

**THE ROLE OF URBANISATION AND INDUSTRIALISATION  
ON INTERNAL MIGRATION: A CASE STUDY OF  
BAYAN BARU IN PENANG STATE, MALAYSIA**

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THE ROLE OF URBANISATION AND INDUSTRIALISATION  
ON INTERNAL MIGRATION: A CASE STUDY OF BAYAN  
BARU IN PENANG STATE, MALAYSIA.

by

HARRY MPHANZA

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## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my whole family and in particular my wife, Regina Mphanza and my two sons, Joseph Zwelithini and Gabriel Cetswayo. Their presence in my heart and mind during my study was immensely supportive and encouraging. My special dedication also go to my beloved parents who enabled me to reach this far in education. Last but not least, to all my brothers and sisters who in one way or the other provided moral support. To you all I say my lots of love be with you.

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**Harry Mphanza  
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Pulau Pinang**



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## ABSTRAK

### **PERANAN PERBANDARAN DAN PERINDUSTRIAN KE ATAS MIGRASI DALAMAN: SATU KAJIAN KES DI BAYAN BARU, PULAU PINANG, MALAYSIA.**

Tesis ini berkaitan dengan peranan urbanisasi dan industrialisasi terhadap migrasi dalaman di Bayan Baru di negeri Pulau Pinang, Malaysia. Kajian bacaan yang mendalam telah dibuat untuk menguji pendekatan teoretikal dan empirikal untuk menunjukkan bagaimana ketiga-tiga process urbanisasi, industrialisasi dan migrasi saling berhubungkait. Suatu kajian terhadap migran telah dijalankan dimana 340 orang responden telah dipilih daripada kawasan kajian di dalaman jangkamasa November sehingga December 1995. Penganalisaan terhadap hasil kajian statistik yang dibuat secara perbincangan deskriptif dan pengujian hipotesis yang dibentuk telah menjelaskan dan mengesahkan bahawa motif ekonomi sebagai sebab utama disebalik migrasi termasuk migrasi berbalik, peningkatan taraf kehidupan akibat dari pendapatan yang lebih dan perubahan cara hidup iaitu berbeza daripada jenis kehidupan di luar bandar. Disimpulkan bahawa kajian ini telah meringkaskan isu-isu penting yang telah diperolehi oleh Malaysia di dalam pengurusan urbanisasi.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the role of urbanisation and industrialisation on internal migration in Bayan Baru of Penang State, Malaysia. The study employs an in-depth review of literature which examines empirical and theoretical approaches to show how the three processes of urbanisation, industrialisation and internal migration are interrelated. A survey of migratory households was conducted during which 340 respondents were selected from the study area over the period of November to December 1995. A non-probability selection of the sample was employed using simple random sampling. Analysis by way of descriptive discussion of the statistical results and the test of hypotheses formulated confirmed the economic motive being the major reason behind in-migration to the township. The analysis also discusses the changing lifestyles of the respondents as affected by urbanisation at the socio-economic level.

The thesis is concluded by summarising the pertinent issues of the overall findings as well as discussing the broader and relative success scored by Malaysia in managing urbanisation. Suggestions on what could stimulate further research are also included in the conclusion.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### 1.1 Introduction.

This thesis is about the role of urbanisation and industrialisation on internal migration in Bayan Baru of Penang State, Malaysia. Urbanisation, industrialisation and migration are three interrelated phenomena. Urbanisation is the process normally related with economic concentration and in most cases has attracted large industrial concentration which in turn creates alot of employment opportunities that result in large scale migration to meet the labour demand. Thus, in order to understand any of the terminology, one has to understand the other two terminologies as well.

#### 1.2 Urbanisation, industrialisation and migration.

In many Third World countries, acceleration in the growth of urban population has assumed alarming proportions. Goldstein and Sly (1974:15) noted that concentration of population in special areas, sometimes entire regions, which from a variety of standpoints are regarded as urban is among the most significant changes facing mankind.

As far back as 1978, the United Nations projected that 3.2 billion out of 6.2 billion inhabitants in the year 2000

will live in urban areas. The urban population of the developing world at that time will be twice that of the developed countries, while at the same time the rural population of the developing countries will be ten times that of the currently industrialised countries (Tabah, 1981:196).

The United Nations (1987:91) has further projected that, by the year 2000, almost half of the world's population will be living in urban areas. In less than 40 years more than half the population in the developing countries will be double that of the industrialised countries. There will be almost 50 cities in the developing countries with populations of over 4 million.

In discussing urbanisation of the Third World, it is important to differentiate it from urbanisation in the manner it occurred in the now developed countries. Urbanisation occurred slowly under limited communication and transportation facilities, but intimately linked to industrialisation and technological improvements in agricultural productivity. Urban-ward migrants in the developing countries have access to modern communications and transportation which enhances urbanisation that is not closely related to industrialisation (Beier et al, 1976; Yue-man Yeung and Belisle, 1986:100). The result has been a large number of urban dwellers falling into the informal sector.

The United  
phenomenal growth  
countries was  
McGee (1967:204) applied the concept of "pseudo-urbanisation," to describe the process of city growth which has not been associated with a rate of growth of economic development fast enough to provide employment opportunities for rapidly increasing urban populations in South-East Asia. His concept, however, is rightly applicable to many developing countries in which urbanisation is merely subsistent.

Considering, therefore, that industrialisation involves technological, economic and organisational changes at the societal levels, it becomes difficult to isolate the interplay of the processes of urbanisation and industrialisation on one hand and migration on the other.

Although some population experts such as Davis (1972) argue that cities of the less-developed nations are growing as much as by natural increase as by rural to urban migration, Zelinsky (1971) in his well articulated mobility transition model, suggested that rural-urban migration is the predominant type of population migration in transitional or developing societies which is stimulated by economic development and its accompanied urbanisation process.

The United Nations (1979:265) pointed out that phenomenal growth of urban population in many Third World countries was characterised by rural-urban migration accounting for more than half of the urban population and that migration is persisting inspite of high rates of urban unemployment and underemployment.

Oberai and Singh (1983:1) also noted that many developing countries are experiencing an unprecedented growth of urban population. While a part of urban growth is due to an increase in the rate of natural population growth, the unending flow of migrants from the rural areas is the main contributory factor.

Weeks (1994:356-7) has also observed that had it not been for migration, cities of the nineteenth century could not have grown in population size. Infact, in the absence of migration, the excess of deaths over births would actually have produced deurbanisation. Of course, migration did occur, since economic development created a demand for an urban population that was met by the eventual emptying out of the countryside. What is being stressed here is the fact that nearly all migration from the rural areas to towns means a stimulus to industrialisation.

In his analysis of modernisation process, Keeley (1976:141), noted that urbanisation and industrialisation

are components which represent the move from rural areas to more densely populated areas in the labour force which switches from traditional subsistence activity to more complicated industrial structures.

As far back as 25 years, Faunce and Form (1969:6) noted that there are no industrial societies that are not highly urbanised. The fact that urbanisation referred to the increase in the proportion of a national population living in urban areas, they noted that this ordinarily results from both migration to established cities and growth of new cities.

The perceived possibility of a better life, either now or more often in the near future is what encourages cityward migration. This reflects rural-urban real income and social welfare differentials, even if the immediate prospects of securing a job and a decent home are slim (Potter, 1985). Thus, it is a well established truism that urbanward migration occurs for structural-economic reasons although a few studies support the hypothesis that 'bright lights' and entertainment attract some migrants (Findley, 1977).

Whereas there has been an accentuation of the process of urbanisation per se in many parts of the world there has been an increasing divergence of its course in the highly industrialised countries compared with the less developed



The capacity  
world. Goldstein and Sly (1974:33-5) noted that in highly industrialised countries many social and economic factors have combined to promote a growing influx of people into suburban areas. Central cities which were once the main attraction for migrants from the countryside have gradually lost importance. Inter-urban movements from town to city, from city to city and from city to suburban town have become an increasingly important part of the migration process. On the other hand, in many less developed countries, in addition to heavy natural increase, immigration to big cities has continuously been on the increase. Movements from the countryside are often induced by shortages of agricultural employment and poor prospects for social and economic advancement and they are frequently directed toward a limited number of large cities.

Source:  
The serious detrimental consequences of urbanisation that lead to lower quality of life in some of the world's largest cities seem primarily to be due to the economic inability of the Third World cities to adequately absorb the tremendous numbers of the newcomers. Oberai and Singh (1983:8) indicated that the growing presence of migrants in urban areas particularly if they are unemployed, has not only economic and social implications, but also political repercussions both for the areas of origin and destination.



The capacity of the modern industrial and other urban sectors to absorb the influx has greatly been exceeded, and has been associated with rising urban unemployment, overcrowded housing and relative shortage of public amenities. This has ultimately political and socio-economic implications that have exerbated the negativeness of most developing countries' economic progress. In other words the influx of migrants to urban centers continuously signifies the unequal economic development at regional level that leaves most rural areas backward with less and less economic opportunities for advancement.

Baum and Tolbert (1984:277-79) noted that if cities perform their functions inefficiently, the entire national economy suffers. The speed of urban expansion has created mounting problems of too few dwellings and services. In South Asia the absolute numbers of urban poor are greatest, while in Latin America and Africa, the proportions are highest. In 75 percent of African cities, for example, more than half the total population lives in squatter settlements.

The overall seriousness of the consequences of urbanisation is soundly given in the following hypothetical scenario of the Third World cities by the year 2000:

'It is a sweltering afternoon in the year 2000, in the biggest city ever seen on earth. Twenty-eight million people swarm about an 80-mile wide mass of smokey slums, surrounding walled-in highrise islands of power and wealth. Half the city's workforce is unemployed, most of the rich have fled and many of the poor have not even seen downtown. In a nameless, open-sewer shantytown, the victims of yet another cholera epidemic are dying slowly, without any medical attention. Across the town, the water truck fails to arrive for the third straight day; police move in with tear gas to quell one more desultory riot. And at a source of gritty plazas around the city, buses groaning from the parched countryside empty a thousand more hungry peasants into what they think is their city of hope (The Newsweek, 1983).'

The poor housing, unemployment and lack of water, sanitation and medical services described in the extract above are already characteristic of so many Third World cities. The linkages and complementarities among infrastructure, shelter, transportation and social services mean that all these should be planned together. Households and neighbourhoods for which any one of these is lacking remain poor. There is no doubt that the negative situation is partly or largely related to the process of migration to urban centres as part and parcel of the process of urbanisation in many developing countries.

### **1.3 Theories of migration.**

Over time the frequently heard explanation for migration has been the push-pull theory which states that some people move because they have been pulled or attracted to some place else.

One of the first contributors to the theory of migration was E. G. Ravenstein (1834-1913). Using data from the 1881 British census, he formulated a series of laws which he believed explained contemporary migration. Barrett (1992:149) summarises Ravenstein's laws as follows:

1. Most migrants move only a short distance, in a step by step progression.
2. The direction of migration is mainly from agricultural to industrial areas, therefore migrants are more likely to have rural origins than urban origins.
3. The volume of migration increases with the development of industry and commerce. The large industrial and commercial cities receive most long distance migrants.
4. The flow of migrants reduces with distances.
5. Each migration flow has a counter or returning flow.
6. Migrants are usually adults; families rarely migrate out of their areas of origins.
7. Females are more migratory than men within their district of origin, but males are likely to migrate far beyond
8. The major causes of migration are economic.

Whatever the reasons and no matter the timing in the lifecycle, most migration is the outcome of two sets of forces. Push forces work in the migrant's home area (origin). These persuade the person to move away. The pull

forces are those which attract the migrant to a particular destination. The two types of forces complement each other to make the simple push-pull model of migration. Lee (1966) revised the simple model to which he introduced the concept of intervening obstacles, both real and perceived which need to be overcome before migration takes place.

continue

The push-pull model sees the mainspring of migration as being derived from the attributes of the area of origin, the attributes of the area of destination, intervening obstacles and personal factors (Wetherick, 1990:82). The personal factors include, not only perception, but also basic aspects of the individual (age, sex, marital status, education, etc, etc) which condition the migrants' evaluation of area attributes.

which

Recent history in the examination of the causes and characteristics of migration reveals definite regularities in the way in which mobility has changed in different parts of the world, to the extent that it has become possible to recognise a series of stages. Zelinsky's mobility transition model (1971) includes five stages during which spatial mobility, intra-urban and inter-urban migration grow rapidly; international and rural-urban migration increase and then decline.

the

Woods (1979:191-2) observed that the existence of a 'mobility transition' is linked with the demographic

transition, social mobility and the whole process of modernisation in general. Witherick (1990:98) suggests that Zelinsky's prediction that nearly all migration will be of the inter-urban and intra-urban variety deserves credit.

Whereas push factors, such as uncongenial surrounding, continue to produce currents of migration, none can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to better themselves in material respects. In the Third World setting, the pull factors relate to the rural-urban gap as epitomised by the better incomes, employment prospects, public amenities such as education, training, medicine, piped water, housing and sanitary facilities existing in towns. On the other hand, push factors reflect the massive rural poverty and unemployment which prevail (Lee, 1966).

It is within this context of the interplay of the processes of urbanisation, industrialisation and migration that this study is being set. The area of study being within Penang in Malaysia, where these processes are currently happening.

#### **1.4 Migration types.**

Migration comes in many forms. Clarke (1972:10) noted that the diversity of migration in cause, duration, distance, direction, volume, velocity, selectivity and organisation prohibit simple classification. However, the

criteria most commonly used to classify migration include distance, time and area of origin.

Barrett (1992:138-9) notes that distance distinguishes migrants by stressing the difference between internal and international migration. Whereas time is used to distinguish between temporary and permanent migration, area of origin defines the migrants' area as either rural or urban.

Wetherick (1990:101) identifies four main directions of migration created by urbanisation as rural-urban, inter-urban, intra-urban and urban-rural.

Turning to Malaysia, and Penang in particular, which is the basis for this thesis, its level of urbanisation is one of the highest in the South-East Asian region as it has shown favourable rates of economic growth.

Although the communal structure of Malaysia's plural society consisting of Malays, Chinese and Indians, and other ethnic groups is the key to the understanding of urbanisation in the country, it is not the intention of this thesis to strictly delve into the implications of urbanisation in relation to internal migration in that sense though, however, the pluralism aspect will be mentioned from time to time. Rather it is the intention of this thesis to study the role of urbanisation and

industrialisation on Malaysia's internal migration by looking at the new town of Bayan Baru in Penang as a case study. As a relatively new satellite town, it serves as alternative destination for migrants and as a site for growth, to help limit the size of George Town as a primary city of Penang.

### 1.5 The research statement

This topic can be studied from a variety of perspectives. Specifically, the thesis looks at how the volume of in-migration to Bayan Baru increases with the development of industry and commerce using Ravenstein's Laws of migration (1889) as a guiding model. The topic under study is also approached from the perspective of the Push-Pull model according to Lee (1966) whose theory of migration is derived from Ravenstein's Laws of migration. Lee specifically emphasises the positive and negative attributes of both the area of origin and destination. Attributes such as employment opportunities in the Bayan Baru Township are identified as being vital to the understanding of the thesis as a whole. The thesis ultimately looks into how Malaysia is managing urbanisation in the context of her development policies.

Castells (1977:1) observed that urban problems are becoming an essential element in the policies of governments, in the concerns of the media and, consequently, in everyday life of a large section of the



population. The struggle is to find ways of making existing levels of urbanisation acceptable by means of careful redevelopment and planning.

The concept of urbanisation in this thesis is seen from the point of view of the rising percentage of urban dwellers in relation to rural dwellers. The urbanisation rate in Bayan Baru is further looked at as a contribution to the state of Penang's rising urbanisation. Industrialisation in this thesis refers to the growing trend of manufacturing sector of the economy which generates employment for the people. The permanent change of residence from one area of administrative jurisdiction to another within the country is referred to as internal migration in this study. This concept also embodies immigration to Bayan Baru which is identified on the basis of origin by birth place and/or previous state of residence. This type of migration to Bayan Baru excludes commuters or those who commute daily from outside of the Free Trade Zone to work and go back to their place of residence in the evening after work. They do not live in Bayan Baru.

#### 1.6 Objectives of the study

Thus, the objectives of the study are to analyse internal migration in Bayan Baru within the context of urbanisation and industrialisation processes as follows:



1. To investigate how the processes of urbanisation and industrialisation in Bayan Lepas have resulted in internal in-migration to the area.
2. To find out the demographic features of the migrants.
3. To relate Ravenstein's laws of migration (1889), Push-pull theory according to Lee (1966) and Zelinsky's mobility transition model (1971) to the situation in Bayan Baru.
4. To investigate the household structures after migration as affected by urbanisation and industrialisation.
5. To ascertain whether or not the serious detrimental consequences of rapid urbanisation that lead to poor quality of life in many developing countries exist.

### **1.7 Hypotheses.**

Among others the outcome of the objectives is intended to test the following hypotheses:

1. The Bayan Lepas industrialisation and the development of economic activities in the area have attracted in-migration to the area.
2. The migrants to Bayan Baru New Town originated from relatively nearer sources of rural and urban places and are mainly concentrated in the active age group of 20-30 years old.
3. More and more female household members have joined the labour force in the manufacturing sector in the modern industrial Malaysian economy.

4. The migrants have created new household features and life-styles different from that perceived in the rural areas.
5. Large scale migration to Bayan Baru has not resulted in the degradation of the life of the migrants but has improved their socio-economic status.

### 1.8 Chapter outline.

The study is organised into seven chapters, each building on the previous one, including this introductory chapter which introduces the implications and consequences of explosive world urbanisation in the light of economic growth, viz. industrialisation. Along with the theories of migration are the research statement, objectives and hypotheses of the study also falling in this chapter.

Chapter two provides the conceptual framework of urbanisation and migration. It is an overview of urbanisation, industrialisation and migration, as related phenomena, in the Third World in general and later with particular reference to Malaysia. Chapter three describes the study area and its background with reference to urbanisation, industrialisation and internal migration. The methodology and data collection in the study, including the description of the data analysis employed are also outlined here. Chapters four, five and six are about statistical descriptive analysis, interpretation and discussion of the

findings of the study within the context of urbanisation and industrialisation as they relate to the migrants in the study area. Chapter seven is the conclusion which summarises the main findings of the study, highlighting their generalisations in the light of the Third World countries. This chapter also includes some policy implications with regard to management of urbanisation in view of the fact that it has been proven to be an unstoppable process which situation is deemed to get worse before things become better for many developing countries. The chapter is concluded by some suggestions on what should stimulate further research in the area of understanding internal migration so as to manage it for the benefit of all, particularly policy planners.

### 1.9 Conclusion.

Most developing countries experience the consequences of their internal migration both negatively and positively and Malaysia is no exception. The development of new growth centers such as Bayan Baru is seen as a positive solution to the many problems brought about by internal migration such as overcrowding in the metropolitan cities. Bayan Baru township is chosen as a study area as it represents the development of new growth centers, self-sufficient with respect to employment, community services, commerce and organised civic administration. The development of the Bayan Lepas industrial areas have also formed a basis upon which the new town is developing. As a township planned to

accommodate and provide basic services for the industrial estates, Bayan Baru has a significant population of migrants.

#### AN OVERVIEW

Besides being within the time and resource capability of the study, the new township exhibits a fine example of planned urbanisation through industrialisation. Therefore, the results from the study are expected to provide good generalised application insofar as internal migration analysis is concerned.

population

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## CHAPTER 2

### AN OVERVIEW OF URBANISATION, INDUSTRIALISATION AND INTERNAL MIGRATION

#### 2.1 Introduction

The close relationship between urbanisation and migration cannot be denied insofar as both relate to industrialisation. Although natural increase in urban population growth is such an important aspect in the process of urbanisation in many cities of the developing countries, the contribution that migration makes to urbanisation is so important as major socio-economic issues having potentially important political implications such as unemployment and under-employment, are a direct result of rural-urban migration in many developing countries (Oberai, 1983;1991).

Even if migration may not be the major source of urban population growth in many developing countries, the relatively young age of many rural migrants to cities means a greater contribution to natural increase through more births and fewer deaths. This is obviously so because young migrants are highly fecund and further that modern advancement in medicine and better, healthy living ways have tended to favour more births than deaths as well as longer life expectancy.

Oberai (1983:196) has observed that the true determinants of urbanisation and spatial concentration in developing countries are to be found in the forces that determine the location of industrialisation. Thus, migration is attractive to an urban area because of the later's better employment and income opportunities.

## 2.2 Urbanisation, industrialisation and migration in the developing countries

Urbanisation has been defined as the rise in the degree to which the population of a certain region or nation is concentrated in towns and cities. Fundamentally, the concentration is the ratio of the urban (city) population to the rural population which varies from country to country and dependent upon the level of economic development in a country (Davis, 1972:47). Weeks (1994:351) looked at urbanisation as a change in the proportion of a population living in urban places; a relative measure ranging from 0 percent, if a population is entirely agricultural, to 100 percent, if a population is entirely urban. Clarke (1971:49) lists six definitions commonly used by geographers:

- 1- the proportion of the total population living in urban areas.
- 2- the number of people in an area living in urban centres.
- 3- the growth in the proportion of the total population in an area living in urban areas.

- 4- the growth in the number of people in an area living in urban centers.
- 5- the social process by which urbanism is introduced to a population.
- 6- the physical spread of urban land.

Petersen (1961:468) states that like many verbal nouns, urbanisation can connote either a state or a process and means, therefore, the increasing percentage of a population living in urban places. Thompson and Lewis (1963:123) refer to urbanisation as the movement of people from communities concerned chiefly with agriculture to other communities, generally larger, whose activities are primarily centered in government, trade, manufacture, or allied interests.

Between 1970 and 1990 the world's urban population continued its explosive growth, increasing in number by more than 1 billion. By 1970 five of the 11 mega cities were in the developing world: Sao Paulo, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro in Latin America, Shanghai and Beijing in China (The Economist, 1995).

In 1990 the urban population nearly equaled the world's total population of just 40 years earlier, and the two-decade numerical increase matched the total size of the entire world's population in 1800 (United Nations, 1991). By 1992 seven of the top ten largest agglomerations were in the Third-World nations with Mexico as the largest city (15.3m) (Weeks, 1994:357).

By mid-1994 2.5 billion people or 45 per cent of the world's total population, lived in urban areas, a proportion the United Nations expects to rise to 61 per cent by 2025 (The Economist, 1995:136).

Mangalam (1968:3) defines migration as a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical area to another, preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrants on the basis of hierarchically ordered sets of values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactive system of the migrants.

Rural-urban migration is considered to be a dominant factor in the rapid process of urbanisation in the twentieth century; it brings together people of diverse origins, preponderantly young, especially in countries experiencing industrialisation and rapid technological change. But in highly urbanised countries like Britain or USA, rural-urban migration is being replaced by inter-urban and urban-rural migration (Clarke, 1972:136). It is important to mention that rates of natural increase are higher in the cities of developing nations than they ever were in the developed nations, and so are rates in the country-side. Thus, since substantial rural-urban migration is still occurring the transformation of less developed



societies into predominantly urban population is proceeding at a rapid rate (Weeks, 1994:356; United Nations, 1991; Baum and Tolbert, 1984).

The Third-World portrays a complex and dynamic process of urbanisation which varies from country to country. Migration has been and still is a very important component of the growth of cities and is the principal cause of the urbanisation in various developing countries. However, migration should be seen to be a simultaneous work of the processes of urban economic growth attracting people away from the country-side and the intense population pressure in the rural areas pushing people towards the cities (Lee, 1966; McGee, 1967).

Kelly and Williamson (1984:419-41) in their examination of data for forty less developed countries since 1960, suggested that Third World urbanisation is more a function of opportunities in the city than it is of pressure from the country-side.

In his analysis of twenty seven Asian and Latin American countries, Firebaugh (1979:199-215), concluded that, infact, the adverse rural conditions do make an important contribution to the city-ward flow of migrants. Thus, push and pull factors operated simultaneously leading to rapid processes of urbanisation in the Third World countries.

In the last century, industrial cities drew the largest crowds, but commercial cities, even in non-industrial countries, also generated a demand for jobs and created opportunities for people to move from agrarian to urban places (Weeks, 1994:357). Weller et al (1971:225-32) noted that migration accounted for 75 to 100 per cent of the total growth of nineteenth century cities in Latin America. Latin America exhibits the fastest urban growth since 1950 with a very fast rate of systematic pattern of urbanisation which stood at 50 per cent in 1982 (UNESCO, 1982). This fast rate of urbanisation explains the reason why some Latin American capitals appear among the largest, in terms of population, in the world as at 1988: Buenos Aires (11.5m); Sao Paulo (19.9m) and Rio de Janeiro (14.7m) (Barrett, 1992:163).

Cities in the Third-World tend to have high concentration of resources. For instance Mexico City offers some attractive locations for both private and public investments due to her huge population, which in turn generates additional advantages for the location of more industries and services. In short, resources attract population and population concentration attracts new resources (United Nations, 1984).

Historically the process of urbanisation and economic development has been associated with considerable migration