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**CHARACTERISTICS OF BACKDOOR MIGRANTS TO SABAH,
MALAYSIA FROM THE PHILIPPINES: THE CASE OF
TWO ISLAND COMMUNITIES OF TAWI-TAWI**

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CHARACTERISTICS OF BACKDOOR MIGRANTS TO SABAH,
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I. INTRODUCTION

Like any developing country in Asia, the Philippines is plagued by the continuing influx of migration of people from the rural communities to the urban centers. Such movement has decidedly increased the population of these centers and magnified the already alarming problems of the city, such as the existence of slum areas, poor housing conditions, lack of educational and recreational facilities, inadequate water supply and sewerage, slow-moving transportation system, and other important services. The realities and paradoxes of city life cannot be fully described, but one thing seems apparent: these problems by and in themselves are obstacles to the development process. Viewed through the lens of another perspective, however, migrants from the rural areas to these centers have helped in the growth of industries by their cheap labor.

Studies in migration have shown interesting patterns of internal migration. To counteract the one-sided movement of people towards the centers, the government has encouraged people from the densely populated areas, hence urbanized communities, from Luzon and the Visayas, to settle on other islands of lesser concentration via the so-called land-for-the-landless scheme. The attraction of this scheme has provided people with reason to leave, but it has not succeeded in relieving the country's population centers. As a consequence of this scheme, on the other hand, significant changes have taken place in the socio-economic life of the people of Mindanao - popularly known as the "Land of Promise." In the rural areas of Mindanao, where the ethnic balance has been

altered by the influx of migrants from Luzon and the Visayas, the immediate perils arising from internal migration have been serious (Filipinas Foundation, 1976; Magdalena, 1977).

A recent study (Filipinas Foundation, 1976) on internal migration has shown an in-depth analysis of the activating forces behind migration and the thinking of the people who have moved away from their birthplaces. Another work, prompted by the desire to understand the brain-drain phenomenon, has probed into the characteristics of migrants going to the USA and the factors associated with their movement. Josefina Cortez (1970) showed that the propensity to migrate is higher among persons who are weakly anchored in the Philippines, who perceive little opportunity for themselves, who are young and single, who have no job to return to, who are in fields such as the physical sciences and engineering, and who have succeeded in attaining a degree from a US institution. The Cortez study also intended to find out why persons of high-level skills prefer to migrate to other countries rather than practise their profession in the Philippines where their services and their training are most needed in industry, technology, research and education.

Many such studies as the above are found in migration literature, but there has been no information about migration in the southern Philippines vis-a-vis the adjacent frontiers like Malaysia and Indonesia. In fact, a portion of one study has dealt with migration between Sabah, Malaysia, and Tawi-Tawi (Kurais 1973), but the patterns of migration and the specific characteristics of migrants have not been adequately treated as yet.

The movement of people between the Sulu archipelago and Sabah, Malaysia, is considered traditional and customary among the people who go there for economic and socio-cultural reasons. As early as 1902, Leonard Wood

reported that economic activities involving various items had existed between the people of Sitangkai and Borneo (Sabah). Economic and, possibly, social ties between the southern Philippines and Sabah, Malaysia, have roots which extend far beyond the birth of the Philippines as a nation. George Davis (1902) reported to Washington the imposition he made against the commercial intercourse in these unequipped ports (of Basilan, Parang-Parang, Bongao, Cagayan de Sulu and Puerto Prinsesa), and the prohibition has persisted up to this very day. The anti-smuggling campaign of the previous governmental administration and the ban on illegal travel by natives have caused tremendous repercussions which need to be examined seriously.

The existing laws have been futile in curtailing the trade and travel relations between these two countries. But the fact remains that the people in the deep south have maintained socio-cultural relations with those in Sabah. Their social links, in addition to their proximity to each other, have reduced the psychic cost (Schwartz, 1973) involved in migration on the part of individuals moving from Tawi-Tawi to Sabah, rather than to other areas in the Philippines dominated by the Christian majority.

While studies have shown various findings on migration, both internal and international, this study provides data useful to the understanding of migration in the Philippines involving people situated along the coastal areas of the Sulu archipelago near the border between Sabah, Malaysia, and the Philippines. The political implications of these movements may not be felt at the moment. But perhaps with the increasing number of Filipinos moving to Sabah, expected changes may occur in the social, political and economic well-being effecting diplomatic relations between the Philippines and Malaysia and the ASEAN in general.

It would also help broaden our knowledge of the trade and travel relations existing in this southern part of the country, including the patterns of settlement established as the result of the transfer of residence of Filipinos.

II. RESEARCH PROBLEM

This study describes the characteristics of the "back-door"¹ migrants to Sabah from the Philippines with respect to the following: age structure, income, educational attainment, kinship/social ties, and occupation. Their motives or reasons for moving to Sabah from these island communities will also be identified.

III. METHODOLOGY

a. Description of the setting - This study covers the municipalities of Sitangkai and Simunul, both of Tawi-Tawi Province. Tawi-Tawi was part of the province of Sulu until 1973, when a decree was passed to make it a separate province. Tawi-Tawi lies at the southwestern tip of the Sulu Basin in the Philippines. It has 307 islands and islets with a combined land area of 462 square miles.

In Tawi-Tawi province, there are three ethno-linguistic groups: the Tausog, Samal² and Badjao. The Tausog dominate the trade and business activities in Tawi-Tawi and Sulu.

1. "Back-door" is used to refer to areas in the Sulu archipelago as points of exit used by migrants direct to Sabah rather than Manila.

2. The name "Samal" is used in this report in the absence of a general consensus to use "Sama" instead, because the former has derogatory connotations. 'Samal' is popularly used in existing literature about the same group.

They are also found scattered in areas predominantly occupied by either the Samal or the Badjao (Socio-Economic Profile of the Province of Tawi-Tawi, 1976).

The Samal and the Badjao are interrelated. As a consequence of modernization, the Samal shifted from a sea-faring mode of life to semi-permanent residential settlements, leaving the Badjao a separate subcultural group who are now better known as sea-dwellers. However, a number of Badjaos have followed patterns of living quite similar to the present-day Samal.

Sitangkai municipality is the farthest political sub-division to the west of Tawi-Tawi province. It is characterized by a number of islands and islets with wide reefs which are suitable for seaweed farming and fishing. The main occupation of the people is farming, although boatbuilding and trade are also emphasized in many of the villages in Sibutu and Sitangkai Proper. As a municipality, Sitangkai has twelve barangays, which include the following: Sitangkai Proper, Nunkan, Talisay, Tandubanak, Tongsibalo, Tongehat, Ligayan, Taungoh, Larap and Tonggusong. The prevailing dialect is Sama, which is widely used in varied tones and accents.

Simunul municipality is situated south of the province of Tawi-Tawi. As an island, it is one of the most historical marks in Philippine history because of the establishment of the first mosque in the country by Sheikh Makhdum, an Arab missionary. It is predominantly occupied by the Samal, although a small number of inhabitants come from other ethnic groups within the archipelago. Agriculture and fishing are the main occupation of the people, followed closely by seaweed farming and boatbuilding. This municipality is composed of the following barangays: Tubig-Indangan, Bakong, Obol, Tampakan, Baguid, Manok-Mangkaw and Mungkay.

b. Scope and limitations - This investigation does not intend to cover the whole area of the Sulu and Tawi-Tawi archipelago for reasons which are briefly discussed elsewhere in this report. As a case study, it is limited to a few representative members of the population of the whole province of Tawi-Tawi. The approach in this study is an indirect one as the researcher interviewed not the actual migrants but their relatives who were left behind in the original homeplaces. These remaining relatives acted as respondents to report on the characteristics and motivations of migrants from Tawi-Tawi to Sabah. Such a "third-party" approach to securing data is not without validity, as some studies have pointed out. Gerry Hendershot (1968) has applied this approach to the phenomenon of rural migration using selected communities from Panay Island and Luzon, to Manila and other urban areas. The people who stayed behind in the original places of migration acted as his respondents to provide information on these migrants' characteristics.

c. Research plan

1. Sampling procedure - The sample areas cover the municipalities of Sitangkai and Simunul. From each municipality, five randomly chosen villages composed the sample blocks. A list of households which have members who migrated to Sabah, Malaysia, was prepared for each of the sample blocks. From the list, twenty households were randomly chosen until a sample of 200 households was finally formed. This process was duplicated for all the sample blocks in the municipalities of Sitangkai and Simunul.

Respondents in this study are women between 25 to 59 years old residing in the community, who were asked to report on at least two migrants: one male and one female. Women were selected because they could be easily contacted during the day, and are possibly more articulate and knowledgeable about others' affairs (especially their kinsmen).

2. Interview schedule - The interview schedule covers the following aspects: (1) Socio-economic background of the respondents, (2) characteristics of the migrants, and (3) motivating factors that caused migrants to move to Sabah, Malaysia.

The interview schedule consists of 58 precoded items (see Appendix A), which were carefully pretested to assure clarity and weed out questions which could not be understood. To ensure a wider latitude of comprehension, one that is understandable even among illiterate respondents, the research instrument was translated into the Sama dialect (see Appendix B).

The instrument took approximately 30 minutes to administer. Properly trained and instructed interviewers from the municipalities of Sitangkai and Simunul (they belong to the educated segment of the social pyramid in their respective villages), were employed to collect the data through house visits and interviews.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS

The population of both municipalities between 1960 and 1970 has increased by 33.72 percent. In 1960, the population of both municipalities was 19,348 and rose to 25,873 in 1970. The greater increase occurred in Simunul, 39.10 percent, and Sitangkai, 29.31 percent. An estimate of the volume of inter-provincial migration showed that for the whole province of Sulu, the out-migrants numbered 16,098 as of 1972 (Yun-Kin, 1972) based on the census report of 1970. There was no mention, however, as to the places of destination for the out-migrants.

It becomes clear, therefore, that the increase in the population of both municipalities had not been caused by immigration but mainly due to natural increase, a pattern of growth observed for the whole country at 3.2 percent per year.

The characteristics of migrants from Simunul and Sitangkai to Sabah are reported below, showing information not revealed in the previous censuses in the areas of this study.

Age and Sex

Table 1 shows that migrants to Sabah are highly selected in terms of age and sex. For both sexes, the percentage of migrants was highest at ages 26 - 30 years. Migrants are highly concentrated in the 16 - 30 age brackets for both males and females. Although males were reputedly more migratory than females, here no attempt was made to capture this difference as both sexes were equally represented in the sample. But female migrants outnumbered the males at the adolescent years, that is, between 16 - 20 years age range. This trend is in accord with contemporary patterns of migration by age and sex in the Philippines. Within the same age range 16 - 35 years, females outnumbered the males by at least 2.0 percent and in the succeeding age ranges, males outnumbered the females. The median age for migrants of both sexes was 23, while it was 26 years for males and 20 for female migrants, suggesting the relative youth of the latter.

Educational Attainment

Higher education has been regarded as a facilitating condition for migration, as the better educated, those who have more to offer a community of destination in the way of skills, are the first ones to leave their places of origin (Hendershot, 1968 and Piampiti, 1976). The migrants from Simunul and Sitangkai to Sabah are no exception to this rule. As a group they are relatively well educated at the time of migration. Table 2 shows more than fifty percent of the migrants, both males and females, had finished high school or better. On the opposite side of the ledger, half had spent six or less years in school. This balance

gives an average (median 6) of six years education for all the migrants.

The male migrants were slightly better educated than their female counterparts. About one-third (33.0 percent) of the males completed high school education, compared to seventeen percent for the females. College graduates seemed to be less interested in moving to Sabah (only 5.5 percent) and this is true for both males and females. Perhaps, opportunities perceived to be good and promising by the less educated group of migrants are not so judged by the more highly educated segments of the communities under study.

Table 1. Percentage distribution of Migrants by Age and Sex

Age prior to migration	Percent		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female
15 years and below	2.5	3.5	1.5
16 years - 20 years	19.5	14.0	24.0
21 years - 25 years	20.5	19.5	21.5
26 years - 30 years	21.25	30.5	12.0
31 years - 35 years	9.5	11.5	7.5
36 years - 40 years	6.5	9.0	4.0
41 years and above	1.75	2.5	1.0
Not stated	19.0	9.5	29.5
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Number of Cases	400	200	200
Median Age	23	26	20

Table 2. Percentage Distribution of Migrants
by Educational Attainment and Sex

Educational attainment	Percent		
	Both sexes	Male	Female
None (less than 4 years)	3.0	2.5	3.5
Primary (4 years)	8.75	8.5	9.0
Elementary (6 years)	37.75	39.0	36.5
High School (10 years)	25.25	33.0	17.5
College (14 years)	5.5	7.5	3.5
Beyond college (15 years or more)	0.5	1.0	-
Not stated	19.25	8.5	30.0
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Number of Cases	400	200	200
Median years in school	6.0	6.0	6.0

Marital Status

A little less than fifty percent of the total migrants were married before leaving for Sabah. About two-fifths of the male migrants were single and more than half were married. Among females, on the other hand, 47 percent were married and 22.5 percent were single. No migrant was reported to have been separated, while one percent constitute the widowed and divorced migrants. Married migrants, both males and females, have an average number of four children before departure. Traditionally, the male migrants earn for the members of the family. This increasing responsibility with poor economic incentive in the home places has further motivated them to move to Sabah with a hope of social and economic advancement. The female married migrants generally follow their husbands to Sabah. Table 3 illustrates the migrants by marital status and sex.

Table 3. Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Marital Status and Sex

Marital Status	Percent		
	Both sexes	Male	Female
Single	30.5	38.5	22.5
Married	49.5	52.0	47.0
Others	1.0	1.0	1.0
Not stated	19.0	8.5	29.5
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Number of Cases	400	200	200

Occupation

In both the Simunul and the Sitangkai communities, the majority of the migrants to Sabah were reported to have had no occupation or were jobless prior to departure. It is indicated in Table 4 that more than fifty percent of both male and female migrants were jobless. Of the 222 migrants reported to have been jobless before migration, 36 percent secured jobs ranging from proprietorship to farming in Sabah, Malaysia. In addition, eight migrants who were reported to have had jobs in their original home communities turned out jobless in Sabah. Of the 32 percent of the male migrants who had no occupation prior to departure, more than one third remained jobless in their places of destination. Among the females, 79 percent were jobless before departure and did not show much improvement in their occupational levels. Of the 158 jobless female migrants, only 37 were reported to have secured jobs in Sabah, and the remainder (77 percent) continued to be jobless at the time of this study. Table 4 shows the sex and occupational distribution of migrants.

Table 4. Number of Migrants by Former and Current Occupation and Sex

Current Occupation	Former Occupation													Total
	Proprietor (Owner of business)	Manager/Official (Corp/Govt)	Professional (doctor, teacher)	Clerical/Sales	(Salesman/bookkeeper)	Skilled/Foreman	Unskilled/Semi-skilled	Factory worker (laborer)	Fisherman	Farmer	Homemaker/jobless			
Both Sexes, Total	25	5	1	3	1	1	1	40	102	222	400			
Proprietor (Owner of business)	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	10	26			
Manager of Official (Corp./Government)	4	5	1	-	-	-	-	16	20	15	61			
Professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	5			
Clerical or Sales (Salesman, bookkeeper)	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	9	11	25			
Skilled or Foreman	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	9	6	28			
Semi-skilled or unskilled (laborer, factory worker)	2	-	-	1	1	1	-	12	19	10	45			
Fisherman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	4			
Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	30	21	55			
Homemaker or jobless	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	6	143	151			
Male, Total	22	4	1	1	1	1	1	40	66	64	200			
Proprietor (Owner of business)	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	4	16			
Manager or Official (Corp/Government)	4	4	1	-	-	-	-	16	11	13	49			
Professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2			
Clerical or Sales (Salesman, bookkeeper)	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	5	10			
Skilled or Foreman	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	9	5	27			
Semi-skilled or unskilled (laborer, factory worker)	2	-	-	1	1	1	-	12	17	8	41			
Fisherman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	4			
Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	19	4	27			
Homemaker or jobless	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	22	24			

Table 6. - Continued

Current Occupation	Former Occupation											
	Proprietor (Owner of business)	Manager/Official (Corp/Govt)	Professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher)	Clerical or Sales	(Salesman/bookkeeper)	Skilled or Foreman	Semi-skilled/unskilled (Laborer, factory worker)	Fisherman	Farmer	Homemaker/jobless	Total	
Female, Total	3	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	36	158	200	
Proprietor (Owner of business)	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	6	10	
Manager or Official (Corp./Government)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	2	12	
Professional (doctor, lawyer, teacher)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	
Clerical or Sales (Salesman, bookkeeper)	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	7	6	15	
Skilled worker or Foreman	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Semi-skilled or unskilled (laborer, factory worker)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	
Fisherman	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Farmer	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	17	28	
Homemaker or jobless	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	121	127	

Income

The average income of the migrants between 1960 and 1970 was relatively low before migration. Their income, which came on a quarterly basis, was derived for the most part from varied sources, such as, medium-sized coconut plantation farming and seaweed farming. These farming occupations required a waiting period of two to three months before the harvest could be undertaken. While more than 35 percent of the migrants engaged in either farming and fishing as their main sources of income and livelihood, migrants who were engaged in other productive endeavors considered farming and fishing as supplementary sources. Before they moved to Sabah, about 69 percent of them had incomes not exceeding 400 pesos for three months and only .25 percent earned more than 1,000 pesos. Male migrants have higher incomes than females. Before migration, more than half of the females had a quarterly income of less than 400 pesos.

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Income and Sex

Income prior to migration	Percent		
	Both sexes	Male	Female
P300 and below	44.25	51.5	37.0
P301 - P400	24.75	28.0	21.5
P401 - P500	9.0	8.5	9.5
P501 - P600	1.75	2.5	1.0
P601 and above	1.25	1.0	1.5
Not stated	19.0	8.5	29.5
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Number of Cases	400	200	200
Median	P330	P290	P320

Migration Patterns

a. Origin of Migrants

Most of the migrants came from the barrios or villages (barangay) of the municipalities of Simunul and Sitangkai. These villages are classified as rural, based on the Philippine Census and Statistics definition. The original homplaces of migrants to Sabah are also typically rural in terms of population and related characteristics. More than 80 percent of the total migrants reported came from the barrios of Tawi-Tawi province.

b. Kinship and social ties

Less than three-fourths of the migrants were influenced by their relatives, who served as principal channels of information about Sabah. This, in addition to other factors, had caused relatives of earlier migrants to follow suit. About 80 percent of the male migrants and 67.5 percent of the female migrants were influenced by their kin already in Sabah. Other sources of information included friends (5.75 percent), newspapers from Sabah (.75 percent), reports and publications (.25 percent) brought by visiting migrants and traders to their native Simunul and Sitangkai (see Table 6).

The data above are also supported by the initial contacts that migrants from Simunul and Sitangkai made upon arrival in Sabah. More than 74 percent of the migrants disclosed that they had initial contacts with relatives rather than with non-relatives in Sabah. Although a few migrants (3.25 percent) lived by themselves upon arrival, some (2.25 percent) benefitted from the help of friends and acquaintances during their initial stay there.

Table 6. Percentage Distribution of Migrants
by Sources of Information and Sex

Sources of Information	Percent		
	Both sexes	Male	Female
Friends	5.75	8.5	3.0
Relatives	74.0	80.5	67.5
Newspapers	0.75	1.0	0.5
Other sources	0.25	0.5	-
Not stated	19.25	9.5	29.0
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Number of Cases	400	200	200

Table 7. Percentage Distribution of Migrants
by Initial Contacts and Sex

Initial Contacts	Percent		
	Both sexes	Male	Female
With relatives	74.75	81.5	68.0
With friends	2.25	3.5	1.0
Lived by himself/herself	3.25	4.5	2.0
Others	-	-	-
No information	19.75	10.5	29.0
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Number of Cases	400	200	200

c. Destination of migrants

There are seven trading posts in Sabah, as well as smaller agricultural communities which migrants from Tawi-Tawi and the Sulu archipelago frequently chose as probable destinations. Table 8 shows the distribution of migrants from Simunul and Sitangkai by destination and sex. It is indicated that Tawau, Sandakan, Sempoerna and some agricultural communities were favorite destinations of migrants from these communities. For both sexes, Tawau received 15.5 percent of the migrants, Sandakan 18.0 percent, Sempoerna 18.0 percent, and other agricultural communities 13.0 percent. These other agricultural communities include the following: Tongbato, Tanagiyan, Kunnat, Luuk Buwani, Pasusol, Tandu-Uwan and Tanjung Labuyan. Kudat had only .5 percent, Kota Kinabalu had 2.5 percent and Lahad Datu 11.5 percent. The male migrants were concentrated in Sandakan and Sempoerna with an equal percentage of 21.5, and with 17.0 percent for Tawau. On the other hand, the female migrants concentrated in Sandakan (18.5 percent), while Tawau and Sempoerna shared almost equal percentages of 14.0 and 14.5.

d. Reasons for migration

When asked about the main reason for migration, more than fifty percent of them were said to be lured by the opportunity of getting a job in Sabah. However, for more than 80 percent of the male migrants, getting a job was the chief reason for leaving, while only 6.0 percent claimed a desire for a reunion with relatives and friends there. A small percentage (1%) were dissatisfied with their native places and 1.5 percent hoped to better their lives in another place. Among the female migrants 37.5 percent indicated getting a job as the fascination for migrating, while 26 percent wanted to be with close relatives and friends, and 4.5 percent perceived more opportunities in Sabah. No one reported education as a cause

for migration, contrary to what has been found typical among migrants from rural areas in the Philippine (Pascual, 1965) and among Thai migrants who moved to urban communities in Thailand (Piampiti, 1975).

Table 8. Percentage Distribution of Migrants by Destination and Sex

Destinations	Percent		
	Both sexes	Male	Female
Tawau	15.5	17.0	14.0
Sandakan	20.0	21.5	18.5
Sempoerna	18.0	21.5	14.5
Kudat	0.5	1.0	-
Kota Kinabalu	2.5	3.5	1.5
Lahad Datu	11.5	12.0	11.0
Others	13.0	14.5	11.5
Not stated	19.0	9.0	29.0
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Number of Cases	400	200	200

Discussion

Based on the above results, some inferences can be made with respect to the migrants' characteristics and the patterns of movement that they take. Migrants are generally young. For both males and females, those in the age range 16 - 30 years were found to have the highest tendency to migrate to Sabah. This age selectivity is also found in the patterns existing in other migration streams within the Philippines. The result of this study regarding the age selectivity of migrants corroborates that of the study of migrant characteristics in two selected communities of Visayas and Luzon to Manila and other urban places (Hendershot, 1968).

With respect to the education of the migrants, one faces the difficulty of appraising their levels of education on the basis of the number of years spent in schools and/or the certificates or diplomas they received. However, considering that English and Bahasa Malaysia are the backdoor media of communication, their educational attainment may reduce difficulties of communication between themselves and officials of the Malaysian government and the managers or officials of the prospective companies where they would be working. In general, out of the total population of 10,154 Simunul residents, six years old and over, 72.4 percent are literate. In Sitangkai, out of the total population of 11,483 residents, six years old and over, 65.4 percent were literate (National Census and Statistics, 1970). These figures show higher literacy rates for both populations of Simunul and Sitangkai.

Information about Sabah has been relayed by relatives of prospective migrants who were motivated to move there. Living conditions, work related opportunities, and peace and order are the common grounds for people to leave their homeplaces. Persons contacted by migrants upon arrival in Sabah were also their relatives, who assisted them during the early painful stages of adjustment. However, caution has to be observed in considering the value of kinship as a motivation for moving. Its social impact is not altogether inconsistent with the economic thesis of migration because kin or ascriptive ties serve as information-giving rather than the main reason for moving. To cite an analogue on the resolution of the macro-level and micro-level analyses of migration, the influence of kin or ascriptive ties on migration may all the more increase people's propensity to move when the economic basis for migration (Hendrix, 1975) is present. In fact, when our respondents were asked to articulate the reasons why their relatives moved to Sabah, more than 50 percent considered work-related opportunities.

Similarly, they mentioned that about three-fourths of the reported migrants (N=400), had relatives in that area.

It has not been possible to examine the community-based factors of the migration stream from Tawi-Tawi to Sabah, Malaysia. This study concentrated on the individuals involved in the process of migration through a "third party," their relatives who were left behind in their hometowns. The migrants settled in different communities in Sabah. Many of these communities are trading ports and others, agricultural communities (these were probably established by earlier migrants from the Sulu archipelago). These communities include: Tawau, Sandakan, Lahad Datu, Sempoerna, Kudat, Kota Kinabalu and the lesser known settlements of Tongbato, Tanagiyan, Kunnat, Luuk Buwani, Pasusol, Tandu-Uwan and Tanjung Labuyan.

Implications of the study

This study, descriptive in analysis and interpretation as it is, has uncovered certain patterns of population redistribution of Filipinos, especially the Muslims in the South. I have listed the following as features unique to the present study: First, migration is not confined to domestic movements within the Philippines and to international mobility from the Philippines to the United States. Equally significant is the study of migrants from the Philippines to neighboring countries in Southeast Asia, which has been overlooked perhaps due to preoccupation with the problems of population growth and the emphasis on modernization and urbanization (Pascual, 1965; Cortez, 1970; and Laquian, 1973).

Second, the National Census and Statistics records on migration have not taken into account factors associated with movement of people according to ethnic origin, much less presenting information about migration phenomena from the Philippines to Malaysia and other Southeast Asian countries.

Third, the perceived opportunities for socio-economic advancement in Sabah by migrants from Tawi-Tawi were further reinforced by the ecological push on its population resulting from the declining productivity of coconut plantations (a major industry in Tawi-Tawi), and the fluctuating price of seaweed (an emerging and flourishing industry in the area) in the Philippines and in international markets.

And finally, this study shows that economic reasons for migration as complemented by kinship are push-and-pull factors similar to findings revealed by inter-provincial migration literature in the country.

Summary and conclusion

Data for this study were gathered through the combination of personal interviews and observation. Being a pioneering survey on migration and characteristics of migrants in this part of the country, it is not exempted from limitations which arise from the difficulty of interviewing the actual migrants to Sabah.

The findings are summarized into two categories: First, characteristics of migrants have been reported by the relatives of migrants at the original homeplaces. And second, the motivating factors for movements from Tawi-Tawi to Sabah, Malaysia, as perceived by the relatives, are also discussed.

It has been found that before departure, migrants to Sabah from Simunul and Sitangkai of the Tawi-Tawi province were young, educated, married, belonged to the low-income group, were mostly jobless (although some were engaged in farming and fishing). Increase in income is attributable to the changes in occupational levels from mainly agricultural to blue-collar, and white-collar jobs in some cases, and from being jobless to getting jobs, in others.

The migrants strongly relied on kinship ties for information and assistance in the course of adjustment to the new place. No data could be marshalled on what characterizes the places of destination in Sabah, which have a bearing on the "pull" factors. Many of the migrants were reported to have changed residence from Tawi-Tawi to Sabah because of perceived socio-economic opportunities coexisting with the migrants' expectations of advancement and improvement in their life style.

To augment insights gathered from this study, certain research areas on migration from the Philippines to Sabah, Malaysia, need further exploration: (1) Comparative analysis of Philippine urban centers and other SEA urban centers; (2) Adjustment of Filipino migrants in Sabah; (3) Ethnic differentiation in the migration stream between the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia; (4) Degree of socio-economic and political participation of Filipinos in Sabah; and (5) Implications of the Filipino migration to Malaysia with regard to diplomacy between the two countries.

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INTERVIEW BLOCK

(For Interviewers:)

RESPONDENT'S NAME: _____

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____

LANGUAGE OF INTERVIEW: _____

TIME OF INTERVIEW: FROM _____ TO _____ A.M./P.M.

INTERVIEWER: _____ SUPERVISOR: _____

REMARKS: _____

Please take note of items available in each household
e.g. furniture, tables, sets, etc.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Case Number 1 - 3

Code 4

INTRODUCTION:

This survey is a project of the Southeast Asia Population Research Awards Program, Tanglin, Singapore and the Mindanao State University, Marawi City. It is conducted to determine the characteristics of out-migrants to Sabah, Malaysia from the Philippines. The information that you will provide will be used as basis for evolving better policies and programs on manpower development for Muslim Mindanao. Please cooperate by answering honestly every item in the questionnaire. Your answers will be held in strictest confidence.

Block I. Background Materials

Instruction: Please encircle the number that corresponds to your answer.

1. What is the size of your landholdings 5

Under 2 hectares	1	9 - 10 hectares	5
3 - 4 hectares	2	11 - 12 hectares	6
5 - 6 hectares	3	13 - 14 hectares	7
7 - 8 hectares	4	15 - 16 hectares	8
		17 above hectares	9

2. What is the pattern of land-holding in your area? 6

Owner	1	Tenant	3
Owner-tenant	2	Lease	4
		None	5

3. How many members are living in this household? 7

1 - 2	1	9 - 10	5
3 - 4	2	11 - 12	6
5 - 6	3	13 - 14	7
7 - 8	4	15 - 16	8
		17 above	9

4. How many families are living in this household? 8
- | | | | |
|------------------------------|---|---------------------|---|
| One (nuclear family) | 1 | three | 4 |
| One but with/non-family | | four | 5 |
| members (maid, friends)..... | 2 | five | 6 |
| two | 3 | six | 7 |
| | | more than six | 8 |
5. What is your means of livelihood? 9
- | | |
|--|----|
| Proprietor (owner of business) | 1 |
| Manager/official (such as corporation,
government, department head) | 2 |
| Professional (such as doctor, lawyer,
teacher, accountant, engineer, etc.) | 3 |
| Clerical and Sales (such as salesman,
bookkeeper, interviewer, office clerk) | 4 |
| Skilled worker & foreman (such as machinist,
barber, lineman, carpenter) | 5 |
| Semi-skilled or unskilled (such as driver,
waitress, janitor, factory workers, laborer) | 6 |
| Farmer | 7 |
| Fisherman | 8 |
| Homemaker or jobless | 9 |
| Others (please specify) | 10 |
6. What is the means of livelihood of your spouse? 10
- | | |
|---|----|
| Proprietor (owner of business) | 1 |
| Manager/official (such as corporation, government,
department head) | 2 |
| Professional (such as doctor, lawyer, teacher,
accountant, engineer, etc.) | 3 |
| Clerical and Sales (such as salesman, bookkeeper,
interviewer, office clerk) | 4 |
| Skilled worker & foreman (such as machinist,
barber, lineman, carpenter) | 5 |
| Semi-skilled or unskilled (such as driver, waitress,
janitor, factory workers, laborers) | 6 |
| Farmer | 7 |
| Fisherman | 8 |
| Homemaker or jobless | 9 |
| Others (please specify) | 10 |

7. What transportation facilities do you usually use
in going outside of this community? 11
- | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|-----------------|---|
| Kumpit (motor boat) | 1 | sail boat | 3 |
| pumpboat | 2 | no data | 4 |
8. From what type of people did this village community
originate? 12
- | | | | |
|----------------|---|---------------|---|
| natives | 1 | refugee | 3 |
| settlers | 2 | no data | 4 |

Block II. Characteristics
of Out-Migrants

Please encircle the number that corresponds to your answer.
(Instructor)

1. How many members of your family have migrated to Sabah,
Malaysia before martial law? 13
- | | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------------|---|
| one | 1 | six | 6 |
| two | 2 | seven | 7 |
| three | 3 | eight above | 8 |
| four | 4 | none | 9 |
| five | 5 | | |
2. How many are males? 14
- | | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------------|---|
| one | 1 | six | 6 |
| two | 2 | seven | 7 |
| three | 3 | eight above | 8 |
| four | 4 | none | 9 |
| five | 5 | | |
3. How many are females? 15
- | | | | |
|-------------|---|-------------------|---|
| one | 1 | six | 6 |
| two | 2 | seven | 7 |
| three | 3 | eight above | 8 |
| four | 4 | none | 9 |
| five | 5 | | |

4. How long has he stayed in Sabah, Malaysia? 16
- | | | | |
|----------------------|---|-----------------------|----|
| One year below | 1 | 6 years | 6 |
| 2 years | 2 | 7 years | 7 |
| 3 years | 3 | 8 years | 8 |
| 4 years | 4 | 9 years & above | 9 |
| 5 years | 5 | no data | 10 |
5. How long has she stayed in Sabah, Malaysia? 17
- | | | | |
|----------------------|---|-----------------------|----|
| One year below | 1 | 6 years | 6 |
| 2 years | 2 | 7 years | 7 |
| 3 years | 3 | 8 years | 8 |
| 4 years | 4 | 9 years & above | 9 |
| 5 years | 5 | no data | 10 |
6. When he moved to Sabah, Malaysia, was he: 18
- | | | | |
|-----------------|---|----------------|---|
| single | 1 | widowed | 4 |
| married | 2 | divorced | 5 |
| separated | 3 | no data | 6 |
7. When she moved to Sabah, Malaysia, was she: 19
- | | | | |
|-----------------|---|----------------|---|
| single | 1 | widowed | 4 |
| married | 2 | divorced | 5 |
| separated | 3 | no data | 6 |
8. What was his educational attainment when he left for Sabah, Malaysia? 20
- | | | | |
|------------------|---|-------------------|---|
| none | 1 | high school | 4 |
| primary | 2 | college | 5 |
| elementary | 3 | beyond | 6 |
| | | no data | 7 |
9. What was her educational attainment when she left for Sabah, Malaysia? 21
- | | | | |
|------------------|---|-------------------|---|
| none | 1 | high school | 4 |
| primary | 2 | college | 5 |
| elementary | 3 | beyond | 6 |
| | | no data | 7 |

10. What was his place of residence in the Philippines?	22
city 1	barrio 3
town 2	sitio 4
	no data 5
11. What was her place of residence in the Philippines?	23
city 1	barrio 3
town 2	sitio 4
	no data 5
12. What was the average monthly income of his family before he left for Sabah, Malaysia (in Peso)?	24
below 300 1	701 - 800 6
301 - 400 2	801 - 900 7
401 - 500 3	901 - 1,000 8
501 - 600 4	1,000 & above 9
601 - 700 5	
13. What was the average monthly income of her family before she left for Sabah, Malaysia (in peso)?	25
below 300 1	701 - 800 6
301 - 400 2	801 - 900 7
401 - 500 3	901 - 1,000 8
501 - 600 4	1,000 & above 9
601 - 700 5	
14. What was his occupation before he (left) moved to Sabah, Malaysia?	26
Proprietor (owner of business) 1	
Manager/official (such as corporation, government, department head) 2	
Professional (such as doctor, lawyer, accountant, engineer) 3	
Clerical or sales (such as salesman, bookkeeper, interviewer, office clerk) 4	
Skilled worker and Foreman (such as machinist, barber, lineman, carpenter) 5	
Semi-skilled or unskilled (such as driver, waitress, janitor, factory worker, laborer) 6	
Farmer 7	

Fisherman	8
Homemaker or jobless	9
Others (please specify)	10

15. What was her occupation before she moved to Sabah, Malaysia?

27

Proprietor (owner of business)	1
Manager or official (such as corporation, government, department head)	2
Professional (such as doctor, lawyer, teacher, accountant, engineer).....	3
Clerical or sales (such as salesman, bookkeeper, interviewer, office clerk)	4
Skilled worker and foreman (such as machinist, barber, lineman, carpenter)	5
Semi-skilled or unskilled (such as driver, waitress, janitor, factory worker, laborer)	6
Farmer	7
Fisherman	8
Others (please specify)	9

16. What is his present position in Sabah, Malaysia?

28

Proprietor (owner of business)	1
Manager or official (such as corporation, government, department head)	2
Professional (such as doctor, lawyer, accountant, engineer)	3
Clerical or sales (such as salesman, bookkeeper, interviewer, office clerk)	4
Skilled worker and foreman (such as machinist, barber, lineman, carpenter)	5
Semi-skilled or unskilled (such as driver, waitress, janitor, factory worker, laborer)	6
Farmer	7
Fisherman	8
Homemaker or jobless	9
Others (please specify)	10

17. What is her present position in Sabah, Malaysia?

29

Proprietor (owner of business)	1
Manager or official (such as corporation, government, department head)	2

- Professional (such as doctor, lawyer, teacher,
accountant, engineer) 3
- Clerical and Sales (such as salesman, bookkeeper,
interviewer, office clerk) 4
- Skilled worker and foreman (such as machinist,
barber, lineman, carpenter) 5
- Semi-skilled or unskilled (such as driver,
waitress, janitor, factory worker, laborer)..... 6
- Farmer 7
- Fisherman 8
- Homemaker or jobless 9
- Others (please specify) 10
18. If he is married, separated, widowed or divorced, how
many children does he have? 30
- less than four 1 eight 6
- four 2 nine 7
- five 3 ten & above 8
- six 4 none 9
- seven 5
19. If she is married, separated, widowed or divorced, how
many children does she have? 31
- less than four 1 eight 6
- four 2 nine 7
- five 3 ten & above 8
- six 4 none 9
- seven 5
20. What is the manner of movement to Sabah, Malaysia when
single? 32
- alone 1 with others 3
- with original family 2 no data 4
21. What is the manner of movement to Sabah, Malaysia
when married? 33
- alone 1 with others 3
- with current family 2 no data 4

22. With whom did he first stay in Sabah, Malaysia?	34
with relatives..... 1	lived by himself 3
with friends 2	others (please specify).. 4
	no data 5
23. With whom did she first stay in Sabah, Malaysia?	35
with relatives 1	lived by herself 3
with friends 2	others (please specify).. 4
	no data 5
24. How old was he when he moved to Sabah, Malaysia?	36
below 15 years 1	31 - 35 years 5
16 - 20 years 2	36 - 40 years 6
21 - 25 years 3	41 years & above 7
26 - 30 years 4	no data 8
25. How old was she when she moved to Sabah, Malaysia?	37
below 15 years 1	31 - 35 years 5
16 - 20 years 2	36 - 40 years 6
21 - 25 years 3	41 years & above 7
26 - 30 years 4	no data 8
26. What was his reason for moving to Sabah, Malaysia?	38
to get a better job	1
to be with friends and relatives	2
evicted from former place	3
to be closer to work	4
for education of children	5
dissatisfied with former place	6
more opportunities in new place	7
income improved	8
27. What was her reason for moving to Sabah, Malaysia?	39
to get a better job	1
to be with friends and relatives	2
evicted from former place	3
to be closer to work	4
for education of children	5
dissatisfied with former place	6

- more opportunities in new place 7
 income improved 8
28. To what specific point did he move in Sabah, Malaysia? 40
- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| Tawau 1 | Labuan 5 |
| Sandakan 2 | Kota Kinabalu 6 |
| Sempoerna 3 | Lahad Datu 7 |
| Kudat 4 | Others (please specify) 8 |
| | No data 9 |
29. To what specific point did she move in Sabah, Malaysia? 41
- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| Tawau 1 | Labuan 5 |
| Sandakan 2 | Kota Kinabalu 6 |
| Sempoerna 3 | Lahad Datu 7 |
| Kudat 4 | Others (please specify) 8 |
| | No data 9 |

Block III. Motivating Factors

Instruction: Please encircle the number/s that corresponds to your answer.

1. How did he learn about the place in Sabah, Malaysia? 42
- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| friends 1 | Government reports/publica- |
| relatives 2 | tion 5 |
| newspapers 3 | others (please specify) 6 |
| radio/TV 4 | no data 7 |
2. How did she learn about the place in Sabah, Malaysia? 43
- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| friends 1 | Government reports/publica- |
| relatives 2 | tion 5 |
| newspapers 3 | others (please specify) 6 |
| radio/TV 4 | no data 7 |
3. What is your assessment of his present life situation in Sabah, Malaysia? 44
- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| Yes, better 1 | no opinion 4 |
| No, worse 2 | no data 5 |
| no change 3 | |

4. What is your assessment of her present life situation in Sabah, Malaysia? 45
- Yes, better 1 no opinion 4
 no, worse 2 no data 5
 no change 3
5. What is your reason for your positive assessment? 46
- better economic situation now 1
 better chances for economic development 2
 good for children's future 3
 with closer friends and neighbors now 4
 place of his origin was no good, has to leave 5
 present place peaceful and nice 6
 attractive migration rules 7
 others (please specify) 8
6. What is your reason for your negative assessment? 47
- should never have left old place better 1
 no jobs 2
 schools bad 3
 community peaceful 4
 strict Malaysian migration rule 5
 lonely in Sabah 6
 worse economic condition now 7
 others (please specify) 8
7. What are the things that he liked about the place in Sabah, Malaysia? 48
- close to place of work 1
 cheap housing and rent 2
 people are cooperative 3
 place is peaceful 4
 place has services (light, water, etc.) 5
 close to friends and relatives 6
 near schools 7
 others (please specify) 8
8. What are the things that she liked about the place in Sabah, Malaysia? 49
- close to place of work 1
 cheap housing and rent 2

people are cooperative	3
place is peaceful	4
place has services (light, water, etc.)	5
close to friends and relatives	6
near schools	7
others (please qualify)	8

9. What types of opportunities offered for him in Sabah, Malaysia?

50

better education	1
better companions, good company	2
better job prospects	3
close cultural and other social opportunities	4
better opportunities for travel	5
better political opportunities	6
others (please specify)	7

10. What types of opportunities offered for her in Sabah, Malaysia?

51

better education	1
better companions, good company	2
better job prospects	3
close cultural and other social opportunities	4
better opportunities for travel	5
better political opportunities	6
others (please specify)	7

11. What are some of the government activities in your community?

52

physical programs (roads, filling in low places, bridges, housing, etc.)	1
medical programs (health center, vaccination, birth control)	2
social welfare program	3
peace and order	4
education	5
information	6
others (please specify)	7
none	8

12. What type of government agency involved? 53
- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| national govt. 1 | semi-public agency ... 4 |
| provincial govt. 2 | others (please specify) 5 |
| local govt. 3 | |
13. What is your assessment of the government programs? 54
- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| have not heard of any | 1 |
| very good | 2 |
| not so good | 3 |
| good | 4 |
| somewhat negative | 5 |
| very negative | 6 |
| others (please specify) | 7 |
14. If you were asked to suggest programs of the government for your area, what do you think should be the program of the government? 55
- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| provide free housing 1 | provide medical |
| provide free land 2 | services 6 |
| provide cheap housing ... 3 | give education 7 |
| provide cheap land 4 | employment |
| give credit 5 | opportunities 8 |
| | relocation 9 |
| | others (please specify) 10 |

SEAPRAP

THE SOUTHEAST ASIA POPULATION RESEARCH AWARDS PROGRAM

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

- * To strengthen the research capabilities of young Southeast Asian social scientists, and to provide them with technical support and guidance if required.
- * To increase the quantity and quality of social science research on population problems in Southeast Asia.
- * To facilitate the flow of information about population research developed in the program as well as its implications for policy and planning among researchers in the region, and between researchers, government planners and policy makers.

ILLUSTRATIVE RESEARCH AREAS

The range of the research areas include a wide variety of research problems relating to population, but excludes reproductive biology. The following are some examples of research areas that could fall within the general focus of the Program:

- * Factors contributing to or related to fertility regulation and family planning programs; familial, psychological, social, political and economic effects of family planning and contraception.
- * Antecedents, processes, and consequences (demographic, cultural, social, psychological, political, economic) of population structure, distribution, growth and change.
- * Family structure, sexual behaviour and the relationship between child-bearing patterns and child development.
- * Inter-relations between population variables and the process of social and economic development (housing, education, health, quality of the environment, etc).
- * Population policy, including the interaction of population variables and economic policies, policy implications of population distribution and movement with reference to both urban and rural settings, and the interaction of population variables and law.
- * Evaluation of on-going population education programs and/or development of knowledge-based population education program.

- * Incentive schemes — infrastructures, opportunities; overall economic and social development programs.

SELECTION CRITERIA

Selection will be made by a Program Committee of distinguished Southeast Asian scholars in the social sciences and population. The following factors will be considered in evaluating research proposals:

1. relevance of the proposed research to current issues of population in the particular countries of Southeast Asia;
2. its potential contribution to policy formation, program implementation, and problem solving;
3. adequacy of research design, including problem definition, method of procedure, proposed mode of analysis, and knowledge of literature;
4. feasibility of the project, including time requirement; budget; and availability, accessibility, and reliability of data;
5. Applicant's potential for further development.

DURATION AND AMOUNT OF AWARDS

Research awards will be made for a period of up to one year. In exceptional cases, requests for limited extension may be considered. The amount of an award will depend on location, type and size of the project, but the maximum should not exceed US\$7,500.

QUALIFICATIONS OF APPLICANTS

The Program is open to nationals of the following countries: Burma, Indonesia, Kampuchea, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. Particular emphasis will be placed on attracting young social scientists in provincial areas.

Applications are invited from the following:

- * Graduate students in thesis programs
- * Faculty members
- * Staff members in appropriate governmental and other organizations.

Full-time commitment is preferable but applicants must at least be able to devote a substantial part of their time to the research project. Advisers may be provided, depending on the needs of applicants.

Research proposals may be submitted at any time, in English or in the national language of the applicant.

Closing Dates for Applications
SEPTEMBER 15
MARCH 15

Notification of Awards
JANUARY 2
JULY 1

ADDRESS REQUEST FOR INFORMATION AND APPLICATION FORMS

to

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