."⁶ It could also be that the high rate of natural increase in the urban areas themselves have been an important source of the necessary labour for the growing modern-sector enterprises.

What of future urbanization and socio-economic development? The Third Malaysia Plan anticipates a more rapid pace of urbanization with more than 35% of total population in urban areas by 1980.⁷ To achieve the second prong of the New Economic Policy, the government is also stepping up the absorption of Malays into urban activities. In as far as the towns and cities serve as focal points for industrialization,

⁵Mid-Term Review of the Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1979, p. 64.

⁶Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980, op. cit., n. 149

⁷Ibid.

technological change, the literacy explosion and rapid social development, urbanization will be part and parcel of the process of modernization. The government obviously sees the pattern of development in terms of a changing economic structure with the rural agricultural share declining and the increasing importance of industries and services in the modern urban sector. The industrialization - urbanization combination will also offer the agricultural sector the opportunity to transform into a high-productivity sector partly by siphoning off part of the growth of the agricultural workforce which would otherwise eat into any real gains achieved in that sector.

Given that urbanization is an inexorable process, in the development of the country, what are the important considerations?

On the one hand, it is clearly expressed that

"The introduction of modern industries in rural areas and the development of new growth centers in new areas and the migration of rural inhabitants to urban areas are essential to economic balance between the urban and rural areas and elimination of the identification of race with vocation as well as location."⁸

But on the other hand, there is obvious concern about the undesirable effects of rural migration to urban areas:

"Regional mobility from depressed to more progressive areas including from rural to urban centres occur through migration as the natural result of push-and-pull factors. Unchecked and unguided, this socio-economic phenomenon can enhance unemployment or

¹¹ Ibid. p. 114.

⁸ Second Malaysia Plan 1971-1975, Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1971, p. 45.

poverty in the urban centres."⁹

Considering urbanization as fundamental in the process of transforming the economic structure and modernization of the country, the aim should not be to stop rural-urban migration completely. Rather, the effort should be directed towards slowing down natural increase since it is this component of urban growth which tends to hinder development.¹⁰ The focus should also be on the pattern of urbanization rather than just the rate of urbanization. There is a need to avoid over-concentration on the country's primate city and to manoeuvre the pattern of city size distribution and the regional distribution of the urban population, with the aim of a more balanced social and economic development of the country as a whole.¹¹

Already, the Malaysian government's strategy of regional development with its emphasis on the establishment of new growth centres and the more rapid growth of smaller towns of the 10,000 to 75,000 size class appears to be a step in the right direction. One rationale for new towns/growth centres is to relieve a source of pressure on large metropolitan areas by intercepting the flow of population out of

⁹Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980, op. cit., p. 97. "denser"

¹⁰See Gavin H. Jones, "Implications of Prospective Urbanization for Development Planning In Southeast Asia" in John F. Kantner and Lee McCaffrey (eds.), *Population and Development In Southeast Asia*, Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1975. p. 111.

¹¹Ibid. p. 114.

rural or depressed areas. The implication is partly that such migrants may not be well adapted to live in a big city and often lack the requisite occupational skills with which to compete successfully in a metropolitan labour market, and such a flow will merely transfer the problems of poor areas from a rural to an urban setting. It is expected that the hierarchy of skills demanded in these new growth centres will be considerably less complex and will thus allow the absorption of rural migrants.

"Dispersal of urban and industrial development aims at bringing about a more balanced economic structure and diversified employment opportunities throughout the country and to develop more fully the under-utilized human resources especially in densely populated but depressed agricultural areas. To this end, priority has been given to the development of new growth centres in such areas."¹² This strategy of channelling off economic expansion to extra-metropolitan regions will obviously affect population settlement patterns in the country by reducing primacy, improving the regional distribution of productivity and income and developing "counter-magnets."

The urban growth strategy has a number of elements. One requirement is to build up cities and towns in the regions that include the poorer states. Another is to strengthen linkages among the various cities and towns in the country through the development of a "denser" system of urban centres of different sizes and specializations. In

¹² Mid-Term Review of the Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980
pp. 87-88.

selecting towns for development, priority is given to those having favourable prospects for the creation of agglomeration economies through the location and growth of mutually supportive industrial and service establishments. Attention is also given to the need to integrate the development of these new growth centres with their hinterland. Thus, the location of new growth centres should assure reasonable access to the rural population and not only bring industries and services to the rural areas but also urbanization to the rural areas.

The practical implications of the strategy are that urban nucleations optimize the provision of services, the potential for upward social mobility and modernization and economies of scale in contrast to local villages and small rural service centres.¹³ At the same time, excessive and uncontrolled growth of existing large metropolitan areas will be avoided for the diseconomies which they create - urban congestion, rising opportunity costs of land, problems of water supply and waste disposal as well as the social problems arising from urban squalor.¹⁴ Population redistribution is directly affected by the creation of alternative magnets for migrants outside the large and congested primary growth centre of the Kelang Valley.

Such a strategy of deliberate urbanization through the

¹³R.J. Pryor, "Malaysia: Population Distribution and Development Strategies," in R.J. Pryor (ed.), *Migration and Development In South-East Asia A Demographic Perspective*, op. cit. p. 134.

¹⁴Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980, op. cit. p. 212.

evolution of rank-size distribution of settlements does, however, require a carefully planned national settlement policy and the identification of potential growth centres which would lead to an optimal pattern of population redistribution. Although some steps in this direction are suggested in the Third Malaysia Plan, there is as yet no adequate functional analysis of elements of the settlement system. The Plan does identify some growth centres in the different regions of the country cutting across administrative boundaries, but the conceptual and quantified definition of a national system of development poles, growth centres, etc. is still not clearly specified.

The largest potential for the development of these new growth centres lies in industrial expansion. Strongly differentiated locational incentives are expected to guide investment to these new development areas. The rationale behind locational incentives such as additional tax relief lies in the need to attract industries away from the metropolitan centres where they tend to concentrate to areas nearer the sources both of raw materials and manpower. The creation of employment opportunities in the new growth centres is expected to slow down the urban drift in search of jobs (special incentives are provided to encourage labour-intensive industries). The strategy is also expected to contribute to the restructuring goals by offering modern sector non-agricultural jobs to the rural Malays.

Internal Migration As An Equilibrating Process

The significance of migration lies partly in the fact that it alters the spatial distribution of population within a country and

thereby influences, among other things, the availability of labour supply, private and public production and employment and the location of government services. In this context, migration has commonly been viewed as a development-fostering process enabling man to "overcome the tyranny of space." More specifically, migration can serve as an equilibrating mechanism to:

- i) improve relations between man's numbers and his physical environment;
- ii) reduce disparities between communities or regions in different stages of development; and
- iii) give rise to an increase in the overall productivity of the factoral endowment of a region.

To examine whether internal migration in Malaysia has served in this "development-fostering" role contributing to economic and social advancement of the people, we can first review the trends and patterns of internal migration.

Information from the 1957 and 1970 Population Censuses indicate that population redistribution through internal migration has become a major factor on the demographic scene. On the whole, however, Malaysia experienced relatively low mobility in the intercensal period.¹⁵

¹⁵ Colin MacAndrews argues that low mobility tends to be typical of the Asian pattern of internal migration. See: Colin MacAndrews, "Mobility and Modernization: A Study of the Malaysian Federal Land Development Authority and Its Role In Modernizing the Rural Malay", Ph.D. thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1976.

of migrants from the poorer states. Such migration then can be seen as essentially development-fostering since it serves to "reduce pressures in areas where population density is high and the environment for development less favourable as well as provide the labour force needed for land settlement and other development projects in population-scarce areas." The recognition that population redistribution, particularly the selective relocation of people, can contribute to more balanced overall development of the country is clearly evident in the Third Malaysia Plan with its emphasis on regional development projections for interstate migration.

In 1970, some 12% of the native born population were enumerated outside their state of birth compared to about 10% in 1957. While there was a trend of relatively low mobility, the absolute number of life-time interstate migrants increased by 85%. Total population increased by only 40% during this period. Interstate migration was therefore taking place at about double the rate of population growth. The 1957-70 intercensal period was characterized by a number of migration patterns. There was:

- i) pronounced movement of people into and out of certain states,
- ii) a general trend of people moving to contiguous states,
- iii) short-distance movement, and
- iv) predominantly rural-rural movement within states.

Since migration is a mechanism by which individuals attempt to work out a better adjustment between themselves and their physical and social environment, it is expected that population will be redistributed where maladjustment exists. In this connection, we can see which regions are gaining persons and which are losing their population. In Malaysia, it appears that in-migration tends to be associated with the states with higher levels of development (in terms of income levels, economic activities, infrastructure, etc) and out-migration tends to be from the less developed states with high incidence of poverty. The population-attracting magnet on the West Coast, Selangor, apart from being the most developed state, is the administrative, commercial and industrial nerve centre of the country. On the East Coast, Pahang is the largest state with vast potential for massive land development attracting large numbers

of migrants from the poorer states. Such migration then can be seen as essentially development-fostering since it serves to "reduce pressures in areas where population density is high and the environment for development less favourable as well as provide the labour force needed for land settlement and other development projects in population-scarce areas."¹⁶ The recognition that population redistribution, particularly the selective relocation of people, can contribute to more balanced overall development of the country is clearly evident in the Third Malaysia Plan with its emphasis on regional development projections for interstate migration.

But this balancing function of migration between population and resources may not be as simplistic as it appears. Movement across a geographical vector or a socio-economic vector does not necessarily mean better adjustment. From the private standpoint, migration tends to be unquestionably beneficial, measured by improvements in living standards and employment opportunities. But from the national viewpoint, the impact of migration can adversely affect both origin and destination areas and can compound existing imbalances.

While substantial movements of labour to the better endowed areas will allow for the fuller development of the nation's vast natural and human resources, the excessive outflow from rural areas can also be a serious disintegrating force. In areas of major outmigration, mass

age and characteristics of the migrants, the more developed regions will attract the most dynamic individuals from the other regions, stimulating

¹⁶ Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980, op. cit. p. 199.

the further the future. On the other hand, in a small country like Malaysia with a rapid rate of natural

exodus can literally emasculate communities and accelerate the economic obsolescence in several ways. Rural depopulation can be a particularly serious problem when we consider that outmigration usually draws away the more valuable and productive members of the labour force - the young, the more educated and the skilled, while those left behind are generally the dependents - the very young, the old and the housewives who are under/uneducated or under/unskilled. Villages particularly in Perak and West Johore are already being left further behind in the development process because those who could have participated have left for other areas. The danger is also that with a labour force that is declining in quality, rural areas will become even less attractive to new industries. Prolonged and heavy outmigration, then, leaves behind those who are least able to cope with the unfavourable conditions that first led to depopulation. These people too tend to show a gradually reduced potential for mobility.

On the one hand, then, the impact could be a regional entrenchment of pockets of people in poverty. The danger is also that in as far as the effects of internal migration on the more developed regions and on comparative levels of development are concerned, the mobility of the population can increase income inequality between more and less developed regions. Since migration is selective, both with respect to age and characteristics of the migrants, the more developed regions will attract the most dynamic individuals from the other regions, stimulating the further development of the already more privileged areas. On the other hand, in a small country like Malaysia with a rapid rate of natural

increase, serious population pressure in certain areas and very heavy capital expenditures on the land development, abandoned land and unutilized or underutilized opportunities in these outmigration villages represent a wastage of resources detracting from the development effort.

What about the impact on destination areas? In the previous section, the "over-urbanization thesis was rejected for Malaysia but this should not mean that there is no cause for concern. Already, it is acknowledged that without proper planning, "the nation will soon face the problems of wide-spread slums and pockets of poverty within its major cities and towns."¹⁷ A part from the problems of slums, squatters, air pollution and traffic congestion, there are political dangers inherent in the potential inter-ethnic competition and conflict in the demand for scarce resources, be they jobs, housing, health or education.

Migration of surplus labour from the rural areas into the towns can compound the problems of urban unemployment. Unemployment rates are clearly much higher in urban areas (around 10%) than in rural areas (just above 5%). That urban open unemployment rates have risen more rapidly than rural unemployment rates also appears symptomatic of the increasing pressure of job seekers in the urban areas. But some writers have claimed that "nothing in the Malaysian data on migration supports the contention that unemployment in Malaysian cities was a direct result

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 97. *Soon Lee Yung, An Economic Analysis of Internal Migration in West Malaysia with Special Reference to Economic Imbalances and Regional Development, Unpublished M.Sc. thesis submitted to the University of Malaya, November 1974, pp. 107 and 108.*

of migration."¹⁸ Another recent study found that, contrary to the normal expectations, urban migrants had an average unemployment rate of 25% or more below the average rate among non-migrants, and drew the inference that "the fault of the observed high rates of urban unemployment lies less with migration than with the failure of the urban sector to expand rapidly enough even to absorb the growth of its own labour force."¹⁹ We feel that such a conclusion is too strong, it must be admitted at least that the inflow of additional job seekers particularly if they were able to find jobs would in fact have deprived the native urban labour force of some opportunities and placed additional pressure on the urban areas. It should also be remembered that the migrant problem may be more serious than indicated by the rate of unemployment among them if it was found that the migrants were going into subemployment in the urban traditional sector or the amount of return migration among those unable to find or "create" urban jobs was significant.

In view of the inherent dangers of uncontrolled population movement on both origin and destination areas, what can be done?

Recognizing that:

- i) for individual migrants, moving normally leads to

¹⁸ R. Chander and H. Singh, "Internal Migration and Its Role In National Development". Paper presented at the Fourth Malaysia Economic Convention. Kuala Lumpur: May 1977, p. 14.

¹⁹ Soon Lee Ying, "An Economic Analysis of Internal Migration In West Malaysia With Special Reference to Economic Imbalances and Regional Development." Unpublished M.Ec. thesis submitted to the University of Malaya, November 1974, pp. 187 and 196.

substantial improvement;

- ii) to halt rural-urban migration completely is neither desirable nor feasible;
- iii) for a long time to come, Malaysia will be essentially a rural agricultural economy even though the industrial sector will continue to grow;
- iv) the young, most highly educated and energetic whether they be from depressed or prosperous rural areas will always tend to move to the big cities;

Some observations can be ventured:

- i) The aim should be for more balanced flows so that regional mobility through migration is a two-way traffic, for example the urban to rural flow of capital and skills such as through the decentralization of industries to provide for the employment needs of the rural people and to reduce the pressure on urban jobs.
- ii) It is important to recognize the diversity of residential settings - rural and urban - that can remain economically viable within the structure of the country. Within the short and medium-term range, the rural areas will continue to be associated with agriculture and the urban areas with industries and auxiliary services. In this context, insitu development with its emphasis on the modernization of agriculture probably represents the most realistic avenue for retaining a majority of the rural people since it is

most suited to their skill training.

iii) For those villages that face a chronic decline of population, policy makers will have to confront both a "place problem" and a "people problem." The latter centres on the residual population left behind by prolonged outmigration. The "place problem" is that within the context of a growing economy and inspite of regional development plans, some villages tend to be no longer competitive either in sustaining present economic activities or attracting new ones. One argument is obviously to attempt to revitalize these declining areas through infusion of development funds. But another argument is that within the broad pattern of regional growth, certain areas are bound to lose out and rather than attempt to alter such existing processes of change, policies should be directed towards strengthening outmigration among those remaining as a means of improving their economic well-being.

iv) The problem can be seen in terms of the choice of appropriate strategy. One basic question with regard to backward regions is the choice between migration and other policy alternatives of regional development. In general, it may be said that where solving the employment problem is the primary goal, migration

policies may be most appropriate. However, if the aim is to speed up the development of such regions in order to reduce regional inequalities, capital imports may be called for. The choice of strategy also depends to a large extent on the causes of backwardness of the region. The argument is that where a region remained behind because it failed to adapt its economic structure to change, moving capital to labour will be a more viable solution than in the case of regions handicapped by less favourable resource endowment. The latter is especially true of the over-populated regions where the out-migration of labour may be a major means of adjustment to population pressures and may cause more rapid economic growth. In the absence of such migration, development might not be feasible or be possible only at the cost of a massive inflow of capital. In contrast, capital inflows into regions which are under-populated in terms of resources would have the double effect of fostering their development and slowing down their rate of out-migration.

Population Redistribution and the Goals of Malaysian Development

Population redistribution can be viewed as a means to an end - that of achieving the nation's economic and social development goals. We have reviewed how population redistribution can foster development not only through providing individuals with opportunities up the economic and social ladder but also through allowing for a better balance between

population and physical resources, labour supply and employment opportunities and less developed and better endowed regions. We have not yet focussed on the relationship of migration with the twin objectives of the New Economic Policy. The Third Malaysia Plan ascribes a "sociological perspective" to population redistribution - that it is fundamental to the New Economic Policy objectives of poverty eradication and restructuring of society:

"Poverty eradication and restructuring involve not only a reallocation and redistribution of material resources but also the movement of people between jobs and vocation, between various socio-economic strata of society and even between physical regions."²⁰

The movement of population across geographical, economic and social vectors is expected to facilitate the eradication of poverty and the restructuring of society in several ways:

- i) through the regional development strategy. An integral element of the strategy for regional development is the selective movement of people away from high density areas where the development potential is lower. Since these less developed regions tend to have the highest incidence of poverty and a larger percentage of Malays in the population, regional development and the consequent population relocation should simultaneously help to achieve the goals of poverty eradication and restructuring. The table in Appendix A indicates that there tends to be an inverse

²⁰ Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980. Kuala Lumpur: Government Press, 1976, p. 95.

correlation between the levels of per capita GDP and the share of traditional agriculture in state GDP and the relative proportion of Malays as compared to non-Malays. Selangor with the largest amount of net migration displayed the second lowest proportion of Malays and the lowest percentage share of GDP from traditional agriculture and conversely the highest per capita GDP and income levels.

- ii) through specific projections for movement out of certain lagging states and into other states. For the first time in Malaysia's development planning specific projections for interstate migration over twenty years between 1970-1990 are included in the Third Malaysia Plan. (see Table in Appendix B). To raise the economic position of states such as Kedah, Perlis and Kelantan, significant outmigration of labour is considered necessary. On the other hand, the main receiving areas are designated as the highly-developed Selangor, the land-rich Pahang and the population-scarce Sabah and Sarawak.
- iii) through giving preference on land schemes to applicants from the poorer states. By encouraging land settlement schemes in states such as Pahang, Johore and Trengganu to offer priority to applicants from other states where per capita income is low and opportunities for development are few, (namely Kelantan, Kedah and Perlis) the Third

Malaysia Plan aims to influence population redistribution towards the poverty eradication goal. This elaboration on the source and destination states and some migration streams especially for land development in Pahang represents a useful policy specification. Where before, geographical origins of applicants for land schemes were not given this kind of priority and no regions were spotlighted as source areas of migrants, the procedure for resettling the population may not have been socially or economically fair. Since the states which have the greatest population density are usually those which have the least land left for development and schemes can only be opened where land is available, an ironical situation was created where, if there had been strict adherence to the rule that settlers had to be born in the state, the landless from the most pressing areas would have had little chance of getting into schemes in another state whose own residents would have been given preference even though less needy.²¹

- iv) through a targetted increase of the proportion of Malays in the urban population. Rural-urban migration among the Malays is expected to be faster than among the other

²¹ Tunku Shamsul Bahrin, "Development Planning: Land Settlement Policies and Practices In South-East Asia" in R.J. Pryor (ed.), *Migration and Development in South-East Asia A Demographic Perspective*. op. cit. pp. 300-301.

ethnic groups to allow them greater participation in the modern industrial and commercial sectors located in the towns and cities. Larger and faster migration of Malays from the rural areas is expected to reduce the identification of race by location and vocation.

However, it needs to be pointed out that a major part of the population redistribution ie the movement to new land schemes can have serious disequalizing effects. From the viewpoint of the individual settler on the Felda Schemes, migration is obviously "development-fostering" since they own land, enjoy productivity and income levels much better than conditions in their places of origin. But within the rural areas as a whole, the creation of a small minority of prosperous peasants with incomes well above that of the average peasant household would have gone against the objective of reducing inequalities in the country. The population who have moved to the land schemes have also been predominantly Malays; the other ethnic groups have not had equal representation and the tendency would have been for not only income disparities but also racial imbalances to increase in the rural areas.²² Therefore, while the development of new land schemes and the resultant

²² The entire blame cannot however, be placed on government policies. The rural Chinese themselves tend to be little attracted to the more disciplined Malay-run schemes. Also, while the government can attempt to cater to all three ethnic groups, it is the rural Malay who expects to be able to get into the Felda schemes and who has probably far stronger lines of communication and access through the rural administrative structure to the opportunities of joining Felda.

population redistribution may have served to reduce disparities between geographical regions and to improve the balance between population and physical resources, they have not served to reduce disparities between socio-economic groups.

Population Redistribution and Demographic Changes

One final point that can be made is that internal migration as an integral component of the "demographic transition" occurring in a developing country, must be considered in relation to other broad processes of population change. Mobility patterns and economic and social change will obviously affect mortality and particularly fertility rates in a developing country. The links between mobility behaviour and demographic transition in Malaysia will require more in-depth research but some evidence available indicates that:²³

- i) the number of children in migrant households tends to be smaller than in non-migrant households. This is true particularly for the metropolitan cities and other urban areas but not for rural areas where migrant and non-migrant household sizes are more similarly distributed.
- ii) migrants indicated a desire to have fewer children than did non-migrants and were nearly twice as likely to

²³See R.J. Pryor, "Internal Migration In South-East Asia - Patterns, Problems and Policies" in R.J. Pryor (ed.) Migration and Development In South-East Asia, A Demographic Perspective. op. cit., and R.J. Pryor, "Demographic Sample Data On Malaysian Internal Migrants 1967 and 1969", Working Papers In Demography 4, 1976.

suggest an ideal family size of less than five as compared with the total sample in Kuala Lumpur.

iii) the younger age distribution of migrants, possibly reinforced by exposure to different values and attitudes through mobility to other communities, is the main explanation for the smaller family size of migrants as compared to non-migrants.

iv) higher fecundity among migrants reflects their younger ages, but their desire for fewer children may place them in the forefront of the fertility decline in Malaysia.

While the theory of demographic transition has, in one form or another, been linked with mobility, urbanization and social change, it should also be remembered that conversely, the theory of mobility transition has been linked with demographic socio-economic change. For policy purposes, then, demographic transition and planned modifications of mobility patterns should be considered together.

APPENDIX A
LIFETIME INTERSTATE MIGRANTS AND INDICES OF INCOME
AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FOR THE STATES OF WEST MALAYSIA 1970

States	Lifetime Net Migrants	Per capita GDP as proportion of mean GDP	Per capita household income per month 1970	Malays as proportion of state population	% Distribution of GDP by agricultural sector Modern Traditional
Selangor	+199,671	1.49	78	34.6	7.6 4.0
Pahang	+ 65,798	1.04	53	61.2	15.3 21.8
Trengganu	+ 5,948	0.60	32	93.9	9.2 27.5
Perlis	+ 3,076	0.80	26	79.4	4.7 40.2
Johore	+ 4,984	0.98	44	53.4	27.4 13.3
Penang	- 20,037	0.78	54	30.7	5.4 10.3
Negeri Sembilan	- 21,600	1.16	53	45.4	27.6 8.2
Kedah	- 25,357	0.81	35	70.7	19.2 25.4
Malacca	- 40,325	0.69	49	51.8	26.7 6.8
Kelantan	- 47,828	0.52	28	92.8	16.4 24.7
Perak	-114,312	1.07	47	43.1	11.6 14.4
Total	953,680	1.00	n.a.	53.2	14.4 12.6

Source: R. Chandler and H. Singh, "Internal Migration and Its Role in National Development." Paper presented at the Fourth Malaysian Economic Convention. Kuala Lumpur: May 1977, p. 7; and R.J. Pryor, "Malaysia: Migration and Development: A Regional Synthesis" in R.J. Pryor (ed.), Migration and Development in South-East Asia A Demographic Perspective (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 114.

APPENDIX B
POPULATION GROWTH AND EXPECTED NET INTERSTATE MIGRATION 1970-1990 (000)

State	Population		Average Annual Growth Rate 1971-90	Net Migration	
	1970	1990		1957-70	1971-90
Johore	1,326	2,228	2.6	-20	-
Kedah/Perlis	1,117	1,657	2.0	-32	-191
Kelantan	712	1,104	2.2	-31	-94
Malacca	419	652	2.2	-15	-38
Negeri Sembilan	500	833	2.6	-25	-
Pahang	525	1,069	3.6	+48	+193
Penang	805	1,350	2.6	+11	+92
Perak	1,629	2,505	2.2	-83	-199
Selangor	1,693	3,008	2.9	+144	+237
Trengganu	421	694	2.5	+3	-
Total	9,147	15,100	2.5		

Source : Third Malaysia Plan 1976-1980 p. 208.