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**INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND MALAY FEMALE
RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN MALAYSIA**

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ABSTRACT

This is a study concerned with the impact of export-oriented industrialization on Malay female rural-urban migration in Malaysia and the implications of Malay female labour force participation in factory employment for the female migrants in particular and Malaysian society in general.

The massive influx of young single Malay women from the traditional rural sector into the modern urban-industrial sector is a recent but very significant feature of the Malaysian scene today. Before 1970 it was very uncommon to hear of autonomous migration of single Malay females or to see Malay girls working in modern factories. After 1970 the number of Malay village girls working as factory workers in urbanised areas increased by the thousands. The massive influx of single girls into factory areas and the surrounding residential communities has become a major issue of concern and debate in Malaysian society. Among other things, the sudden presence of thousands of single, young village women in the cities is unexpected and still quite unaccepted by several groups of the urban society. This suspicion and hostility have been rationalised on the basis of several mass-media reports of factory girls' involvement in activities which were contrary to traditional norms and beliefs. Despite the widespread concern about this exodus of single females into factory employment, there was a virtual absence of wide-ranging studies or up-to-date statistics on factory girls in Malaysia. This paradoxical situation of widespread publicity on the one hand and relative absence of studies on the other has influenced the writer to conduct an exploratory study on 1,294 migrant Malay factory girls in Peninsular Malaysia during the period 1977-1980. This study has two major objectives: First: to explore the causes explaining the rural-urban migration of single Malay girls to the urban-industrial centres of Peninsular Malaysia and second to trace the adaptation process of these migrant workers.

Material for this study has been obtained by empirical research on 1,294 migrant factory girls, and 2,000 rural villagers and 3 urban communities comprising interviews with over 200 residents in Peninsular Malaysia. The major methods of investigation were questionnaire-

interviewing, participant observation and through informal visits to factory girls' homes.

The findings of this research suggest the following conclusions:

FIRST: The interplay between export-oriented industrialization in Malaysia and the implementation of the New Economic policy as regards the quota for Malay workers has resulted in a sudden expansion in employment opportunities for the young and single Malay women. Complementarily in the 1970's, the situation of limited job-opportunities in the other sectors for the relatively-educated Malay women had acted as an important factor which compelled Malay girls to enter into factory employment.

SECOND: Since the majority of export-oriented industrial factories which employ the majority of women workers are located in the urban areas and the majority of Malay women are residents of rural areas, the selective pull factors for Malay female workers has resulted in the rural-urban exodus of Malay village girls to the urban-based factories.

THIRD: It is highly probable that this massive influx of female rural-urban migration will result in the emergence of a new group of working class Malays in the cities, namely the Malay female factory worker. This is a valid hypotheses because many of these migrant factory workers have indicated their intention to continue working as factory workers and to settle in the cities.

FOURTH: The unsuccessful assimilation of migrant factory girls into the urban communities and the absorption of these girls into the factory cultural system have led to the formation of close friendship groups and social networks among factory girls. These factors have paved the way towards the formation of a distinct subculture of factory girls.

FIFTH: The continual encapsulation of factory girls into their own groups and the continuing pattern of Malay factory girls' marrying Malay men from the same occupational stratum have provided the hypothesis that a group of industrial working class Malays will emerge in the urban areas. This hypothesis is supported by findings which indicate that many factory girls continue to work as factory employees after they are married and have become the mothers of a new breed of urban-based Malays.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	i
ABSTRACT	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I - FEMALE RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION: AN OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	4
CHAPTER II - WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN INDUSTRIALIZATION: A THEORETICAL EXPOSITION	13
CHAPTER III - INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA AND RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION ON WOMEN WORKERS: IMPACT AND IMPLICATIONS	21
CHAPTER IV - THE POSITION OF WOMEN WORKERS IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES OF MALAYSIA	37
CHAPTER V - THE ADAPTATION PROCESS AND ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES OR FEMALE RURAL-URBAN MIGRANTS; THE CASE OF MALAY FACTORY GIRLS IN MALAYSIA	51
CHAPTER VI - SUMMING UP	75
BIBLIOGRAPHY	94
APPENDICES: QUESTIONNAIRE I	101
QUESTIONNAIRE II	120

INTRODUCTION

This study has two major aims:

First: to explore the factors for village girls' migration to urban-based factories in Peninsular Malaysia.

Second: to trace the adaptation process and adaptive strategies of these female migrants to work and life in the urban environment.

Focus of Interest

Interest is focused on four areas.

Firstly, on the background reasons for the coming of industrial multinational-owned companies to Malaysia and the establishment of export-oriented industrialization in Malaysia.

Secondly, on the sudden expansion in employment opportunities for women workers in the manufacturing sector of the Malaysian economy and its relationship with export-oriented industrialization.

Thirdly, on the connection between the increasing participation of Malay women in the manufacturing sectors' labour force, and the exodus of Malay women's migration from the rural to the urban areas.

Fourthly, on the long-term implications of Malay female labour migration to urban-based factories for Malay society in particular and Malaysian society in general.

Conceptual Orientation

Three conceptual orientations guide the study. The first has to do with the push-pull model of migration, the second with the 'world-systems' perspective¹ and the third with the 'open-systems' theory.²

Specifically the causes for village girls' migration to urban-based factories are analysed mainly in macro-level terms, namely the 'pull' factors of industrial development in the urbanised areas and the 'push' factors existing in the sending villages. Secondly, the factors for the sudden expansion in employment opportunities for the single, young women (mainly Malay) in the export-oriented industries in Malaysia are analysed

in relation to the nexus of the internationalisation of capital and the establishment of the world-assembly factory system. Thirdly, the adaptation process and adaptive strategies of these female migrants are analysed in both macro and micro-level terms. Specifically the factory system and the urban situation are conceptualised as an open-system with incumbent role demands. It is within this context of the interaction between these demands and the individual migrant girl's predispositions that her adaptation process and adaptive strategies are analysed.

Data

The data for this investigation came from four field studies. The first is a wide-ranging survey on migrant factory girls in all major industrial areas of Malaysia. The second is a longitudinal study of a group of factory girls with whom contact was first made during the survey, who were re-interviewed two years later. The third is an exploratory random-survey of some 2000 residents of rural villages throughout Malaysia and this survey was aimed at understanding the conditions of the sending areas of female migration as well as the opinion of rural villagers about village girls' migration to the factories. The fourth is a community survey of three urban-industrial communities where many migrant factory girls are presently residing. These three communities are in Shah Alam, Sungai Way and Selayang Baru. All three areas are in Selangor which is one of the most urbanised State in Malaysia.

The methods of data collection include questionnaire interviewing, participant observation and informal visits to factories and factory girls' places of residence in the urban areas.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter one gives an overview of the literature on female migration in general and female labour migration to the factories in Malaysia in particular.

Chapter Two, provides a theoretical exposition of the issues surrounding women's participation in industrialization - It starts with comparing the contradictory viewpoints relating to the impact of industrial

development on women's labour force participation. The discussion proceeds with analysing the various theoretical viewpoints on the implications of women's participation in industrialization for women's position and status.

In Chapter Three, a descriptive analysis of the reasons for village girls' migration to urban-based factories is given. This analysis is made within the conceptual framework of the push-pull theory of migration. The chapter includes a brief analysis of export-oriented industrialization in Malaysia and details on the findings of the survey on the causes for Malay female labour migration. Finally it provides a discussion on the possible implications of this exodus of Malay girls to urban areas and their participation in factory employment.

Chapter Four deals with the impact of export-oriented industrialization in Malaysia in relation to the sudden expansion of employment opportunities for women in the manufacturing sector. It highlights the work conditions in factories in which the majority of women are employed. The cultural system in the factories which influences factory girls' behaviour and outlook is outlined.

Chapter Five traces the various stages of the adaptation process of migrant factory girls. The adaptative strategies utilised by the factory girls and the explanatory factors underlying these adaptation strategies are analysed. It also provides an analysis of the factors responsible for the presence of a subculture among factory girls and the possibility of the formation of a Malay urban-industrial working class in the foreseeable future.

Chapter Six provides a summary of the major conclusions derived from the study.

CHAPTER 1

FEMALE RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION: AN OVERVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview on the literature pertaining to female rural-urban migration and factory girls in export-oriented industries in Malaysia. It attempts to assess the present knowledge on womens' autonomous migration in general and female migration to urban-based factories in Malaysia in particular. The discussion proceeds with an investigation on the available studies on migration of women in Asia. Subsequently, an overview of the literature on female rural-urban migration and available studies on female factory workers in Malaysia is outlined. Consequently, the significance of the present study is indicated.

I The State of the Literature on Female Rural-Urban Migration

Two major conclusions can be derived from the recent writings on the analysis of female migration.¹ The first conclusion is that "existing theories of migration, based on predominantly male samples, have assumed the non-significance of differences between the determinants, consequences, and patterns of male and female migration." (Thadani and Todaro, p. 1) There is an inherent male bias in analysing female migration. Theories on migration therefore reveal the implicit assumption that patterns of female migration are likely to mirror those of male migration. For example in a short but strident piece entitled "Women in the migratory process: A Reductionist Outlook", Anthony Leeds (1976) vigorously decries the study of 'women' as a category for analysis, on the grounds that it has no 'generic scientific utility'. This narrow perspective on female migration and the underlying male-biased assumption in present migration theories are being questioned by recent writers on female migration. (For example, Thadani and Todaro 1978, and the International Centre for Research on Women).²

The second conclusion is that knowledge on almost all aspects of female rural-urban migration is lacking. This is particularly obvious

with regard to autonomous female migrants in the Third World, (that is, unattached women - whether single, separated, divorced, or widowed - who migrated for economic and employment purposes). According to the International Centre for Research on Women, there is an absence of any analysis of the existing studies of autonomous women migrants.³

A review of the literature on female migration reveals that studies on autonomous migration of single or unattached women are very few. Similarly, there are no theories or tested models of autonomous migration of unattached women.⁴

Explanations concerning the causes of rural-urban migration of unattached women do not have a sound empirical basis. Among other things, it has often been suggested that unattached women migrate because of the following motives; first, to escape from traditional ascribed status (Boserup 1970, 191), second, to research for husbands, third, to escape from customary sanctions for misbehaviour or from unhappy personal experiences (Little 1973 19-22), and fourth, to satisfy family obligations (exemplified by several cases in Latin America where girls are sent by their families to become domestic helpers in urban households).⁵

A situation similar to the one described above prevails in the area pertaining to explanations on the adaptation process of migrants in general and female migrants in particular. Reviews of the literature have indicated that this is an area of study which is still underdeveloped in terms of knowledge about empirically-testable variables involved in the adaptation process.⁶ The paucity of analysis of women in the migratory process can be attributed to a variety of factors - firstly the lack of data about the movement of women, secondly, the numerical preponderance of males in the migration stream (excluding those in Latin America and the Philippines), thirdly, the 'invisibility' of women who, as wives, merely accompany or join migrant males. The studies that have taken women into account have tended to focus on household or family migration or on marriage migration. Bogue, for example, attempted to explain the early male dominance and subsequent female dominance in the migration streams in terms of the household. According to Bogue, since the first migratory moves were always fraught with uncertainties, male members of households

migrated first. Then, with the recurrence of migration waves, and its ultimate routinization, the migrants of wives and families followed and accounted for the situation in which females began to equal or exceed males in the migration streams. (Bogue 1969).

Along this same line, accounts of marriage migration represents a variation of household migration explanations. These explanations have focused on marriage custom and demographic imbalances in sex ratios, which result in the migration of women, and sometimes men, in the pursuit of suitable or desirable alliances. For example in India, where village exogamy and group endogamy prevail, the analysis of female migration has been confined to that of marriage. (Bose 1967). Because of the inherent narrowness of available perspectives, the analysis of the rapidly expanding phenomenon of autonomous female migrants has not received adequate attention, apart from rather perfunctory explanations of the predominance of female migration in some Latin American countries, and the Philippines.

The pervasiveness of this trend in many countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, led, ten years later after it began, to the first studies focussing on the migration of women. Although the evidence is still very incomplete, a fairly consistent socio-economic profile of the migrant women in the region is beginning to emerge. (See the studies done by Elizaga (1970), Rengert (1978) and Herold (1978)).

Much less is known about the trend towards increasing migration of women in Africa and Asia that has taken place in the last two decades (moves of autonomous women migrants to selected Asian cities - Bangkok, Hong Kong, Manila and Delhi - intensified in the 1960's). The increasing magnitude of the autonomous migration of women in the Third World only serves to augment the fact that an understanding of migration patterns and trends needs analysis by sex differentials.

II) The Migration of Women in Asia⁷

There are presently very few studies on female migration per se in Asian countries although the literature on Asian migration in general is abundant. (See Simons et. al. 1977, Pryor 1977). This is partly because in the past the typical migrant in Asia has been described as a 'young

adult male', usually in the 15-24 age group who is either pushed off the land in the rural areas because of population pressure to look for other forms of employment in the cities or is attracted by the various social and economic amenities available in the urban areas. Also, the migration of Asian women has traditionally been associated with marriage or the migration of their spouse and families. There has been therefore little perceived need or interest in studying female migration. Women migrants have not been perceived to have much social or economic impact on their places of origin or destination mainly because of the assumption that they are not economically active but only members of the households of their migrant spouses.

However, recently in the 1960's, it has become commonplace in both census and survey analyses and in the observation of urban sociologists and anthropologists to assert that more and more young women are following the migrant flow to the cities (some examples are the opinions of Andrea Singh (for India) Arnold and Boon Pra Tuang 1976 (for Thailand), Hugo 1975 (for Java and Indonesia). Many of them are said to be unmarried. Although some of them move to the cities with their families as a unit, recent studies have shown that some single females migrated autonomously to find work in the service, manufacturing or informal sectors. (See papers on the seminar on 'Analysis of Female Migration').

Aside from the general observation listed above, there is a near absence of studies on the trends of female migration in Asian countries. The paucity of materials is very evident in the sphere of knowledge on the motivations of female migrants, their adaptation problems and adaptive strategies, their patterns of labour force participation and the effects of migration on their socio-economic status. The same situation applies to information on changes in their outlook and values consequent to their migration to the cities.

Much of the little we know today of female migration in Asia and Asian female migrants are drawn from reports of the changing sex ratios of migrants from census and survey data and from passing references to female migrants in studies of issues related to migrants and the migration of both sexes.

III) The Migration of Women in Peninsular Malaysia⁸

The migration of women in Peninsular Malaysia has been the focus of little attention in migration research. Until recently (prior to the 1970's) the proportion of women in migration streams in the Peninsula has been relatively small and of little economic significance because of both historical and cultural reasons. Historically, Peninsular Malaysia had a unbalanced, heavily male, sex ratio because of the influx of male immigrants from China and India in the last century and the earlier part of this century. Culturally, women have traditionally been more restricted to the home than men. Female migration has normally been associated with marriage or the migration of their husbands and families. As a result, migration research has focused on either male migrants or heads of households or the migration process itself and its relationship with urbanization and other aspects of socio-economic development. This is so because these aspects are considered more useful in planning and policymaking.

Very recently in the 1970's because of government development policies which affected migration trends and patterns, the migration of women to the cities is becoming an important area of study in Malaysia. In the ensuing discussion, we shall briefly review some of the available studies on female rural-urban migration in Malaysia.

Some insights into the determinants of female rural-urban migration are given by Provencher (1975) in his paper on Malay perceptions on migration. In the past, young Malay women were kept in the house in the rural areas to protect their virtue and also because their labour in agriculture and household work was needed. Moreover, there was little opportunity for young unmarried women to find work in the cities and towns in the 1950-1960's unless they were educated. There was also some apprehension among rural parents that unless the girls in the cities were properly supervised, they would attain a bad reputation and consequently have difficulties in finding a good husband. The above-mentioned attitudes help to explain the small proportion of female migrants in the urban areas prior to 1970.

While young women are discouraged from venturing outside the village, it can be observed that older rural Malay village women have traditionally

been more mobile for both economic and social reasons. These women travelled between villages and towns to buy and sell handicrafts and to visit friends and relatives. (See Strange 1976).

In Malay traditional society, while young women are discouraged to migrate, young men are encouraged to 'merantau'. This means to wander for a period of time from place to place in order to gain experience in the world. This experiences is valued and considered as an asset for leadership and social status. In many cases, 'merantau' is likely to result in permanent migration when the young man finds a job in the city and settles down there.

Given these conflicting attitudes towards the movement of male and female young adults, it is not surprising that prior to 1970 migrants to Peninsular Malaysia have been predominantly male. This pattern changed after 1970.

Ever since the early 1970's, the creation of jobs in the service sector and manufacturing sector for Malays, together with the higher educational qualifications of the rural young women, have now made urban wage-employment available to them (see Ungku A. Aziz 1977). This is related to the employment policy as endorsed by the New Economic Policy which was introduced in 1970. This policy is to give more urban jobs to Malays through a program of Malay quota in industries and business. Since 85.2% of Malays still resided in the rural areas in 1970, Malay labour would have to come from the rural to the urban areas in order to fill the quota (not less than 30% Malays in any business or industry). The rural-urban migration of female Malays in particular is also prompted by the expansion of export-oriented industries in the 1970's. As will be explained in the following chapter, the establishment of export-oriented industries has resulted in a massive economic demand for young single Malay females.

The increase in the autonomous migration of young women to the cities after 1970 has not been documented and we must await the findings of the 1980 census.⁹ Nonetheless, the sudden exodus of young women into the factories in the urban areas is beginning to arouse concern in many sectors of the Malaysian public. There is more concern with the social consequences of migration for the women themselves and for the society

(ethnically and nationally) than with their economic welfare or with understanding the political-economic nexus of the foreign multinational factory system. The older generation of Malays is concerned that the women may succumb to ideas and values which are contrary to traditional Malay culture and the kind of impact this will have on the next generation. For instance, there is widespread concern about how the rural young women would adapt to the new way of life in the city. Urban life is perceived to be socially and morally loose for young single adults. The suspicion and hostility of some groups in Malaysia towards factory girls has been expressed in several mass-media reports of factory girls' involvement in many social activities which are contrary to traditional norms and beliefs. For example, there are many reported cases in the newspapers of illegitimate pregnancies among factory girls and incidents of abandoned new-born babies at bus-stops and factory godowns. In addition there are many feature articles in the local newspapers about factory girls involvement in drug-taking activities and prostitution. Social workers and community leaders in Malaysia are also concerned about the living conditions of factory girls. The majority of these factory girls are rural-urban migrants living in overcrowded poor living conditions in cheap housing arrangements. Malaysian Nationalists are concerned about reports on the exploitative working conditions in factories where the majority of female migrants are employed.

IV) Studies on Factory Girls in Malaysia in 1976

Despite the widespread concern about the phenomenon of female rural-urban migration to the factories, there was a virtual absence of wide-ranging studies in 1976, that is, at the time the writer embarked on this research project. At that time only two sets of empirical studies on factory girls could be found:

Firstly, the policy-oriented study which was carried out in 1974-1975 on a small sample of male and female factory workers in Penang.¹⁰ This is the phase one portion of an educational project started by the Federation of Family Planning Association of Malaysia. Its research objectives were aimed at understanding the needs, problems and motivations of young factory workers in Penang. Its goals were directed at the education and development of the young factory workers by creating greater awareness and self-reliance.¹¹

Secondly, studies which were conducted by Honours Year university students for the purpose of academic dissertations. These were small-scale studies aimed at analysing the socio-economic conditions of Malay factory girls in specific factory areas. Three of these Honours-level dissertations are available and in the following section, the main findings of these studies are outlined:

First, Wahida Ibrahim's study on the socio-economic conditions of factory girls in the industrial areas of Klang and Taman Keramat (in Kuala Lumpur). The main conclusion derived from this study was that factory workers were receiving incomes which were lower than the cost-of-living index in the city. Wahida stresses the problem of accommodation faced by factory girls and she recommends that hostel-accommodation should be provided for them.

Second, Zahari's analysis of factory girls' migration pattern to Bayan Lepas Free Trade Zone in Penang. Based on a sample-survey, Zahari analysed the 'pull' and 'push' factors for female labour migration to this industrial area. According to this study, the majority of the factory girls were in the age group 17-22 and they came from rural backgrounds. The major push factor was economic poverty while the major pull factor was the abundance of factory jobs in the Bayan Lepas area in the 1970's.

Third, Leong Soo Yong's study on the socio-economic conditions and problems of factory workers. By carrying out intensive interviews with a sample of workers in a ceramic factory in Petaling Jaya, Leong concluded that the workers were exploited by management. More than half of the sample (which consisted of Malay and non-Malay workers) were dissatisfied with their working conditions. The main reasons for their dissatisfaction were the low pay, poor amenities, favouritism by management for some workers (in the granting of job promotion) and the difficulty of getting sick-leave.

Admittedly, there were other overseas-based foreign and local scholars who were starting their research in 1976 on factory women for the purpose of Ph.D. level dissertations. Unfortunately the findings of their studies were not known to the writer until very recently in 1980. Some of the scholars who have conducted studies on factory women in Malaysia are

firstly, Linda Lim (a study on the electronics industry in Singapore and Malaysia which provides insights into the management strategies and manouvres which female factory workers are exposed to). Secondly, Susan Ackerman-Lee who conducted a study on Malay female factory workers in two shoe factories. This study provides a cultural interpretation of incidents of workers' mass hysteria and behaviour in industrial conflict situations. Thirdly, a study carried out on factory girls in a Japanese multinational electronics factory in Petaling Jaya by Fatimah Daud. This study is based on participation-observation and sample-survey methods. It attempts to analyse a wide-range of issues relating to migration patterns, alienation, adjustment problems, exploitation and factory girls' socio-economic position.

V) Significance of the Present Study

Three major conclusions can be derived from the proceeding discussion.

First, despite the increasing trend towards autonomous migration of women to the cities in the third world in search of employment, theories on migration have a narrow perspective with an inherent male-bias. Knowledge of female migration is lacking and there is a need to analyse migration patterns and trends by sex differentials.

Second, there are at present, very few studies on female migration per se in Asia and in Malaysia. However with the increasing participation of females in rural-urban migration streams, the research on female migration is becoming an important area of study.

Third, despite wide-spread concern on the massive exodus of single girls to urban-based factories, there are no wide-ranging empirical studies on female rural-urban migration to the factories in Malaysia. The paucity of knowledge is especially evident in the area of adaptation process and changing outlook of female factory workers.

Given the situations as described above, the writer had nothing substantial on which to base her research project starting in 1976. Consequently this research on rural-urban migration females in urban-based factories in all major industrial areas of Malaysia sets out to be an exploratory study. It attempts to describe the causes of female rural-urban migration to the factories in the 1970's and investigate the adaptation process of Malay factory girls in Malaysia.

CHAPTER II

WOMENS' PARTICIPATION IN INDUSTRIALIZATION:
A THEORETICAL EXPOSITION

Introduction

An analysis of the literature on womens' participation in industrialization reveals some interesting findings: there are several ideologically conflicting viewpoints relating to the impact and implications of industrialization on women. This chapter provides a brief exposition of some of the theoretical issues and the viewpoints related. We begin with a discussion on the conflicting viewpoints on the impact of economic development and industrialization on womens' labour force participation. Two major viewpoints are compared, Ester Boserup's and Marxist feminists'. The chapter proceeds with an analysis of the various theoretical issues surrounding the implications of womens' participation in industrialization. Here, the opinions of three types of ideological theorists are compared. They are the Marxist's the Liberalist's and Dependency theorists' opinions. Subsequently, in the third section, the relevance of these theoretical considerations in the context of export-oriented industrialization in Malaysia will be indicated. Finally, the possible impact and implications of industrialization for Malaysian womens' position and status will be outlined.

I) The Impact of Economic Development and Industrialization
on Womens' Labour Force Participation

Recent writings on womens' work in the Third World countries have indicated a common conclusion. The conclusion is that women are often losers in the process termed 'economic development' or 'modernization'. This thesis was first advanced by Ester Boserup¹ and more recently it has been confirmed by empirical studies carried out in various countries.² It is argued by Boserup and other Liberal feminists like Norma Chincilla that women are systematically excluded from equal participation in their nation's transition from a rural to an urban-industrial society. Employers prefer to employ men rather than women workers. According to

Boserup, with increasing urbanization in the society, women are increasingly confined to work in the home and in marginal service jobs in the informal sector. Norma Chincilla argues that in some cases, womens' labour force participation has even declined with economic development.³

Recently, in the 1970's, a group of Marxist feminists like Beneria and Sen have advanced a well-argued critique of Ester Boserup's thesis.⁴ One of the criticisms is that Ester Boserup has a limited perspective of the forces that influence labour market preferences. It is pointed out by Beneria that there are many cases where employers prefer to employ women to men workers. Examples of this preference can be found in the tea plantations, textile manufacturing and labour-intensive industries in many Third World countries. (Beneria 1980). According to these writers, this implies that there is a need to explain the factors that influence employers' preferences rather than taking them as adequate explanatory variables per se. These factors can range from the transient character of employment among young unmarried women to the tendency of women workers to be submissive and accept lower wages compared to men workers. Citing the various empirical studies of womens' increasing participation in the industrial sector's workforce in many Southeast Asian countries, Beneria for example illustrates the conditions under which women are becoming important participants in the industrialization process. Womens' employment in many export-oriented industrialization of Third World countries is

"the logical outcome of the increasing fragmentation of the capitalist production process whose technology makes possible the use of unskilled labour in the labour-intensive processes of production being shifted to the Third World; female labour meets the needs of Capital searching for a disciplined and low cost labour supply" (Beneria, 1980; 16).

By quoting the studies done on female factory workers in Singapore and Malaysia, Beneria points out:

"In brief, these studies show the specific ways in which women are affected by the hierarchical and exploitative structure of production associated with the penetration of Capitalism in the Third World. It is not a neutral process of modernisation but one that obeys the dictates of Capitalist accumulation and profit making. Contrary to what Boserup implies, the problem for women is not only the lack of participation in this process as equal partners with men; it is a system which generates and intensifies inequalities and

makes use of existing gender hierarchies in such a way that women are placed in sub-ordinate positions at the different levels of interaction between clan and gender" (Beneria 1980:17).

To summarise, the critics of Ester Boserup's thesis have adopted a feminist and class-based prospective in analysing womens' position in the development process.

II) The Implications of Womens' Participation in Economic Development and Industrialization for Womens' Position and Status

Generally, there is a strong belief among people that womens' participation in wage-work can liberate women from gender subordination. This belief is shared by Marxist and Liberal theorists despite variant interpretations. The classical Marxists tended to see the entry of women into wage-work as a substitution of one form of domination, "the rule of husband over the wife" by another "the domination of Capitalists over the worker" (see Engel's 1976: 171-178). As such, the struggle of working women became part of the general class-struggle.

Liberal theorists on the other hand have always tended to see womens' involvement in wage-work as leading to female emancipation. This is because wage-employment provides women with financial independence. Correspondingly, liberal theorists and their adherents view the lack of equal pay, equal working conditions and equal opportunities for women in the Capitalist economy as the result of outmoded prejudices and discrimination. Such attitudes are expected to be gradually undermined as women demonstrate their capacities in the very visible sphere of wage-work that is, involvement in social rather than domestic production. As such, in the expectation of Liberals, if the logic of Capitalism were to be given full reign, women would be emancipated. Differences in the pattern of womens' and mens' work would might well continue but these would be the result of free choices.

Although Marxist tradition differs from the Liberal tradition in stressing that womens' participation in wage employment results in the substitution of one form of oppression by another, it has for the most part, shared with the Liberal tradition the theory that the development of Capitalism tends to obliterate the specific oppression of women.

Marxist theorists expect that proletarianization of women will create in the long-run, a proletarian and class consciousness which can mobilise women to struggle to greater economic and potential power (see Lenin 'on the emancipation of women').

Since the 1960's a different approach has been taken by some theorists in analysing development and its implications for women-workers. Their approach follows the line of thought as influenced by the 'Dependency Theory'. The root of the Dependency Theory lies in the writings of Marx and Lenin on imperialism. However these new theorists diverge from Marxist-Leninist thought on many points. (c.f. Harding 1976, Skocpol 1977). With specific reference to the implication of womens' participation in the industrial process, Dependency Theorists and their adherents tend to emphasise the gloomy consequences of women work for womens' position and status. Together with some 'nationalistic' researchers of the Third World countries, the more radical members of the Dependency school see the activities of foreign capital and multinationals in Third World countries as worsening the position of women workers. In general, the dependency theorists see the multinationals' activities as potentially disruptive of the national host society. "This is particularly seen in the context of traditional values and culture which are perceived to have an intrinsic worth threatened by the intrusion of a foreign work-culture and practices". (Linda Lim 1978). Since the majority of women workers in the manufacturing sector of many export-oriented economies of the Third World are employed by multinationals, they are the ones directly exposed to and influenced by the disruptive onslaught of the multinationals' culture and strategies. Consequently according to recent researchers on women-workers in the multinational companies, these women face the double dilemma of being dependent on the unstable employment system generated by multinationals, as well as being alienated from their own society (see Snow 1978, and Linda Lim 1978).

III) The Relevance of Theory in the Context of Export-Oriented Industrialization in Malaysia

Much of the contemporary Marxist-feminists' theoretical analysis of gender and the subordination of women in the Third World countries

has been vitalised by the latest research findings on women factory workers in these countries.⁵ For example, the research findings of local scholars on women workers in multinational electronics factories in Singapore and Malaysia have sparked off a continuing interest amongst foreign-based Marxist-feminists on the nexus of monopoly foreign capital participation with the exploitation of women-workers. The active participation of foreign multinational companies in the export-oriented industrialization of the ASEAN countries has also provided the context for western-based scholars to explore the explanatory contribution of Dependency theories (see Snow 1978). In this aspect, Malaysia in particular has been selected to provide a case-study for theoretical analysis. Among other factors, this is because Malaysia at present not only provides a magnificent case of a 'plural' class-structured society par excellence,⁶ it is also unique in providing the relevant context for testing various concepts like 'ethnic-relations', 'internationalization of capital', international and ethnic divisions of labour' and 'world factory systems' (Enloe 1980: 275-276). The active encouragement given by the Malaysian government to foreign capital participation and the liberal stand on a 'free-market' system has generated the expansion of export-oriented multinational-owned industries in Malaysia. An undeniable emphasis is also placed by the the Malaysian government on the participation of Bumiputras (sons and daughters of the soil) in the modern industrial sector by the implementation of the New Economic Policy in 1970. All these aspects (which will be elaborated in Chapter Three) have attracted Marxists, Dependency theorists and 'nationalistic' scholars to analyse industrial development in communalistic and class-based terms and to explore the nexus of 'off-shore sourcing factories' with the 'internationalization of capital'. For Feminists, the fact that export-oriented industrialization in Malaysia has created vast job-opportunities for women (mainly Malay women) and its attendant problems of an unstable employment situation and the exploitation of cheap female labour has revitalised theoretical interest on the gender sub-ordination of women. For example, Enloe writes:

"In Malaysia then, the state is counting on not just a particular modified ethnic structure but a complementary sex-ethnic structure" (Enloe 1980: 277).

IV) A Review of the Impact and Possible Implications of Womens' Participation in Industrial Development on Womens' Position and Status

As discussed in Chapter One, a review of the literature on export-oriented industrialization in Malaysia and womens' participation in factory employment reveals that very few empirical studies have been conducted. The recent interest in 1978 by Western scholars and Marxist feminists on the position of factory women in the Third World was aroused by the pioneering work of Linda Lim. Her study on the electronics industry in Singapore and Malaysia provides insights into the various theoretical issues surrounding the possible impact and implications of factory work for women. Other conference papers written by Blake and Khoo in 1978 (on the situation of factory workers in Penang, Malaysia)⁷ and Heyzer (on Malaysian female migrant workers in Singapore)⁸ provided the material for theoretical deliberations by the womens' group at the Institute of Development Studies in Sussex. A ten-week fact-finding trip to South-East Asia by Rachael Grossman and her visits to electronics firms in Penang have sparked off a line of wide-spread inquiry about the 'integrated Asian circuit' in the electronics industry.⁹

Since the experience of export-oriented industrialization in Malaysia is relatively recent and short, (it started in the early 1970's) it is not surprising that empirical knowledge on the impact and implications of womens' participation in the industrial process is limited. Related to this matter Linda Lim points out,

"the impact of employment in multinational corporations on the status of women in the Third World countries is complex and somewhat ambiguous" (Linda Lim, 1978: 50).

Nonetheless the writer feels that it is still possible at this stage to summarise some of the visible impact and possible implications for women workers and the host-society. These are listed as follows:

Firstly, from the available empirical studies, it is clear that contrary to the conclusions of the recent literature on women and industrial employment in the Third World, that it is possible for industrialization by foreign monopoly capital to create large numbers of jobs for women in the modern manufacturing sector. The thesis

expounded by Boserup, Chincilla, and others, has therefore been challenged by the more recent findings in South-East Asia and the ASEAN countries where labour intensive manufacturing for export or off-shore sourcing by multinational industrial companies have drawn thousands of rural women into the industrial wage labour force.

Secondly, in terms of the economic sense of receiving less payment than the actual value of their output, all workers in capitalist-oriented industrial factories are 'exploited'. There are very recent studies like Anne-Marie Munster's study in 1980 which compare the employment conditions of female factories workers in South-East Asia and workers performing equivalent tasks in developed countries.¹⁰ These studies show that women workers in Asia in general and Malaysia in particular are additionally exploited because they receive lower wages and less employment benefits although their productivity is sometimes higher than workers in the developed countries. As documented by the FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW

"wages for unskilled and semi-skilled labour in Asian Free Trade Zone are between a tenth and an eighth of those in the West, and total working time per year, because of overtime hours, are up to fifty per cent higher than in western factories. Social overhead costs in the form of social security payments, fringe benefits, travel, uniforms, and other allowances, are only 20-30 per cent of the total payment compared with 80 per cent in the West". (FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW: 18 May:1978:78)

Thirdly, and as pointed out by Linda Lim, specific forms of "super-exploitation" of female workers take place within the factories. Multinational employers take advantage of certain characteristics of female workers. These are characteristics germane to them as females and as members of the Third World societies. These include the ignorance and naivete of rural women with respect to pay and work practices in modern factory employment. Feminine habits and tendencies of female factory workers are also exploited by management in order to extract higher output and allegiance from them.

Fourthly, studies on the position of women workers in the Electronics industry have challenged the commonly accepted notion that women workers receive emancipatory benefits from their participation in wage-employment.¹¹ Women workers in the electronics industry in particular, are involved in an unstable employment situation.¹² The job gains and emancipation which women in the developed nations have so far experienced from wage

employment may not accrue to women workers in off-shore sourcing multinational factories in the Third World.¹³

Fifthly, the emphasis given by multinational employers in the Electronics Industry for women workers in Asia to adopt Western bourgeois femininity and an illusory "liberation from traditional cultures may cause these women to be alienated from their own societies and cultures". (Linda Lim) 1978.

The socialization process prevalent in the modern factory cultural system has also prompted other researchers like Susan Ackerman-Lee to hypothesise that it may inhibit the creation of the truly class consciousness among women workers which Marxist theorists forecast and hope for.¹⁴

CHAPTER III

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN PENINSULAR MALAYSIA AND RURAL-URBAN
MIGRATION OF WOMEN WORKERS: IMPACT AND IMPLICATIONS¹I) Introduction

This chapter provides a descriptive analysis of the relationship between industrial development in Peninsular Malaysia after 1970 and the massive exodus of young single women from the rural sector to the urban-industrial centres. It will also discuss the impact and some of the implications of this rural-urban migration on the migrants in particular and Malaysian Society in general. The following analysis is based on findings drawn from an assessment of empirical data obtained from a survey of 1294 migrant Malay female workers presently employed as production operators in 140 factories.² These plants are located in all major urban-industrial areas in Peninsular Malaysia.

II) An Exploratory Survey of Rural-Urban Migration of
Malay Female Factory Workers in Peninsular Malaysia

The objective of this survey is to explore the causes of the rural-urban migration of Malay women to the Metropolitan urban-industrial centres of Peninsular Malaysia. The methodology of this survey is as follows: The sample was obtained by utilising four research strategies; firstly a sample - survey of female Malay migrant workers was carried out in the four most prominent free trade zones of Malaysia, namely Bayan Lepas Free Trade Zone in Penang, Batu Berendam Free Trade Zone and Tanjong Kling Free Trade Zone in Malacca, and Sungei-Way Free Trade Zone in Selangor. All factories in each area were requested to inform the researcher whether they had Malay Female migrant workers in their production-line. On the basis of the information received, two-thirds of the electronics factories in each free trade zone were selected and from each factory, a sample of Malay Female migrant workers was obtained using the methodological technique of random-selection.

Secondly, by utilising a similar research method as described above, a sample of Malay female migrant workers presently employed in "Female-dominated" factories in six major industrial estates was obtained. These industrial estates are Tampoi-Larkin Industrial Estate in Johor Baru, Senawang Industrial Estate in Seremban, Prai Industrial Estate, Shah Alam Industrial Estate and Selayang Baru Industrial site in Selangor.

Thirdly, three different types of garment factories, one owned by an Australian Multinational company and located near Datuk Keramat area in Kuala Lumpur, the other, a joint-venture company in Petaling Jaya and the third a locally incorporated company in Petaling Jaya were included as case-studies. In all three cases, all Malay female migrants were included in the sample.

In all the three types of sample, selected interviews were held with each girl in her dwelling place. The questionnaire interviews indicated that almost all the girls were single when they migrated to the cities and during the time the interviews were conducted, they were between the ages of 15 and 25 years old.

III) Rural-Urban Migration of Women - Some Theoretical Considerations

A review of the literature on the rural-urban migration of women reveals that from country to country, women respond differently to the dynamics of industrialization and urbanization. Nevertheless, attempts have been made to establish similarities in their responses. For example, one of Ravenstein's Laws of Migration is that "females are more migratory than males" (1889: 76). This law seems to apply to some extent to the rural-urban migrants of Latin America (Elizaga 1965) and to the immigrants in the older towns of North and East Africa (UNECA 1969: 144). But there is evidence to the contrary. For example, immigrants to Bombay (Zacharia 1966) in particular, and perhaps to the towns in the subcontinent of India in general, have included more men than women. Males also have predominated in the migrant streams to the faster growing towns in Eastern and Southern Africa (UNECA 1969: 144).

It is sometimes argued that when women exceed men in an immigrant stream in an urban area, this is a sign of an advanced industrial society (Heisler 1974: 63). In two volumes of readings which manifest an

awakening of sociological interest in migration, Jansen suggests that a version of push and pull theory is the most fruitful way of interpreting the outmigration of men and women from peasant systems (Jansen, 1969, 63-64; 1970: 14-5). In this connection, Bogue (1961) reasons that where there is a strong push factor depressing the condition of potential outmigrants, differentiation by sex between them diminishes; conversely, when the pull stimulus to migration is the greater there will be appreciable selectivity by sex.

Let us now view the situation of rural-urban migration in Peninsular Malaysia in the light of these laws and hypotheses.

IV) Rural-Urban Dualism and Rural-Urban Migration in Peninsular Malaysia

Most developing countries experience the effects, direct and indirect, of rural-urban migration and Malaysia is no exception. The causes of this phenomenon are many and in accordance with the "push and pull" theory of migration they can be classified into two categories.

The pull elements are found in the cities which since time immemorial have played an active role in influencing the development of society in their capacities as seats of government and economic-cultural centres. On the other hand, the rural areas which comprise the relatively backward counterpart, emit push elements which compel rural dwellers to migrate to the cities. In addition, employment opportunities in the rural sector have not expanded as rapidly as the rural population has increased.³ These factors pressure rural residents to migrate to the cities in the hope of improving their economic situations.

The available unpublished census data on rural-urban migrants in Peninsular Malaysia for the period 1965 to 1970 indicated some significant features of migrants in relation to sex and race.^{4***} Firstly, Malaysian males rather than Malaysian females tended to predominate in terms of the total number (54% of the number comprised of males and 46% females). Secondly, the largest number of Malaysian migrants were the Malays; 56.3% of rural-urban migrants for the period 1965 to 1970 were Malays. This second feature of rural-urban migrants is not surprising considering that the composition of urban and rural residents in Peninsular Malaysia differs significantly according to race. In 1970, by strata, 26.7% of the

*** Data on the total number and characteristics of rural-urban migrants for Peninsular Malaysia has not been processed by the Statistics Department of Malaysia. The figures quoted here are from the census Sample Tape 1970. These figures should be interpreted cautiously.

population in Malaysia was located in urban areas and 73.3% in rural areas. Within the urban areas, 27.6% of the population were Malays and other indigenous people, 59.0% Chinese, 11.7% Indians and 1.7% others.⁵ In the rural areas, on the other hand, 65.2% were Malays and other indigenous people, 25.5% Chinese, 8.1% Indians and 1.4% others. The latest population figures from the 1970 census reveal that in Peninsular Malaysia 85.1% of all Malays were residents of rural areas while only 55.6% of all non-Malays were residents of rural areas.⁶ This population feature has a significant implication for the rural-urban migration of Malays in general and Malay female migration in particular. Since Malays and non-Malays have different cultures and life-styles, Malay migrants in the cities therefore meet with alien people and encounter alien ways of life.

A notable feature of urban-destination migration of Malays before 1970 is that the number of male migrants slightly exceeded female migrants. For example, figures from the population census over the time period 1965 to 1970 indicate that of all Malay urban destination migrants, 57% were males while 43% were females. However, this pattern is expected to have changed after 1970, and it is predicted that the rate of increase of Malay female urban destination migration will be found to have exceeded that of the Malay males.⁷ Today we see a massive influx of Malay female migrants into the cities. Most of them become factory employees. Before 1965, of a total of 15,415 Malay female migrants in the urban Labour Force, only 1758 were working as production and transport workers. In other words only 11.5% of all female Malay migrants are in this type of occupation.⁸ Generally, there were more Malay men than Malay women in the industrial sector and the majority of women factory workers were Chinese women. This pattern of labour force participation prevailed in the years 1965 to 1970. Data from the population census for this period indicates that of a total 17,715 Malay female migrants in the urban labour force, only 1787 or 10.08% were involved as workers in the industrial sector and of these, only 1078 were actively employed in the metropolitan-urban Industrial Sector.⁹ Today the number has increased rapidly in both absolute and relative terms. Although at present, no published data is available to support this contention, I estimate that the total number of

Malay female migrant workers in all metropolitan urban areas clearly exceeds 60,000.¹⁰

Viewed in the light of our theoretical considerations, can it be concluded that this massive influx of female Malay migrants is a sign that Malaysia is becoming an advanced industrial society? And in connection with Bogue's hypothesis, can we say that these drastic changes in Malay migration patterns reflect the force of pull rather than push factors? As will be explained in the following pages, an investigation into the relationship between rapid industrial development after 1970 and the rural-urban migration of Malay female workers reveals that these theoretical considerations have some relevance. I shall also demonstrate that changes in the migration pattern by sex are the result of the selectivity of the pull factors of industrial development in the urban centres. This is essentially the outcome of an interplay between the Industrialization programme and the New Economic Policy of Malaysia.

V) Industrial Development and Industrial Policy in Peninsular Malaysia After 1970 as Pull Factors for Rural-Urban Migration of Malay Women Workers

To give an account of the history of industrialization in Malaysia would be long and tedious.¹¹ For the purpose of this paper, a brief note on the differences in the pattern of industrialization before 1970 and after 1970 is sufficient. Before 1970, most manufacturing industries were import-substitution industries. In terms of the size of their labour force, the majority were small scale enterprises employing less than 500 workers. Most of these small-scale enterprises were owned by locals (mainly Chinese) and run on a family basis. There were very few multinational corporations.¹² This pattern changed significantly after 1970. Now a large proportion of the manufacturing industry is comprised of export-oriented and labour-intensive concerns. These changes are in line with the new industrialization programme which aims at expanding the industrial and service sectors so as to speed up the rate of employment creation. The prime objective is the eradication of wide-spread unemployment and underemployment among the population. Open unemployment is prominent in the urban areas and is most observable among

youths between the ages of 15 and 19.¹³ There are more unemployed males than females within this age group. Underemployment is a prominent feature of the labour force in the rural sector. Another deliberate industrial strategy adopted by the government and viewed as a means to achieving its industrial objectives is the encouragement given to multinational corporations to set up their plants in Malaysia. This encouragement is in the form of incentives like tax holidays, pioneer status privileges and the establishment of free trade zones. As a result of these incentives, by 1974 many of the large-scale enterprises in Malaysia were owned by multinational corporations.

Of the types of manufacturing industry given top priority in terms of industrial incentives, the electronics industry heads the list.¹⁴ It is envisaged that every electronics factory will employ no fewer than 750 employees. In line with this assumption, several multinational corporations have been encouraged to set up electronics factories in Malaysia. Their rate of growth is certainly impressive; in 1970 there were 41 firms employing 3,200 workers but by 1976 this number had increased to 138 with a total of 47,000 workers.¹⁵ Most of these factories are located in the Free Trade Zones which are very near the cities on the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia.¹⁶

Whether it was envisaged by the Malaysian government or not, these electronic firms and other similar concerns like the textile and garment industries employ more female than male workers; for example, according to a recent survey of the labour force of industries in West Malaysia, out of the total employees, female workers constitute 55.5% of the labour force for the electronics industry, 56.8% for the textile, and 89.5% for the garment industry.¹⁷ Figures from the Federal and Industrial Authority of Malaysia (F.I.D.A.) indicate that in 1976, 78.8% of these industries were located in the developed states of Malaysia namely Selangor, Penang, Johor and Perak. A point worthy of note here is that many of these female workers are rural-urban migrants. This is one of the major results of the government's New Economic Policy in relation to the intake of workers in the industrial sector.

The New Economic Policy or Dasar Ekonomi Baru was introduced in 1970 and it aimed at reducing poverty irrespective of race, and restructuring

Malaysian society so as to eliminate the identification of race with economic function. Among other things, it categorically implied that the intake of workers must reflect the racial composition of the society, and as such not less than 30% of the workforce in every industry must be Malays.¹⁸ Since its implementation, reports on the composition of the labour force of manufacturing firms show that more than 50% of their unskilled workers are Malays. In the case of firms employing many females, the majority of the Malay women workers are migrants from rural areas. This is because, as previously mentioned, the majority of Malays are in the rural areas and there are not enough Malay girls in the urban population to fulfill the quota imposed by the government policy. This seems to be true of Penang where in the initial stages of its industrial development, the state government, in collaboration with the industries, had to take deliberate steps to recruit Malay girls from as far as the East Coast of Malaya (Von Der Mehden 1973, Zahari A. 1974). The research data seem to support this finding and indicate that 69.0% of the respondents interstate migrants.

VI) Reasons for Moving and Push Factors for Rural-Urban Migration of Women Workers

So far we have discussed how the interplay of the Industrialization programme and the New Economic Policy act as pull factors for migration of Malay girls from the rural sector. Now it is pertinent to analyse the factors which prompt the girls to leave their rural villages and take up jobs as factory workers in the urban-industrial centres.

The research findings indicate two frequently quoted reasons for migrating; first, the motive to improve one's economic living standards and second, personal reasons.

(i) Economic Motive to Improve One's Income Background

Many studies on the causes of rural-urban migration stress that the main reasons centre around the motive to improve one's economic background.¹⁹ This finding is supported by my research data which show that as much as 74.6% of the respondents cited as the most important reasons for migrating, the desire to improve their economic positions and that of their families.

The role of the economic motive seems to be very strong indeed. As indicated by the girls' response to the question, "What do you hope to achieve from migrating to the city", more than half of the sample or 56% mentioned that they wanted to obtain a job and achieve a better living standard than the one they experienced in the villages.

An analysis of the data relating to their background reveals the rationale behind this motive. The majority of them come from poor families with low incomes. This economic position is made worse by the fact that these incomes are shared by many siblings. The majority of their fathers are small-scale farmers or low-level government employees. 20.1% of their fathers or heads of households earn a monthly income of less than 100 Malaysian ringgit and 51.9% receive less than 250 Malaysian ringgit.

These incomes are in or around the poverty-income bracket by Malaysian standards, especially when we consider the latest government published figures which place the per capita income for 1976 at 2,206 ringgit.²⁰ Their poverty is made worse by having to support a large number of children. The research data reveal that 54.7% of the girls have more than six brothers and sisters while 5.5% only come from small families with less than three siblings.

The research data indicates a significant situational force which strengthens the respondents' decision to migrate to the urban areas and be employed as factory workers. This force is in the form of the achievement of academic qualifications in a situation of limited employment opportunities. Almost all the girls (98.8%) have had some formal education. Almost half of these girls (50.2%) have had middle-ranged educational qualifications (L.C.E. or S.R.P.) while more than a quarter (26%) have obtained pre-matriculation qualifications (M.C.E. or S.P.M.). About five years ago, these qualifications easily provided access to jobs in the nursing, clerical and teaching professions which are considered respectable and suitable professions for women.²¹ However, in Malaysia today, due to limited job opportunities in general and in these fields in particular, girls with these qualifications are forced to seek employment as unskilled factory workers. Since most of these factories are in the urban areas and employment opportunities in the villages are limited,

coupled with the realization that access to suitable female professions is difficult, these rural girls migrate to the urban industrial centres. The complementary forces of the push element of limited job opportunities in the rural areas and the pull element of employment openings in the urban industrial areas are acknowledged by the girls; 88.1% did not have any other occupational choice at the time they were offered the factory job, and in reply to the question "If you can get factory jobs in the village, would you prefer to work in the city?" 62.4% would have liked to work in the village.

(ii) Personal Reasons for Migrating and the Motive to Achieve Individual Freedom

The second most quoted reason for migration is the intention to achieve individual freedom. As many as 18.6% of the sample mentioned that they hope to achieve freedom and "stand on their own feet." An analysis of the sample according to research sites shows that with the exception of two sites, that is Seremban and Petaling Jaya, between 19.4% and 33.5% of the sub-samples express this intention.

This findings may be due to the encroachment of modern, urban influences in the traditional rural sector. Traditional village norms and values are now being challenged mainly through the mass-media, modern-type education, government developmental programmes and return-migration.²² One of the traditional village norms which is being challenged seriously is the concept of proper conduct and behaviour for young unmarried women. Among other things, a village Malay girl is expected to be obedient to her parents and elders, docile and gentle in her mannerisms and efficient in carrying out her domestic chores. As soon as she attains marriageable age, she is closely watched and chaperoned. The village girl's outdoor activities and freedom are restricted until she is married off by her parents. Until then, her interpersonal relationships with men other than those of her own family are completely curtailed and her reputation rests with the general opinion of the village community.²³

These norms and values have significant implications in terms of the psychological outlook of village girls and their participation in

employment. Among others, two implications are of major importance. First, a village girl is expected to be dependent on her elders in thought and action. Second, her participation in the employment opportunities in the traditional village economy is inhibited.^{23a}

In any community, there are always some members who, for one reason or other, rebel against the system and migrate in the hope of achieving freedom. The girls in the sample who quoted personal reasons for migrating may belong to this category of people.

VII) Consequence of Rural-Urban Migration and Some Implications for the Migrants

The available literature on rural-urban migration in the developing countries describes migrants' adjustment to urban life as a problematic process.²⁴ This problem is aggravated by two basic factors: firstly obtaining suitable jobs, and secondly finding accommodation. The close connection between rural-urban migration and unemployment has been documented in several studies.²⁵ The continuous inflow of migrants makes it difficult for the city to accommodate them within its available facilities and hence the mushrooming of slums and squatter-settlements. Let us now investigate the position of the rural girls within these two spheres of the urban adjustment process while keeping in mind the traditional village background they originate from.

(i) Employment Conditions and Job-Orientation

Contrary to the common experience of other migrants who went through long periods of unemployment in the city, the girls were unemployed for a very short time; 67.1% indicated that they obtained the factory job in less than two weeks after their arrival. This is not surprising as many multinational companies are eager to employ Malay workers in order to abide by the government's New Economic Policy. Consistent with the pattern of female employment in industries, 58.6% are employed with electronics firms, 13.0% with textiles, and 12.8% with garments industrial firms.

In terms of the types of firms, 40.6% are working with North-American, 16.8% with Asian and 11.1% with European multinational corporations.

In many of these factories, the girls are initially taken in as probationary workers. During a three-month period, their capability is assessed by factory supervisors. An important point in the analysis of urban adjustment is that most of the supervisors are men and male-female mixing in the factory, therefore, is inevitable.²⁶

As regards wages, workers on probation are paid on a daily basis while permanent workers are paid monthly. As there is no minimum wage legislation and no workers union in female-dominated industries, their earnings vary considerably according to the companies wage policies. My research indicated that 91.4% receive a monthly income ranging between \$70 to \$200. By urban income standards this figure falls within the lowest category.²⁷

The work hours are related to shift duty. In many factories, especially electronics, work hours are divided into three shifts (morning, afternoon and night). Each shift duty consists of about eight solid hours of work with a rest period of fifteen minutes every three hours. Female factory workers work six shifts a week and for permanent workers, any work exceeding these, is considered overtime work and workers are paid accordingly.²⁸

Permanent workers are also entitled to some social and medical benefits.²⁹ In addition, the companies always organise sports and games, outings, excursions and, on an annual basis, the company's dinner and beauty contest. For factory girls who come from rural villages where unmarried girls' outdoor activities are restricted, these are totally new experiences.³⁰

In brief, the factory environment creates new and alien situations for the rural girls to which they must conform. Among others, four situations are significant. Firstly, the inevitability of working and mixing with men; secondly, earning money and learning to use it independently, thirdly, working according to regulated hours - and having leisure time during off shift duty hours and, fourthly, participating in Westernised functions and urban outdoor activities. All these situations are foreign to rural village culture and are disapproved of by village society.

How do these girls view their employment conditions and how do they react? At this stage of the research, the preliminary analysis of data indicates many of the girls are dissatisfied with the pay and financial amenities, the limited opportunities for job promotion, and the insecurity of tenure. Nevertheless, many of them said that the prime motivations which kept them at the present jobs were firstly, the pay and secondly the economic freedom they derived from holding the job.³¹

These seemingly contradictory findings can be understood when they are viewed against the reasons given for migrating in the first place, namely the economic motive for getting a job, and secondly wanting to achieve independence. In addition, the girls realise that other jobs are not easy to come by. Nevertheless, the dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the employment conditions may have prompted ideas about resigning. As many as 65.5% of the respondents mentioned that they have thought of resigning. However, this does not mean that the girls felt the decision to migrate was all in vain and that they would return to the villages. Many of the girls stated a definite wish to stay on in the urban areas. For example, in response to a question asked during the interview "In the event of being retrenched by your employer, state your preference of action; find another job in the city, find a job elsewhere or go home to your village?" 29.4% indicated that their first preference was to find another job in the city and their last preference was to go home, 42.51% preferred finding a job elsewhere before going home and only 25.7% preferred to go home to their villages.

(ii) Accommodation Patterns and Living Conditions

The majority of the companies do not provide housing facilities for their workers, and there were no government youth hostels in 1977.³² The Ministry of Social Welfare, alarmed by some unfavourable publicity about migrant female workers have only recently embarked on a foster-parent adoption scheme which was met with lukewarm support from the girls.³³

Due to their low incomes and the influence of their friends, and in the present situation of high housing rents, the majority of the girls stay in cheap housing arrangements in working-class residential areas.³⁴

This follows two basic patterns: one, a group of girls rent a house and share the expenses; two, they stay with landladies and pay for board and lodging. There are three prominent features about their living conditions. These are as follows:

First, when compared to the facilities in the rural villages (where, in 1970, only 32.3% of households had piped water, and only 24.6% had electricity),³⁵ the girls' urban accommodation by these criteria have better standards. For example, 90.8% are staying in accommodation with piped-in water and lighting facilities.

Second, there is a high degree of overcrowding. For example, in a small house consisting of three rooms, it is very common to find not less than 15 occupants. This can be considered extraordinary even by Malaysian standards where figures from the population census indicate the average number of persons per dwelling to be 5.49 for rural areas, 6.77, 6.96 and 7.48 for urban small, urban large and metropolitan urban areas respectively.³⁶ As regards staying with landladies, there are many cases where as many as 20 or 30 lodgers are accommodated in a building which has been converted into sleeping compartments by the use of curtains and the like.³⁷

Third, there are no proper household amenities. In a majority of cases, we saw that their amenities consisted of bedding, a small kerosene stove, some utensils and straw mats. They did not have proper kitchen amenities, or sitting room and bedroom furniture. Where lodging with landladies, they were usually provided with a sleeping place and allowed to use the kitchen and toilet facilities.

Although these living conditions are considered inadequate by urban standards, many of the girls are satisfied: as many as 83.5% expressed satisfaction with their living conditions. Having come from a background of economic poverty, they maintained that their standard of living had improved, for as many as 71.6% indicated that it had improved slightly, while 10.4% stated that it had improved definitely and only 2.6% stated that it had deteriorated.

(iii) The Consequences of Urban Living on Factory Girls' Behaviour

Under the circumstances of meagre household amenities, and activated by their first taste of freedom, factory girls spend a lot of

their leisure time outside their places of residence.³⁸ Being young, single and a stranger to the city, these girls are sought after by some of the urban men.³⁹ As mentioned earlier, male-female mixing is considered taboo in rural villages while in the urban environment there are ample opportunities to break this norm. This is affirmed by the girls and 82.9% stated that by coming to the city they had greater opportunities to mix with men.

Though evidence of adjustment difficulties is impressionistic, observations made by others and by me during the course of this research, suggest that there are clear signs of social-psychological problems.

The first indication is the frequent occurrence of mass-hysteria and individual hysterical conditions among workers. As many as 60.4% agreed that mass-hysteria had happened at their workplace. This may be a symptom that the pressures and tensions of modern industrial work and living conditions are traumatic for many rural girls.⁴⁰

The second indication is the reported cases of illegitimate pregnancies among factory girls. Incidents of abandoned new-born babies at factory godowns and within factory girls' residential areas may be indicative of the beginning of some degree of "immoral" behaviour (especially by traditional village standards). More importantly, this shows an inability to cope with unwanted pregnancies or similar crucial situations.⁴¹

VIII) Some Implications of Malay Female Rural-Urban Migration on Malaysian Society

Only Time and History can adequately judge the implications of Malay Female rural-urban migration on the urban-industrial centres. Nevertheless, on the basis of the preliminary findings of the research, and observations made by the writer, it can be said that among others, some of the implications are as follows:

First, this phenomenon is regarded seriously by the mass media, local politicians and members of the general public. Sensational news-reports about the behaviour of factory girls and their involvement with men in the unsavoury activities of drug-taking, wild parties and prostitution are a constant feature in local newspapers and magazines.⁴²

On the basis of these reports some politicians have urged people in the rural areas not to allow their daughters to work in the factories.⁴³ Members of the general public are beginning to form opinions about Malay factory girls.⁴⁴ Therefore, in brief, rural-urban migration of Malay factory workers is regarded as a social problem.

Second, this so-called "social problem" does not seem to be a temporary one for Malaysian society because rural-urban migration of Malay female workers will continue to be a constant phenomenon so long as the present pattern of industrialization remains unchanged and factories which employ a majority of female workers continue to expand their production operations in Malaysia. For example, one of the latest reports on the expansion of industries in Penang, stated that with the greater demand for electronic components and textiles, these industrial companies are expanding their production operations. Another newspaper-report also stated that in November 1978 about 3,000 factory jobs were available for female workers in the Bayan Lepas industrial site in Penang.⁴⁵ Another factor supporting the view that the phenomenon is not temporary is the writers' observation that a significant number of rural-urban female migrant workers want to remain in the cities. This is borne out by the research findings which indicate that as many as 24.2% of the respondents stated that they will definitely remain in the cities, 35.7% were uncertain of future plans, and only 7.7% stated a definite wish to return to the villages eventually.

Third, in this present situation of continuing expansion of industrial factories which employ female migrants and the expressed wish of some migrants to remain in the cities, it can be implied that the massive influx of Malay female migrant workers will continue and this will in turn cause the emergence of a new group of working-class Malays in Malaysian society, namely, Malay female factory workers.

Fourth, since most of these migrants are young and single girls at the time of migration and have migrated on their own, without the company of their families, they are experiencing a considerable degree of independence in the cities. These circumstances may be of significant importance in two ways; one, they are more prone to changes in terms of behaviour patterns, outlook and values than if they were living in the

urban areas with their elders. Two, since many of these girls are single and within the fertile age-group, there is a high probability that they will get married and become mothers of new members of the urban society. Provided that these assumptions hold true, this will create a new generation of urban-based Malays with perhaps new sets of behaviour and values.

CHAPTER 4

THE POSITION OF WOMEN WORKERS IN THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES
IN MALAYSIAI) Introduction

This chapter intends to discuss the following issues: first, to examine the extent of female labour force participation in the manufacturing sector of the Malaysian economy; second, to describe the employment conditions of industries where the majority of women workers are found; third, based on the available information, to make inferences on the socio-economic position of female factory workers.

The chapter is divided into two sections. Section one is an analysis of factors which determine the pattern of economic demand for female workers and its relationship with the current phenomenon of female rural-urban labour migration to the manufacturing sector. Section two deals with the employment conditions of women workers in industrial factories.¹

II) The Growth of the Manufacturing Sector and
Female Labour Force Participation

The rate of socio-economic progress of Malaysia over the post-war era, especially since Independence in 1957, has been significant and rapid. From 1960 to 1970 the economy recorded an annual growth rate of over five per cent. This favourable economic situation is due to the reliable performance of the traditional commodity sector of the Malaysian economy (viz. natural rubber and tin) as well as the growing importance of the modern manufacturing sector.² The manufacturing sector has been the main thrust of the strategy of economic diversification of the Malaysian economy. It is one of the fastest growing sectors of the Malaysian economy, recording an annual growth rate (in current prices) of 16.4 percent for the period between 1968 and 1975. Its share of GNP increased from 13 percent in 1968 to 20 percent in 1975 (Treasury Economic Report 1975/76). Employment in the manufacturing sector also grew dramatically from 135,382 in 1957 to 584,341 in 1976.³ Prior to 1970, most manufacturing industries were capital-intensive, import-substitution

industries and the majority of the workers were men. After 1970, with the change in national development policies, especially as regards industrial development, most manufacturing industries are labour-intensive, export-oriented enterprises. As mentioned in chapter Three a notable feature of these export-oriented industries, especially the electronic, garment, textile and food-processing industries, is that the majority of workers are women. Figures in Table I show the proportion of female workers relative to male workers in the manufacturing sector over the years 1957 to 1976. These figures are indicative of the rapid increase in female labour force participation and the formation of a significant category of workers, viz. women workers. This is so when we compare it with the relative decline in the number of male factory workers.

In terms of numbers, the majority of women workers in the manufacturing sector work in the electronics factories which are owned by foreign multinational corporations.⁴ In the ensuing discussion on the employment situation of female workers, our focus will be on the

Table 1 - Employed Males and Females in the Manufacturing Sector of Peninsular Malaysia 1957-1976

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1957	135,382 (100%)	112,837 (83.3%)	22,545 (16.7%)
1970	251,939 (100%)	178,881 (71.02%)	73,058 (28.98%)
1974	498,113 (100%)	313,385 (62.9%)	184,728 (37.1%)
1975	533,496 (100%)	324,070 (60.75%)	209,426 (39.26%)
*1976	584,341 (100%)	342,828 (58.67%)	241,513 (41.33%)

Note: These figures are calculated by the writer based on data obtained from the Statistics Department of Malaysia in October, 1979.

* Preliminary data from Labour Force Survey 1976.

work conditions in these multinationals factories, particularly those owned by American and Japanese industrialists.

Let us proceed by attempting to answer what can be considered as two probing questions. First, what are the factors which determine the present pattern of economic demand for female workers. Second, what are the factors which lead to the abundant supply of female labour to the manufacturing sector?

(i) Demand for Female Labour

Currently, in the economically developed countries, there exists a common economic phenomenon; the prices of consumer goods like electronics items, clothing, shoes, and electronic toys have declined substantially and thus have become relatively cheap. Most of these products are manufactured in factories owned by multinational corporations. Their plants are located in the relatively less developed countries like Singapore, Hongkong, Philippines, South Korea, Malaysia and Thailand.

One reason why these multinational corporations select these countries as their off-shore sourcing areas is the availability of cheap and docile female labour. In other words, when compared to female workers in the economically developed societies, the female workers here are cheaper to hire and easier to control. In the United States of America in the 1960's for example, the electronics industry was troubled by frequent industrial strife which could not be resolved even when the employers agreed to better the payment and work system for workers. In their efforts to secure cheap and "good" workers, these electronics companies transferred their operations initially to the southern parts of America, later to Latin America (Mexico and Brazil) and subsequently to countries in South-East Asia.⁵

An investigation into the economic activities of these multinational-owned electronic companies in South-East Asia revealed two significant findings. First, they seemed to prefer to employ more women workers to men workers. This deliberate policy of recruiting women is closely related to the nature of the electronics industry. The industry requires workers who can perform intricate work with diligence, patience and speed, and in this sphere, women workers always prove to be better than men workers. Second, these multinational-owned establishments have earned a

reputation associated with terms like "footloose industries" or "runaway electronics". What this means is that when local conditions are no longer conducive to their interests, they will easily retrench their workers and transfer their operations to other countries which can provide them with better facilities and cheaper labour.⁶

As mentioned in Chapter Three, since 1970, many multinational corporations have established their electronic factories in Malaysia. In 1970 there were 41 firms employing 3,200 workers (ninety-nine percent of their workers were women) and by 1976 this number had rapidly increased to 138 firms with a total of 47,000 workers.⁷ This impressive rate of growth is in part a result of the very favoured treatment accorded by the Malaysian government to the electronics industry in particular, and other export-oriented industries in general. Since 1970 the government has embarked on a expensive and ambitious programme to invite foreign investors to establish export-oriented industries in Malaysia. Besides many general incentives (like the establishment of export-processing trade zones and pioneer status treatment) the Malaysian government has also ensured an industrial environment conducive to foreign investors. Several legislative measures which protect the interests of foreign investors have either been relaxed or conversely enforced depending on the situation, for instance, the legislative regulations regarding night-shift work for women workers have been relaxed while investors' explicit wish and concerted action to block the formation of workers' trade unions have not met active opposition from the government.⁸ In addition, manufacturing firms are allowed to send their recruiting agents to the Malaysian countryside to encourage rural girls to migrate to and work in the urban-based factories.⁹

(ii) Supply Factors and Female Rural-Urban Migration to
Modern Industrial Factories

Prior to 1970, the structure of labour force participants in the manufacturing sector showed two distinct features. First, in terms of male-female composition there were more men than women workers (see Table I). Second, in terms of racial composition, workers from the Chinese ethnic group formed the majority, the Malays formed the second largest group and the Indians the third largest group (see

figures in Table II). When we consider the racial composition of the Malaysian society where Malays account for more than 50 percent of the total, Chinese over a third, and Indians about 10 percent of the population, the structural composition of factory workers prior to 1970 clearly reflected a distinctive racial imbalance.¹⁰

Since 1970, the Malaysian government has embarked on its New Economic Policy. Among other things, it categorically implied that the intake of workers should reflect the racial composition of the society. This particular employment policy is directed especially to industrial companies which are just starting their production and to established firms which are planning to expand their interests.¹¹ In keeping with this policy, at least 30 percent of industrial firms' workforce composition should comprise Malay workers. Since its implementation, reports on the composition of the labour force of manufacturing industries showed that more than 50 percent of their unskilled workers are Malays and in the case of firms employing a majority of female workers, most of them are Malay girls from the rural areas.¹²

The labour force participation rate of Malay female rural-urban migrants in the manufacturing sector is astounding. In 1970, it can be estimated that there were not more than 1,000 Malay female rural-urban migrants in the manufacturing sector's labour force. By 1976, according to the writer's calculations, this number had increased to over 60,000.¹³ Generally, Malay women workers are forming a significant proportion of the manufacturing sector's workforce and their annual rate of increase greatly exceeds that of Chinese women workers (who formed the majority of female workers). Figures in Table III and Table IV clearly show the present situation.

This prevailing situation gives rise to several interesting issues. Among others, those of racial and economic nature come to the fore-front.¹⁴ For instance, related questions like the following come to mind: What accounts for the mass employment of Malay females relative to those from other ethnic groups? Is it because employers prefer to employ Malay females relative to others? It is because others are not attracted to work in industrial factories given the prevailing working conditions in

Table 2 - Employed Males and Females by Race in the Manufacturing
Sector of Peninsular Malaysia (1957 - 1976)

Year	Total	Total Male	Total Female	Malay Total	Chinese Total	Indian Total	Others Total
1957	100%	83.7%	16.7%	19.6%	72.0%	7.5%	0.9%
1970	100%	71.0%	29.0%	29.0%	65.3%	5.3%	0.5%
1974	100%	62.9%	37.1%	32.9%	59.7%	6.3%	0.6%
1975	100%	60.8%	39.3%	33.6%	59.2%	6.5%	0.8%
1976	100%	58.7%	41.3%	36.1%	56.3%	7.0%	0.6%

Note: These figures are calculated by the author based on unpublished data obtained from the
Statistics Department of Malaysia in October 1979. Please do not cite without permission
from the author.

Table 3 - Employed Females by Race in the Manufacturing Sector of Peninsular Malaysia (1957-1976) (Percentage Figures)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Malay</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Indian</u>	<u>Others</u>
1957	100	39.4	59.6	0.7	0.3
1970	100	38.3	59.9	1.6	0.2
1974	100	43.1	52.2	4.4	0.2
1975	100	43.9	50.7	5.2	0.2
*1976	100	45.5	49.4	4.8	0.3

Note: These figures are calculated by the writer based on data obtained from the Statistics Department of Malaysia in October, 1979.

* Figures for 1976 are based on preliminary data.

Table 4 - Employed Females by Race in the Manufacturing Sector of Peninsular Malaysia (1957-1976) and yearly rate of increase of Malay Female Workers

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Malay</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Indian</u>	<u>Others</u>
1957	22,545	8,889	13,448	149	59
1970	73,058	27,949	43,739	1,193	177
Yearly rate of increase (1957-1970)		(16%)	(17.3%)		
1974	184,728	79,699	96,498	8,174	357
Yearly rate of increase (1970-1974)		(46.28%)	(30.15%)		
1975	209,426	91,929	106,249	10,915	334
Yearly rate of increase (1974-1975)		(15.3%)	(10.1%)		
1976	241,513	109,771	119,532	11,590	621
Yearly rate of increase (1975-1976)		(19.4%)	(12.5%)		

Source: Statistics Department Malaysia.

the factories? In an attempt to answer these questions, we now turn to a discussion on working conditions in industries where the majority of women workers are found.

III) Employment Conditions in the Manufacturing Industries

To obtain an overview of the working conditions of factory women workers, four major aspects of employment will be discussed. These are as follows: first, the recruitment systems; second, work and payment system; third, job security and occupational mobility; and fourth, the factory socio-cultural system.

(i) Recruitment System

According to the latest labour force survey of manufacturing industries in Peninsular Malaysia, a majority of the female workers are found in electronics, garment, textile and food-processing industries.¹⁵ Of the labour-intensive and export-oriented industries, the electronics industry has the most advanced technology and sophisticated personnel-management methods. Electronics companies have the most efficient methods of recruiting female labour. They send their recruiting agents into the Malaysian countryside and during these campaigns, the various job incentives are publicised. For instance, the agents will glorify the good pay, rapid occupational promotions, nice working environment (with piped music, cool air-conditioning comforts and free meals). In addition, the various benefits associated with factory life are emphasised; free work uniforms which are prettier than the uniform of other organizations, good medical facilities, comfortable accommodations, sporting activities and beauty-grooming classes are always mentioned. These recruitment tactics seem to be more effective on rural village girls than urban girls who are more conscious of monetary rather than non-monetary incentives.¹⁶ However, according to studies carried out by the writer over the period 1977 and 1979, once rural girls have worked in the factories, they are beginning to realise that the actual monetary gains associated with factory work are meagre.¹⁷

(ii) Work System, Payment System and Monetary Incentives

In the manufacturing industries, men workers are usually paid more than women workers for doing the same job. The figures in Table V show

Table 5 - Male-Female wage differentials in Peninsular Malaysia
1968/69 and 1974

<u>Women's Wages as a Percentage of Men's</u>		
<u>Industry and Occupation</u>	<u>1968/9</u>	<u>1974</u>
Rubber Milling:		
Sheet rubber maker	73	81
Heveacrub process worker	70	82
Biscuit Manufacturing:		
Baker, General	79	62
Textiles:		
Spinner	67	91
Electronics:		
Quality control supervisor	-	99

Source: Statistics Section, Department of Labour, Ministry of Labour and Manpower, Malaysia, Occupational Wage Surveys, Peninsular Malaysia, 1968/69 and 1974.

Note: In 1968/1969, the electronics industry was not yet established in Malaysia.

the unequal wage rates for male and female production workers.

Generally the electronics companies, especially those owned by giant foreign multinational corporations (like Motorola, N.S., Robert Bosch) pay higher wages than other industrial companies. Based on the findings of a recent follow-up study of electronics female workers in Sungei Way, the writer estimates the monthly income of these girls is within the range of \$200 and \$220 (M). This compares very favourably with other factory girls in non-electronic factories who earn monthly incomes in the region of \$105 and \$150 (M).¹⁸

However, the higher wage rates obtained by electronic workers relative to non-electronic workers must be viewed in the context of their different work requirements. This matter can be discussed in relation to night-shift work, overtime work and the quota production system.

Electronic workers have to do night-shift work whereas non-electronic female workers are usually not required to do so. In many electronic factories, production operators have to work at night (normally from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m.) over a duration of two weeks. They are required to commence on their night-shift work every four weeks in rotation. When compared to night-shift workers in the government services, electronic workers have shorter rest periods. For instance, hospital staff are allowed 96 hours off from their jobs after completing one week's night-shift work while electronic workers are given approximately between 36 and 48 hours off from work after completing two weeks of night-shift work.¹⁹

Electronics companies insist upon overtime work from their employees during the very regular peak periods of high market demand for their products. The pressure of having to do overtime work as well as night-shift work is often one reason why electronics workers complain that they have inadequate rest and chronic tiredness.²⁰

The higher payment rates for electronics workers relative to non-electronics workers is also commensurable with the more demanding and highly competitive work standards in the electronics industry relative to the other manufacturing industries. Unlike non-electronics workers, electronics workers usually have to undergo a series of intelligence and aptitude tests in order to be employed as a regular production-operator or allowed to retain their jobs. A strict quota production system is imposed on the electronics worker in the semi-conductors and components production factories. She has to complete a certain minimum quota at a given time. If she fails to do so repeatedly, she will be reprimanded a few times and then, dismissed from the job.²¹ Difficulty in meeting quota production requirements is often expressed by electronics workers interviewed by the writer. This difficulty together with other problems and physical tiredness often result in the more frequent outbreaks of mass hysteria behaviour among electronic girls than among non-electronics female workers.²²

(iii) Job-Security and Occupational Mobility

According to the survey carried out by the writer in 1977 on 1294 factory workers in Peninsular Malaysia, 62.9% of the sample indicated their

dissatisfaction and worry about the insecurity of their jobs.²³ These feelings could possibly be caused by factual knowledge about the nature of the employment conditions for women workers. In 1975 many factory workers were retrenched, the majority of them were women. To be exact, as many as 6,303 electronics workers lost their jobs during that year.

Case-studies carried out by the writer also indicated many cases where electronic companies in Malaysia deliberately retrenched their workers annually so as to avoid paying their annual bonuses. In Penang in 1978, more than 200 electronic workers were dismissed on the pretext that the industry was facing a downward turn in market sales. Paradoxically, less than two months later, the same companies employed a bigger number of new workers! A query which can be raised at this juncture is "isn't it economically wasteful for these companies to take in fresh workers when they can re-employ their old experienced workers? In this way they would not have to waste resources on training new workers". The problem of wasting resources on training fresh workers is not faced by the electronic companies. By virtue of their highly specialised production system, the time required for new workers to learn the skills and achieve a high marginal productivity ability is very short, normally between three and four months. After this short period of training, new workers can achieve high productivity standards which are equivalent to or if not higher than the standards of longer employed workers whose productivity tends to decline due to feelings of boredom or failing eyesight.²⁴

In the context where new workers are easily trained and supply of female labour is plentiful, the bargaining power of experienced workers is low. When these workers are dismissed, they find difficulty in obtaining another electronics production-operator jobs with pay rates befitting their experience.²⁵

From the point of occupational mobility, female electronic workers in particular and other female factory workers in general, do not have a bright future. Most production supervisors in manufacturing industries are men. The various promises made by recruiting agents regarding their chances for promotion are essentially not true. A follow-up study carried out by the writer on a group of electronics workers in an electronics company in Sungei Way verified the situation of limited

occupational promotion. Of a total of 120 female electronic workers, less than 3 percent of the sample have succeeded in securing promotions.²⁶

The preceding discussion is not intended to emphasise the pathetic working conditions of electronic workers relative to non-electronic workers. From visits made by the writer to non-electronic factories, it can be observed that in some aspects, the workers here are worse off; their pay rates are lower, they are provided with less facilities and their work environment is detrimental to their health. This description especially applies to workers in the small-scale proprietor-owned local companies in Malaysia. In addition, it must be remembered that the rate of industrial accidents among factory workers in Malaysia is amongst the highest ever recorded in South-East Asia. Statistical figures indicate that the major casualties are found in non-electronics industries.²⁷

(iv) Factory Socio-Cultural System

In Malaysia, export-oriented industries are rapidly expanding their operations. They are actively engaged in efforts to attract female workers. To do this they have to promote a socio-cultural environment which is enticing to women and instrumental to the achievement of their economic goals.

The factory socio-cultural systems of modern industrial establishments can be classified broadly into three major types: the western-culturally based, the Asian-culturally-oriented and thirdly, the Malaysian-culture-oriented.

European and American electronics factories usually have the western-culturally biased socio-cultural system. Here, management encourages their female workers to emulate stereo-typed versions of the affluent and modern western women.²⁸ Female workers are encouraged to participate in sporting activities (including football) tournaments against workers from other factories). They are also encouraged to have boyfriends and dates. This socialization process is culminated with an annual beauty contest and grand ball usually held at the exclusive hotels in town.²⁹ For workers from traditional rural villages, this socio-cultural environment is completely different from their restrictive, victorian-type cultural backgrounds.

The Japanese companies, on the other hand, encourage their female workers to be gentle, passive women. Visits to Japanese factories clearly indicate that their socio-cultural system is based closely on the traditional Japanese factory system. Here the manager is portrayed as an authoritarian father-figure who cares for the welfare of his employees. He is concerned about the cultural development of his female workers and feels they should internalise tenets of obedient behaviour and passive subordination. Workers are required to memorise company's mottos and songs. They are trained to be good, disciplined workers through regular exercise drills and sporting activities. Women workers are encouraged to emulate stereo-typed images of the refined and passive Japanese women by tutoring them in beauty-grooming and cooking skills.

In the present situation where young Malaysian girls prefer to work for foreign multinational corporations than for locally-owned small companies (due to the better pay rates and attractive work environment in multinational corporations' factories) these local companies are faced with difficulties in getting and retaining their female workers. They have to provide an alternative socio-cultural environment which can foster feelings of loyalty among their employees. As such, they try to provide facilities and activities which portray norms acceptable to the general Malaysian cultural values. For instance, school-type excursions to historic places, picnics and company dinners for employees are arranged by the management. In addition, religious classes and praying facilities for workers belonging to the different ethnic groups, are also provided.

At the present time, there is inadequate knowledge about the impact and implications of these factory socio-cultural systems on factory girls behaviour and outlook. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that this is one aspect of factory life which will have lasting and wide-ranging effects.

IV) Summary and Conclusion

From the preceding discussion on women workers and factory work in the manufacturing industries, some inferences can be made. These are related to the socio-economic position of factory women workers in the following way.

First, it is evident that female labour force participation in the manufacturing sector is increasing rapidly. More women are now venturing into factory work. This is particularly significant in relation to the current phenomenon of mass migration of rural women to urban-based factories. As more women become employed and as women workers form the majority of workers in priority industries of the Malaysian economy they are becoming a distinctive and significant group of industrial workers in the Malaysian workforce.

Second, an analysis on the employment conditions in industries (where the majority of women are employed) indicates several interesting situations; factory women workers generally hold insecure jobs, their job mobility is restricted and their chances for occupational promotions are hindered. Due to lack of familiarity with industrial management strategies, and the absence of a concerted group consciousness, they become the passive recipients of management's manoeuvres.

Third, women's entry into factory employment does not involve participation in work roles only, but more importantly it entails exposure to specific socio-cultural systems. These socio-cultural systems are geared primarily towards moulding women workers into becoming obedient subordinates. Wittingly or otherwise, these social-manipulation strategies may be instrumental in churning out women with distinctive cultural values and behaviour patterns. In the present context where industrial factories are expanding their activities rapidly, and many more women workers are quickly absorbed into the factory system, it is evident that factory culture will have wide-ranging implications for factory women in particular and Malaysian society in general.³⁰

CHAPTER V

THE ADAPTATION PROCESS AND ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES OF FEMALE RURAL-
URBAN MIGRANTS: THE CASE OF MALAY FACTORY GIRLS IN MALAYSIAIntroduction

Reviews of the literature on migration have revealed that the process of adaptation of migrants is an area of research which is still uncharted and least understood.¹ There are gaps in knowledge pertaining to the behavioural responses of migrants to their new environment as well as the adaptive strategies utilised by them. While acculturation and assimilation of migrants have often been singled out by researchers as prominent study areas, it is clear that the modes of adaptation and the mechanisms involved during the period of transition have been studied only recently. This is revealed by the more recent anthropological literature on the "urban villagers" (Southall 1973, Fox 1977, Mangin 1970). It is also apparent from the literature on migration that female migrants have seldom been included in macro- and micro-analysis of migrants' behaviour and adaptation problems.² Nonetheless, this is a very relevant group to include in any contemporary analysis of migration. This is especially so in the present context of rapid rate of urbanization and industrialization in the developing countries where females constitute a prominent proportion of rural-urban migrants.³ Given that female migrants are gaining in proportionate importance in the migration streams, it is an urgent task for social scientists to investigate the adjustment process and adaptation problems which may be peculiar to female migrants. In their case the usual theoretical understanding based on studies made on male migrants may no longer apply.⁴ The adaptive strategies utilised by female migrants should also be investigated especially in the context of the various social problems which are said to be associated with female labour migration to urban-industrial centres of the developing countries.

The reasoning given above is particularly pertinent to the present situation in Malaysia. Since 1970 there is a rapid upsurge of female labour migration to urban-industrial areas. Despite public concern and interest on this sudden exodus of females into the factories and the alleged social problems associated with it, very few studies have been conducted on the adjustment process and adaptation of factory girls to urban life and work in Malaysia.⁵ On the whole it can be said that

studies on the adaptation process of migrants in Malaysia in general are also very scarce. The study by McGee on Malay male migrants has often been accepted in international circles as the pioneering work on Malaysian migrants' adaptation and as a main source of reference.⁶

Scope and Data

This chapter attempts to trace the adaptation process of Malay factory girls in Malaysia. It is also, indirectly, an attempt to analyse the factors responsible for the presence of a factory girls' subculture and the formation of a distinct group of industrial working class Malays (These aspects were hypothesised by the writer in Chapter Three). With these objectives in mind, the process of Malay village girls' entry and absorption into the industrial situation in urban areas is investigated.

The data for this paper comes from three major sources:

- (i) a wide-ranging survey which was carried out in 1977 in all the major urban-industrial areas of Malaysia. This survey comprised interviews with 1294 factory girls who are rural-urban migrants. These girls are working as production-operators in "female-dominated" labour-intensive factories. Details of this survey are provided in Chapter Three.
- (ii) An intensive follow-up study in 1979 on the survey-sample from three urban-industrial areas. They are Shah Alam, Sungei Way and Selayang Baru. From this follow-up study, a total of 50 girls were chosen as respondents for the follow-up interviews. An in-depth study was carried out on their personal particulars, migration history, employment history, income-expenditure patterns, social networks, future plans and attitudes. Information providing for a longitudinal perspective on adaptation and changing outlook was also obtained. The breakdown figures for the follow-up study-sample of 50 girls are as follows:
 - (a) Forty-three girls who are still living in Sungei Way and remain employed as Electronics workers in multinational companies.
 - (b) Six girls who are working in joint-enterprise companies in Shah Alam and staying in Shah Alam.
 - (c) One girl who is still living in Selayang Baru and working in a local Chinese company.

The other characteristics of this sample of 50 girls are as follows:

- (a) All the girls in Sungei Way are still single although many of them are getting married in the near future.
 - (b) Two of the six girls in the Shah Alam sample are by now married to factory workers and have become mothers of the new generation of the Malay industrial class.
 - (c) The girl in Selayang Baru remains in the same job and same place of residence whereas the other girls in this sample have changed jobs and moved out of Selayang Baru.
- (iii) A community-profile study was carried out in these three industrial communities. Some local leaders, officials, and randomly-selected residents of Sungei Way, Shah Alam and Selayang Baru were interviewed. The aim of this study is to gauge their opinion and attitudes towards factory girls in their area.

The three communities were chosen in order to supplement data pertaining to the adaptation and assimilation process of factory girls. The three communities are different from one another in the following ways:

- (a) Proximity to Kuala Lumpur city (and exposure to urban influences) and location in relation to a particular type of industrial area.
- (b) The composition of its residents and their attitude towards factory girls in the area.

We shall now provide a brief description of these communities in terms of the classification given above.

- (a) (i) Sungei Way is located near Kuala Lumpur city (a distance of about 15 miles) and on the outskirts of the town centre of Petaling Jaya. It is an urban community established in the early 1960's and comprises working class residents. The community contains two major sub-areas with different residential patterns - one consists of single-storey linked houses which are occupied predominantly by Malays and separated from the other area which comprises shop houses and semi-organised shanty-apartments. This second area surrounds the Sungei Way town. This community neighbours the Sungei Way Free Trade Zone in which most of the factories are electronics (multinational-owned) companies.

(ii) Shah Alam industrial community is located further away from Kuala Lumpur city (a distance of about 25 miles). It is a relatively new semi-urban residential area which was developed by the Selangor state government in the late 1960's. This residential area was intended to accommodate the factory workers working in the surrounding industrial estates. Most of the factories in these industrial estates were established during the industrial phase of import-substitution industrialization of the 60's and most of them are now owned by joint-enterprise companies.

(iii) Selayang Baru is situated on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur (a distance of about 20 miles from Kuala Lumpur city-proper) and was formerly a squatter settlement. The majority of its residents are Malay rural-urban migrants from various parts of Malaysia. It is an underdeveloped and depressed residential area in that it is lacking in terms of good roads, piped-water facilities and lighting facilities. Recently, several factories have been built in the area across the main trunk road and many of the factories are small-scale enterprises owned by local Chinese.

(b) The three communities are also different from one another in terms of their outlook and response towards factory girls. Residents in Sungei Way are very suspicious and hostile towards factory girls. They feel that the in-migration of factory girls into their area and their immoral behaviour have brought about a bad name to the community. According to them, Sungei Way is nicknamed the Haadyai of Malaysia. There have been several "tangkap basah" cases prosecuted by the local religious authorities involving factory girls and consequently there is a general atmosphere of antagonism between factory girls and local residents.

The residents of the industrial community of Shah Alam are less hostile (albeit still suspicious) towards factory girls. However since the majority of the residents are factory workers themselves, they are more defensive about the factory girls' low status in the eyes of the urban society. The residents of Selayang Baru are not hostile towards factory girls. Since they are mostly rural-urban migrants and most of the factory girls working in the surrounding factories are their daughters

and relatives, they are concerned about the girls getting a bad reputation.

The ensuing discussion in this chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part, the conceptual definitions and underlying assumptions regarding adaptation are clarified. Next, the general socio-economic context within which the adaptation process of factory girls takes place, will be elaborated. Subsequently in the third part, we begin with a cursory look at the motivational patterns of female migration or pre-conditions for migration and then discuss the three stages of the adaptation process and the adaptation strategies peculiar to each stage.

Female Migrants' Adjustment and Adaptation: Some Conceptual Considerations

In the sociological and anthropological literature, a state of ambiguity persists as to the meaning of concepts like adjustment, assimilation adaptation and integration. Migrants' adjustment is usually defined in terms of increasing similarities between certain characteristics of migrants and non-migrants in the place of migrant destination without questioning if such adjustment is in fact desirable. Adjustment is thus wrongly equated with conformity.⁷ Similarly the concept of adaptation remains debatable and vague. As Janet Abu-Lughod correctly points out

"... the concept of adaptation itself has often had to be rejected as a meaningful descriptive term, because we are no longer sure to what, indeed, migrants are required to adapt" (Janet Abu-Lughod, 1975, p. 202).

In relation to this issue, some relevant points can be made:

A review of papers presented at an international conference on migration models and adaption strategies has prompted Buechler to comment that

"it is clear from a comparison of the papers that the migrant is not necessarily adapting to a specific social entity e.g. 'the city' but to certain contingencies the migration situation imposes on him." (Buechler, 1975, p. 286)

This, to my mind, brings to the forefront the much neglected area which is an important factor in determining migrants' assimilation. This is the response of the receiving communities towards migrants. As Beiger points out:

"One cannot speak of a 'one-day traffic' either in migration or in adjustment these are some of the difficulties facing the immigrant and his family which can be increased or decreased by the attitude of the urbanities. The adjustment of the migrant is therefore not always determined by his own attitudes, his good or bad choice. The attitude of the others is likewise of great influence". (Beiger, 1963, p. 20).

Another issue in the sphere of adaptation which must be noted is that adaptation is essentially a dynamic process. A review of the studies on migrants' adaptation had prompted Beiger to succinctly note that:

"many of the studies consulted have a very static fact-finding character. But however valuable the categorising of facts may be, the process of adjustment, of settling in, is, in essence a dynamic one" (Beiger, 1963, p. 19).

In this chapter, the definitions which are accepted and used to guide the study on factory girls adjustment and adaptation are as follows:

Adjustment is regarded as a personal variable which refers to the individual migrants' satisfaction with, or level of gratification attained in the urban society.

Assimilation is assumed to be dependent on the migrants' ability to be involved in the urban community and feelings of acceptance by that community. The role of the receiving community in bringing about the assimilation of migrant factory girls in the urban-industrial areas is therefore regarded as a factor of considerable importance.

Adaptation is regarded as a process essentially involving new ways of establishing and maintaining stable reciprocal relationship with the new environment, a process calling for some changes in attitudes, relationships and behaviour as a person moves across physical space and social system boundaries.⁸

In conclusion, the approach taken in this study is that the adaptation process of migrants should be considered in its dynamic state and not within a static one. The writer agrees with Jones in stating that:

"The most important studies of migration and adjustment are when the unit of analysis is the individual in a social situation and never the group. It is not even necessary to apply a theoretical fixed scheme into which the 'factual investigations' can be fitted and which 'often distorts the whole'". (Jones, F.E., 1956, p. 39)

Export-Oriented Industrialization and Village Girls' Migration to Urban-Industrial Centers: The Context for Factory Girls' Adaptation Process

As discussed by the writer in earlier chapters, the establishment of export-oriented industries in Malaysia has brought about a massive exodus of female labour migration to urban-industrial areas. The implementation of the New Economic Policy with regard to the recruitment of Malay workers, in combination with the management strategies of many industrial companies has created a massive economic demand for Malay female workers. At the same time, around the late 1960's, there existed a large supply of Malay girls in the 16 to 25 age group who had just left school after completing secondary level education. It has been pointed out by other researchers that the policy of the government to encourage labour-intensive, "female-dominated" industries has been rather timely because it was implemented in a period when there was a cohort of educated rural single women who were eager to take advantage of their educational qualifications.¹⁰ At around the same time and since the 1960's there have been increasing difficulties and limitations for school-leavers with these educational qualifications to gain access to "white-collar" jobs in the government sector.¹¹ All these factors in combination with the pressing problem of limited employment opportunities in the rural sector and family economic poverty have prompted the relatively educated village girls to migrate autonomously to the urban-based factories. (As mentioned in Chapter Four the number of rural-urban Malay women workers in the manufacturing sector's labour force in 1970 was less than 1,000 but by 1976 this had increased to over 60,000). The majority of these Malay female rural-urban migrants are engaged as electronics workers in multinational companies.

The survey carried out in 1977 indicates that the majority of the factory girls are first-time migrants in the sense that migration to urban centres and absorption into the labour market is for them part and parcel of the same process of leaving home for the first time. This pattern applies primarily to the girls in the electronics industry who are assured of factory jobs prior to migration and leaving home. For them the absorption into factory work (and all its inherent management rules and social norms) is the first introduction to the "modern"

industrial way of life.¹³ This pattern is contrary to the general trend in female migrants' participation pattern in the labour market; as evident in the literature, most migrant women in the Third World are first absorbed into the informal service sector before moving to other forms of employment like factory employment.¹⁴ A closer examination of the survey figures and migration history of the 50 case-studies indicates that this general pattern applies only to the girls with lower qualifications (Malay School Standard Six qualifications) who have left home earlier to become servant girls before venturing into factory employment in the small-scale low-paying factories. The data therefore suggests that the majority of the Malay women in the manufacturing sector's labour force today are single girls who have migrated on their own and take up factory employment as their first job. An investigation into the time of migration of the girls in the sample indicates that almost all of them migrate in the early 1970's. This is around the time that export-oriented industrialization was first started in Malaysia.

The in-migration of single women into the manufacturing sector's labour force was conducted on a "free-market" basis, unlike the situation in other countries such as Korea and Taiwan, since manufacturing companies do not take the responsibility of providing hostel-dormitory accommodation for their outstation workers. The Malaysian government in encouraging the establishment of export-oriented multinational industrial companies in Malaysia also does not stipulate housing facilities as a pre-condition for entry and production-operation in Malaysia. Contrary to the opinion of many foreign researchers on factory women, very few industrial companies in Malaysia provide hostel facilities. This was particularly true in the early 1970's.¹⁵ Factory women workers from outstation areas were therefore not assured of company-provided or government-assisted accommodation. Even as late as 1977 there were no government youth hostels in Malaysia.¹⁶

Given the lack of hostel facilities, the majority of female rural-urban migrants have to find their own means of accommodation. The general picture is that they live among themselves in overcrowded conditions, either sharing rent for a room, staying in boarding houses or sharing

rent for a house (see Chapter Three). This kind of a static perception of factory girls' accommodation pattern does not provide us with an understanding of the dynamics of the adaptation process of factory girls. As will be pointed out in the next section, the accommodation pattern of the migrant girl changes with various stages of her adaptation process and adaptive strategies available to her in the city areas.

The autonomous migration of thousands of single Malay village girls into the urban-industrial sector is significant in many aspects. Two aspects of the phenomenon are discussed below:

Firstly, the massive influx of Malay women into the labour force of the manufacturing sector inter-relates with a decline in Malay women's participation in the traditional agricultural sector (M.A. Jamilah, June 1980). Data on the trend and pattern of Malay women's labour force participation after 1970 have shown that there is a shift of labour from the traditional agricultural sector to the manufacturing sector and the modern service sector.¹⁷

Secondly, the massive in-migration of factory girls into the urban-industrial centres and the residential neighbourhood areas has occurred in the midst of significant changes which have caused local residents to regard factory girls with suspicion and in some cases with hostility. Although a detailed study of the reasons for this response of the receiving communities towards factory girls has never been conducted, the writer will now venture to identify some of the salient factors based on a superficial understanding of some receiving communities:

(i) The development of factories in the vicinity of some communities has resulted in a disruption of certain local industries and the established means of livelihood of the residents.¹⁸

(ii) The rapid industrial development of the factory areas and the in-migration of factory girls have prompted an upward hike in the prices of foodstuff, rents of houses, and a scarcity of other basic commodities in the receiving areas.¹⁹

(iii) The massive in-migration of Malay females into what has always been predominantly non-Malay areas has brought about or added to changes in the political representation of the different (and competing) ethnic

communities in the receiving areas. The bringing of factory workers into these urban communities is therefore as indirect political strategy of certain power groups geared towards changing the political status quo of the area. The migrant factory workers as instruments for the political manipulation of these groups are regarded unfavourably by the other competing political groups.²⁰

(iv) For the small Malay urban-based community in particular, the sudden influx of hundreds of single Malay factory girls into their residential area is a happening which is quite unexpected by them. The presence of hundreds of these single girls staying on their own, without the supervision of elders is regarded by urban Malay residents as going against established social norms.²¹ The sight of some of these girls in the community with their new behaviour patterns as influenced by the factory cultural system (their attire of T-shirts, blue jeans and thick make-up) is often interpreted by some local residents as symptoms of flaunting their newly-found independence.

All these factors in combination have resulted in a suspicious and antagonistic outlook of the receiving communities towards factory girls. As sojourners and strangers in these urban-based communities, the factory girls are regarded as a threat to the established social organization.²² They are often picked upon as convenient scapegoats of social problems and disorganisation in the communities.²³ The role of the mass-media in highlighting some factory girls "improper behaviour, wild parties and 'fly-by-night' rackets" has served to further strengthen the urban communities' suspicion towards factory girls and has aided in the stigmatisation of factory girls in Malaysia.²⁴

This is the context in which the Malay Village girls' adaptation to urban life and factory work takes place. In the next section, we shall discuss in greater detail the dynamics of this process in terms of its various stages of adaptation and adaptive strategies.

Motivational Patterns and Pre-Conditions for Village Girls' Migration and Stages of Their Adaptation Process

A cursory look at the general motives of village girls' migration to the urban-based factories reveals that the economic motive seems to be

most important. Almost all the girls in the 1977 survey indicated that the need to improve their economic living standards is the most important motive for migration (see Chapter Three).

However, a closer examination of the migration history as well as the particulars of their background suggests that there are other factors which act as pre-conditions for determining the actual process of migration. These pre-conditions are essential in providing an understanding as to which village girls migrate and who do not migrate, given the same situation of being exposed to the 'pull' and 'push-factors' of female migration (as highlighted in Chapter Three).

The pre-conditions for village girls' migration to the factories can be classified broadly into three categories. They are as follows:

- (i) familial
- (ii) kin-based contacts in the city
- (iii) direct recruitment methods of the big industrial companies.

(i) Familial Pre-Conditions

In the first category, some crucial factors determining the village girls' ability to leave home to work in the factories are as follows:

Firstly, the position of the girl in the family. Usually it is easier for younger daughters to migrate than the first daughter in the family. This is because in the traditional Malay Village family the first girl is normally entrusted with responsibilities of the household chores when the mother goes to work in the padi fields or rubber plots. When the mother is old and cannot perform the household work, it is the eldest daughter who is expected to relieve her. (To some extent, the responsibilities of looking after their parents in old age applies equally to the first son in the family who normally will settle in the original kampung to look after their parents while the younger members of the family-unit are allowed to migrate.) A comparative analysis of the migration history (and factors surrounding the event of migration) for the fifty girls indicate that the first girls' intention to migrate is often subjected to objection by the parents except when other considerations are taken into account. They are as follows:

Firstly, it is the age of the mother. If the mother is still not too old to do all the household chores, then there is less restriction for the first girl to migrate.

Secondly, it is the level of educational attainment in the family. If the girl has attained educational qualifications which are higher than all the other older members in the family, then she faces less objections to her plans to migrate in search of a job in the city. The underlying reason behind this is possibly the feeling among rural parents that their qualified daughter should get a job which would be commensurate with the investment they have put in to educate her. It is also more difficult for the parents to restrict her from fulfilling her expectations of having a job which pays, after several years of being in school.

Thirdly, it is related to the extent of family economic hardships. The data indicates that in many cases, despite the fact that the parents are poor, they do not like their daughters to migrate to the factories. This is particularly so in recent times, when the status of factory girls is being questioned. However they are forced to allow their daughters to migrate when they meet with difficult financial problems. In such a situation they cannot stop their daughters' search for jobs which can help to overcome their financial difficulties.

(ii) Kin-Based Contacts in the City

The second major pre-condition for village girls migration to the factories is the availability of kin-based contacts in the cities. In the cases studies, it is clear that almost all the girls were allowed by their parents to migrate because they were assured that their relatives in the city would look after their daughters. The consent of the parents is therefore dependent on the knowledge that their relatives in the city can provide the initial accommodation and act as guardians. In almost 90 per cent of the cases studied, the process of migration among factory girls in one of "chain-migration" where the daughter migrates after her brothers, aunts or uncles have already settled in the city. In some cases the chain-effect is a direct one with the elder sister migrating to the factories and then making arrangements for the younger sister(s) to follow suit a year or two later.

Although friendship has often been quoted in the literature on rural-urban migration as a prime factor in chain migration, this study shows that friendship ties are not as important as kin-based contacts in obtaining parental consent to migrate. The role of friendship ties as a positive agent in migration becomes important only when it is reinforced with the third pre-condition for migration which is discussed in the following section.

(iii) Direct Recruitment Methods of the Big Companies

With the establishment of the multinational electronics and garment factories in Malaysia, there was a concerted effort on the part of the management of these companies to recruit female labour. Recruitment strategies take two forms: Firstly, they send agents to the countryside to recruit workers. Secondly, they place advertisements in the local newspapers.

The first strategy is pursued in the following manner. Agents are commissioned to travel to the countryside. They either employ some local residents to spread the propaganda about the availability of factory jobs or these agents will directly carry out a door-to-door campaign.

In the case of the second strategy, advertisements are placed in the newspapers which highlight the various facilities and advantages of working in the factories (see Chapter Four). Girls who have certain educational qualifications are encouraged to apply and interviews are arranged at major meeting places like hotels, town halls or village community centres. The moment these girls pass their interviews they are provided with transport facilities to take them directly to the companies' dormitories. The guarantee of company-provided accommodation by a few big companies is a pre-condition which sometimes over-rules parental objections to migrate. In about seven of the fifty case-studies, the girls mentioned that they faced severe objections from their parents and relatives about their plans to migrate. They went against these objections and migrated with the assurance that accommodation would be provided by the companies. In this case it is obvious that the direct pull of the factories has acted as a means to challenge the traditional authority of parents and relatives over village girls. The ability of

companies to employ underaged girls (below 21 years old) without prior consent of their guardians has encouraged some girls to run away from village homes and seek factory employment.

Given the various scenarios of the village girls' process of migration to the factories, we now analyse in further detail their adaptation process and adaptive strategies in relation to three stages of adaptation.

Initial Stage of Adjustment and Adaptation

As mentioned earlier, village girls' entry into factory employment in the urban-industrial centres is part and parcel of their first exposure to urban life and independence from parental control. Similar to other migrants and individuals facing new situations, the village girls in the city face several adjustment problems. Three sets of problems can be outlined: The first set of problems relates to initial adjustment to the urban way of life. The second set of problems is interrelated with the demands of the factory system. The third set of adjustment problems in finding suitable accommodation given the limited financial resources of factory girls and demands imposed by night-shift work in the factories.

On the first set of adjustment problems, many of the girls in the sample expressed problems of uncertainty regarding how to behave, speak and dress like the urbanites. They do not like to be as 'country cousins'. To a question asked about their first feelings after arriving in the city, many girls indicated feelings of insecurity and conflict. There were feelings of joy of being in the big city and at the same time feelings of sadness and insecurity at leaving the traditional villages.

The second set of adjustment problems relates to the need to cope with the factory system. In the case of girls working in the electronics factories, almost all of them mentioned they had problems adjusting to the shift-work system and night-shift work.

Third set of problems relates to finding suitable accommodation given the need to do night-shift work. Night-shift work is considered a very strong reason to discourage factory girls to continue living with their relatives. As the data indicate, in the majority of cases when village

girls first arrive in the urban-industrial centres, they live with their kin. (see Table 6). Their kin in the city provide their first adaptive strategy. But after they have started working they feel it is more convenient to stay nearer to the factories and with friends (despite the fact that many industrial companies do provide factory bus transport facilities to fetch and send them home after work). An investigation into the reasons for this change in residential pattern reveals two major reasons:

(i) Night-shift work makes it necessary for them to come home at odd hours and this causes inconvenience to their relatives.

(ii) Their inability to cope with the stigma of being factory girls in the context of the urban society prompts them to find solace and refuge in their own crowd. There are many cases which indicate that after working for a short time in the factories, they began to feel 'out of place' at their relatives' homes because of the fact that they are factory girls. This feeling of alienation is felt more intensely when the rest of the occupants in the relatives' houses are holding more respectable '8 to 4' jobs.

As a result of these factors, the trend is that after a few months of stay with relatives, factory girls move out to stay with fellow factory workers in areas closer to their place of work (see figures in Table 7).

Table 6 - When you first arrived in the City with whom did you stay?

		<u>%</u>
a) By myself	79	(6.11)
b) With relatives	805	(62.21)
c) With friends	382	(29.52)
d) Other (comprising 'with others' and 'No Answer')	28	(2.16)
	<u>1294</u>	<u>100</u>

Table 7 - With whom are you staying now?

		<u>%</u>
a) With own siblings	96	(7.42)
b) With relatives (not members of immediate family)	189	(14.61)
c) With friends	943	(72.87)
d) With members of immediate family	24	(1.85)
e) Other (comprising 'staying by myself' and 'No Answer')	42	(3.25)
	<u>1294</u>	<u>100</u>

The move to stay with friends signifies the break-away of village girls from their background of protective guardianship and direct absorption into the 'sub-culture' of factory girls in Malaysia. Once they start to live with friends, they become more exposed to changes associated with independent living and life-styles associated with being factory girls. This move from kin-based residential arrangement to friendship-based accommodation pattern brings the village girls into the middle stage of their adaptation process. This brings about its own sets of problems and adaptive strategies.

The Middle State of Adaptation

Friendship ties among factory girls is a very strong adaptive strategy for them. Friendship ties provide an arrangement for accommodation, a means of economising scarce monetary resources and an insulation from the hostility of the receiving community and vagaries of the new way of life.

In the first instance, the relative absence of company-provided accommodation or government-assisted hostels, and the prevailing situation of high rents force factory girls to either rent rooms or rent houses together on a cost-sharing basis (see figures in Table 8 and Table 9.)

Table 8 - If you share your living Quarters with others, Specify who they are

		<u>%</u>
a) Yes:	1158	(89.49)
Sharing with:		
i) Friends	943 (81.4)	
ii) Relatives	146 (12.6)	
iii) Immediate		
Family	38 (3.3)	
Members		
(including siblings		
iv) Other People	31 (2.7)	
b) No - Not sharing	130	(10.05)
c) No Answer	6	(0.46)
	<hr/> 1294	<hr/> 100.00

Table 9 - Present Residential Patterns

<u>Type</u>		<u>%</u>			<u>%</u>
a) Flat	132	(10.20)	i) Paying Rent	122	(92.42)
			ii) Not Paying Rent	10	(7.58)
b) House	697	(53.86)	i) Paying Rent	601	(86.23)
			ii) Not Paying Rent	96	(13.77)
c) Room	348	(26.89)	i) Paying Rent	338	(97.13)
			ii) Not Paying Rent	10	(2.87)
d) Hostel	117	(9.04)	i) Paying Rent	117	(100.00)
			ii) Not Paying Rent	0	(0.00)
	<u>1294</u>	<u>99.99</u>			

The findings revealed that in a few cases they cooked their meals together (especially among those working in the same work-shift) while in the majority of cases, this is only common among very close friends or among sisters living in the same house. Cost-sharing arrangements as well as the presence of an elder sister in the same household provide a considerable adaptive strategy for many factory girls who have migrated to the cities "following the footsteps" of their elder sister or sisters.²⁵

Friendship among factory girls as an adaptive strategy extends beyond financial support. Friendship ties are also sources of emotional support and guidance. Faced with an unfriendly environment and aware of the stigmatisation of factory girls by the local community the trend is that factory girls are inclined to isolate themselves from the local community. They do this by not mixing socially with the local residents and by not participating in the communities activities (see figures in Table 10).

The work system in the factories does not encourage factory girls' assimilation into the receiving community. The shift work system is often quoted as a reason by both the factory girls and the local residents as an obstacle which prevents factory girls from attending local community meetings and activities.²⁶ The factory cultural system in some of the multinational electronics companies also encourages their female employees to

Table 10 - Lack of Integration with the Receiving Community

1) "Are you a member of any Voluntary Associations organized by the Community you are presently residing in?"		2) How often do you feel that the Urban Community looks down upon you?		3) "If you have a choice, would you like to settle permanently in this Community?"	
	<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
a) Yes:	158	(12.21)	a) Never	351	(27.13)
i) Active Member			b) Always	197	(15.22)
46 (29.1%)			c) Sometimes	568	(43.89)
ii) Non-Active Member			d) Do not know	173	(13.37)
73 (46.2%)			e) No Answer	5	(0.39)
iii) Not at all an Active Member				1294	100.00
39 (24.7%)					
b) No	827	(63.91)			
c) No - There are no Voluntary Associations	226	(17.47)			
d) No Answer	83	(6.41)			
	1294	100.00			

dress and behave differently from the local residents. This itself creates a division between the factory girls and the local residents, (the majority of whom are not working in the factories). In addition, the factory cultural system activities which encourage factory girls to participate in out-door sporting activities and which involve close interaction between male and female factory workers, or factory activities like annual company dinners and dances only serve to bring about further disapproval and suspicion among the local residents.

In a situation like the one discussed above, it is therefore inevitable that factory girls form close ties among themselves. These ties go beyond their work-activities and work-hours in the factory (see figures in Table 11).

Table 11 - Friendship Ties with Work-mates

<u>"Do you have friends at the work-place?"</u>			<u>"Do you mix with your work-mates after work-hours?"</u>		
		<u>%</u>			<u>%</u>
a) Yes	1259	<u>(97.30)</u>	a) Yes	1045	<u>(80.76)</u>
i) Some are non-Malays	308 (24.46%)				
ii) All are Malays	951 (75.54%)				
b) No	28	(2.16)	b) No	241	(18.62)
c) No Answer	7	(0.54)	c) No Answer	8	(0.62)
	<u>1294</u>	<u>100.00</u>		<u>1294</u>	<u>100.00</u>

The intensity of friendship among work-mates is strong. Friends are the first source of advice in times of trouble (see figures in Table 12).

An investigation into the social network-ties of the Malay factory girls shows two interesting features. They prove the prevalence of a strong group formation among factory girls: Firstly, factory girls

mix with their own factory mates who are predominantly from the same ethnic group. This is true even in factories which employ workers from the different ethnic groups of Malaysia.²⁷ Secondly, an enquiry into their set of best friends indicates that the majority sever ties with their best friends in the village in favour of new-found friends from amongst fellow factory workers in the city. They do not only mix with factory girls of the same race but also form friendships with men of the same race and from the same occupational stratum in the urban society. Most of their best male friends are rural-urban migrants who are mainly employed as factory workers, technicians, salesmen and low-level clerks. These men are potential marriage partners. It is obvious from the follow-up study that they meet their boyfriends and potential husbands after migrating to the city and working in the factories and through friendship ties. These men are usually staying in the same neighbourhood or in areas nearby. In other cases where their boyfriends are not factory workers, they meet them through other friends.

The living arrangements of the factory girls and the impetus given by the factory cultural system for girl-boyfriend relationships (in the form of encouraging factory girls to attend company dinners, dances and sporting activities) enhance the factory girls' inclination to break the traditional norm and practice in the selection of their own boyfriends for friendship and marriage purposes. As mentioned in Chapter Three, in the survey of 1294 factory girls, 61 per cent of the girls indicated that since they came to the city, they found that there are more opportunities to mix with men.

Having been brought up in a traditional environment where they are not accustomed to mix with men (other than their close relatives) many factory girls are unsure about what is involved in a girl-boyfriend relationship. Since sexual innocence of single girls is regarded in Malay Society as an important prerequisite for respectable marriages, most factory girls are apprehensive about being labelled as 'deflowered' and 'left on the shelf' if they do not marry their boyfriends. The anxiety of making sure that a close boy-girl friendship ends in marriage is a problem faced by many factory girls. Many factory girls are also very ignorant of birth-control methods and in some cases, their interaction

with men results in unwanted pregnancies. In the initial period of factory girls in-migration to an urban-industrial community, there were reported cases of factory girls abandoning their unwanted illegitimate babies in drains and factory go-downs. According to the stories told by the local residents, the industrial companies' nurses, and some factory girls themselves, factory girls now are more knowledgeable about birth-control techniques and which abortion syndicates to approach in cases of unwanted pregnancies.

For many factory girls who have come from a traditional environment where custom dictates that a woman's security can be provided only by men (in the sense that during her childhood she is under the guardianship of her father and male relatives and later when she grows up, she is in turn under the protection of her husband) these girls are socialised to feel insecure without the guidance of a husband. The wish of many factory girls to marry before reaching the dreaded status of "an old maid" is one factor which has led them to be easily exploited by promises of marriage by some men in the cities. Marriage is therefore regarded as an adaptive strategy to secure stability in their life-styles and attain respectable social status in the community. The community studies conducted also indicated that the suspicion levelled against single factory girls tends to subside once these girls are married respectably.

Third and Advanced Stage of Adaptation

It is sometimes assumed that assimilation of migrants into the receiving communities is the end-product of the adaptation process. Whether this will be the case for factory girls in Malaysia is left to speculation and further research. The findings of the longitudinal study over the years 1977 and 1979 do not provide justification for this assumption. (Admittedly the period of study in this research project is too short and a longer term of about 10 years or more should be more appropriate.) The study indicated that many factory girls may become successfully adjusted (in the sense that they admitted they have achieved some of their migration motives and objectives.) However it remains debatable whether they are assimilated into the urban community. Only eight of the fifty girls in the longitudinal study participated in the receiving community's activities. Of these eight, only three are active participants. Even in this case, their participation

remains at the superficial and formal level in the sense that they do not develop strong friendship ties with members of the community. Their primary friendship group still revolves around the factory workers.

The evidence therefore suggests that for the majority of factory girls, their adaptation process may meet with successful adjustment but not end with successful assimilation. This situation is confirmed by the findings of the community studies. Residents of Shah Alam, Selayang Baru and Sungei Way have pointed out that factory girls tend to keep to themselves and they are encapsulated into their own groups of factory workers.

Encapsulation into their own subculture and marriage with other factory workers from similar ethnic origin and background serve to create in the long run the formation of a distinct working class. An investigation into the future plans of married factory women (the sample of girls who are married during the period of the longitudinal study) indicates that the married couples intend to settle permanently in the city. A similar orientation applies to the factory girls who are planning to get married shortly. They plan to continue working after marriage and stay on in the cities. Even for the girls who have no serious boyfriends and do not seem to have the prospect of getting married in the near future, they, too, expressed hopes of staying on. Even though many factory girls are aware of the insecurity of their job-tenure and the possibility of being retrenched, they expressed plans of staying on in the city.

Summary and Conclusion

In this paper the adaptation process and adaptive strategies of factory girls are discussed. A longitudinal approach has been used. It helps to achieve the objective of providing details on the dynamics of the adaptation process. In order to provide an overview of the context in which this process takes place, a brief account of the various political, economic and social factors was given. In addition, some pre-conditions determining the process of migration was also discussed. The adaptation process of the factory girls is artificially divided into three stages. It begins with the initial process of adjusting to urban life and factory work. The second stage is the eventual transfer and absorption into the factory girls' subculture. Subsequent marriage and plans to settle in the

cities are the third stage.

Based on these discussions, the following conclusions may be derived.

First, the migration of village girls to the factories in the urban-industrial centres is the product of a complex interaction of government industrial policies, industrial companies' management strategies and the factory girls' background conditions. The absorption of village girls into factory employment (created by the various industrial companies participating in the export-oriented industrialization programs) is facilitated by several 'supply' and supportive factors. First, there is the large 'reserve army' of female school leavers; second, there is the prevailing economic situation of limited employment opportunities in the rural areas and limited opportunities for white collar jobs in the urban service sector.

The second conclusion made is that the migration of Malay girls into the urban centres is an indirect result of the New Economic Policy of encouraging Malays to migrate to urban areas and to participate in the modern economic sector. Nonetheless, the massive exodus of single Malay girls into urban-industrial centres is a phenomenon which is new and unexpected by the receiving urban-based communities. This situation within the realm of various political, economic and social changes created an atmosphere of suspicion against factory girls. It is within this antagonistic environment that the adaptation process of factory girls takes place.

Third, given the nature of their jobs and low status of factory girls, the girls tend to move away from their initial accommodation with their kin and live on their own with friends. The complete absorption of these girls into the factory cultural system and factory workers-group serves to isolate them from the receiving communities. This has paved the way towards the formation of a distinct subculture of factory girls.

Fourth, the continual encapsulation of factory girls into their own group and unsuccessful assimilation into the receiving communities, provide for the formation of a distinct Malay industrial working class. This comprises married couples who are both factory workers, their off-spring and their close friends belonging to the same ethnic group background, and occupational stratum. The possibility that this new Malay industrial working class will continue to develop is strengthened by the interacting evidence that industrialization is growing rapidly in Malaysia and several factory girls want to settle permanently in the city.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMING UP

This study has attempted to analyse the causes for village girls' migration to urban-based factories in Malaysia in the 1970's and trace the adaptation process and adaptive strategies of these factory girls. It also attempts to assess the implications of Malay women's participation in factory employment.

Some of the significant findings are as follows:

The research findings seem to indicate that the interplay between the industrialization pattern and the New Economic Policy has acted as a crucial and selective pull factor of migration. Complementarily the situation of limited job-opportunities in the rural sector has acted as an important push factor which compelled rural girls with educational qualifications to seek jobs as factory employees in the urban-industrial areas.

It is highly probable that this phenomenon of female rural-urban migration to the factories will continue so long as the present pattern of industrialization remains unchanged and factories which employ a majority of female workers continue to expand their production operations in Malaysia.

The continuing expansion of export-oriented industrial factories in Malaysia and the massive influx of Malay female village girls into the urban areas will ensure the emergence of a new group of working class Malays in Malaysian society, namely the Malay female factory worker. This hypothesis is supported by the research findings which indicate that many of the Malay female rural-urban migrants intend to settle in the urban areas.

An analysis on the employment conditions in industries (where the majority of women are employed) indicates several interesting situations: factory women workers generally hold insecure jobs, their job mobility is restricted and their chances for occupational promotions are hindered. Due to lack of familiarity with industrial management strategies and the absence of a concerted group consciousness, most female factory workers and especially those from traditional village backgrounds, become the passive recipients of the managements' manoeuvres.

The investigation into the socialization process within the factory-area also reveals that womens' entry into factory employment does not involve

participation in work-roles only but more significantly it entails exposure to and manipulation by the factory's socio-cultural systems. These social-manipulation strategies may be instrumental in churning out women with distinctive foreign-oriented cultural values and behaviour patterns which may cause them to be alienated from their own society.

The possibility of factory girls' alienation from their own society is strengthened by the situation where there is considerable antagonism between migrant factory girls and the receiving urban communities. Given this antagonistic environment, the nature of the jobs and low status of factory girls, migrant female factory workers tend to isolate themselves from the receiving communities.

The investigation into the various stages of the factory girls' adaptation process indicates that the complete absorption of many factory girls into the factory cultural system and factory workers' friendship group paves the way towards the formation of a distinct subculture of factory girls.

The continual encapsulation of factory girls into their own group and social networks and unsuccessful assimilation into the receiving communities provide for the possibility of the formation of a distinct group of industrial working class Malays. This possibility is strengthened by the research findings which indicate that many Malay factory girls tend to marry men from the same occupational stratum and socio-cultural background. Many of these women tend to continue working as factory workers after they are married and have become mothers of a new breed of urban-based Malays.

Notes for the Introductory Chapter

- 1 The world systems perspective emerged as part of the critique of modernization theory. Recently, it has come to mean more than just an awareness that nation-states (or any other 'structures' for that matter) are part of an international organisation which conditions national development (Cardoso 1977: 12). The key development innovation is that a world-system consists of a set of singular processes (Hopkins 1979 : 24). The focus on a set of processes singular in time and space is essential since it lays emphasis on the formation and development of the system itself and not merely on patterned relations among its elements. According to this view, capitalism arose only once; it was a 'world' system from its inception and theoretically 'global' in its projected scope. Processes extended not only beyond state boundaries but irrespective of them. It is the singularity of the processes which constitute the world capitalist system and distinguishes it as a social whole.
For details, see (i) CARDOSO, F.H. (1977) consumption of dependency theory in the United States' Latin America Research Review, 12:7-24. (ii) Hopkins, T.K. (1979), "The Study of the capitalist World-economy: some introductory considerations" pp. 21-52 in W.L. Goldfrank (ed.) The World System of Capitalism: Past and Present, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

- 2 Open systems theory is an approach to the study of human organisations. It is based on the assumption of entropy and emphasises the close relationship between the structure and its supportive environment, arguing that without continual inputs and maintenance, structures would soon collapse. In addition, the view is taken that the processing of production inputs to yield some output to be utilised by some external organisation is a fundamental characteristic of the system. The open systems concept of energetic input and maintenance indicate the importance of the motives, behaviour and the predispositions of individuals who are the carriers of energetic input for human organisations. In addition, the concept of output and its necessary absorption by the external environment emphasises the interdependence between organizations (For details on open-systems theory refer KATZ D. and KAHN R. (1966) 'The Social Psychology of Organisations' Chapter 1-3, John Wiley and Sons, New York, U.S.A.

Notes for Chapter One

- 1 The recent writings on the analysis of female migration include papers presented at two seminars organised by the Population Institute, East-West Center Hawaii (i) Working Group meeting on "Women in the Cities", March-April 1979. (ii) 11th Summer Seminar Workshop on "Analysis of Female Migration", June 1980. The writer is fortunate to have been able to participate in both seminars.

- 2 Thadani V., and Todaro M., 1978, "Towards a Theory of Female Migration in Developing Countries", Paper prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America, April 1978. International Center for Research on Women 1979 "Women in Migration: A Third World Focus". Policy Roundtable on "Migration and Women" (mimeo).

- 3 Ibid., p. 2.

- 4 Perhaps a qualifier must be made with reference to the new model introduced by Thadani and Todaro as mentioned in 2.

- 5 See Elizaga J.C., Internal Migration in Latin America, International Social Science Journal 17, 213-31 1965.

- 6 An elaboration on these aspects is given in Chapter 9.

- 7 It is hereby acknowledged that much of the information in this section is obtained from Smith P., Khoo, S.E. and Go, S. 1979 "Patterns of Female Migration in Asia", paper presented at the Working Group Meeting 1979.

- 8 Much of the information is taken from Khoo S.E., and Pirie P. (1980) "Female Rural-Urban Migration in Peninsular Malaysia" Unpublished paper, April 1980. East-West Center, Hawaii. This is gratefully acknowledged.

- 9 The state of statistical data on rural-urban migrants in Malaysia is underdeveloped. Specific information on place of origin and direction of migration was collected by the 1980 Census Rounds. Hopefully this data will be available by 1982.

- 10 See Blake M.L. 1975, Towards a Better Deal for the Young Worker, Kuala Lumpur, The Federation of Family Planning Association, Malaysia.

Notes for Chapter Two

- 1 For details on her thesis, see Ester Boserup 1970, "Women's Role in Economic Development", London: George Allen and Unwin.
- 2 These studies were carried out in Latin America, Africa and Indonesia. See the collection of research papers in Signs Special Issue on Women and National Development. No: 1. Vol. 3, 1977.
- 3 With specific reference to womens' participation in industrial wage labour, Norma Chincilla argues that

"under industrial growth conditioned by the needs of monopoly capitalism, the period of a large industrial work force composed in large part of women is skipped".

Chincilla contrasts the effects of industrialization under foreign capital on womens' lives and work in a recently rapidly industrializing country, Guatemala, with the historical experience of earlier industrializing societies. In core Capitalist economies such as Britain and the United States and even present-day Third World countries such as Mexico and Argentina in the early stages of their industrial history, large numbers of women were drawn into the first factories and were "at the centre of the most militant political and economic struggles of their day".

In Guatemala, according to Chincilla, a contrasting pattern emerges.

"Women have not been pushed into manufacturing industries in large numbers and have even declined proportionally in industries considered 'female' such as textile and tobacco based on foreign monopoly capital and exploitation of a cheap labour force".

It is incapable of providing large numbers of jobs to men or women. Nonetheless, Chincilla also emphasises that there are no universal homogeneous consequences of industrialization for women; rather there is

"a cluster of consequences that are conditioned by the mode of production and by the function of the economy in an intermediate economic system".

Thus,

"whether industrialization absorbs the women displaced from production roles in the home or traditional precapitalist economy into manufacturing depends on the total political-economic context in which it occurs and the extent to which it breaks down feudal or precapitalist relations, creates a demand for labour in the dynamic sectors of the economy and redistributes wealth internally.

For details see Chincilla N.S. "Industrialization, Monopoly Capitalism and Womens' work in Guatemala", ibid., pp. 38-56.

- 4 For details, see Beneria L. and Sen G., "Accumulation, Reproduction and Womens' Role in Economic Development: Boserup revisited" paper prepared for the Burg Wartenstein Symposium No: 85, August 2-10, 1980.
- 5 See Elson D. and Pearson R., 1980, "The Latest Phase of the Internationalization of Capital and Its Implication for Women in the Third World".
Discussion paper, Institute of Development Studies in Sussex.
- 6 Malaysia has often been described in such terms by foreign scholars. For example see McGee T., 1975. "Malay Migration to Kuala Lumpur City" in Du Toit and Safa. "Migration and Urbanisation".
- 7 Blake M., 1979, "Asian Women in Formal and Non-Formal sectors- Review and Proposals and Research - Education - mobilization".
Occasional Paper 2.
United Nations Asian and Pacific Centre for Women and Development.
Cardosa-Khoo and Khoo Kay Jin

"Work and consciousness: the case of Electronics 'runaways' in Malaysia".

Paper for conference on the "Continuing Subordination of Women in the Development Process". Institute of Development Studies, Sussex. September, mimeo.
- 8 Heyzer N. 1978, "Young Women and Migrant Workers in Singapore's Labour Intensive Industries". Paper presented to the Conference on "the Continuing Subordination of Women in the Development Process". IDS. Sussex, September, mimeo.
- 9 Grossman. R., "Womens' Place in the Integrated Circuit" in a Special Joint Issue of the South East Asia Chronicle and Pacific Research "Changing Role of S.E. Asian Women: The Global Assembly Line and the Social Manipulation of Women on the job". Vol. 9., No. 5-6, 1979.
- 10 For one example see Munster, A.M., "Export of Industries and the Changing Structure of the International Market," paper presented at the Consumer Association of Penang's Seminar, 21st. November 1980, Penang, Malaysia.
- 11 See Blake (1979), Linda Lim (1978), Snow (1978).
- 12 For details, see Linda Lim (1978), "Women Workers in Multinational Corporations in Developing Countries: The Case of the Electronics Industry in Malaysia and Singapore". Women's studies Program Occasional Paper No. 9., University of Michigan.
- 13 As pointed out by Linda Lim, Multinational Employers assert that they are able to liberate their Women Workers from the Inhibiting Institutional Practices of Feudal patriarchy. For details see Linda Lim, Ibid.

- 14 Susan Ackerman-Lee, "Cultural Process in Industrialization - A Study of Malay Factory Workers". Unpublished Ph.D. thesis 1980 p. 256. This point is also agreed to by other local Malaysian researchers who have not yet published their findings.

Notes for Chapter Three

- 1 (a) Factories with a majority of women workers, that is, at least 60% of their labour force comprised of women workers.

 (b) Figures relating to the total number of factories in each major urban-industrial area can be obtained from the author.
- 2 At the time of migration, 98.36% of the respondents were unmarried, and 1.64% were divorced or widowed women. At the time the interviews were conducted 93.11% of the sample were single and unmarried and 6.89% were married.
- 3 "In Peninsular Malaysia, over the time period of 1957 and 1970, the rural population has grown annually by 2.4% and the urban population by 3.3%. A good part of the increase in urban population is explained by migration from rural to urban areas and the growth of new urban areas". See, Malaysia Mid-Term Review of the Second Malaysia Plan 1971-1975, Government Press, Kuala Lumpur 1973 p. 26.
- 4 These are unpublished figures obtained from the Statistics Department Kuala Lumpur. The Statistical aggregation cited are based on the calculations made by the author and should not be cited without her knowledge.
- 5 See published data in "Community groups", Population and Housing Census of Malaysia Statistics Department Malaysia 1970 Tables III and IV p. 26, Tables XXI and XXII p. 36.
- 6 Jabatan Perdana Menteri Kajian Semula RMK 1971-75, percetakan Kerajaan, Kuala Lumpur, 1973 p. 24, p. 13.
- 7 The Statistics Department, Kuala Lumpur 1977.
- 8 Please refer to population census data 1960-65.
- 9 Statistics Department Malaysia, 1970 Population Census General Report Vols. 1 and 2, Kuala Lumpur.
- 10 This estimate is calculated on the basis of information that the total number of Malay female electronics workers in Peninsular Malaysia in 1976 was 25,000. It is safe to conclude that when Malay female workers from other "female-dominated" industries are added to this total, the number of rural-female Malay migrant clearly exceeds 30,000.

- 11 For a brief account of industrialization policies and patterns, see Lim Meng Seng Industrialization and Developing Countries, Modern Education Publishers Kuala Lumpur 1973.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 In 1975, the total number of people unemployed was 297,200 implying an unemployment rate of 7.0%. Labour force surveys show that unemployment rates among youths in the 15.19 year old age category are high in 1974: 18.8% in urban areas and 15.6% in rural areas, see Malaysia "Mid-Term Review of the Second Malaysia Plan", p. 31.
- 14 Malaysian Business Journal, Berita Publishing Sendirian Berhad, January 1978, p. 5.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 In other South-East Asian Countries, these Free Trade Zones are better known as "Export-processing Zones". In 1977 there were only three gazetted free trade zones; Sungai Way Free Trade Zone in Selangor, Batu Berendam Free Trade Zone in Malacca and Bayan Lepas Free Trade Zone in Penang.
- 17 These are unpublished figures obtained from the Federal Industrial Development Authority of Malaysia. For details, See Jamilah Ariffin, "Penghijrahan Buruh Wanita ke Sektor Perkilangan" Background paper Bumiputra Economic Convention, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, March 1978, p. 4.
- 17a Unpublished figures obtained from interviews with officials of the Ministry of Labour and Manpower Planning of Malaysia. These statistical aggregations are based on the author's calculations.
- 18 The New Economic Policy, introduced after the Malaysian racial riots of 1969, was aimed at correcting the grievances which were the root-causes of the riots. The NEP is designed to: (i) "eradicate poverty among all Malaysians irrespective of race and (ii) restructure Malaysian society so that the present identification of race with economic function and geographical location is reduced and eventually eliminated". (Mid-Term Review of Second Malaysia Plan p. 61). The 30% employment ratio for the Malays is calculated on the basis that in 1970, Malays comprised 55.4%, Chinese 33.8%, Indians 9.1% and others comprised 1.7% of the labour force. The 30% ratio of indigenous participation in commerce and industry is expected to be accomplished by 1990. For details, see Malaysia, The Third Malaysia Plan 1976-80, the Government Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1976, Ch. 1.
- 19a Borowski S., "New Forms and Factors affecting Rural Urban Migration in Poland", World Population Conference 1965 Vol. IV, "Migration, Urbanization and Economic Development" (New York, United Nations 1967) pp. 550-551;

- b Jung Joe Loo's paper is published in Henry Shyrock "Survey Statistics in Reasons for Moving", collected papers, (London USSP. 1969);
 - c Mortara G., "Factors affecting Rural-Urban Migration in Latin America: Influence of Economic and Social Conditions in these Two Areas". World Population Conference 1965, Vol. IV p. 512;
 - d Kuroda, T., "Internal Migration: An Overview of Problems and Studies", World Population Conference. Ibid. p. 506.
 - e Pascual, "Population Redistribution in the Philippines" Manila Population Institute, University of the Philippines 1969.
 - f Leong, S.Y., "Keadaan Sosio-Ekonomi dan Masalah Pekerja Kilang". Faculty of Arts, Fourth Year Honours project paper, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1975;
 - g Zahari A., "Analisa Perpindahan Buruh Wanita di Kawasan Perindustrian Bayan Lepas", Faculty of Arts, Fourth Year Honours project paper, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1974.
- 20 In Malaysia, poverty is measured by the poverty-line approach, the poverty-line is defined as the income needed to maintain a family in good health and provide minimum conventional needs for clothing, household management and transport. The poverty datum line for a family of five in 1970 was estimated by the Malaysian Social Welfare Department to be M\$160 per month. In 1975 it was raised to \$210 per month. See World Bank, "Malaysia: Second Plan Performance and Third Plan Issues", Vol. I, Washington 1976, p. 15.
- 21 This is also true for other developing societies. For further details see Youssef N.H. "Women and Work in Developing Societies" Reprint Westport Greenwood Press, 1976.
- 22 Beginning in the 1930s, the British Administration in Malaya introduced western-type education for all Malays. However, the Malays were reluctant to send their daughters to these schools for fear that they would be influenced by Christianity and westernization. It was only in the late 1940s that this attitude changed.
- 23 About one generation ago, as soon as the village maiden attained the age of twelve years old, she would be secluded, never to be seen or heard in public. Today however these restrictions are somewhat more relaxed.
- a However, upon marriage, she will take an active part in the economy. In this sense, rural Malay women are similar to many other women in Southeast Asia and different from the traditional Women in Arabia and other orthodox Muslim societies. For an elaboration, see Boserup, E. Women's Role in Economic Development, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1970.

- 24 Oded Stark, "Rural to Urban Migration and Some Economic Issues: A Review utilising findings of surveys and Empirical studies covering the 1965-1975 Period", I.L.O. Working Paper, May 1976.
- 25a Bhargava G., "Implications of Migration to Towns", Kurukshetra, Vol. 19, February 1971.
- b Bairoch, P., "Urban Unemployment in Developing Countries: The Nature of the Problem and Proposals for its solution", I.L.O., Geneva, 1973.
- c Gugler, J., "Migration to urban centres of Unemployment in Tropical Africa", in Richmond A., and Kubot D. (eds.), Internal Migration - The New World and the Third World, Sage Studies in International Sociology, Sage Publications Ltd., U.S.A., 1976.
- 26 In the majority of factories from which the sample was selected, the supervisors were men.
- 27 In 1970 the mean monthly income for urban households in Malaysia was \$435. See, Malaysia, Mid-Term Review of the Second Malaysia Plan 1971-1975, Government Press, Kuala Lumpur 1973, p. 3.
- 28 The payment for overtime work varies from one company to another. For example, one factory in the survey paid 1/5 of the workers' daily wage while another paid 1/6 of the daily wage. In many electronics factories overtime work is compulsory and enforced during periods of high market demand for the factories' products. Electronics workers interviewed usually complained about the night-shift duty because the rest period given after each shift arrangement and before commencing on a new shift duty is only 36 hours. This compares very unfavourably with hospital night-shift workers who are given a rest period of 4 days (96 hours). For details, see Jamilah-Arifin, "The Position of Women Workers in the Manufacturing Industries in Malaysia". Paper presented at the International seminar on WOMEN IN THE THIRD WORLD, Madras India December 1979.
- 29 Similar to overtime work, the policy of social and medical benefits for workers varies from one company to another.
- 30 As pointed out by (a) Rachel Grossman, and (b) Linda Lim, Women workers in electronics factories (owned by multinational corporations) are constantly exposed to westernised values and role models. In fact according to these researchers, many multinational corporations in South East Asia in general and in Malaysia in particular, purposely manipulate their female workers to as to maintain submissive behaviour patterns, see Special Joint Issue Southeast Asia Chronicle No. 66 and Pacific Research Vol. 9 No. 5-6 1979; (b) Linda Y.C. Lim, "Women Workers in Multinational Corporations. The case of Electronics Industry in Malaysia and Singapore" Michigan Occasional Papers, No. IX Fall 1978, p. 7.

- 31 Of all the companies in the study, only two provide hostel facilities. In the case of government hostels it was only in 1978 that the first youth hostel for girls was established in Kuala Lumpur.
- 32 The editorial of a local afternoon newspaper ascertains this. It criticised the Social Welfare Ministry for not carrying out research before hand in order to ascertain the opinions of factory girls about this programme. The lukewarm support of the girls was not at all surprising to the author since it tallies with the pattern of responses to a question asked about their accommodation preferences: 39.62% preferred to stay in hostels, 34.77% preferred staying with friends, and only 21.38% preferred the foster parent adoption scheme.
- 33 See, Malaysia, "Mid-Term Review of the Second Malaysia Plan 1971-75", p. 5.
- 34 Op. cit., ibid.
- 35 This finding is supported by Federation of Family Planning Association of Malaysia study, see Research Report, 1975.
- 36 Factory girls frequently buy their meals from roadside vendors and can be seen loitering around the shopping centres and cinema halls. This observation is also supported by the Federation of Family Planning Association's empirical study.
- 37 They are sought after for various purposes. It is common to learn from rumour mongers and the mass media that many factory girls are attending wild parties or involved in prostitution on a part-time basis. These matters have been publicised to the rural people by the mass media.
- 38 In fact at one time in 1976 the situation was so bad that the government authorities in collaboration with the industries called for the services of a medical psychiatrist to investigate the matter. During my visits to the factories, I was informed by many of the managers that they often called upon the services of "bomohs" (traditional healers) to alleviate the situation.
- 39 This is also one of the major findings of the Federation of Family Planning Association of Malaysia's study in Penang.
- 40 Due to these warnings and unfavourable news, it was reported in the Straits Times in 1977 that some people in the Northern States of Peninsular Malaysia were reluctant to allow their daughters to become factory workers. As a result there have been cases where industries have had to send special agents to the rural centres to recruit women workers.
- 41 Factory girls are aware that some members of the general public have a low opinion of them. For details see, Jamilah Ariffin, "Rural-Urban Migration and the status of Factory Women Workers in a Developing Society: A Case Study of Peninsular Malaysia" paper presented at the 1978 conference of the sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand.

- 42 Business Times, Friday, November 17, 1978 p. 15. An article in the Straits Times August 17, 1978 succinctly described the situation as follows:

"3,000 jobs going at Bayan Lepas" Penang, Wed. - About 3,000 vacancies for women production operators in electronics factories in the Bayan Lepas free trade zone are going begging because of labour shortage in Penang.

As a result, the expansion programmes of several factories are being held up.

The demand for factory workers at Bayan Lepas follows an up-turn in the electronics industry with most factories running on three daily shifts.

A number of factories anxious to engage more workers has sent out recruiting teams to the northern states and the East Coast."

Notes for Chapter Four

- 1 Sources of data for this paper include the following:
 - (i) A survey carried out in 1977 on 1294 female factory workers in Peninsular Malaysia. These workers are rural-urban migrant Malay females who are employed in electronics and non-electronics factories;
 - (ii) A follow-up study in 1979 on a sample selected from the general sample of the 1977 survey research;
 - (iii) Secondary data from the Statistics Department of Malaysia;
 - (iv) Case-study reports on female factory workers and management strategies.
- 2 In 1973, with the exception of Japan, Taiwan, Hongkong and Singapore, Malaysia was the most affluent nation in Asia with a per capita GDP of U.S. \$570. See World Bank, World Tables 1976 (Baltimore, John Hopkins, 1976).
- 3 Unpublished from the Statistics Department of Malaysia.
- 4 For details see Jamilah Ariffin, Industrial Development in Peninsular Malaysia and Rural-Urban Migration of Women Workers, (Paper presented at the 10th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in the Session on Development and Women New Delhi, India, December 1978.
- 5 For details, see South-East Asia Chronicle, The Global Assembly Line and the Social Manipulation of Women on the Job, Pacific Research Issue, Vol. 9, No. 5-6, 1979.
- 6 Op.cit.
- 7 Malaysian Business Journal, Berita Publishing Sendirian Berhad, January 1978, p. 5.
- 8 This knowledge is based on a comparative analysis of the Malaysian Labour Ordinances of 1970 and 1977.
- 9 In some cases, as in Johore, this takes the form of a door-to-door campaign.
- 10 Prime Minister Department, Mid-Term Review of the Third Malaysia Plan 1971-1975, Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur, 1973.
- 11 For details, see Jamilah Ariffin (India, 1978).
- 12 Op.cit.

- 13 These calculations are based on data from the Census Sample Tape of 1970 and on the assumption that more than 60% of the total number of 109,771 Malay female workers (in the manufacturing sector) are rural-urban migrants.
- 14 In September 1978, the Youth Section of UMNO (United Malay National Organization) set up a special committee to investigate this matter.
- 15 Information based on data obtained from the Statistics Department, Malaysia.
- 16 For details, see Linda Lim, Women Workers in Multinational Corporations, the case of the Electronics Industry in Malaysia and Singapore, (unpublished article, 1978).
- 17 This is a longitudinal study on a selected group of Malay female migrants who are working as employees in Sungei Way, Shah Alam and Selayang Baru in Selangor.
- 18 Data from the 1977 survey and longitudinal study of 1979.
- 19 Information obtained from a personnel manager of an electronics company in Selangor. An exception must be made for Motorola electronics company which gives 56 rest hours to its night-shift workers. The information on hospital night-shift workers was counter-checked by the writer for its validity.
- 20 This is clearly indicated by findings of the 1977 survey and confirmed by findings of the 1979 longitudinal study.
- 21 Information obtained from the same personnel manager (see footnote 19).
- 22 Almost all the twenty electronics factories surveyed in 1977 have faced problems created by mass-hysteria among their female workers. This finding concurs with Linda Lim's study in 1976 on the electronics industry in Malaysia and Singapore. According to information gathered in the follow-up study of 1979, an electronics company in Sungei Way (which is well-known for being one of the most benevolent companies in Malaysia) also faced serious problems of a similar kind, when in 1978 between 200 and 300 Malay female workers were incapacitated by one mass-hysteria incident. Since this incident, the management has taken careful measures to prevent its reoccurrence but hysteria among individual workers has happened two or three times every year.
- 23 For details, Jamilah Ariffin's background paper, India, 1978.
- 24 According to the South-East Asia Chronicle (1979) (see footnote 5) workers who do bonding-work process and constant microscope work for three or four years will eventually get poor eyesight and other related problems.

- 25 For details, see Linda Lim, 1978. On this aspect, Linda Lim's findings are similar to the writer's findings.
- 26 This sample of 120 girls represents approximately 7% of all Malay female production-operators in this company. Admittedly, a sample of this size limits our ability to make generalizations and there is need to investigate further into this issue. Nevertheless, this writer suspects that the provision of limited occupational mobility applies equally to other women workers in other electronics companies.
- 27 A newspaper article in the Utusan Malaysia, August 1978, publicised a report from the Malaysian Employers Federation (MEF). This stated the following findings: Yearly, about 300 to 400 factory workers in the manufacturing industries die due to accidents in the factory. In one year, records showed that between 12,000 and 13,000 accidents occurred on the shop-floor and these caused minor or fatal injuries to workers. On the average, 23 accidents occur every hour. Small and medium-sized industries seem to have the highest incidence of industrial accidents.
- 28 For details, see South-East Asia Chronicle, 1979.
- 29 Op.cit., Ibid;
- 30 This issue forms an important research objective of the longitudinal study.

Notes for Chapter Five

- 1 This is pointed out by Wong (see Aline K. Wong) "Problems and Adaptive Strategies of Female Rural-Urban Migrants: A Selective Review" 1979. The same conclusion is reached by writers in the book of readings on "Migration and Urbanization: Models and Adaptive Strategies" 1975.
- 2 This is a conclusion reached during the working-group meeting on "Women in the Cities" held at the Population Institute East West Center Hawaii in March 1979.
- 3 This is a finding common to all the research papers on female migration in the developing countries presented at the Eleventh Summer Seminar Workshop on "Analysis of Female Migration", East-West Center Hawaii, June 1980.
- 4 See "Report on the Discussion Group on Research Issues, Theory and Methodology of Female Migration" Working-Group Meeting on "Women in the Cities", 1979.
- 5 One example of the few studies which have been carried out is Puan Rajmah Samad's study on the adaptation problems of Malay Female Factory Workers in Selangor (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham). Another study on adaptive process of Malay factory workers in the Free Trade Zones in Selangor is being carried out by Cik Zuhairah Ali of the HAWA GROUP, University of Malaya.
- 6 McGee T.G., 1968, "Malays in Kuala Lumpur City" unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wellington, New Zealand.
- 7 This point is noted by Marjorie Muecke in "Urban Adjustment of Migrant Women in Northern Thailand", unpublished paper presented at the "Women in the Cities" Meeting.
- 8 This definition follows closely the concept of migrants' adaptation as espoused by Brody. See Brody E.B. ed. 1969 "Behaviour in New Environments", Beverly Hills, California Sage Publications.
- 9 The reasons why industrial companies prefer to employ Malay women workers other than the need to comply with the New Economic policy has been discussed in Chapter Four.
- 10 See Provencher 1975, Siew-Ean Khoo 1979. This point was also discussed by Royal Professor Ungku Aziz, 1977, p. 3. On the basis of the rate of Malay female participation in secondary education in 1975, Ungku Aziz estimates that there are about 38,000 Malay female potential job-seekers annually.

- 11 Previously Malay females with secondary level educational qualifications can quite easily get jobs in the "feminine" occupations as teachers, nurses and clerks.
- 12 The basis for this estimation has been elaborated in Chapter Three.
- 13 The importance of the factory cultural system in moulding factory girls' behaviour and outlook has been highlighted in Chapter Four.
- 14 Information on the work force participation of female migrants to cities suggests that most of the female migrants tend to be engaged in occupations outside the organised sector. For further details see Nasra Shah, 1979 "Issues in the Labour Force of Migrant Women" unpublished paper presented at the WOMEN IN THE CITIES Working Group.
- 15 In the early seventies, few industrial companies provided hostel accommodation. Nowadays, due to industrial companies' greater awareness of the accommodation problems of factory girls and pressure of voluntary organisations, many electronics companies are providing hostel accommodation by renting houses on a large-scale.
- 16 It was only in 1978 that the first youth hostel for girls was established in Kuala Lumpur. In 1980, the Ministry of Social Welfare has arranged for two hostels for factory girls, one in Perak and the other in Kedah.
- 17 Details on how this trend reflects the migration of Malay female labour from the agricultural sector to the manufacturing sector are given in an earlier paper. See Jamilah Ariffin in June 1980.
- 18 This seems to be the case in the Bayan Lepas area of Penang.
- 19 This is a common occurrence in many industrial areas in Malaysia. This case is often quoted by residents in the Sungei Way community-study.
- 20 This seems to be the case for Sungei Way. Previously Sungei Way was a Chinese New Village. In the early 1960's, a deliberate attempt was made by the Selangor government to develop Petaling Jaya as an industrial area and to develop Sungei Way as a residential area for Malay factory workers. By 1970, the composition of the residents was still largely Chinese, but after 1970 with the in-migration of hundreds of Malay factory girls into the area, there are now more Malays than non-Malays.
- 21 For a discussion of traditional Malay attitudes towards the pattern of single girls living on their own, see Provencher (1975).

- 22 Respondents in the Sungei Way community study often quoted cases where the local youngsters were badly influenced by factory girls' behaviour. According to them the improper conduct of girls have brought a bad name to the community. It is now called the "Haadyai of Malaysia".
- 23 In the early seventies, the local newspapers were inclined to report 'actual' cases of factory girls improper behaviour-pattern and to condemn this behaviour. Nowadays, due to the reaction of factory girls against this bad publicity and active encouragement of some pressure groups given to the participation of Malay females in industrial development, the mass media is changing its orientation. Factory work is promoted as a respectable occupation and the mass-media is more sympathetic about factory girls' problems.
- 24 Personal communication of a factory girl in Shah Alam to the writer.
- 25 This is an aspect frequently told to the writer by several UMNO women leaders in Selangor (who were trying to attract factory girls to join the UMNO organization) and members of voluntary welfare organizations who were trying to form recreation clubs for factory workers in Petaling Jaya.
- 26 This is obvious during my visit to one of the big electronics companies in Sungei Way Free Trade Zone.

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QUESTIONNAIRE I

- (i) Name: Index Number:
- (ii) Address: Centre:
-
- (iii) Name and type of Factory: Date:
-
- (iv) Type of Product: Name of Interviewer:
-
- (v) Type of Job:
- (vi) Type of Company:
-
- (vii) Place of Interview:
-
- (viii) Time and Length of Interview:
-

SECTION ONE

SOCIAL BACKGROUND

1. Respondent's Name:
2. Respondent's Age:
3. (a) Father's Occupation:
- (b) How many brothers and sisters do you have?
-
- (c) How many people are still staying in your parent's house?
-
4. Marital Status:
5. Highest Educational Qualification you attained:
-
6. (a) Place of Birth:
- (b) Place where you grew up:
- (c) How far is this place from the nearest town? miles.
- (d) How far is this place from here? miles.

7. Why did you stop schooling?
(Select only one answer)
- (a) Parents could not afford the expenses
 - (b) No schooling facilities in the village
 - (c) Parental objections
 - (d) No personal motivation
 - (e) Other reasons, Please specify:.....
.....
8. (a) From the time you started to look for a job until the time you got a job, how long were you unemployed?
Answer:
- (b) From the time you started to look for a job until the time you got this present job, how long were you unemployed?
Answer:
- (c) Have you ever had any technical training?
(Select only one answer)
- (i) No
 - (ii) Yes
- (If yes, please specify the type of training and when you had this training)
.....
.....
9. Before you started on this present job, have you been employed elsewhere?
- (i) Yes
 - (ii) No
- If you have been employed, please specify
- (a) Where:
 - (b) When:
 - (c) Type of occupation:
 - (d) Why did you change jobs?
 - (i) the present job pays more
 - (ii) the previous job did not provide security
 - (iii) the previous job did not provide sufficient amenities and job-promotion
 - (iv) the previous job was dangerous
 - (v) other reasons: please specify
.....
.....

SECTION TWO

MIGRATION

1. How long have you stayed in this place?

Answer:

2. From the time you left your village and until the time you arrived at this present place, did you stay at any other place? Please specify these places and how long you stayed at each of these places.

Answer:

.....

3. Why did you migrate from your village? Please list the reasons why you migrated and specify which is the most important motivating reason.

Answer: (a) The reasons are:

.....

(b) The most important motivating reason is:.....

.....

.....

4. What do you hope to achieve from migrating and working in the city (Interviewer: please probe.)

Answer:

.....

.....

5. (a) When you first arrived in the city, Where did you stay?

Answer:

(b) How and with whom did you stay?

(i) by myself

(ii) with relatives

(iii) with friends

(iv) with people from my village

Answer:

6. How long were you unemployed after you arrived in the city?

Answer:

7. If you were to compare your former life in the village and your present life in the city, which one do you like better in terms of each of these aspects:

	(i)	(ii)
	<u>Village</u>	<u>City</u>
(a) Public facilities and amenities		
(b) Income level		
(c) Social mixing		
(d) Emotional satisfaction		

SECTION THREE

RURAL-URBAN LINKS

- Ever since you migrated to the city, how many times in a year do you go back to your original village?
 Answer: (i) very often (7-12 times)
 (ii) once in a while (2-6 times)
 (iii) seldom (once a year)
 (iv) never
- Ever since you migrated to the city, how many times in a year do your relatives from the village visit you in the city?
 Answer: (i) very often (7-12 times)
 (ii) once in a while (2-6 times)
 (iii) seldom (once a year)
 (iv) never
- When was your most recent visit to your original village?
 Date of visit:
- Normally how many letters in a month do you send back to the village?
 Answer:
- Normally, how many letters in a month do you receive from people in your place of origin?
 Answer:

6. At this time, with whom do you stay. If you are staying with relatives, please specify how many relatives are staying with you and the nature of the kinship ties.

Answer: (a) I am staying with:

or (b) I am staying with relatives

(i) Total number of relatives:

(ii) Nature of kinship ties:

SECTION FOUR

LIVING CONDITIONS

1. Where are you staying now? (Please specify (i) Type of accommodation, (ii) Rental-arrangement, (iii) Monthly rent, (iv) Area of residence and Type of residential area.)

Answer: (i)

(ii)

(iii)

(iv)

(v)

2. (a) Are you sharing your living quarters with anyone? Answer: Yes/No.

(b) If you are sharing, specify who they are . Answer:

3. Do your living quarters have electricity facilities? Answer: Yes/No.

4. Do your living quarters have piped water supply? Answer: Yes/No.

5. Are your living quarters within the limits of the city council?

Answer: Yes/No

6. Are you satisfied with your present living conditions?

Answer: (i) Yes - very satisfied

(ii) Yes - quite satisfied

(iii) No - Not satisfied

(Instruction to interview: Probe the reasons for the answer)

Reasons:

.....

.....

7. Assume that you can get a factory job in your original village, would you choose to work

(i) in the village or

(ii) in the city

8. If you are able to choose, which accommodation pattern would you prefer?

- (i) live with foster-parents according to the foster-parent-adoption scheme of the social welfare ministry
- (ii) live together with friends in a rented dwelling
- (iii) live in a hostel for factory girls

(Please select one answer and give reasons for this choice)

Answer:

SECTION FIVE

FINANCIAL POSITION AND RESPONSIBILITIES

1. What is your daily income? Answer:
2. What is your monthly income? Answer:
3. (a) Are you supporting anyone financially on a regular basis?
 Answer: Yes/No
- (b) If you are, please specify who they are, the nature of the relationship, are they staying with you, their age-group, amount of money you spent on them per month, and reason for supporting them.

No.	Nature of Relationship	Staying with you or not staying	Age	Amount per month	Reason
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					

4. (a) These questions are only for those who are married

(i) How long have you been married? Answer:.....

(ii) Does your husband work? Answer:.....

(iii) If your husband is working, please specify:

(i) Where

(ii) Type of occupation

(iii) His income per month

Answer: (i)

(ii)

(iii)

(b) These questions are for those who are not married

(i) Who is the principal income-earner in your family?

Answer:

(ii) How much does this person earn every month?

Answer :

5.

(A) INCOME	(B) EXPENDITURE ON	(C) EXCESS (A-B)
1. Basic Income:	(i) Accommodation	
2. Income from overtime work:	(ii) Food	
3. Income from allowance:	(iii) Clothing	
4. Income from other sources (Please specify)	(iv) Entertainment	
.....	(v) Other (Please specify)	
.....	
.....	
TOTAL INCOME =	TOTAL EXPENDITURE =	

6. (a) Do you save part of your income every month on a regular basis?
 Answer: Yes/No
- (b) If you do, how much have you saved from the time you started working on this job?
 Answer:.....
- (c) Do you remit money to the people in your village?
 Answer: Yes/No
7. These questions are for those who remit money to their village
- (i) In the past year, how many times do you remit money and other goods to the people in your village?
 Answer:Times
- (ii) What is the monetary value of your remittance per year?
 Answer: \$

SECTION SIX

EMPLOYMENT AND WORK CONDITIONS

1. (a) Were you employed when you were in the village?
 Answer: Yes/No
- If you were employed, please answer these questions pertaining to your former occupation in the village i.e. your occupation before you migrated to the city.
- (b) Type of occupation
- (c) Income per month from this occupation
- (d) Method of doing the job (on an individual or group basis)

- (e) On the average how many days did you work in a month?
 Answer:.....
2. Now please answer these questions pertaining to you present job.
- (a) How long have you been employed in this factory?
 Answer:
- (b) Are you a permanent or a probationary worker?
 Answer:
- (c) Do you do overtime work? Answer:
- (d) If you do overtime work, please state your monthly income from this overtime work?
 Answer: \$..... a month.

- (e) Nature of overtime work: Is overtime work compulsory in your factory?

Answer:.....

If you don't do overtime work, please state why.

Answer:.....

3. How far is this factory from your present place of stay?

Answer:.....

4. How do you go to work?

Answer:.....

5. (a) At the time you obtained this factory job, did you receive any other job-offers?

Answer: Yes/No

- (b) If you did receive other job-offers, why did you choose to work in this factory?

Answer:.....

6. Now, please answer these questions about your process of adjustment to this job. At the beginning, did you face difficulties in terms of adjusting to:-

Answer:.....

- (a) The rules and regulations of the occupation?

Answer:

- (b) Type of occupation? Answer:.....

- (c) Tools and technology of the work-system?

Answer:.....

- (d) Instructions and supervisory methods in the organization?

Answer:.....

- (e) If you have answered that you faced adjustment difficulties in four work-related aspects (as given above) please specify how long you faced these difficulties.

Answers:.....

7. Now please give your opinion on your present job.

- (a) Do you find that this job is boring?

Answer: Yes/No

- (b) If you do find it boring, please explain why?

Answer:.....

- (c) Do you find that you can think of other things while doing this job?

Answer: Yes/No

- (d) Do you find that the work-system is too fast-moving and difficult to keep up with?

Answer: (i) Yes - Always

(ii) Yes - Sometimes

(iii) No

- (e) How do you rate your work-relationship with your line-supervisor?

Answer: (i) very good (specify why)

.....

(ii) quite good (specify why)

.....

(iii) not good (specify why)

.....

(iv) very bad (specify why)

.....

- (f) What is your opinion about this company you are working for?

Answer: (i) Better than other companies

(why? Please specify)

.....

(ii) About the same as any other company

(iii) Not as good as some other companies

(please specify why)

.....

- (g) In your opinion do you think this company can afford to pay you higher wages than what you are paid now?

Answer:

- (h) When you compare yourself as a factory worker in the city with your former life in the village, do you feel more satisfied with your present life or more dissatisfied?

Answer:

- (i) Assume that you have to stop work at this factory, what type of job will you choose which is within the range of your educational qualifications and the payment-level you are getting now.

Answer: (i) Another factory job?

Answer:

(ii) Another type of job? (Please specify)

Answer:

SECTION SEVEN

SOCIAL MIXING IN THE WORK PLACE

1. Do you have friends in your work place?

(i) Yes or (ii) No

(iii) If yes, please give the names of four of your good friends.

Answer: (i)
 (ii)
 (iii)
 (iv)

2. (a) What are the social activities which are organised by your company for its workers?

Answer:

(b) Please answer whether you frequently or do not frequently attend the following activities which are organised by your company.

Activities	Frequent	Do Not Frequent
i Annual company's Dinner		
ii Dance/party/ Social		
iii Picnic		
iv Excursion		
v Sports		
vi Classes and courses		
vii Picture-show		

3. Do you find that other workers on the shop floor are co-operative or non-cooperative, when you face a problem during work?

Answer: (i) cooperative

or

(ii) non-cooperative

4. (a) Do you mix with your work mates after work and outside this factory building?

Answer: Yes/No

- (b) If Yes, specify what sort of things do you do together with your workmates after work hours (Interviewer: Please probe).

Answer:
.....
.....

- (c) In one month, how many times do you:-

- (i) go visiting together with your work-mates

Answer: times a month

- (ii) go about with your female friends?

Answer: times a month

- (iii) go about with your male friends?

Answer: times a month

- (d) Among these friends, how many do you really regard as friends who are dependable?

Answer:

5. After work, do you find yourself feeling bored?

Answer: (i) Yes or (ii) No

6. (a) Are you a member of this company's worker's union?

Answer: Yes/No

- (b) If Yes, specify your reasons for joining the union (Interviewer: Please probe).

Answer:.....
.....

- (c) If you are a union member, do you consider yourself?

- (i) An active member (i.e. attend all meetings or hold official positions)

- (ii) A moderately-active member (i.e. attend only some meetings)

- (iii) Inactive member (i.e. do not attend meetings)

- (vii)

These problems are as follows:

To whom would you go for
advice and help

- (a) A mistake in your payment
- (b) A mistake in your work-arrangement
- (c) Retrenched from your job without reason
- (d) You hate your job
- (e) You need financial help badly
- (f) A misunderstanding with your parents
- (g) You have to get married
- (h) Assume that you need advice on
preventing pregnancy
- (i) Assume that you found yourself
pregnant and need an abortion

6. Now we want to know whether you have experienced these difficulties and whether these difficulties affect your mind:

- (i) Badly or (ii) Quite badly or (iii) Very mildly

	<u>Answer</u>		
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
<u>Difficulty</u>			Not relevant; - respondent has not met this difficulty
(a) Understanding the instructions from your line-supervisor			
(b) Understanding the written instructions in the factory			
(c) To fulfill the work- quota as imposed by management			
(d) Feelings of fatigue and tiredness after work			
(e) Difficulty to sleep at night			
(f) A misunderstanding with your parents			

<u>Difficulty</u>	<u>Answer</u>			Not relevant; - respondent has not met this difficulty
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	
(g) People teasing you on the bus or along the road				
(h) Public opinion that factory girls have low morals				
(i) Budgetting your expenditure				
(j) Travelling from your place of stay to place of work				
(k) Criticisms from elders about the behaviour of the young people today				
7. (a) Do you have four best friends in the community where you are staying?	Answer: Yes/No			
(b) If you have, how many of them are non-malays?	Answer:			
8. (a) <u>If you have a choice</u> , would you like to settle permanently in this community?	Answer: Yes/No			
(b) If not, why not?	Answer:.....			
9. How many people do you know in this community?	Answer:			
10. (a) Are you a member of the clubs and voluntary associations in this community?	Answer: Yes/No			
(b) If you are a member, name these clubs and organisations in which you are a regular member.	Answer:.....			
(c) If you have joined these community clubs and organizations, how often do you attend the functions organised by them.	Answer: (i) Always (ii) Seldom (iii) Do not attend			(iv) Respondent is not a member

SECTION NINE

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

1. How do you rate your job security

Answer

Specify reason

- (i) very secure:.....
- (ii) quite secure:.....
- (iii) not secure:.....
- (iv) don't know:.....

2. Do you feel that your standard of living has improved as a result of taking this factory job in the city?

Answer: (i) very true - it has improved

(ii) quite true - it has improved slightly

(iii) not true - it has not improved slightly

(iv) not true - there is no change at all

(v) not true - it has deteriorated

(vi) don't know

3. Assume that you are dismissed from your factory job, what would you do?
Please specify which option you would take if you were given three options

(a) Find another job in the city

(b) Find another job anywhere

(c) Go home to your original village

4. What are your plans for the future?

Answer: (i) To continue working so that you can definitely
return home to your original village

(ii) You will return to your original village at some
uncertain date when you have achieved all your
motives and reasons for migration

(iii) You will, return home eventually but don't know when

(iv) You will settle in the city but maintain contacts
with your original village

(v) You will return to settle in your village when you
reach retirement age.

(vi) You will always settle permanently in the city

(vii) Other plans:- Please specify:
.....

SECTION TENFEELINGS AND EMOTIONS

1. We will now read to you a set of matters, for each matter, please answer whether this is something (i) you always wish for, (ii) you sometimes wish for, (iii) you seldom wish for,

<u>Matter</u>	<u>Answer</u>		
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
(a) To further your education			
(b) To obtain a job-promotion			
(c) To have someone you can trust and confide in			
(d) The community understands you			
(e) To get married happily			

2. For you to like a job, specify whether the following aspects are (i) very important (ii) quite important (iii) not very important

<u>Aspect</u>	<u>Answer</u>		
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
(a) A good salary			
(b) A secure but not well-paid job			
(c) Good chances of job-promotion			
(d) Good supervision			
(e) Friendly work-mates			
(f) A low-paying job of high status in society			
(g) Freedom			
(h) Autonomy			

3. For you to remain in a job, is it very important to you to have a line supervisor who takes trouble to understand and help with your personal problems?

Answer: (i) very important or (ii) not very important

4. (a) What are the major benefits from your factory job that you value very highly? For each of these benefits, please state whether you value:

- (i) very highly
(ii) quite highly
(iii) not highly

<u>Benefit</u>	<u>Answer</u>		
	<u>(i)</u>	<u>(ii)</u>	<u>(iii)</u>
(a) The pay			
(b) Sense of self achievement			
(c) Economic independence			
(d) Opportunity to mix and know other people			

- (b) Of all the benefits listed above, which one gives you the greatest incentive to continue working?

Answer:.....

5. For each of the work-aspects listed below, please answer whether you are:

- (i) very satisfied
(ii) quite satisfied
(iii) not satisfied

<u>Work-Aspect</u>	<u>Answer</u>		
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
(a) Work-arrangement			
(b) Line-supervision			
(c) Cooperativeness and friendship among work-mates			
(d) Payment and financial amenities			
(e) Chances of job-promotion			
(f) Job-security			
(g) Feeling of mutual respect among work-mates			
(h) Opportunity to achieve your ambition			
(i) Independence and autonomy			

11-Respondent's Background: Household's Composition, Occupation and Income

Respondent's Name: Name of Factory: Interviewer's Name:
Place of Interview: Place of Origin: Date of Interview:

Head of Household and Spouse

No.	Name	Sex	Age	P.B.	A/PA	R.W.R.	Present Address	Educational Qualifications	Occupation	Employer	Place of Work	Y.P.M.	Length of Employment
1													
2													

Offspring of Head of Household

No.	Name	Sex	Age	R.W.H.H.	A/PA	R.W.R.	S.L.T.	Educational Qualification	Occupation	School/Employer	YPM	D/P of M	Offspring who left Home
1													Address of
2													
3													
4													
5													
6													
7													
8													
9													
10													

Other People who Stayed in the Respondent's Parent's House

No.	Name	Sex	Age	P.B.	A/PA	RWR	SLT	Educational Qualification	Occupation	Married or Single	School/Employer	YPM	Place of Work	Length of Employment
1														
2														
3														
4														
5														

Legend: P.B.-Place of Birth A/PA-Alive or Have Passed Away SLT-Still Living Together YPM-Income Per Month SPM-Savings Per Month
RWR-Relation with Household Head RWR-Relationship with Respondent D/P of M-Date & Place of Marriage n/c-Number of Children
D of D-Date of Departure

Information Regarding Respondent's Friends (3 Females and 3 Males) (Specify Which is your Boyfriend or Husband)

No	Name	Sex	Age	Place of Birth	Ethnic Group	Spoken Language	PPS + LS	Place of Origin	L.A.	Educational Qualification	Occupation	School/Employer	L.E.	YPM
1														
2														
3														
4														
5														

Legend: PPS + LA-Present Place of Stay and Length of Stay LE-Length of Employment LA-How Long Have You Been Acquainted
YPM-Income Per Month

Questions Regarding the Respondent's Parents

- i Does your father have any business venture? YPM
- ii What financial assets does your father have? YPM
- iii Total income per month of your household members: YPM
- iv Other than yourself, do you have any siblings who are working as factory employees?
- Is he/she still working in the factory or have found another job?

(II) Income, Expenditure and Savings

(a) Income per month(YPM) \$

Total YPM	YFP	YFR	YFO	YFW

- (i) Do you receive monthly income from anyone?
- (ii) Other than the sources of income as stated, do you have other sources of income?.....

YFM-Income from parents
YFO-Income from others

YFH-Income from your own economic activity
YFR-Income from relatives

(b) Expenditure Per Month (EPM) \$

Total YPM	Type of Accommodation and Rent per Month	Exp on Cosmetics	Exp on Clothings	Other Expenditure

Remittances Per Month				
To Parents	To Siblings	To Relatives	To your Offsprings	To Others (Explain)

- i Are you supporting anyone financially?
- ii Do you send any money to your parents every month or once in a while?
If once in a while, what is the total sum per year?
- iii Other than money what else do you send home?
What is the monetary value in ringgit per year?
- iv Give details about your accommodation and rental arrangement
- v Give details on your daily expenditure on essentials (eg, Food, bus-fare)
- vi Please specify other forms of monthly expenditure you have to incur.....

(c) Savings and Monetary Assets \$

Total Savings Per Month	In Cash \$	In the Bank	Others: Provide details on forms of savings

Total Assets From Factory Employment	Jewellery	Household Items	E.P.F.	Others (Specify)

- i How long have you been working in this factory?
- ii How much money have you saved during this time?
- iii Previously, were you employed at any other place and how much money have you manage to save?
- iv What is your total savings (from the time you first started working till now)?

(III) A Comparison of Respondent's Socio-Economic Conditions:
1977 and 1979

(a) Condition of Place of Residence

- i. Place of Residence Before and At Present:
.....
- ii. Type of Accommodation Before and At Present:
.....
(Which One Do You Consider More Comfortable?)
.....
- iii. Why Did You Choose This Present Accommodation?
.....
- iv. Provide Details On Present Accommodation, Rental Arrangement
Cooking Arrangement, House-work Arrangement Condition of
Sleeping - Quarters etc:
.....
.....
.....

(b) Position of Income And Expenditure

- i. Are You Still Working In The Same Factory?
.....
- ii. How Long Have You Been Working In This Factory?
- iii. Since Our Interview In 1977, Have You Received Any Increase
In Your Wages?
- iv. Since Our Interview Two Years Ago, Did You Experience
Any Increase in Your Cost of Living And Monthly Expenditure:
.....
- v. Which One Has Increased More, Income Or Expenditure?
.....

(c) Savings And Remittances

- i. Since We Met Two Years Ago, Is There Any Increase In Your
Savings?
.....
- ii. Since That Time, Were You Able To Expand Your Monetary
Assets?
.....

Migration, Education and Employment

Name of Respondent:
Area:

Interviewer's Name:
Date of Interview:

NO	DATE	AGE	PLACE OF DESTINATION	HOW LONG DID YOU STAY THERE	WHO MADE THE DECISION TO MIGRATE	WHY	HOW DID YOU MIGRATE	WITH WHOM DID YOU STAY	EDUCATION	EMPLOYMENT	EMPLOYER	INCOME: PER MONTH	WORK-HOURS Per WEEK	LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT
1	1962								STANDARD/ FORM	QUALIFICA- TION	TYPE OF WORK	PLACE OF WORK		
2	1962													
3	1962													
4	1962													
5	1962													
6	1962													
7	1962													
8	1962													
9	1962													
10	1962													
11	1962													
12	1962													
13	1962													
14	1962													
15	1962													
16	1962													
17	1962													
18	1962													
19	1962													
20	1962													
21	1962													

iii. In The Past Two Year, What Is The Total Amount Of Money
You Remitted Home?

.....

iv. Since We Last Met, Were You Able To Increase The Amount
Of Money You Remitted Home?

.....

Migration Process

1. Please specify the time when you first thought of migrating

.....

2. During that time, what were the factors which influenced you to
migrate? Did you intend to migrate because you wanted to work
in a factory or was it due to any other reason? Please explain:

.....

.....

.....

3. When did you really make the decision to migrate? Please tell us
about the situation which influenced you to arrive at this decision?

.....

.....

4. When you made the decision to migrate, were there some people who
encouraged you to migrate and were there some others who discouraged
you to pursue your decision?

a. Those who encouraged me:

.....

b. Those who discouraged me:

.....

5. How did you get the offer to work in this factory? Did you get the
offer when you were still in the village or after you have migrated
to the urban area? (If you got the job after you migrated, please
explain how you applied for the job, how long you were unemployed
and with whom did you stay during that period).

.....

.....

.....

6. When you arrived in the city, did you start work in this factory or in another factory and in another place, or were you involved in a different occupation?

7. When you first arrived in the city, with whom did you stay and where?

8. If you have moved from that first place of residence, please specify why did you move:

9. Please express how you felt when you first arrived in the city.
 Answer:

10. Assuming you can get a factory job in you village, would you choose to:

☐

Work in the village

☐

Don't know

☐

Work in town

☐

No answer

The Adaptation Process

1. In your experience, what are:
- The initial problems you faced in trying to adapt to the new way of life in the city?
 - The problems you faced in terms of adjusting to the place of work and the new occupation.

- c. The problems you have to overcome in trying to adapt yourself to the people at the place of residence.

The answer for:

- a.
.....
 - b.
.....
 - c.
.....
2. Are you aware of the social and personal problems faced by factory girls at your place of work? (for example drug addiction, unwanted pregnancies and abortion etc.).
.....
.....
.....
 3. When factory girls face these sort of problems, to whom do they seek advice and help? Can you please give un examples of some cases?
.....
.....
.....
.....
 4. What do you usually do (a) after work and (b) on off-days? How do you try to relax and adapt yourself to the new way of life in they city?
a. after work:
.....
b. on off-days:
.....
c. on long holidays:
.....

A Comparison Between Your Former Life In The Village And Present Life In The City

1. When you compare your life in your village before migration and your present life in the city, which do you feel is more satisfactory?
.....
.....

2. What are the aspects of life associated with being a factory girl which (a) you value and (b) you do not like?
 - a.
 -
 - b.
 -
3. Concerning the aspects you dislike, can you suggest ways of remedying them?

.....

.....

.....
4. If you think carefully, what are the major benefits you derived from working in factory employment and living in the city?

.....

.....

.....
5. When you first made your decision to migrate, what were the underlying motives and hopes? i.e. What did you hope to achieve from migrating to the city?

.....

.....

.....
6. Have you achieved what you hoped for?

.....

.....
7. If you consider it carefully, do you think that you have actually improved the standard of living of your family in the village by remitting part of your income to them?

.....

.....
8. In your opinion, has your standard of living improved after migrating from the village, or is it still the same or deteriorated?

.....

.....

.....

.....

9. Since we last met two years ago, please tell us whether your standard of living (in the form of monetary assets, work-conditions, living conditions, status in the society) has improved or deteriorated?

.....

Opinion About Living In The Village And In The City

1. Can you please tell us the name of your best friend/s in the city?

2. Usually, what are the activities you do together with your friends?
 Please list details in the form attached.
3. Explain (a) the aspects that you like and (b) the aspects that you don't like about living in the city.
 (a)

 (b)

4. Assuming you have a choice, where would you like to stay, in the city or your village? Please give reasons why.

5. Since we met two years ago, have you ever been retrenched from your job/or changed jobs? If you have, please tell us why.

Social Mixing

Social Activities with Friends	Place	How many times in a month	With Male Friends	With Female Friends

Questions related

- i. Do you have a 'boyfriend'?
- ii. Do you plan to get married?
- iii. When do you plan to get married? If not why?
- iv. If you plan to marry, where do you plan to stay after
marriage?
- v. Why do you choose that place?
- vi. If God wills it, what is the size of a family you desire and
how many boys and girls would you like to have?
.....
6. We know that there are fewer job opportunities in the village than in
in the city. However, assuming you can find a job in the village as
a factory worker and you are still single, what would be your
decision? Would you go back to the village or plan to settle in
the city?
.....
.....
.....
.....
7. Assuming you have the choice of settling in the city would you still
prefer to settle in the village?
.....
.....

8. In your opinion, how do people in:

(a) this area

(b) this city

(c) your village

Regard factory girls like you.

(a)

.....

(b)

.....

(c)

.....

9. What are your feelings about and reaction towards the opinion of the community about factory girls? For each community's viewpoint as stated in Q.8, can you explain why the community has this opinion about factory girls and suggest ways of improving the social status of factory girls.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

10. Nowadays, we often hear people saying that factory girls are exploited by employers. What is your opinion? Do you feel that factory girls are exploited?

.....

.....

.....

11. If you feel you are being exploited, what are the necessary action that you and other factory girls can take in order to improve the situation?

.....

.....

.....

.....

12. What are your hopes and ambitions for the future (to be specific, for the next five years) and how do you strive to achieve these hopes and ambitions?

.....

Opinion About The Urban Community

1. How long have you stayed in this community?

.....

2. After having stayed here for quite sometime, do you feel that you are very accepted by the community as one of the members of this community?

.....

3. If you have a choice, would you choose to settle permanently in this community? If you do not, and wish to move to another community, please explain why.

.....

4. Please tell us the norm how your parents were married (i.e. whether it was by traditional family-arrangement or based on free choice) In your case, would you prefer to be married based on the traditional norm of arranged-marriage or the modern norm of free choice?

.....

Beliefs and Attitudes

1. Do you really believe in the power of the supernatural? (For example, the ability of others to influence or harm others by using the power of magic and evil spirits?)

- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| a. yes | d. don't know |
| b. no | e. no answer |
| c. not sure | |

- 2a. At this time we often hear of cases of mass-hysteria occurring among factory girls. Do you believe that these cases are caused by supernatural powers such as the 'jin' or 'penunggu' (guardian spirit).
- a. yes d. don't know
b. no e. no answer
c. not sure
- 2b. Have cases of mass-hysteria ever happened at your place of work?
- a. yes b. no
- 2c. If there have been cases, please tell us what happened and what action was taken by the management.
-
.....
.....
3. If a girl like yourself were to be friendly with a man and you have often been seen by the public to be in the man's company. Do you think that this girl should (a) get married to this man OR (b) need not get married?
- a. yes d. don't know
b. no e. no answer
c. depends on other factors (specify)
-
.....
.....
4. If a man is seen by the public to accompany you (for example, on your way to work) do you feel afraid that this will be the source of gossip in the community?
- a. no d. depending on other factors (specify)
b. yes - always e. don't know
c. yes - sometimes f. no answer
-
.....
.....

5. If a new girl at the factory wants to mix with you and your friends but she seems to be different from you in terms of her attitude and outlook, do you prefer to exclude her from your group or you are not very bothered about these differences?
- a. not very bothered
 - b. prefer to exclude her
 - c. depends on other factors (specify)
 - d. don't know
 - e. no answer
-
-
-
6. Assume that there were some very important activities organised by your factory (for example the company's annual dinner). All your friends cannot attend the function. In this case, would you dare to attend the function alone or you feel shy to go alone?
- a. not shy
 - b. quite shy
 - c. very shy
 - d. don't know
 - e. no answer
7. Please hear this two different types of opinions and select one which you agree with:
- Two girls were having a discussion about male-female mixing. One girl said that she prefers to mix with many men before she decides to marry. The other girl said that she is against this and prefers to know just one man and marry.
- a. I agree with the first girl
 - b. I agree with the second girl
 - c. Don't know
 - d. No Answer
- 8a. Ever since you arrived in the city, do you find there are more opportunities to mix with men?
- a. yes
 - b. no (please specify why)
-
-

- 8b. Assume you have met a man whom you love deeply, please answer very frankly, whether (i) you will agree to your parents' decision to marry you off to another man (i.e. according to the traditional arranged-marriage norm). (ii) You will abide by your decision and marry the man of your own choice.

.....

Lastly, we thank you very much for your cooperation in answering our questions. 'TERIMA KASEH'.

INTERVIEWER'S REPORT

1. Name of Interviewer:
2. Name of Respondent:
3. Character and Personality of the Respondent:
.....
4. Living Conditions of the Respondent at the Time of the Interview
(area, type of house, how many rooms, condition of furniture and
amenities).
.....
.....
.....
5. How many people are staying in the same house?
- 5a. How many people are staying in the same room?
6. Condition of the living quarters:
.....
7. Were other people with the respondent at the time of the interview
and did they interfere in the interview?
.....
.....
8. Problems encountered during the interview
.....
.....
9. Questions in the interview-schedule which were difficult to obtain
a response
.....
10. Other stories told to you by the respondent about the community
and herself.
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

8. If you are able to choose, which accommodation pattern would you prefer?

- (i) live with foster-parents according to the foster-parent-adoption scheme of the social welfare ministry
- (ii) live together with friends in a rented dwelling
- (iii) live in a hostel for factory girls

(Please select one answer and give reasons for this choice)

Answer:

SECTION FIVE

FINANCIAL POSITION AND RESPONSIBILITIES

1. What is your daily income? Answer:

2. What is your monthly income? Answer:

3. (a) Are you supporting anyone financially on a regular basis?

Answer: Yes/No

(b) If you are, please specify who they are, the nature of the relationship, are they staying with you, their age-group, amount of money you spent on them per month, and reason for supporting them.

No.	Nature of Relationship	Staying with you or not staying	Age	Amount per month	Reason
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					

6. At this time, with whom do you stay. If you are staying with relatives, please specify how many relatives are staying with you and the nature of the kinship ties.

Answer: (a) I am staying with:

or (b) I am staying with relatives

(i) Total number of relatives:

(ii) Nature of kinship ties:

SECTION FOUR

LIVING CONDITIONS

1. Where are you staying now? (Please specify (i) Type of accommodation, (ii) Rental-arrangement, (iii) Monthly rent, (iv) Area of residence and Type of residential area.)

Answer: (i)

(ii)

(iii)

(iv)

(v)

2. (a) Are you sharing your living quarters with anyone? Answer: Yes/No.

(b) If you are sharing, specify who they are . Answer:

3. Do your living quarters have electricity facilities? Answer: Yes/No.

4. Do your living quarters have piped water supply? Answer: Yes/No.

5. Are your living quarters within the limits of the city council?

Answer: Yes/No

6. Are you satisfied with your present living conditions?

Answer: (i) Yes - very satisfied

(ii) Yes - quite satisfied

(iii) No - Not satisfied

(Instruction to interview: Probe the reasons for the answer)

Reasons:

.....

.....

7. Assume that you can get a factory job in your original village, would you choose to work

(i) in the village or

(ii) in the city

7. If you were to compare your former life in the village and your present life in the city, which one do you like better in terms of each of these aspects:

	(i)	(ii)
	<u>Village</u>	<u>City</u>
(a) Public facilities and amenities		
(b) Income level		
(c) Social mixing		
(d) Emotional satisfaction		

SECTION THREE

RURAL-URBAN LINKS

- Ever since you migrated to the city, how many times in a year do you go back to your original village?
 Answer: (i) very often (7-12 times)
 (ii) once in a while (2-6 times)
 (iii) seldom (once a year)
 (iv) never
- Ever since you migrated to the city, how many times in a year do your relatives from the village visit you in the city?
 Answer: (i) very often (7-12 times)
 (ii) once in a while (2-6 times)
 (iii) seldom (once a year)
 (iv) never
- When was your most recent visit to your original village?
 Date of visit:
- Normally how many letters in a month do you send back to the village?
 Answer:
- Normally, how many letters in a month do you receive from people in your place of origin?
 Answer:

SECTION TWOMIGRATION

1. How long have you stayed in this place?
 Answer:
2. From the time you left your village and until the time you arrived at this present place, did you stay at any other place? Please specify these places and how long you stayed at each of these places.
 Answer:

3. Why did you migrate from your village? Please list the reasons why you migrated and specify which is the most important motivating reason.
 Answer: (a) The reasons are:

 (b) The most important motivating reason is:.....

4. What do you hope to achieve from migrating and working in the city (Interviewer: please probe.)
 Answer:

5. (a) When you first arrived in the city, Where did you stay?
 Answer:
 (b) How and with whom did you stay?
 (i) by myself
 (ii) with relatives
 (iii) with friends
 (iv) with people from my village
 Answer:
6. How long were you unemployed after you arrived in the city?
 Answer:

INTERVIEWER'S REPORT
=====

1. Name of Interviewer:
2. Name of Respondent:
3. Character and Personality of the Respondent:
.....
4. Living Conditions of the Respondent at the Time of the Interview
(area, type of house, how many rooms, condition of furniture and
amenities).
.....
.....
.....
5. How many people are staying in the same house?
- 5a. How many people are staying in the same room?
6. Condition of the living quarters:
.....
7. Were other people with the respondent at the time of the interview
and did they interfere in the interview?
.....
.....
8. Problems encountered during the interview
.....
.....
9. Questions in the interview-schedule which were difficult to obtain
a response
.....
10. Other stories told to you by the respondent about the community
and herself.
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....



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8b. Assume you have met a man whom you love deeply, please answer very frankly, whether (i) you will agree to your parents' decision to marry you off to another man (i.e. according to the traditional arranged-marriage norm). (ii) You will abide by your decision and marry the man of your own choice.

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.....
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Lastly, we thank you very much for your cooperation in answering our questions. 'TERIMA KASEH'.