

THE GOVERNMENT OF MALAYSIA
THE STATE OF SARAWAK

MIRI-BINTULU

REGIONAL PLANNING STUDY

SUPPORTING REPORT

No. 4

SOCIOLOGY
PART I
SUMMARY AND
RECOMMENDATIONS

—1974—

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The Terms of Reference further state that the Government shall "determine how many people of various backgrounds and categories will or can be attracted to settle in the new area as farmers or in other occupations". (Para. 20.7) It is noted that they are asked for comments that may assist the Government in designing realistic policies with respect to recruitment, transfer of settlers, possible training programmes, and type of settlement to be planned in the new area in order to achieve an orderly establishment of a harmonious, self-sufficient society in the new area". (Para. 20.7)

The population in the Study Area forms a part of the general structure of society in Sarawak, which is made up of a network of relationships linking towns, villages, farms, shops, schools, households, schools, courts of law, mosques, and many other groups and institutions. The fact that this structure encompasses an unusually wide variety of cultures and languages adds to the complexity of describing it. The social structure of Sarawak is nevertheless an essentially modern one, integrated like all other contemporary societies into one common international economic system. The cultural diversity of Sarawak does, however, raise additional problems because many of the component parts of its structure survive from a period when they were not significantly linked to this wider system, though today none of them is unaffected by modernisation. A major prelude behind the request for a development plan is to seek ways in which the process of modernisation may be accelerated.

CHAPTER. 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE SOCIOLOGISTS' CONTRIBUTION

This volume is intended as support to a regional plan providing guidelines for planning and implementation over a period of 20 years in a designated area of the Fourth Division of Sarawak. The plan is also to provide more detailed provisions for a smaller area of approximately 50 000 acres during a period of six years in the later part of the Second Malaysia Plan (1971-75) and in the Third Malaysia Plan (1976-80).

The Terms of Reference divide the sociologists' task into two parts:-

- (a) to "ascertain which groups and individuals are likely candidates for settlement" in the Study Area. These people are mainly to be sought in the First, Second and Third Divisions. (Para. 13)
- (b) To assist the Government in specifying "conditions under which they should be settled". (Para. 13)

The Terms of Reference further state that the sociologists shall "determine how many people of various backgrounds and categories will or can be attracted to settle in the new area as farmers or in other occupations". (Para. 20.7) In addition they are asked for comments that may assist the Government "in designing realistic policies with respect to recruitment and transfer of settlers, possible training programmes, and type of settlement to be planned in the new area in order to achieve an orderly establishment of a harmonious, integrated society in the new area". (Para. 20.7)

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It should be noted at the outset that sociologists cannot predict behaviour except in very general terms and in a very limited range of situations. What they can contribute to a development plan falls under four heads:-

- (i) Information from official and published sources, supplemented by field studies of groups of likely settlers and of the people already living in the area of proposed development. Sociologists can say what their present conditions and aspirations are, their education, the range of skills and the working habits they are likely to possess, their systems of land tenure and some of the expectations they may bring from their homes to the areas of development.
- (ii) Investigations into the objectives behind different types of settlement and the proposals for improvement that may be selected for the area of development. In doing so they will also set out some of the possibilities and the limitations inherent in the selection.
- (iii) Alternative forms of organisation for the achievement of the desired economic and social ends.
- (iv) Recommendations on forms of organisation and recruitment and on methods for a continuous evaluation of the social and other consequences of the development.

12 FIELD INVESTIGATIONS

The sociologists were instructed that sufficient information on potential settlers from the First, Second, and Third Divisions of Sarawak existed in the form of published material and in departmental records, and that field studies in that area were therefore not required. For that reason the field investigations were confined, with the one exception of a study of a small holding oil palm scheme in the Fifth Division, to the populations of the Study Area.

Fourteen studies, twelve of which required some field work, were designed by the two consultant sociologists in August 1972, and, with the help of a member of the staff of the Sarawak Museum, and a number of temporary assistants recruited locally, were carried out by one consultant and one Government counterpart sociologist from October 1972 until July 1973.

State Officials gave valuable economic and other information on existing groups and schemes, on farming and labour practices, organisations, social services and administration. They gave every facility to the sociologists and their field assistants to visit and talk with workers and villagers and to make case studies. Special acknowledgements of assistance are due to the Sarawak Land Development Board, the officials

of Sarawak Oil Palm Estate, a Commonwealth Development Corporation Oil Palm Scheme, the staff of the Miri Divisional and District Offices, and the headmen and people in the areas in which field work was undertaken.

The underlying objectives of the investigations outlined below, some of which are included in fuller detail in the sociological Field Reports, were to obtain general information on the human and social resources available in the Study Area, the potential lines of future development suggested by those resources, and the current directions of migration to local development centres. Certain studies were made partly because of the light they might throw on the problems of potential migrants from other Divisions and as a supplement to what information did in fact exist on migrants. The field studies were largely problem-oriented, rather than purely descriptive, and were necessarily short and intensive, using methods of interview, questionnaire, and, to a limited extent, participant observation.

1.2.1 The Political Structure of Sarawak

From a desk study, undertaken mainly by counterpart staff, an outline of the existing structure of Government and administration in the State was produced; amendments and restructuring proposals are presented in the Main Report and in Supporting report 2 "Agriculture".

1.2.2 Legal Structure and Land Code

A clear picture was required of the legal system, particularly in its relation to customary law. Especially significant are the points at which the Land Code is in conflict with customary patterns of land tenure and use.

1.2.3 Urban and Peri-Urban Communities

Towns in Sarawak have developed for the most part in a haphazard manner, often incorporating indigenous communities whose adaptation to urban conditions merits future intensive study. Recommendations for further investigations are made below (6.2.1(b)).

(a) A study of an Urban Malay Community

The Malay kampongs of Miri and Bintulu are of a kind that had not been investigated in Sarawak. An investigation of one of these in Miri was therefore undertaken to throw light on the process of urbanisation and the institutions essential to urban development (see sociological Field Report No.3).

(b) The Chinese Community

Some understanding of at least the economic and political institutions of the Chinese Community in the Fourth Division was considered essential; for, in spite

of the development of agricultural and other economic institutions by the Government, the main framework of economic life linking the Government, agricultural and other workers, and international economic institutions is still supplied by the Chinese. The Chinese Community is also an area in the sociology of Sarawak about which least is known. Although under the terms of reference no proper investigation in depth of the problems connected with Chinese settlers in Sarawak was possible, two short studies were made of the Chinese in the Fourth Division.

(i) The Bazaars of Miri and Marudi

A study of the trading and other connections of these commercial settlements was undertaken to show how the Chinese merchants are connected by credit, retail trade, wholesale supply, the purchase of primary commodities, patronage, and other ties with smaller rural centres. These in turn are linked with village shops and hawkers and with larger centres within and outside Sarawak. The success of new urban and commercial settlements created as part of the planned development may well turn on a proper understanding of these phenomena. The subject is discussed more fully in Chapter 3. Because of a lack of time, and the complexity of the problems involved, attention was directed to Miri and Marudi; and Bintulu and other smaller bazaars in the Study Area had to be ignored or were only briefly visited. The basic conclusions of this study are contained in Supporting Report 8 "Industries and Private Services".

(ii) Hakka Farmers

A field study was made of a relatively long-established Hakka farming community near Miri. These farmers, and others like them in the Study Area are especially important because they constitute the principal suppliers of produce and commercial export crops and are generally more modern in their outlook and methods than other rural and peri-urban groups. In addition the study found that they are linked by almost daily contacts with the urban market, and that many families rely heavily on non-agricultural income for their support. The younger people of the community are leaving the countryside in the face of a shortage of suitable land and encounter difficulties in finding work in town (see sociological Field Report No.2).

1.2.4 Indigenous Rural Social Systems

Indigenous farming communities fall into two main types: those dependent on sedentary farming and those in which shifting cultivation is practised. A series of studies was made of both types of communities to supplement existing information.

Each study centred on a specific set of problems.

(a) Kedayan Kampong Study

This study was designed to provide background structural information on the Kedayan and information on the social and economic structure of a Kedayan rice-growing settlement in the Study Area. There were no previous sociological reports describing this population. Secondly, the village chosen for study is part of an irrigation scheme, and the investigation examined this particular type of development scheme which aims at improving land already under settled cultivation without a relocation of people or a basic change in farming techniques (see sociological Field Report No.1).

(b) Iban Longhouse Survey

Surveys were carried out in six Iban longhouses. The studies concerned two major problems. The first of these was to consider the consequences to traditional Iban longhouse life of the construction of roads in the immediate neighbourhood of the longhouse. The results suggest that road construction by itself is no guarantee of economic improvement to the people. Without being taught better use of existing land and without legal advice and supervision, road development may lead to increased indebtedness, neglect of farm buildings, illegal occupation of State Land or illegal transfer of roadside holdings to persons not entitled to use them. Moreover, response to roads varies, and these studies attempted to isolate some of the variables involved.

The second problem was migration. For the most part Iban settlement of the Study Area is relatively recent and most communities maintain ties with home areas in other Divisions. These ties are frequently used by new-comers to gain admission to existing longhouses. The surveys sought to locate the places of origin of the in-migrants and to describe the process by which they are incorporated locally. There was evidence that the communities studied are becoming reluctant to accept new-comers because there is an increasing shortage of land for traditional types of farming.

(c) Kenyah Longhouse Survey

A Kenyah longhouse near Long Lama was surveyed, partly to gather structural data to complete the mapping of community organisation in the Study Area and partly to fill in the picture of traditional farming practices and marketing and transport arrangements in the Baram area.

1.2.5 Studies of Different Types of Existing Land Settlement

Over the last decade and a half several different types of agricultural settlement schemes have been established in Sa-

rawak. A good deal has been written about them, mainly attempting to assess their economic success or failures; little has been said of their social aspects and without a knowledge of the social structure of these schemes it is not easy to see why the labourers or settlers do not stay at work or pay off their loans or what is likely to happen to them if or when the strong hand of management is lifted from them. Also an understanding of the relations maintained by the participants with people, and their use of institutions, outside the schemes can be expected to illustrate the problems and the potential for the integration of large groups of migrants in the Study Area. The sociologists therefore carried out five quick descriptive studies on Land Development Schemes:-

- (a) The Lambir Rubber Scheme;
- (b) The Commonwealth Development Corporation Oil Palm Scheme in the Lambir-Subis Development Area;
- (c) The Lambir Co-operative Society on the Lambir Rubber Scheme;
- (d) The Danau Small-Holders' Scheme in the Fifth Division;
- (e) The Bukit Peninjau Oil Palm Scheme.

13 A SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The development pattern and the settlement systems recommended for the Study Area are based on the types of soil found and the crops that have been recommended as being suitable and economic. The sociologists' recommendations on suggested ways of deploying new settlers in the area and of bringing new farming methods to indigenous farmers already living there have had considerable influence on the formulation of the final plan. These sociological recommendations are summarised below under four headings:-

- (i) Selection of settlers;
- (ii) Settlement patterns;
- (iii) General welfare provisions;
- (iv) Research;

and are more fully discussed in Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5.

1.3.1 Selection of Settlers

It is recommended that:

- (i) a Manpower Board should be established within the Ministry of Labour to provide a registry of all types of available labour (see 2.4.1); that
- (ii) the Settler Development Division of the Sarawak Land Development Board should be charged with choosing the initial settler/labourer from potential settlers provided by the Manpower Board (see 2.4.2); that

- CHAPTER 2
- (iii) selection of small-holder farmers to take over land developed by SLDB should be carried out by the Settler Development Division (see 2.4.3 and Supporting Report 2 Part III); that
 - (iv) the right of an independent farmer to use the land allotted to him should be embodied in a formal agreement between him, the Sarawak Land Development Board, and/or the Agricultural Development Unit (ADU) (see Supporting Report 2 Part III); that
 - (v) the transaction should be recorded in the Land Registry and the ADU charged with seeing that the land is properly used (see 3.4.2 and Supporting Report 2 Part III); and, finally, that
 - (vi) the ADU should be a Division of the Department of Agriculture or incorporated as a statutory body.

It is further recommended that indigenous farmers on Native Customary Land adjacent to roads or near a development area should be encouraged, guided and helped by the ADU and SLDB to develop their roadside lands, taking advantage of the nearby processing and marketing facilities created by SLDB. This road-based improvement should be regarded as a first step in modernising traditional agriculture and that it should be a task of the highest priority of the ADU to make the initial roadside schemes a clear success in order to facilitate later and more urgent modernisation of traditional farming (see 3.4.7).

1.3.2 Settlement Patterns

Within the framework of proposed villages and larger centres, it is recommended that:-

- (i) settlements should be sited so that farmers and their families should have easy and convenient access for work on their holdings (see 3.6.1); that
- (ii) houses, whether detached or semi-detached, should be built close to one another in groups; that
- (iii) all houses should have ample storage space, and be designed so that they can easily be enlarged (4.4); that
- (iv) groups of people from the same background should be allowed to settle together (see Supporting Report 2 Part III); that
- (v) garden plots within the settlements should be in consolidated blocks, and that their management should be seen as a task of the highest priority by the Extension Teams of the ADU (see Supporting Report 2 Part III); and that
- (vi) Block Alienation Schemes in which whole villages are re-settled on State Land in the Study Area should, from the beginning, be fully supported by ADU which could

call upon SLDB for assistance (see 3.4.6 and Supporting Report 2 Part III).

1.3.3 General Welfare Provisions

It is recommended that:-

- (i) the ADU, in addition to its help and guidance associated with the agriculture of the small-holders and independent farmers should also undertake responsibilities in social welfare in conjunction with the Department of Social Welfare; and that
- (ii) particular attention be paid to certain minimal conditions of social welfare in the newly established villages, namely:-
 - (a) security of property;
 - (b) convenient retail facilities;
 - (c) education;
 - (d) health;
 - (e) credit;
 - (f) places of worship; and
 - (g) recreation.

1.3.4 Research

It is finally recommended that there should be a continuous process of investigation into labour requirements in the development area, unemployment and under-utilisation of labour throughout the State, the progress and welfare of estate workers and independent farmers in the Study Area, and the rather different problems of urban settlement. This continuous assessment should be the joint responsibility of the State Manpower Board, the SLDB, the ADU and the Department of Social Welfare, coordinated by a joint Research Committee.

CHAPTER 2

POTENTIAL MIGRANTS

2.1 MOTIVES FOR MIGRATION

The motives which impel migrants to leave their homes are diverse and the move may be temporary or permanent. Poverty, whether in the form of land shortage or a lack of work, is perhaps the commonest reason for an individual's decision to move; but dissatisfaction with other public or domestic conditions may also be a factor. The belief that better opportunities exist elsewhere in less crowded rural areas, in towns, or even in foreign countries may help pull, rather than push, a migrant out of his home. Most leave in the hope of returning with the means of securing a better position in their native society. If, however, a member of families decide to move as a group with the intention of establishing their own kind of community in more favourable conditions in a new environment, they are not likely to return, if they succeed.

Migration in Sarawak falls into three types.

- (a) Short term labour migration, exemplified by workers on contract in the logging industry or by men who move for a period into other modern sectors of Sarawak society and undertake whatever work presents itself.
- (b) Migration of communities has been common in Sarawak from early times, and is a built-in feature of systems of shifting agriculture. Similarly traders, who, until recently, found few opportunities to invest savings could do so by opening branch businesses in new trading centres, thus quickly reproducing the original community.
- (c) Urban migration: The growth of towns, combined with education and modern agricultural techniques, invariably attracts migrants from rural districts, either because the skills and ideas young people have acquired can be more profitably used in towns or because there is insufficient scope for them at home.

All these types of migrant are needed in developing the Study Area, but in general permanent rather than temporary migrants are required.

2.1.1 Migrants' Cultural Assets

No migrant leaves his home empty-handed. Apart from tools, clothes, and perhaps money, he brings with him what may be called his cultural capital - the technical skills, the ideas, the beliefs and the attitudes he has learnt as a member of his native society. These things may be a help or a hindrance

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in settling into a new environment. As has already been observed, Sarawak encompasses an unusually wide range of differing societies, from shifting cultivators of many kinds and settled farmers to town dwellers recruited from indigenous societies and immigrants from China and other countries.

Two aspects of a migrant's cultural capital are of special importance in considering how he is likely to adjust to new work and social surroundings. Firstly, there are his attitudes to leadership and his ability to co-operate and work as a member of various kinds of groups. Secondly, there are the habits of work which he has learnt from past experience. Habits of co-operation and leadership largely derive from the structure of his society, whereas habits of work derive more directly from the modes of economic production in which he was educated.

(a) Social Structure

The indigenous social systems of Sarawak, whether urban or rural, have more in common with one another than they do with those of Chinese immigrants. Usually the differences are of little real significance, but they may become important in settling migrants.

It is common knowledge that Chinese immigrants easily organise themselves in functional groups under institutionalised leadership for economic, social, political, or religious purposes. This facility in forming groups and producing leaders is probably connected with the fact that structurally all forms of traditional Chinese society are based on patrilineal descent groups in which the male descendants of the founder constitute a property holding corporation with many functions other than purely economic ones.

By contrast, no indigenous society in Sarawak organises itself in this way. In family relationships, and therefore in the handling of most property, a father's relatives are not more significantly important than a mother's; and both sons and daughters inherit property equally. Consequently women have the expectation of becoming jural adults and of not remaining jural minors as they do in a patrilineal descent system.

Indigenous types of family organisation do not, however, easily provide for the formation of clearly demarcated groups of kin, wider than the simple family household, for the handling and transmission of property. Indigenous societies in Sarawak relied on other principles, such as neighbourhood, special skills, common interests and personal liking, in the formation of groups.

Groups recruited on such diverse principles are likely to be unstable, and only those concerned with tangible assets such as a village's territory or the farming lands in it are likely to have continuity. Villages tend to be politically independent units, not often felt to be a unified group of relatives, and to have in them very few types of lasting functional groups. The heads of the separate households do not easily acknowledge the permanent superiority of any one of them. Consequently institutions of leadership for organising the various tasks of social life are usually on an ad hoc, temporary basis. Except as the result of military conquest, the unification of separate villages under a common political leader, trained from childhood in the skills of taking and implementing decisions, presents problems not always found in other types of society. Even in social systems, like that of the Kenyah, where hereditary, political and ritual chiefs exist to organise social and economic affairs, the groups which a leader can master are of the same ad hoc type as they are in other indigenous societies, and tend to dissolve when the task is complete.

A background of this kind has an important bearing on the habits of co-operation and leadership which a migrant brings to development schemes. In their own environment there are few situations which cannot be met by well known responses, but in a new environment migrants have either to adapt their traditional responses to problems of leadership and group co-operation or accept wholly unfamiliar answers. The degree to which a migrant accepts or rejects such new demands largely depends upon the background from which he comes; his response is likely to vary not only with his education and personality but also with the structural factors of his native society.

(b) Modes of Production

As in most other parts of South East Asia rice has been traditionally the most valued crop grown in Sarawak. Methods of cultivating it fall into two main categories - dry or hill rice and wet rice in which the fields must be flooded in the early stages of growth. These methods have very different social consequences, especially in the rules of land tenure and in working habits. Almost no irrigation of rice was undertaken in Sarawak, but swamp rice was grown by a number of indigenous societies. The methods of cultivating swamp rice had features of both wet and dry rice farming. Most indigenous societies in Sarawak grew hill rice on a basis of shifting cultivation.

Systems of shifting agriculture have two requirements: first sufficient land to maintain a rotation with a long enough fallow period to avoid soil deterioration; and second an ample labour supply. In the dense forest conditions of Sarawak men were required for a relatively short period in each year to clear a new section of the forest and prepare the ground

by burning the felled trees. Men often helped in the planting, weeding and harvesting of the crop, but their labour was not essential. It was the women who undertook these prolonged and laborious tasks. To a large extent the men were freed for the traditional and economically essential work of hunting and gathering in the forest and for travel and warfare.

In shifting cultivation the weeding and protection of crops usually demands more labour than is ever available, and it is labour, not land, which is the scarce resource. The social structures of societies of shifting cultivators therefore normally make it easy to attract settlers from outside. In Sarawak, where in traditional conditions warfare was endemic, it was also an advantage for an independent village to attract men for its defence.

In a fully developed system of wet rice farming such as is found in South Eastern China the scarce resource is not labour but land in the form of highly capitalised fields. These are intensively cultivated year after year, and, as land suitable for this type of cultivation is often limited, their area frequently cannot be extended. Far from wanting to attract outsiders, the members of such a society are often obsessed by the need to exclude strangers. The notions of capital and its preservation are usually highly developed. In shifting agriculture, where land is almost a free commodity, the notion of capital is hardly developed at all. At this point it is worth remarking that all immigrants from southern China come from a background of wet rice farming.

The types of farming recommended in the schemes of agricultural development in the Study Area are highly capitalised. A farmer educated in a system of shifting cultivation may find it difficult to value a plot of land as a piece of developed capital, and he will not have the same working habits as a man reared in the orderly daily routine of settled farming; where continuous and arduous work is as much the task of men as of women. Indeed he may feel that his sense of identity as a man is under attack if he is forced into such work, except as a temporary measure which can be seen as an incident of travel and short term labour migration, as happens, for example, with Iban and Melanau workers in the logging industry or with gangs of Iban men engaged in clearing land for agricultural schemes or road construction. Factors such as these cannot be ignored in looking for suitable migrants or in settling them on schemes of development.

22 EXISTING MIGRATIONARY TRENDS

At the present time permanent migration between Sarawak and the rest of Malaysia is negligible and virtually all popula-

tion movement involving permanent resettlement of individuals or communities occurs within the State.

Census data on interstate migration does not exist for Sarawak. Therefore migratory trends can only be inferred, in general outline, from less direct sources. The picture of migratory patterns presented here is based on a comparison of population growth rates by administrative District. The District boundaries used are those that existed at the beginning of the Study and the time interval involved is the most recent intercensus period, 1960-70. The method adopted compares the percentage of population increase by District with that for Sarawak as a whole. It is assumed that Districts with a higher percentage increase than the State average are areas of in-migration, while those with a lower percentage increase are areas of out-migration, and that the magnitude of departure from the average may be taken as a rough measure of the scale of net migration or movement of population.

Based on these assumptions a general picture of migratory trends is presented below and an effort is made to quantify these trends in terms of net population movement by cultural community at inter-district and divisional levels. Birth rate differentials distort this picture so that the trends described here can only be accepted as broad indicators of population dynamics. Moreover, migration figures show only apparent net flow and say nothing of the total or absolute numbers of migrants involved. Nevertheless, large variations in growth rates, when combined with other information, give a reasonably reliable picture and can be accepted as valid indications of the general pattern of migration in the State.

Table 2.1 shows that there are two main centres of in-migration in Sarawak, the Kuching-Serian Districts of the First Division and the Miri-Bintulu Districts of the Fourth Division. Population growth is highest for Miri, but in all four Districts, it is well in excess of the State average. Variation in growth is shown diagrammatically in Figure 2.1. The main centres of out-migration are located in the Second and Third Divisions, particularly in the Lubok Antu, Bintang and Kanowit Districts.

Table 2.1 also shows the percentage of change for the Indigenous and Chinese populations during the intercensus period. Migration in both populations is towards the most developed areas of the State. The more remote, interior Districts, while losing part of their natural growth by out-migration are, nevertheless, growing and no District shows a net loss in total population. The indigenous population, considered as a whole, is more stable than the Chinese population and less prone to rapid movement and resettlement; and growth rates, while comparatively high, vary within a relatively narrow range.

TABLE 2.1 POPULATION CHANGE, 1960-1970

Census District	Percentage change in population				Appar- net popula- movem
	Indigenous population	Chinese population	Total population		
			Per District	Per Division	
<u>1st Division</u>					
Lundu	40.0	10.7	33.1	)	+21
Bau	40.2	6.7	27.9	)	
Kuching	50.4	38.5	43.7	) 39.9	
Serian	43.6	39.7	43.5	)	
Simunjan	33.0	-4.3	26.2	)	
<u>2nd Division</u>					
Simanggang	34.4	49.71	36.2	)	-6
Lubok Antu	9.4	2.7	8.4	)	
Saribas	24.7	5.5	22.9	) 25.4	
Kalaka	22.3	18.6	21.9	)	
<u>3rd Division</u>					
Sarikei	26.3	18.5	22.2	)	-23
Binatang	14.6	13.7	14.2	)	
Sibu	39.3	21.2	27.2	)	
Kanowit	19.8	-12.7	15.1	) 22.0	
Kapit	22.5	56.9	25.3	)	
Mukah	24.2	11.8	22.5	)	
<u>4th Division</u>					
Bintulu	37.9	64.8	41.1	)	+9
Miri	53.6	41.4	46.7	) 40.6	
Baram	32.9	26.6	32.2	)	
<u>5th Division</u>					
Limbang	18.9	118.4	28.3	)	-1
Lawas	26.6	28.5	24.8	) 26.7	
All of Sarawak	32.5	28.3	31.1	31.1	

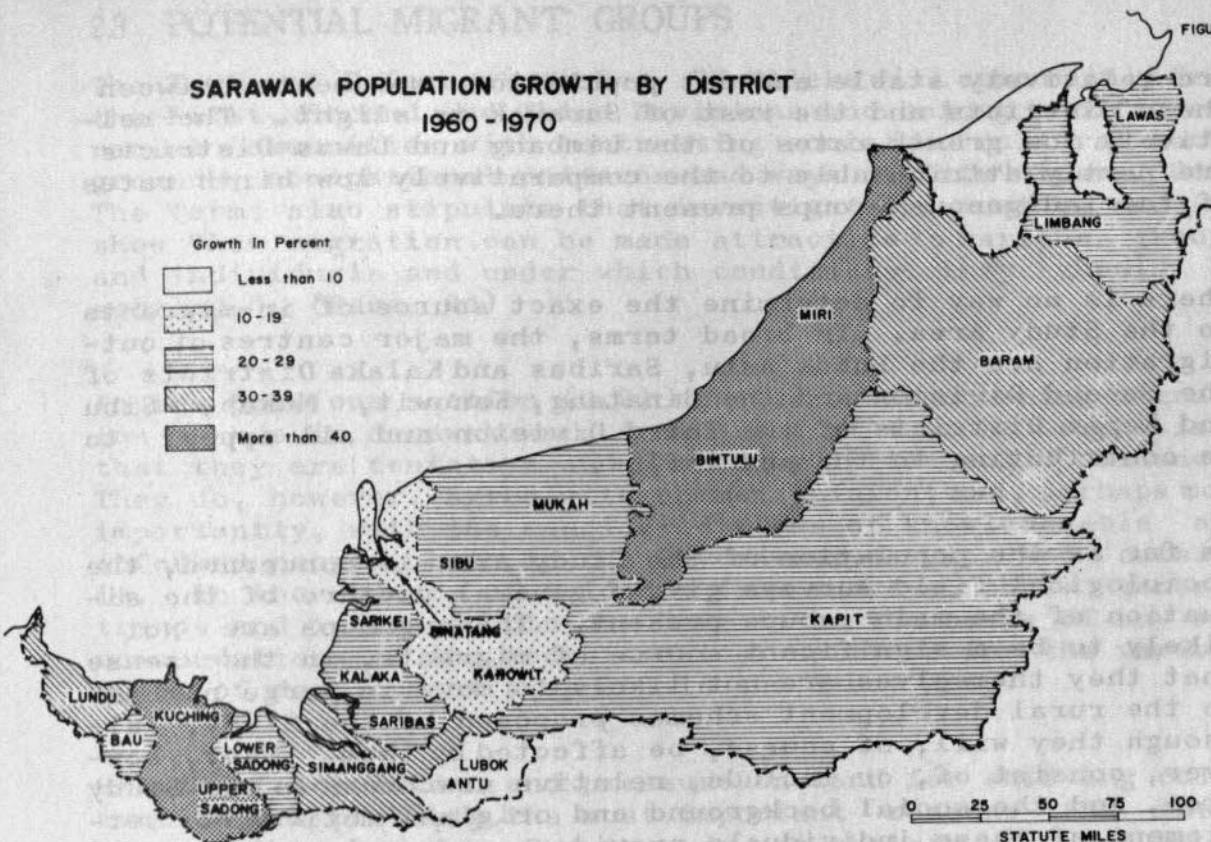
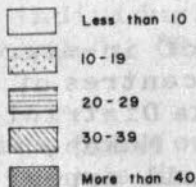
row range. The Chinese population by comparison shows a much more dramatic pattern of fluctuation. Two Districts, Kanowit and Simunjan, have experienced a loss in Chinese population.

During the intercensus period, the net population flow to the Fourth Division was in excess of 9 000 persons when calculated in this manner. This represents between a third and a fourth of the total net in-migration between Divisions for

SARAWAK POPULATION GROWTH BY DISTRICT **1960 - 1970**

FIGURE 2-1

Growth In Percent



the State as a whole. The remainder went largely to the First Division. The majority of immigrants to both the First and the Fourth Division were indigenous (59 per cent and 65 per cent, respectively). The Third Division contributed roughly 70 per cent of out-migrants, the majority of whom are indigenous (60 per cent). The main centres of the out-migration are the Binatang, Kanowit, Mukah, Sibü and Kapit Districts. Out-migration from Sibü is almost entirely Chinese and from Mukah and Kapit almost entirely indigenous; elsewhere it is roughly proportionate. The next major important source of out-migrants is the Second Division, particularly the Lubok Antu, Saribas, and Kalaka Districts. Some of this movement; particularly from Lubok Antu District, was probably due to resettlement during confrontation with the Republic of Indonesia. Simanggang appears to be gaining indigenous migrants from the surrounding Districts of the Division, as well as a significant net inflow of Chinese population, but otherwise the Second Division is a major centre of out-migration, overwhelmingly of indigenous population (85 per cent), largely Iban.

In the First Division the Lundu, Bau and Simunjan Districts are relatively stable in terms of net movement, although all appear to be losing Chinese population, mainly to Kuching, and are shifting toward increasing proportions of indigenous peoples. Similarly, the Baram, Limbang and Lawas Districts

are relatively stable and net population movement between these districts and the rest of Sarawak is slight. The relatively low growth rates of the Limbang and Lawas Districts are partly attributable to the comparatively low birth rates of the indigenous groups present there.

There is no way to determine the exact source of in-migrants to the Study Area. In broad terms, the major centres of out-migration are the Lubok Antu, Saribas and Kalaka Districts of the Second Division and the Binatang, Kanowit, Mukah, Sibu and Kapit Districts of the Third Division and all appear to be contributing to the net inflow.

As far as the population of the Study Area is concerned, the sociological field surveys give a general picture of the situation of the main groups present. These groups are not likely to be a significant source of migrants, in the sense that they themselves are not likely to move in large numbers to the rural development schemes proposed by the Study, although they will, of course, be affected by them. Many, however, consist of, or include, relative newcomers to the Study Area, and the social background and original motives for settlement of these individuals provide a general picture of current migratory trends. One indication of such trends is provided by the pattern of recruitment to Lambir, the single well-established rural development scheme in the Study Area. The place of birth of the settler population, shown in Table 2.2, is somewhat biased toward Iban and the Second Division, but otherwise appears to be generally representative of the existing pattern of rural migration at the inter-divisional level.

TABLE 2.2 PLACE OF BIRTH OF SETTLERS IN THE LAMBIR LAND DEVELOPMENT SCHEME

<u>Division</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
First	2
Second	36
Third	35
Fourth	27
Fifth	-

In the future, it is probable that the proportion of Fourth Division migrants will increase, but the precise pattern of future movement will depend on the role the Government assumes in guiding migration, and on the employment opportunities created by public and private development in the Study Area and elsewhere in Sarawak.

23 POTENTIAL MIGRANT GROUPS

The Terms of Reference state: "Settlers will come mainly from the First, Second and Third Divisions and belong to different racial communities with contrasting social and cultural backgrounds, occupational patterns and ways of life" (para. 21). The Terms also stipulate that investigations must be made to show "how migration can be made attractive to various groups and individuals and under which conditions they should be settled." (Para. 21)

In the previous section (2.2) conclusions concerning migration trends in Sarawak were drawn; but it must be emphasised that they are tentative and backed by little solid evidence. They do, however, agree with common opinion, and, perhaps more importantly, with the considered views of knowledgeable and informed people, both in the Government service and outside it. In the absence of evidence from surveys, these general trends and informed opinions have to be the basis of any recommendations on the recruitment of settlers for the various types of development proposed in the Study Area.

Growth of population and pressure on land for shifting cultivation are probably the most important reasons for these migratory trends. But they do not explain why the Iban of the Second and Third Divisions migrate long distances, whereas the Land Dayaks move only short distances, and in order to stay near their homes in the First Division they are willing to endure poverty. Similarly Malay sedentary farmers and fishermen of the First Division in the face of growing pressure of population do not appear to migrate. By contrast, the Melanau of the Third Division, who at the present time suffer varying degrees of poverty are willing, unlike the Land Dayak, to migrate, though as yet only in small numbers. Again, the overall growth in the size of the Chinese population does not account for their movement out of rural districts into towns. In all these cases factors other than population pressures would seem to be involved.

A combination of land shortage in the Iban areas of the Second Division and a series of poor harvests in the Third Division have doubtless accelerated a very long established trend which grew in importance during the disorders that accompanied the Confrontation of Malaysia with the Indonesian Republic ten years ago.

These differential reactions to common factors can be understood, in part at least, by briefly examining each community to identify particular circumstances. Such an examination also reveals some of the conditions that will have to be met in settling migrants successfully.

The total populations and the ethnic distribution of the communities from which settlers may be recruited are set out in Table 2.3. In Table 2.4 the division between urban and rural dwellers is shown for those communities on which information is available.

TABLE 2.3 DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE POPULATION OF SARAWAK (CENSUS 1970)

Division \ Ethnic group	Malay	Melanau	Kedayan	Iban	Land Dayak	Kayan	Kenyah	Chinese	Total
First	99 990	427	20	27 727	81 263	36	43	129 961	346 973
Second	36 347	102	2	84 623	325	6	3	15 258	137 260
Third	16 288	44 802	24	138 356	953	3 561	2 848	109 440	319 036
Fourth	17 371	7 837	4 641	47 544	645	7 721	7 005	34 230	135 918
Fifth	12 713	66	2 809	4 734	90	23	33	5 131	36 731
Sarawak total	182 709	53 234	7 496	302 984	83 276	11 347	9 932	294 020	975 918

TABLE 2.4 DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION OF SARAWAK (CENSUS 1970)

	Malay	Melanau	Iban	Land Dayak	Chinese	Total
Urban	47 895	6 229	11 921	3 041	130 238	205 784
Rural	134 814	46 005	291 063	80 235	163 784	770 784
Sarawak total	182 709	53 234	302 984	83 276	294 020	975 918

Section 2.11 of this Report points out that indigenous societies in Sarawak share certain common structural principles. The wider society of modern Sarawak today also has institutions which are shared by all, and which regulate the actions and share the attitudes of its inhabitants, no matter what community they belong to. A uniform system of administration is a part of the daily experience of everybody. A common economic system and its demands also involve the whole population, and an educational system has at least touched most people, so that areas of knowledge and experience are common to all citizens of the country. These factors, as much as those of an individual's particular society, can never be safely forgotten in settling migrants in development schemes.

2.3.1 Shifting Cultivators

- (a) Land Dayaks - Total population 83 276, Urban 3 041,
Rural 80 235 (Census 1970).

Production and Labour

Traditional Land Dayak farming was based on the shifting cultivation of hill rice, supplemented by swamp rice grown in wet valley bottoms.

Villages consisted of longhouses composed of separate households, each based on a nuclear family with an average of five or six members. Each household was responsible for the economic, social, and ritual welfare of its members. A village was a politically independent unit within its own territory, the boundaries of which the villagers defended against intruders.

Each household needed a fresh field of four to five acres every year to grow sufficient rice to maintain itself through the year. The right to cultivate a field was acquired by the man who first felled the primary forest on it, and the right to use it again, after a fallow period of ideally 12 to 15 years, passed on the feller's death equally to all his descendants, male and female alike. There were rules for selecting which of the descendants had the prior right to use it for one year at the appropriate time. The rules caused no hardship when a village had sufficient land because, through inheritance from both parents an individual belonged to many field owning groups. A household's land resources were the combined rights of the husband and wife, both of whom had claims to fields scattered in all parts of the village's territory. Similar rules governed swamp rice fields. A fruit tree was the property of the man who planted it - even if it was on land on which he had no claim to grow rice. When rubber was introduced the Land Dayaks classed it as a fruit tree, so that by planting a large number of them a man could in effect prevent the members of the descent group who had the right to use the field for growing rice from exercising their rights. This has happened sufficiently often for Land Dayaks to become familiar with the idea of the exclusive use of a plot of land in long term cultivation for cash.

The scarce resource in traditional Land Dayak farming was labour not land. Labour was organised on a system of exchange of a day's work by one individual. For a particular undertaking a farmer mobilised a party to work on his field. In return he owed a day's work by a member of his own household (man, woman, or even child) to every household which had sent a worker to his group. This was a system of individual credit and had nothing in common with the traditional Malay custom of gotong royong - communal labour by villagers for the benefit of the community - as practised in Malaya and Indonesia.

Co-operation and Leadership

The only durable, stable groups in Land Dayak society were the village itself and its constituent households. The minimum required degree of organisation in the agricultural cycle was provided by a ritual expert who set the dates and sanctioned the ceremonies that marked stages in the work. In other respects this expert did not differ from ordinary heads of households. An elderly ritual expert was usually appointed headman of the village by the Government. The office was not an indigenous one; its occupant had no real authority and could organise a group to work for the benefit of the village only with strong external support. All leadership was on the pattern of an individual farmer recruiting a party for a particular task.

Migration Potentiality

The Land Dayak population has grown rapidly. It has for a long time been hemmed in by the Iban and the border with Indonesia, so that signs of land shortage appeared in the First Division sooner than in other parts of Sarawak. There are several choices open to a Land Dayak farmer short of land. He can shorten the rotation of the farming cycle or use the land for several years in succession, with the certainty that the soil will deteriorate and eventually become unfit for rice or any other crops. In making this choice he stays in his traditional surroundings. He may decide to supplement his rice farming by growing cash crops, such as rubber or pepper, by new methods that he does not fully understand. Most Land Dayaks have preferred to stay on their land and suffer varying degrees of poverty rather than migrate to towns, though a few have done so. Almost none have ever migrated to other Divisions in search of land.

Although a Land Dayak was strongly individualistic in most situations of traditional life, he was nevertheless completely involved in a close-knit network of village relationships, and his economic safety depended on a good reputation for co-operating with other villagers. There are no obvious reasons in his cultural background to hinder him from learning how to handle money, to use systems of credit, and undertake commercial transactions, except that the relationships implicit in such operations may appear to work against accepted ideals of neighbourliness. Moreover the types of coercive leadership and co-operation required in development and other improvement schemes are often such as he would formerly have rejected by refusing to participate or by withdrawing. Any change of attitude can only come from prolonged extension and educational work.

For reasons that are not evident, and cannot be made so without investigation, the Land Dayaks have so far rejected migration out of the First Division. Whatever the reason for

the Land Dayaks' reluctance to put themselves out of quick and easy communication with other Land Dayaks is clearly deeply engrained; and very careful and persuasive settlement of migrants in the Study Area will be needed. If a group of Land Dayaks were successfully established, and their friends and relatives at home were convinced that they were satisfied and not lost in a crowd of potential enemies, it might become progressively easier to persuade others to join them.

(b) Iban - Total population 302 984. Urban 11 921,
Rural 291 063 (Census 1970).

Production and Labour

The Ibans were traditionally shifting cultivators of hill rice, some of whom also grew a little swamp rice. The technology and main structural principles of Iban and Land Dayak societies are the same. The most important difference is in the constitution of the family household. The Iban household is a strongly corporate, perpetual group whose members have no individual rights over the household's jointly owned property. Men and women are equal and full members of the group. An individual who permanently moves from a household relinquishes all rights in it, but acquires immediate and full rights in the household he has formally joined.

For almost two centuries the Ibans have been rapidly moving from their original homes in the Second Division on the borders of Indonesia into all other Divisions of Sarawak, and in doing so features of their society have become exaggerated. As they moved into the immense and sparsely inhabited areas of the Third Division, land was indeed a free resource, and many families were reluctant to cultivate a plot more than once. They preferred to join a new pioneering settlement. The migration provided many opportunities for plunder and for trade with jungle produce on the coast. The institutions of warfare and travel took up a disproportionate amount of men's time, and the shortage of labour, inherent in all shifting agriculture, made in-migrants to a village very welcome.

Labour organisation among the Ibans is less elaborate than among the Land Dayaks. Each household is responsible for the cultivation of its own fields and does not expect help from other people, though in practice half a dozen households tend to farm in close proximity and help one another.

Co-operation and Leadership

Groups for agricultural tasks, hunting, warfare and travel were organised on an ad hoc basis by leaders who had the necessary skills and who had the confidence of their followers. As among the Land Dayaks, the agricultural cycle was organised by ritual experts. There were no permanent or hereditary

leaders with authority over the heads of the households until such positions were created and filled by the Rajah's government.

The temporary groups formed by the Iban for warfare and travel were, because the undertaking required it, often more effective and cohesive than the peacable and stay-at-home groups of the Land Dayaks.

Migration Potentiality

The Ibans' long experience of travel and work in many parts of Sarawak has made them familiar with the use of cash and the demands of other modes of cultivation. Much of what they have seen they mistrust and they are proportionately more attached to their own ways of life. When they have participated in development schemes the results have not often been what they understood had been promised. This has made them even more reluctant to abandon the known, if precarious, security of shifting cultivation and hunting and gathering in the forest.

In most areas the Iban have planted rubber and because the land belongs to the household corporation there is no danger that the land will be alienated from the group as happened among the Land Dayaks. When the price is high they use the rubber as a source of income; when it is low they use it as a source of cash in the case of a failure in the rice crop or for immediate urgent needs.

The growth of population and shortages of land, especially in the Second Division, together with displacement of population in some areas of the Second and Third Divisions, means that migrants can probably be attracted to the Study Area as temporary labourers in forest or land clearance work. To persuade them to settle in family groups and adopt entirely new modes of farming will be more difficult, and may be impossible except over a long period.

The institution of travel (bejalai) allows young men to inspect and assess opportunities in many parts of the country. They may in this way find an Iban village in easier circumstances than their own and attach themselves, and ultimately their household to it or they may test the possibilities of a development scheme. But a labourer, however long he may stay, is still in his own view a migrant labourer, even if he brings his wife and children. His home is still the family household to which he belongs in a village practising shifting cultivation. The critical step in the settlement of such a man is when his corporate household moves or he joins another one. It is a most serious step for the members of a household to move into a system of agriculture where the corporate nature of the household may not be recognised and the

symbols which mark its identity and perpetuity may be ignored. The most important and emotionally loaded of these symbols is the annual growth of a field of hill rice enclosing a small patch of sacred rice (padi pun); and, unless provision is made for this, most households that are not totally disintegrated will probably refuse to settle. (See Field Report No.6)

The nature of the Iban household and the fact that the women traditionally take such an important part in farming mean that prolonged agricultural extension work and education will be needed to persuade the members that their household and its symbols are not necessarily threatened by the adoption of settled farming. Moreover extension and educational work will have to be directed as much at the women as at the men; indeed it might often be practical sense to register a woman who is the head of the household as the farmer. In traditional conditions women may be the heads of as many as 50 per cent of the households in a village. A household once firmly established in the new environment, with the women and older men and the children sure of their rights and secure in the technical knowledge needed to farm, could afford to release some of the men for travel and migrant labour.

The process of settlement would also be facilitated by providing Iban and other shifting cultivators with some form of semi-detached housing, which not only encourages familiar forms of neighbourliness, but for an Iban reassures him that his own and his neighbours' corporate households are not under threat.

(c) Kayan/Kenyah - Total population 11 347 (Census 1970).

The Kayan and Kenyah people live in the interior districts of the Third and Fourth Divisions and are not an important source of potential migrants. Some already live in the Study Area and its development will certainly draw migrants from the interior. There is a risk that unless communications are improved and farmers and traders upriver are helped maintain a satisfactory standard of living there may be problems of depopulation.

The Kayan and the Kenyah are shifting cultivators with a social system basically similar to those of the Iban and the Land Dayak. The only enduring groups are the villages and their constituent family households. Other groups are formed ad hoc for particular tasks, and dissolve when the job is done. Labour, not land, is the scarce resource, and the division of work between men and women is the same as it is among many other shifting cultivators in Sarawak. Hunting and gathering is an essential element in their subsistence, and today still an important source of cash.

In one respect the Kayan and the Kenyah differ significantly from the Iban and the Land Dayaks. The villages, though independent, are politically stratified. The heads of the independent households are subordinate to leaders of an upper class, one of whom is the chief with ultimate authority in the village. His authority, in theory almost unlimited, is in fact restricted. The most important practical limit is that he can only mobilise ad hoc groups for particular tasks and he may be dependent on specialists to carry them through. This permanent institution of leadership means that practically the direction of groups is often easier and more effective than, for example, among the Land Dayaks. A chief and his family is economically partly freed from agricultural work by set days of labour contributed by villagers. In some areas he organises groups of migrant labourers sent to logging camps or other work in the wider economy.

The authority of upper class families and leaders among the Kenyah has always been more marked than among the Kayan, but in both societies the growth of a class of educated villagers, the introduction of cash crops grown on principles of sedentary farming, and new methods of co-operation are beginning to erode the traditional authority of leaders.

In establishing Kayan or Kenyah settlers on development schemes the same caution will be needed as is required in handling other shifting cultivators. Success is more likely if careful attention is paid to housing which allows groups of friends and relatives to live in close proximity and if leaders of repute are consulted in all matters of extension and welfare.

2.3.2 Settled Farmers

Indigenous settled farming in Sarawak is of two kinds: swamp rice cultivation, and sago gardening. In this century all farmers, whether shifting or settled, have begun to grow cash crops such as rubber or pepper on a settled basis. Vegetable, fruit and pepper farming for export or for supplying the towns was introduced by Chinese immigrants, but has only been adapted by a few indigenous farmers except that pepper has recently become popular.

Swamp rice and sago farming methods have much in common with those of shifting agriculture in that most such farmers are still partly subsistence cultivators who rely heavily on the forest for some of their subsistence.

In some parts of the country areas suitable for growing swamp rice are limited and land begins to be a scarce resource when farmers rely mainly on this type of rice. Labour require-

ments, too, are different from those of shifting cultivators. Rice fields are cultivated on shorter rotation than are required in shifting agriculture and the work of clearing and preparing the fields is less arduous. Men and women are equally involved the whole year round in the routine tasks of cultivation.

The traditional methods of growing the sago palm also require the work of men and women all the year round, but allow the men regular, though short periods, for hunting and gathering forest produce. The perennial nature of the crop and its even yield throughout the year mean that questions of land tenure, ownership, and capital value become important in ways that they do not with shifting cultivators.

(a) Malays - Total population 182 895. Urban 47 895,
Rural 134 814 (Census 1970).

Most of the Malay population of Sarawak inhabits the coastal areas and was traditionally clustered round the mouths of rivers that served as trade routes into the interior. The largest settlement is in the First Division, and, as elsewhere, most are rural dwellers, fishermen or farmers cultivating swamp rice and coconuts, supplemented by pepper and rubber growing. In Sarawak as a whole approximately 33 per cent of the Malay population is urban whereas in the First Division only about 17 per cent live in the towns. This means that outside of the First Division, the Malay population, by Sarawak standards, is highly urbanised.

Co-operation and Leadership

The structure of Malay society does not essentially differ from those of other indigenous societies. For practical purposes a village is an independent unit, but because Malay society was traditionally stratified into roughly two classes, with a ruler or his representative in a nearby town who appointed village headmen, the independence of the villagers, especially in settlements near the towns, was more circumscribed than in other indigenous communities beyond the effective power of coastal rulers.

Malay villages were composed of separate family dwellings, in earlier times clustered for defence and later strung out along the banks of a river or along a beach. Normally each house contained one family household, but not infrequently it might have two or even three separately budgeting nuclear family groups in it. The economic resources of the household were the combined assets of its members. In Sarawak, Muslim custom did not exclude women from inheriting property, though their share was less than that of their brothers, or from acquiring and managing their own independent property. The

household was not a strong corporate group, as in Iban society, but even so it and the village were the most stable and lasting groups. The traditional farming and fishing methods demanded work groups for specific tasks for periods that never exceeded a few months at most, during which individuals were free to enter or leave without loss of reputation.

Leaders had little permanent authority and a village was held together largely because it was small and everybody was closely involved in a network of personal relationships that covered all aspects of life. A man's economic and social safety depended on his reputation. Few formal sanctions existed for punishing breaches of custom, but the concept of malu (loss of face) applied in almost every circumstance of life and acted as a very real check on misbehaviour. Rank of itself was not a necessary qualification for leadership, and the appointed headman of a village faced the same difficulties as village leaders in most indigenous communities in organising labour for communal tasks. In practice these were limited to religious duties such as clearing the village graveyard or preparing for festivals. The term gotong royong, sometimes used for this kind of communal labour, was often used for forced labour formerly exacted by the Government for clearing roads and similar task of benefit to the community at large.

Malay urban settlements are on the same pattern as rural villages. The Malay section of a town is a series of contiguous rural type villages, each with its own headman. The process of urbanisation, bringing modern services, education, and new types of employment, sooner or later begins to erode the traditional village patterns of life (see sociological Field Report No.3).

Migration Potentiality

The Malay community, especially in the First Division, suffers from shortages of land, inadequate farming methods, and poverty. Many have first or second hand knowledge of development schemes and some experience of co-operative work and commercial transactions in the modern economy. The difficulties they have in adapting their habits and outlook to such enterprises are not essentially different from those of other indigenous communities, and are usually for the same sorts of reason. Unlike the Land Dayaks, they are not apparently reluctant to migrate, but would need as careful recruitment and settlement as all other indigenous groups. It is unlikely, even where under-employment exists, that many recruits for rural development schemes will be found in the urban Malay population. This would largely exclude extensive Malay recruitment outside the First Division.

(b) Melanau - Total population 53 234. Urban 6 229,
Rural 46 005 (Census 1970).

The Melanau population lives in the coastal districts of the Third Division, and the lower reaches of the Rejang and its delta. These areas are swampy and were formerly covered in dense forest; the environment limited the means of subsistence open to the Melanau to the cultivation of the sago palm, the growth of a little swamp rice, fishing, and hunting and gathering in the forest.

Co-operation and Leadership

Until the end of the last century the Melanau lived in longhouses on the river banks. Each house was politically independent, but because of the value of the sago trade the Sultan of Brunei at an early date placed his representatives in the villages at the mouths of the rivers in order to regulate the trade. Their authority nominally extended to the source of the river on which they were stationed, but it was not usually effective outside the village at the mouth of the river where they lived. The descendants of these representatives soon became Melanau. When the longhouses were abandoned, the family households built themselves separate dwellings along the river banks on the pattern of Malay villages.

Like the Kayan and Kenyah, Melanau villages were stratified, and each one contained a number of upper class families, but there was no institutionalised chiefly office. Ad hoc groups were assembled for particular tasks, and if an upper class person had the qualifications he led the group. If there was no suitable man of rank, a commoner did the job. The only enduring groups in the society were the longhouses making up the village and the family households. As in the other indigenous societies of Sarawak the household ideally consisted of a man, his wife and children, with possibly one married adult child. Men and women inherited property equally and could own separate estates. The economic resources of the household were the combined, but separately owned, resources of all its members.

Men and women of rank had authority to maintain the customs of the village, but as in all other indigenous societies this authority was limited by the fact that numbers were small, and that everybody was enmeshed in a close network of personal relationships. A man was not safe unless he was on good terms with his neighbours. The methods of growing rice and sago made it more difficult for him to leave and attach himself to another village than in a community of shifting cultivators. Moreover, from the beginning of the nineteenth century the Melanau were under attack from the Kayan on one side and the Iban on the other, and like the Land Dayaks they have developed into a rather enclosed community with an intense attachment to their villages. When during the last century the

government appointed headmen to each village, a man of rank was usually chosen, but he had no real authority over other men of rank, and in executing work for the benefit of the village or at the command of the government, he had to carry his peers with him or rely on the force of the administration.

Production and Labour

Today the cultivation of sago is practically confined to the Mukah, Oya and Balingian rivers, though formerly it extended down the coast into the Second Division. The inhabitants of these latter areas now live by fishing and swamp rice farming. Their economy is identical to that of the coastal Malay population or the Kedayan of the Fourth Division.

A sago garden is made by cutting the forest on a plot of land and burning it, as in shifting cultivation. When fully grown, a matter of 15 to 20 years, a plantation yields palms throughout the year. In practice it is never replanted unless it reverts to forest because of neglect. Each plantation, not usually more than 10 acres in area, is individually owned. One man may, of course, own any number of plantations, and there is a wide diversity in wealth. Today landlessness is not at all uncommon. All work on a plantation, including the felling of palms and bringing them to the village for processing, is the work of men. After the pith of the trunk has been rasped to sawdust, the rest of the processing is the work of women, and the men are set free for other work until fresh palms are needed. The cash from the sale of the processed flour is divided equally between the man and the woman, whether the workers are husband and wife or merely partners.

The routine of labour required for this kind of production is that of settled farming. A sago plantation is a capitalised item of property, the value of which an owner calculates and understands. For over a hundred years the farmers have sold their product on the international market for cash, and they are familiar with the uses of money and credit. Credit, in the form of money or consumer goods, was given by the middleman, in recent times a Chinese, who transported the flour to a port. Co-operative credit facilities and co-operative work of other types have not been successfully adopted by the Melanau for the same reasons as caused their failure among other indigenous communities. The types of group needed and the attitudes and habits required for co-operatives to work successfully over long periods did not fit easily into traditional ways of working ad hoc impermanent groups.

Migration Potentiality

Since 1950 mechanical methods of processing sago have been introduced and now all the work takes place in factories. Fewer men are needed on the plantations and the women have no

way of earning a livelihood. There is consequently very considerable poverty among all sago farmers because there are no alternative crops. Rice land is limited in area and subject to flooding.

An alternative source of income for the younger men is in the logging industry. Groups for this work are organised on traditional lines. A leader recruits a group of men to go with him as migrant labourers to a logging camp for a contracted task. A certain amount of money comes back to the villages, but it is often not in the hands of heads of families, and it does not really alleviate the poverty. On the other hand, sago is an edible crop and forest resources are still there; most Melanau are not yet poor enough to think seriously of permanent migration. But many of the landless, would undoubtedly migrate if they were given security. They would need the same careful selection, extension work, and welfare as is required with other migrants in settling them on development schemes, and in helping them to make up their minds that their migration was permanent and not short term.

(c) The Chinese - Total population 290 020. Urban 130 238, Rural 163 782 (Census 1970).

It is usual to think of the Chinese in connection with commerce and urban trade, but in fact agriculture is the most important single source of Chinese employment in Sarawak. Approximately 55 per cent of the population was rural at the time of 1970 census. There may have been changes in this pattern during the last three years owing to a steady migration into the towns of the First, Second and Third Divisions.

Co-operation and Leadership

The traditional structure of society in south east China, from where the immigrants in Sarawak derive, was based on locally organised patrilineal descent groups, which, in turn were parts of wider clan or surname groups that were in no sense organised functional groups. Corporate descent groups with common land, tombs, and ancestral halls, their members occupying entire villages or wards of towns are lacking in Sarawak. But the importance of kinship ties - especially those with the father's relatives - and of the wider, though less immediately imperative ties of clanship have been brought to Sarawak and pervade every aspect of Chinese life.

The structurally most significant groups in Sarawak are voluntary associations of a number of kinds, and not kinship groupings. Except for a planned settlement of Foochow Methodist Christians in Sibü, Chinese immigration into Sarawak was not organised. An individual who found his way into the country and prospered, sent to China and helped friends and

relatives from his home village and district to settle in Sarawak. In this way the ties of dialect and language, locality, and clanship coalesced to create a strong feeling of community identity. This fact, combined with the needs of economic life under an alien government, led to the growth of powerful dialect associations that in effect regulated the whole life of Chinese settlers. Leaders in these associations, which were local groups and nominally independent, were tied to one another and their clients by a ladder of credit and patronage which extended down to the primary producers. Rural farmers, village traders, middlemen, and urban traders were thus linked in a network of commercial, political, and social relationships that controlled not only the life of most of the Chinese community, but also affected the life of large numbers of indigenous people.

The procedure is that Government appoints headmen (Kapitans China) to local settlements of Chinese immigrants to answer for the community and to transmit orders from the Government to the members of the community. These men had to be acceptable to the dialect associations and other structural groupings used by the leaders of the community.

The facility with which the Chinese were able to form voluntary groupings for long-term purposes gave them a pronounced advantage in making use of the modern economic system. In addition they brought with them from China a full understanding of the concepts of capital and credit and a very long experience in the handling of money. In all these characteristics they were in marked contrast with the indigenous peoples of Sarawak who could only with difficulty organise institutions adapted to the modern economy and throw up leaders willing and able to seize and permanently exploit new opportunities as they arose.

Production and Labour

The cultivation of rice in highly capitalised, irrigated fields, combined with other crops and some animal husbandry, has been practised in south east China for centuries. Land, particularly rice land, has always been in short supply, and the surplus rural population migrated to coastal cities long before it began to move out into South East Asia. This type of mixed settled farming, land shortage, and the struggle to earn a living in towns produced habits of work and diligence characteristic of the immigrants in Sarawak. The same factors, combined with other structural elements in the society, also produced a system of values in which a man saw his only real security in owning land, and much of his ambition in life was directed to this end. Migrants went to the towns determined to let slip no chance of bettering themselves, whether in trade, craft-work, or other forms of production, in order that ultimately they might return to their home villages as land-owners. Not many did; nevertheless when they went

overseas both men and women took with them the same habits of work and ambitions. Even today in Sarawak though most urban Chinese immigrants no longer think of returning to China or of investing in land, the qualities of hard work and determination to succeed economically at almost any cost remain undiminished.

Migration Potentiality

The Chinese population which has migrated from the rural districts of the First, Second and Third Divisions into the towns over the last few years are still farmers, and could supply migrants, whether as labourers or as independent farmers on development schemes in the Study Area. A fixed aim of any such migrant would undoubtedly be the acquisition of a farm of his own. On the other hand many would settle for urban employment in services or industry; for in Sarawak, as much as in south east China, a farm is not usually divided on the owner's death, and the children who do not work it seek employment in the towns (see Field Report No. 2).

Chinese farmers would in many cases have a better understanding of the intensive farming methods required on development schemes than most indigenous farmers. Even so, they would certainly need careful extension work and counselling, because a number of their assumptions on land ownership and use might not be those demanded of settlers. In Sarawak it is usually the custom of Chinese farmers, unlike indigenous farmers or their ancestors in China, to build their permanent houses on their farms.

The movement of a large Chinese rural population into the towns has undoubtedly added to the problems of under-employment, especially of young people, which have been a feature of Kuching and Sibu for over a decade. The movement of Chinese, especially from Sibu, into the Fourth Division appears to have come, in part, from this under-employed population, but it has also come from men with capital and businesses on the lookout for new opportunities. It is from both these categories of people that much of the urban labour force and managerial skills needed for urban and industrial development could most easily be drawn. Careful thought will need to be given to the role of such migrants in the areas of agricultural development; in particular the supply of small retail trade services will need close examination. At the present time such services are almost wholly Chinese, and experience in other countries, suggests that prolonged careful training and support of potential indigenous retail traders will be needed if it should be decided that the pattern prevalent in all other parts of Sarawak should not be reproduced in the Study Area.

24 ORGANISATION FOR SETTLER RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION

2.4.1 State Manpower Board

Recruitments for current land development schemes operates with a minimum of publicity. Potential candidates normally learn of schemes through District or local Administrative Officers, Labour Department staff, local political leaders, or from the radio or through the reports of friends or relatives; and applications are generally forwarded by a local Government Officer to the particular authority undertaking the development.

The success achieved by this or any other future system depends on publicity and communication. In this respect the present selection system has two serious defects:-

- (i) it fails to tap the potential settler population effectively; and
- (ii) it does not supply sufficient information for potential candidates to make a well-reasoned decision as to whether to join a scheme or not.

As long as these conditions remain, many potential settlers are likely never to hear of scheme openings or, if they do, to receive an inadequate or inaccurate view of what schemes are like and how to go about making application. Screening procedure may be difficult to apply in these circumstances and those who are selected may come to the scheme expecting conditions to be very different from what in fact they find. As a result the people become disillusioned and often leave the scheme. These defects are likely to remain until a State-wide organisation for recruitment and selection is created and fully operating.

Government has realised this and has recently created a Manpower Section within the Department of Labour. The section is headed by an Assistant Director of Labour and the Terms of Reference for the Section appears to fit the needs well. In view of the importance of creating a sound labour recruitment organisation in Sarawak it is recommended that the new Section is made sufficiently large to be able to undertake the following responsibilities:-

- (a) to provide a State-wide labour exchange and registry for all types of labour (e.g. service trades, manufacturing, agriculture, etc.); and
- (b) to identify, through a Research and Planning Team, future labour needs and areas of current unemployment or under-utilisation of labour and to gather and collate the information necessary to make such an identification.

The main task of the Section should be to establish a State-wide network of Labour Registry Offices where potential workers can be matched with available jobs. The functions of screening and selection would remain with the receiving employer or agency. The Ministry of Labour would continue its present role of ensuring compliance with labour legislation

including that which applies to workers and supervisory staff employed on agricultural estates.

2.4.2 The Settler Development Division of SLDB

It is proposed that the actual screening and selection of people to participate in SLDB schemes should be undertaken by the Settler Development Division of SLDB. With regard to selection, the Division would have the following responsibilities:-

- (a) to publicise the fact that recruitment of settlers is taking place.

It will be necessary, at least in the foreseeable future, to supplement the Labour Ministry's recruitment efforts with a State-wide programme of publicity and information. Included in this programme should be scheduled visits, screening and information sessions by Settler Development Officers with potential recruits at Labour Registry Offices throughout the State. Here the Research Team of the Manpower Section can assist by identifying areas within the State where qualified recruits are most likely to be found. In addition, visits to development areas should be arranged for Tua Kampongs, Penghulus, Kapitan China and others who exert an influence on local public opinion.

- (b) to formulate and review selection criteria and by means of questionnaires, interviews, selection boards and other screening procedures to ensure the selection of a suitable settler population.

Publicity programmes can only create initial interest and must be followed up with systematic screening of candidates according to appropriate criteria of suitability. These criteria and the procedures to be used in selecting settlers are discussed in Section 2.4.4.

- (c) to ensure that recruits are fully aware of the conditions under which they are recruited and the positions for which they are selected.

This is a critical task and must be done properly if candidates are to make an informed choice as to whether to join a scheme or remain where they are. This necessitates the organisation thorough information sessions for selected candidates with settler development officers, including possibly film shows, visits to established schemes, talks with settlers, question and answer sessions, etc. At these sessions doubts and long-term prospects as well as the overall objectives of the scheme should be discussed realistically. It is desirably in this connection, that settler development officers have some detailed knowledge of the sociology of the groups they are dealing with, and that, in addition to the schemes, selected candidates be shown training and ADU centres

and be allowed to gain a personal impression of the total development organisation in which they will participate. It is also important that the time between selection and entry into the scheme be kept as short as possible. Finally, once settlers have been recruited, the Settler Development Officer should have the additional responsibility.

(d) to arrange for their orderly transport and physical settling in.

The selection of people to become small-holder farmers must be done through well publicised procedures. The criteria for eligibility, which should be as objective as possible, should be fully understood by all participants prior to entry into the scheme. It is suggested that the main, but not only, channel for selection of small-holder farmers on State Land should be from within the labour/settler force of SLDB. The minimal qualifications should be satisfactory completion of a term of service as a labourer with SLDB, and, in effect, the potential small-holder should select himself by his performance. Selection should be phased. The cropping on individual holdings should be diversified and a settler should first take over the management of land for rice and other annual crops. Plots of land planted with perennial crops should be taken over when the crops have come into production. The timing and sequence of phases would depend on the types of crops planted. Further details of these recommendations are given in Supporting Report 2 Part II.

Final selection for small-holder status is certain to be regarded as a matter of utmost concern by the settlers, because it directly relates to their basic motives for entering the scheme: namely, security, independence and property ownership. Therefore it is important that the Settler Development Division in SLDB should make every effort to select potentially suitable candidates from the outset. There should be an appeal procedure by which selection decisions and assignment of farming land can be reviewed. Possibly the welfare officer could act as the final arbiter.

2.4.3 Selection Policy

The chief goal of selection policy should be to ensure that those people for whom job opportunities in agriculture are created are found and take them up. The general population catered for consists, in terms of present guidelines, of persons who are rural, landless or near landless and/or subsistence farmers who have little access to modern amenities.

The experience of SLDB provides the most appropriate basis for selection. Candidates are screened by a selection board and score points according to age, family size, current economic circumstances, skills, physical fitness and prior farming experience. The scale of points may be adjusted to reflect changing priorities or modifications made on the basis

of current experience. In Sarawak, for example, less importance is assigned to non-farming skills and more to landlessness, family size and previous farming background than in the FELDA point system used in Peninsular Malaysia. It is recommended that the present point evaluation system be continued with the provision that it be periodically reviewed to ensure that it adequately defines the population which Government desires to assist. A second recommendation is that provision be made for recruitment of groups of people who wish to settle as a group or as an entire longhouse or village community.

The personnel of the various service occupations in the development area will have the advantages of an education that has already partly fitted them for living in a new environment. The immigrant traders and businessmen will surely be exploiting accustomed skills in new places. But the majority of the population will be rural settlers - estate workers, small holders and independent farmers - and they will not have these advantages. Some preliminary discussions, therefore, of the minimum demands that most types of settler are likely to make on their environment is required.

3.1 Estate Workers, Small-Holders and Independent Farmers

The basic demands that settlers are likely to make on the town and village and the types of work that will be expected of them are the same. The types of work that will be expected of them are the same. The types of work that will be expected of them are the same.

3.1.1 Security

This may be of at least two kinds:

- a) an assurance of adequate livelihood and in the future; this, for a small holder, would involve reasonable security of tenure of land allocated to him; and
- b) an assurance of minimum conditions of law and order to safeguard himself, his family, and his possessions.

3.1.2 Acceptable Access to Places of Daily Work

Most people, whether urban or rural, prefer to live close to their work. Normally the whole family helps in the work of small scale farming and, as the woman also have to perform household tasks and care for children, it is essential that they should have easy access to the farms at hours convenient to them.

CHAPTER 3

ORGANISATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The migrants to be settled in the Study Area will be of diverse cultural origins, and the settlement of a heterogeneous population in a new and not always well-understood environment could tax the settlers' powers of adaptation to the limit. One critical part of the process will be the education of the next and more homogeneous generation.

The personnel of the various service occupations in the development area will have the advantages of an education that has already partly fitted them for living in a new environment, and immigrant traders and businessmen will merely be exercising accustomed skills in new places. But the majority of the population will be rural settlers - estate workers, small-holders and independent farmers - and they will not have these advantages. Some preliminary discussions, therefore, of the minimum demands that most types of settler are likely to make on their environment is required.

3.1.1 Estate Workers, Small-Holders and Independent Farmers

The basic demands that settlers are likely to make on the towns and villages and the types of work they will be expected to undertake can conveniently be set out under five heads.

(i) Security

This must be of at least two kinds:-

- a) an assurance of an adequate livelihood now and in the future; this, for a small-holder, would include reasonable security of tenure of land allocated to him; and
- b) an assurance of minimal conditions of law and order to safeguard themselves, their families, and their possessions.

(ii) Acceptable Access to Places of Daily Work

Most people, whether urban or rural, prefer to live close to their work. Normally the whole family helps in the work of small scale farming and, as the women also have to perform household tasks and care for children, it is essential that they should have easy access to the farms at hours convenient to them.

(iii) Family Requirements

These are of at least four kinds.

(a) Ease of domestic catering

Although some of the household's subsistence may come from a vegetable garden, many types of consumer goods can only be obtained in shops which must be conveniently placed for the women. Such shops should not have a local monopoly. It is worth observing here that Iban settlers on the Lambir Land Development Scheme still depend on hunting in the forest for much of the protein in their diet (see Field Report No. 4).

(b) Education

For the sake of the children and the peace of mind of the parents, schools for young children must be reasonably near their homes. An important part of a child's education is in the sharing of some family work, and schooling should not make this impossible.

(c) Health

A recently settled migrant population is sometimes prone to an unusual degree of bad health. Adequate and easily available emergency health services are essential and more elaborate services must not be too far distant.

(d) Credit

A household may unexpectedly require an immediate and relatively large sum of money because of a death, an illness or an accident. Cash may also be needed for a marriage. Farmers and fishermen in Sarawak traditionally borrowed money for these occasions from retail traders who obtained repayment of the loan by handling the produce of the borrower. Sometimes the money was raised by the sale or pledging of the gold jewellery in which all sections of the population of Sarawak, urban and rural alike, have always invested some of their savings. Until a system of banks, savings accounts and mortgages has been developed and understood and trusted, the settlers in the Study Area will undoubtedly continue to rely on their traditional methods of insurance. It would therefore be most unwise to place them in a situation where retail traders, able and willing to supply these immediate and essential services, were not readily available. It is worth stressing that consumer co-operatives, however desirable on other social grounds, do not supply these services nor will they be supplied by the ADU in the system envisaged for handling crop production inputs (see Supporting Report 2 Part III).

(iv) Religion

The settler population in the Study Area will belong to several religious persuasions, some of which cannot be practised without buildings. No Muslim community, for example, can live

properly without at least a meeting house for prayer (surau). Although such buildings need not necessarily be provided at public expense, sufficient land should be set aside in all settlements in order that any denomination which so wishes can provide its members with a place of worship.

(v) Recreation

A notable feature in the former village life of every indigenous community in Sarawak was the variety of ceremonies and entertainments. Many of these could be undertaken only in the large open space furnished by the verandahs of the long-houses or in the big traditional type of Malay house. When a community abandons its longhouse and builds small separate dwellings, there is usually an impoverishment of social life because large ceremonies are no longer feasible and because there are fewer daily opportunities of close personal interaction in work and conversation on the verandah.

It is likely that the settlers in the Study Area will be moving into houses smaller than most of them have ever been accustomed to and, if rural life is not to become unacceptably dull, a public hall, erected with at least some public assistance, is essential for the well-being of any settlement. The amenities provided by a nearby larger town are a supplement to, not a substitute for, a special village hall where meetings, travelling cinemas, education talks, receptions for visiting celebrities, dances etc., can be held. A school hall, cluttered with furniture and not belonging to the village, is also not an adequate substitute. Thus a separate building is essential. Also space should be allotted in every village for open air games.

3.1.2 Service Personnel

The majority of the employees in public service in the Study Area will differ from the rural population only in having had more of modern education than most farmers and, consequently, in having some different expectations. In other respects the pre-conditions for their successful settlement are the same as those of any other kind of settler.

A modern education in Sarawak raises a hierarchy of expectations in the minds of pupils who graduate from the schools - especially from secondary schools. Employment by the Civil Service carries the highest prestige and the greatest security, not only during the years of work but also after retirement on a secure pension. The yardstick used for assessing alternative employment is usually the Civil Service but, as a standard, it has disadvantages. The most important of these is a reluctance to enter occupations closely involved with manual or mechanical labour which may require prolonged resi-

dence away from urban centres. With the rapid development of the Study Area and the growth of urban amenities within easy reach of all areas, these attitudes ought to become progressively less important in recruiting service personnel of all kinds. Certain sections of the Chinese community, it should be noted, do not use these criteria in assessing job opportunities; they are less concerned with official prestige and financial security, and more with potential monetary rewards.

The following Sections of this Chapter are concerned with the alternative settlement patterns which already exist, or which are proposed, for modernising the agricultural and industrial potentials of the Study Area.

3.2 YOUTH SETTLEMENT SCHEMES

3.2.1 Objectives

Youth schemes are intended as a direct attack on the problem of youthful unemployment. The underlying assumption is that educated youth, if given proper training in farm management and methods of scientific cultivation and if placed in the right environment away from the pressures of family and relatives, can be persuaded to take up modern farming as a business operation and worthwhile occupation.

3.2.2 Organisation

Those eligible are young men between the ages of 18 and 25 who have passed Form III and undergone a one-year training course at a Farm Institute. The cost of training, board and lodging is paid by the Department of Agriculture. Youths selected for the scheme are required to remain unmarried for at least three years, to live during this time in a communal dormitory, to take their meals in a common dining hall and to work the land provided them on a group basis under supervision. At the end of three years, each settler is assigned an individual lot and may marry and set up his own household.

One youth scheme, the first of its kind in Sarawak, was established in the Study Area in 1972. It is located on about 1 400 acres of State Reserve in the Pujut-Lopeng area adjacent to Miri town and at present (1973) accommodates 16 youths. The number is to be increased to 60 by 1977 when development of the scheme is scheduled for completion. Every young man is entitled to 13 acres; 10 acres planted to coconut and worked communally for the first three years, and three acres managed individually and planted to rice and/or other crops which are feasible and give a maximum return. Two agricultural extension workers are stationed on the scheme to give the young men technical guidance and assist them in obtaining agricultural subsidy support and developing market outlets

for their crops.

The existing youth scheme organisation incorporates two undesirable principles.

(i) The communal, para-military disciplines of the schemes is in apparent conflict with their stated objective of encouraging self-reliance and a businesslike attitude toward farming. Similarly the celibacy requirement and barrack-like living conditions tend to isolate the youth from normal social life. In the case of the Pujut-Lopeng scheme, disciplinary regulations are much less rigidly followed than in many youth schemes in Peninsular Malaysia; marriages are allowed at the scheme manager's discretion, and isolation is reduced by the scheme's location within easy walking distance of Miri town.

(ii) The present educational requirements for entrance are so high as to prevent the youth settlement scheme from offering an effective solution to the problem of youthful unemployment. Joblessness is most serious among those who fail their Lower Certificate Examination or leave school before they reach Form III; for these youngsters very few employment alternatives exist, and unlike those with Form III education or higher, they are generally unsuitable for non-agricultural vocational training.

3.2.3 Income and Costs

The social problems inherent in the youth scheme concept appear to be less serious at the moment than the problem of making this type of development economically viable. In the case of the Pujut-Lopeng scheme, the area selected for development has limited agricultural potential and the two main crops planted, coconuts and padi, yield comparatively low cash earnings. As a result, there is considerable reason to doubt that most young settlers, even using the best agricultural techniques, will be able to achieve the level of income they expect when they marry.

The cost of developing a youth scheme is relatively low when compared to other types of public land development. The total projected cost of the Pujut-Lopeng scheme not including drainage construction and administrative costs is roughly \$500 000 or \$8 400 per youth. Approximately \$120 000, or \$2 000 per youth, is recoverable in installment payments after seven years, when the coconut crop comes into full production.

3.2.4 Conclusions and Recommendations

There is little question that youthful unemployment is a serious problem in Sarawak and the Farm Institute Training of youths should continue. But it is recommended that those youths successfully completing the course should be given priority in selection for independent or small-holding farmers in the type of agricultural development proposed in the Study Area. This incorporates several central elements of the youth scheme concept; namely, it assigns a primary role in development to extension work and education and defines the ultimate objective of rural development as the creation of self-reliant, modern farmers. Possibly a group of trained youths could operate, at first, as a group working the land co-operatively. Then gradually, as they become married or bring in relatives, they could receive allocations of specific plots of land.

Certainly the communal living and celibacy regulations should be applied flexibly, as they already are in Pujut-Lopeng scheme. The youth settlers should be encouraged to marry and/or bring in parents and other relatives, if they wish to, in order to create more normal, balanced communities with a maximum impact on the rural population as a whole.

3.3 PUBLIC ESTATES

3.3.1 Introduction

In the suggested agricultural plan most incoming settlers are expected to work for a time as labourers on public estates managed by SLDB and such estates will be the dominant agricultural institution in newly developed areas throughout the early years of implementation. It is proposed that other areas of State Land adjacent or close to the public estates should be developed by SLDB and put into production on an estate basis and then transferred in phases as small-holdings to farmers recruited from the SLDB labour force. The transfer is proposed to occur, first, on a trial basis, then, if it proves workable, more extensively with the ultimate possibility of transferring the management of all developed land including the public estates entirely to small-holder farmers. But whatever the success of these proposals, it is likely that public estates will continue to be a significant feature of the rural environment for some years to come.

An organisation for the recruitment and planned migration of agricultural settlers has already been described (Section 2.4.1). Its success implies that new settlements are able to attract and hold migrants; and this requires long term planning and has implications for settlement organisation, creation of social services, a range and diversity of employment, recreational opportunities, communications and marketing facilities. The sociological implications of these aspects are discussed below.

3.3.2 Organisation

It is proposed that the labour/settlers working on public estates should be based in service centres larger than the satellite villages. From the service towns the workers would require transport to and from work in the more remote parts of the estate; from the satellite centres to all places of work would generally be within reasonable walking distance (1½ miles). The estates proposed differ in several important respects from those that currently exist:-

- (a) more than one major crop would be planted;
- (b) the estate labourer/settler population would be housed in service centres where a greater diversity of social service, employment and shopping facilities would be available than is the case in existing estate villages; and
- (c) welfare and counselling services would be provided by welfare officers employed by the Ministry of Welfare.

These differences alter the estate environment in several significant ways. Diversification of crops and the existence of the urban conditions in the service centre would help to even out income and labour requirement levels with the result that incoming participants are likely to find full employment for themselves and their families from the moment they enter the estate. This is an important feature and was discussed in a study of some existing development schemes (see Sociological Field Report No. 4). Moreover the participants will gain experience on the estate of handling the same crops that they will later work on their own. Once they have proved their suitability to become small-holders they should be moved to a village area where SLDB managed development is taking place. There they should be allocated household and wet rice plots which could be planted to quick maturing crops. By this process and by a phased allocation of permanent cropland they would gradually free themselves from total reliance on a single economic organisation and gain, in stages, a greater measure of independence over their working life.

In planning this transfer of management it is recommended that, as far as possible, an explicit time table be established and that this be set out in clear contractual terms in order to avoid a situation of uncertainty in which neither the settlers nor the management adequately prepare themselves for the change. Further details of these recommendations are given in Supporting Report 2 Part II.

3.3.3 Welfare

Welfare services must be provided for all of those who take part in the planned development whether they are small-holders, independent farmers, labourers or participant local farmers.

It is recommended that trained welfare personnel are stationed in these villages associated with the planned development where they could be attached to the agricultural centres formed by the ADU (see Supporting Report 2 Part III). The welfare services should be coordinated by a Chief Welfare Officer who, for convenience, could be stationed at the headquarters of the ADU. These personnel would be in addition to Home Demonstrators in the ADU teams, and in addition to trained welfare personnel assigned to each SLDB public estate. All these personnel, like the teachers, midwives and other service staff would live in the villages and towns alongside the migrants. Those welfare personnel working on public estates would chair settler development committees responsible for matters of overall community welfare; while those attached to the ADU agricultural centres would work closely with the small-holder farmers as well as with the participants in block alienation and road-based schemes. They would assist the farmers to make full use of extension, credit and market facilities and to offer guidance in setting up and operating Farmers' Organisations and other community-based projects. The Chief Welfare Officer in addition to supervising the work of these personnel would participate in selection of small-holder farmers from the SLDB labourer/settler force.

The responsibilities of the welfare personnel working from the ADU centres would be basically the same for all the groups of farmers and would include the following specific tasks:-

- (a) To assist settlers in making full and effective use of the available public and private services that exist, or are provided for them including that of legal advice

Settlers, many of them from remote rural areas, are certain to need assistance in finding their way in the unfamiliar social environment arising in the development areas because the welfare provisions of their traditional society are likely to be no longer available. They will need to receive social counselling, for example, on how to seek the help of the medical personnel, what to do in the event of an accident or injury, and where to turn to for advice or assistance in times of need. In this connection the welfare personnel would be friends and advisers of the farmers whether working in the estates or with the ADU. They would function somewhat like a citizens' advisory bureau, receiving and acting upon specific complaints, requests for information or suggestions, and assisting settlers in their dealings with other agencies, including the estate management and supervisory staff.

- (b) To assist in the establishment of community groups and settler organisations in the areas of recreation, youth, women's associations and education and to encourage participation in community and farm projects

Planned settlements of the type proposed here are often characterised by diminished community activity and impoverished social life generally. To begin with this may be unavoidable but special attention needs to be given to creating and strengthening settler groups, and to identifying existing comm-

unity leaders and ensuring their participation in welfare activity. Welfare personnel would also be responsible for assisting the ADU in preparing the farmers to set up Farmers' Organisations once they have become proficient in the management of their own farms.

- (c) To conduct appropriate socio-economic survey research and evaluation of selected aspects of development programmes as they affect the settler population

Part of the job of the welfare personnel would be to review and report the settlers' assessment of specific development programmes, particularly those that are not working as they were planned. This applies especially to those programmes involving small-holder or local participating farmers, but should also be extended to various public estate operations. In addition, the proposed State Manpower Section in Kuching should have a trained sociological worker attached to it whose job would be to plan, supervise and carry out periodic socio-economic surveys of the type conducted by the sociologists for this Study. By co-ordinating the research work with the findings of the welfare officers in the field, the Manpower Section would be able to provide a continuing review and monitoring of the response of settlers to specific development programmes and their success in meeting settler demands and needs.

3.3.4 Education

The younger settlers now being recruited to land development schemes are among the first generation in Sarawak to enjoy widespread educational opportunities and the demand for more and better schooling facilities for their children is overwhelming. The upgrading of these facilities must therefore be given a central place in the planning of future development centres.

It is proposed that every settler community be provided minimally with a full primary school. Secondary schools, located in the larger service centres, should be easily accessible to children living in the surrounding satellite communities. Some consolidation of schooling might be desirable, even at the primary level, in conjunction with a public or subsidised system of busing, to allow for the introduction of a greater variety of both academic and technical subjects and to reduce the social isolation of smaller settlements.

School committees already exist on established settlement schemes in Sarawak and serve a useful function by providing a channel of communication between parents and teaching staff, and their establishment in areas of new development and further strengthening are important objectives.

3.3.5 Housing

Housing is dealt with in Chapter 4 of this Supporting Report, while the basic housing demands of settlers as well as their need for recreational centres, religious and community structures, is treated in the Sections concerned with farming settlements (Sections 3.1.1 and 3.4.4).

3.3.6 Health and Nutrition

It is proposed that each village should contain a midwife clinic and that the larger service centres should be provided with a permanent medical team and dispensary.

During the initial phases of development it is desirable that mobile health clinics operate in the newly opened area. A potential danger exists that health conditions may deteriorate as new land is opened and settled by migrants from different areas before an adequate programme of detection and health care can be established. Therefore consideration should be given to the creation of mobile clinics together with a programme of medical examinations and information talks on matters of sanitation and preventative care for newly arrived migrant families.

On existing schemes health conditions are generally good. Due to the effective work of local health and malaria eradication teams, endemic health problems are largely restricted to skin diseases, worms, and minor respiratory and intestinal infections. Care, however, must be taken in future to ensure that as the pace of development increases, it does not surpass the Medical Departments' ability to provide adequate health services. Also nutritional levels, which are frequently low in the potential migrants home surroundings, are sometimes reduced as a result of migration. Shifting cultivators, in particular, but also settled groups, such as the Malay and Melanau, rely heavily on wild fruit and vegetables collected from the forest or around the village, or on fish caught in streams or irrigation ditches and on wild game for food, and these items are often restricted, or no longer available, in newly developed areas. As a result, when new migrants arrive on a scheme the midwife and other clinic staff, school teachers and welfare workers will need to educate them, their wives and children on the importance of nutrition and help them find cultivated or purchased substitutes for the wild foods that are lost from their diet. The extension agents and Home Demonstrators of the ADU should also assist in setting up household gardens and in planning budgets so that they include adequate expenditure for a balanced nutritional diet.

In addition to general medical attention, infant and obstetrical care, family planning needs to be, and, in some instances, already is a service provided by local midwife clinics. The findings of the sociologists suggest that there is some resistance to family planning and modern obstetrics in the

Malay community; the reasons for this need investigation and solution so that these services can be made more effective. Finally, it is recommended that an emergency vehicle should be based at each major service town and that the smaller satellite communities within the development area should be provided with a telephone for use to dispatch the vehicle whenever an emergency situation arises.

3.3.7 Settlers Organisations

The findings of the sociologists suggest that settler organisations are weakly developed on most rural schemes, particularly those of an estate type. Village and school committees, youth clubs, women's institutes and other formal groups are generally recent and operate effectively only with considerable outside support (see Sociological Field Report No.4). Membership is largely restricted to a small circle of persons, not always those who exercise the greatest influence in the community, and rarely involves active participation by the whole settler population. This is due partly to the fact that workers who live in planned villages often come from different regions and cultural groups and consequently have little sense of collective identity; most of their working life is spent outside the village and they often feel, on basis of past experience, that the groups they form stand little chance of achieving their objectives without external backing from management or influential persons outside the scheme.

Community leadership of a more traditional nature still functions, particularly in the realm of dispute-settlement and mediation, and is frequently seen by the settlers as a bridge between the more familiar society of their original home and the current situation in which they find themselves. This bridging role needs to be recognised and traditional leaders given a definite place in the development scheme set-up.

3.3.8 Household Income and Labour

Several basic conditions must be fulfilled with regard to employment and family income under estate-type working conditions;

- (a) incomes should be adequate to retain workers. This might be best achieved through the use of a system of profit-sharing, bonuses or pay-scale increments for workers with long service;
- (b) mobility within the employment structure should be increased, possibly by promoting experienced workers to supervisory positions, by introducing group cultivation schemes or by the use of management training programmes to take settlers' dependents into management positions;

(c) greater flexibility should be introduced in employment opportunities to provide supplemental sources of income and absorb the excess labour of settler households. The housing of estate labour in service centres, the diversified cropping pattern and providing workers with land suitable for short-term cash and food crops will help in this respect. Settler businesses such as produce marketing or the operation of food stalls should be encouraged;

(d) opportunities should be created for the children of settlers who cannot replace their parents on the scheme. Such children might be given priority as settlers in future schemes, be recruited for labour teams used in clearing and planting nearby opened land, or be prepared for other types of work by means of secondary education, vocational or job training programmes.

3.4 SMALL-HOLDER AND INDEPENDENT FARMERS

3.4.1 Introduction

It is proposed that the Settler Development Division of the SLDB should be charged with choosing the initial labour/settler population from potential migrants provided by the proposed State Manpower Section (see 2.4). Small-holder farmers for settling on land developed by the SLDB should be selected by the Settler Development Division from the SLDB labourer/settler force (see 2.4). The agricultural welfare of these small-holders as well as the independent farmers in the development areas should be the responsibility of the ADU. It would handle four types of farming communities:-

(a) On State Land;

- i) small-holder farmers selected from estate workers on SLDB estates;
- ii) groups of people, generally a village, who have been allotted land to work as independent farmers under a 'Block Alienation Scheme';
- iii) individual farmers with sufficient resources to develop and farm land close to areas planned for development by the SLDB.

(b) On Native Customary or Titled Land;

Owners of land close to areas planned for development by the SLDB (Supporting Report 2 Part III).

3.4.2 Small-Holder Farmers on Developed Land

It is proposed that each small-holding on land developed by the SLDB should consist of three or four separate plots of land (not necessarily adjacent). Each plot should be part of a large block of land planted to crops suitable for the soil. The principle should be that no family shall rely on only one crop.

The terms on which each plot of crop land, house and domestic garden plot are handed over to a small-holder will need careful definition. In order that the farmer shall know exactly what rights of use he has over what property, it is recommended that the transfer should be recorded with the Land Registry and should take the form of a very simple and easily understood written agreement between the ADU (representing the Government) and the farmer. Such an agreement will give power to the ADU to see that the land and the crops are not misused. The agreement should also provide that crops which need proper processing in factories shall be delivered at appropriate times (see Supporting Report 2 Part III).

As the primary aim of the ADU is advisory, it can operate well only if conflicts with the farmers are kept to a minimum. Legal enforcement of the agreement should be undertaken as a last resort when the informal sanctions built into the system of help, advice, marketing and credit have failed. It is recommended that when legal action becomes necessary it should be initiated only with the assent of the Administrative Leader of the ADU by a small, special committee of the Division Action Committee.

3.4.3 Settlement Patterns

The development plans envisage the establishment of major and minor service centres (towns and villages) connected by an efficient system of roads, and related to the farming pattern in the development area. Each major service centre is planned to be large enough to provide the services required by the minor centres, the farms, and the public estate surrounding it. The population of a major service centre could consist of estate labourers, workers in commerce and industry, and the personnel of the service occupations. The villages would be occupied mainly by small-holders.

3.4.4 Minor Service Centres or Villages

The requirements of potential settlers can be met by the recommended pattern of service towns in a public estate surrounded by an area of developed agriculture managed by small-holders living in villages. Certain aspects of these general recommendations, however, require further discussion.

Villages will vary in size according to the amount of suitable agricultural land within easy walking distance of the village. A distance of $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles is suggested as a planning criterion. Whereas it might be possible to take estate workers to and from plantations by bus at fixed times, the arrangement would not be a practical one for small-holders.

A small-holder farmer's holding will consist of separate plots of land in different places around the village. There are no obvious reasons why settlers from any part of Sarawak should feel that such dispersal of holdings imposes undue or unfamiliar hardship, provided always that the distances from the village do not make it impossible for the whole family to walk to work, and provided also that the demands in growing different crops do not produce real difficulty in deploying family labour. Both shifting cultivators and traditional settled farmers are accustomed to a scatter of rice fields, rubber gardens, orchards and pepper gardens (see Field Report No.1). Chinese farmers in Sarawak are accustomed to mixed crop farming, and though they prefer to have all crops on one holding, this is a matter of convenience in cultivation and of guarding against thieves rather than one of principle (see Field Report No.2). There seem to be no reasons against their accepting village life and dispersed holdings.

The migrants who are proposed for settlement in the Study Area will come from a great diversity of background. They are likely to adjust more easily to their new circumstances if a few rather obvious conditions are met in designing the towns and villages in which they are to live.

(i) Housing

Whatever type of housing may be selected as suitable for the new villages it is important that the houses should be located in sizable and closely contiguous groups from which the gardens and domestic animal enclosures can be kept under observation. In addition to fostering accustomed forms of neighbourliness, a clustering of houses ensures that there will always be people around the dwelling areas to check burglary and petty thieving. Many of the houses will be empty for much of the day, and provisions, farm produce, gold, and other valuables will be stored in them. Petty crime is always endemic in mixed settlements of people with diverse customs and moral systems.

For similar reasons, and to assure people that their persons and the customs that mark their identity as human beings are not under threat, careful consideration should be given to the housing together of groups of relatives, friends and people from villages with the same cultural background. As the children of the settlers in the village, no matter what their domestic background, will be educated in the same schools in the common language and institutions of all Malaysian citizens, the next generation is likely to be free of many of the fears of their parents who came into the new environment.

When people from the same cultural background settle together they bring with them their customary domestic laws and leaders. When disputes and breaches of custom occur these leaders are usually consulted in the first instance. If migrants are to be successfully settled, it is wise to arrange for them

to live in close contact so that the traditional leaders and interpreters of custom can retain their influence, at least until the process of adjustment is complete, and the settlers have learnt to trust the administrative authorities provided in the area by the Government. These authorities would always be wise to consult and weigh very carefully the advice of such leaders. By the same token the personnel of the ADU and all other service workers in the area would be ill-advised to ignore the usefulness of such indigenous leaders (see 3.3.7 and Field Report No.4).

These observations on the pattern of settlement within villages apply with almost equal force to urban settlements, especially in the major service centres and small towns. The process of urbanisation does tend to alter the conditions of life, especially for the young. Blocks of culturally similar settlers rapidly become a less significant feature of life, and traditional law and its interpreters less important. But the process cannot safely be hurried (see Sociological Field Report No.3).

(ii) Gardens and Domestic Animals

Most settlers, whether estate workers or small-holder farmers, will be drawn from subsistence farmers, who, before they came to the development schemes, relied on gathering wild produce for at least a part of their livelihood. It will no longer be possible for them to do this in the development areas and it could cause hardship.

It is therefore recommended that each block of dwellings should have attached to it an adequate area of land for growing fruit and vegetables and even small symbolic patches of rice, for example the Iban sacred hill rice (padi pun) symbolising the corporateness and permanence of the household. It should also be possible for the people to rear a few domestic animals and poultry.

Not many settlers, except the Chinese, are likely to have experience in this type of intensive gardening. It should therefore be a task of high priority for the Extension Teams of the ADU to give advice and assistance. Even so, not all settlers will be willing to cultivate gardens and rear animals, but the produce is so important a supplement to the settlers' diet that a small open market place for selling local produce should be provided in every village.

The size of each household's garden will need to be carefully considered so that there is a sensible balance between the amount of labour expended on the domestic plot and the amount of labour left available for farming and estate work.

(iii) Services

The quality of services required in a settlement varies with the size of its population, the purposes it serves, the demands of health and the wants of its inhabitants. In the development areas where modern farming is introduced and perishable products produced, a good system of roads to service centres is essential. Adequate disposal of sewage and garbage is also necessary in the villages and towns, but elaborate latrines would not be required in the early years. A sufficient supply of unpolluted water for drinking and domestic use is needed, but elaborate systems are not required nor are they likely to be demanded for a number of years. Tank storage of rain water from house roofs could be a useful supplement to any other supply, and this simple system should be included in the design of houses.

As the population and production and wealth of the area grow, an improvement of existing services and additions to them will become possible. Initially, however, it would be as much of a mistake to over-estimate as to under-estimate the demands of settlers. Most of them will be accustomed to more freedom and space than they are likely to find in the new towns and villages, and amenities alleviating these particular losses are more important than providing a population of farmers with services which are taken for granted by long-standing urban dwellers.

Large numbers of the settlers are likely to be Iban shifting cultivators. Although it is self-evident to many people in Sarawak that shifting cultivation cannot be continued indefinitely without danger to the land, the danger is not necessarily apparent to most Iban. The hinterland beyond the Study Area is large, and though it is already partly populated, there is nevertheless still room for groups of determined intruders to push their way in, sometimes with and sometimes without the consent of the present occupants. The need for imaginative planning and patient and careful education and extension work with a population such as the Iban cannot be too strongly emphasised. The methods of farming they are being asked to adopt and the patterns of settlement offered to them in place of their traditional villages are alien, and if they do not like them many will leave, well aware that in the last century and a half nobody has yet successfully checked their unplanned migration.

3.45 Major Service Centres or Towns

A major service centre, with a population sufficient to carry services for the surrounding villages, will have industrial plants of various kinds and should have the supporting facilities that will attract further capital and light industry that otherwise might go to Miri or Bintulu. In the initial

stages, and probably much longer, a large part of the inhabitants of these larger centres would have to be estate workers. Many of these people will be the same types as the people in villages. But an important section of the service centre population, especially those engaged in industry and the services, are likely to be drawn from the urban population of other parts of Sarawak. The first generation of people with a rural background who settle in the service centres will need the same kinds of amenity already discussed for village life if they are to adjust with a reasonable hope of success. The centres should be designed to provide for such settlers.

On the other hand, urbanised migrants from towns elsewhere are likely to make other demands, some of these are discussed in a later Section (3.7).

3.4.6 Block Alienation Schemes

At present the State Government uses the system of Block Alienation to re-settle, on State Land, groups of people who have occupied land elsewhere without permission. The fundamental principle of this system, a block of land to a group of people, is expected to be necessary also in the future.

It is recommended that any such re-settlement should be within the framework of planned development for the Study Area. However, the normal procedure for settling small-holder farmers by selecting them individually from among the ranks of the SLDB's estate workers would be by-passed.

As most of the farmers who would be re-settled by the Block Alienation method are likely to be Iban shifting cultivators, many of the considerations that need to be taken into account in persuading similar farmers to participate in Road-Based Schemes also apply to them (Section 3.4.8). Most of them are not likely to be willing settlers. It would therefore be unwise to prohibit, at the beginning, all shifting cultivation even though the ultimate aim is sedentary farming similar to that recommended for the rest of the development areas.

A re-settlement of this kind is probably best regarded as a stage in the establishment of the standard type of diversified farming already discussed. To win the assent of the participants it would be sensible, whenever possible, to discuss the re-settlement very thoroughly with them before they are uprooted, and to re-settle them by carefully planned stages. The villagers should also be persuaded to supply groups of men, like the migrant labour groups who travel under temporary leaders for a period, to work with the SLDB or ADU in clearing and developing a part of the land (for example, the village

site as well as areas for rice and vegetables) before the whole village population is moved and re-settled.

To do this with any hope of real success would need the services of experienced farm extension and rural welfare workers of the kind to be trained for the ADU's Extension Teams. If this type of development could be carried through successfully it might have considerable importance for the rest of Sarawak in re-settling groups of people, especially shifting cultivators who have been, or who in the future have to be, displaced from their traditional homes.

3.4.7 Road Based Schemes on Native Customary or Titled Land

The recommendations discussed so far in the previous Sections are designed to introduce modern farming methods on State Land. There are, however, many settlements of shifting agriculturalists and sedentary farmers within the Study Area on Native Customary and Titled Land. They will inevitably be affected by the development in the area; and they, and indeed the people in the whole region beyond the Study Area, cannot be overlooked. One of the Terms of Reference for the Study is to suggest methods for modernising farming in the already occupied areas.

The roads required for development even in the first stages can only be planned with the whole region in mind, and the roads built to serve the public estates, farms, towns and villages will often pass through or near to Native Customary and Titled Land. It is therefore recommended that farmers with land adjacent to new and existing roads and sufficiently close to service and processing centres should be brought within the scope of the development schemes as soon as possible. This could be done by encouraging and helping them to develop the roadside land and other favourably situated land along lines similar to the nearby development areas. This should be regarded as a first step in modernising traditional farming in the Study Area.

The practical success of the proposal will depend on a number of factors, the most important of which are the indigenous methods of farming and systems of land tenure. These are discussed below.

(a) Shifting Cultivators

A road built through an area of Native Customary Land will pass over land that will normally be in usufructory ownership by an individual or, if the community is an Iban one, by a family household. Not all members of a longhouse or village will benefit from the development of intensive agriculture adjacent to the road unless negotiations for a redistribution

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of land rights are successfully concluded before the development. Moreover, some villagers may be unwilling to participate, either because of mistrust arising from past experience or because they are not yet ready to accept sedentary-type farming. The aim of a shifting cultivator is to grow hill rice, and any diversion of energy from it always takes second place in his allocation of time and effort, whether it is the growth of wet rice, rubber or any other cash crop. He has to be quite sure that it is not going to interfere seriously with his "real" farming and that it is not going to take up time and energy that could be more profitably (and pleasantly) spent in hunting and gathering in the forest covering land at present lying fallow or as yet not cultivated. A cash crop, to most shifting cultivators, is a safety net, and it is common knowledge in Sarawak that shifting cultivators have to be in a situation of very considerable economic hardship before they will willingly consider permanent alternatives to the growth of hill rice. It is by criteria of these kinds that such farmers will judge all suggested innovations, and any undue or arbitrary haste in attempting to coax them away from their traditional and proved forms of agriculture could meet with strong opposition.

A practical way of dealing with this aspect would be to establish the proposed main permanent crops; oil palm, rubber and cocoa, under a system, originated in Burma and known as Taungya, whereby the shifting cultivation of an annual crop is used to establish a permanent tree crop (timber in Burma). In the cases of the Native Customary Lands and Block Alienations it would appear reasonable to combine the clearing of land and planting of hill rice with the establishment of oil palm, for example. This idea and road-based improvement schemes are further discussed in Supporting Report 2 Parts I and III.

(ii) Sedentary Farmers

Farmers growing swamp rice or pepper, as do the Malays or the Kedayans, (see Sociological Field Report No.1), would probably respond more readily to a Road-Based improvement scheme. Most sedentary farming land is held on some form of individual tenure, but again the land adjacent to the roads might not be available for the benefit of more than a few villagers.

Any road-based improvement scheme would need prolonged and careful extension work, and it is recommended that a number of the ADU's Extension Teams should specialise in this work. In their training the workers should be given a clear understanding of traditional social systems and a sympathetic insight into the difficult choices facing the abandonment or modification of older customs and methods of farming. Much could hang on the success or failure of the road-based schemes in easing traditional farmers onto the modern cash economy. But once the techniques are mastered and some areas successfully transformed the system could be used in other parts of Sarawak where good communications with markets and/or processing facilities exist or can be created.

3.5 PRIVATE ESTATES

3.5.1 Introduction

The few existing private commercial estates in the Study Area are relatively small ones except for the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) oil palm estate (see Sociological Field Report No.8), and offer comparatively little local employment. In the future in the development areas it is proposed to set aside moderately sized blocks of land for privately financed development along commercial lines. The location of the blocks are chosen so that their development will form a natural part of the overall plan.

3.5.2 Organisation

Employment conditions differ widely on existing private estates. Wages vary with the crop, the management, the type of work performed and the number of working days available per month; but daily wage rates of \$4 to \$5 per male worker were the norm in 1972 and the beginning of 1973. The largest commercial estate in the Study Area (CDC) makes extensive use of piece-work rates. These appear to fit local work habits better than daily or hourly routine supervised work assignments and often result in improved productivity and income per worker.

The employment structure is highly stratified and the division between management and labourers is sharply drawn. The estate tends to dominate the labourers' working life, and even where wages are comparable with those of urban employment, estate work, as a rule, lacks the advantages of working in a town, namely social diversity, alternative job opportunities and the chance of economic and social mobility.

Welfare facilities also vary from one estate to another but are generally minimal on the smaller estates. The CDC estate provides its workers with a number of incentives and service facilities, including paid holidays, health and maternity benefits, housing, a store, a community hall and a weekly cinema. Estate workers are not yet unionised, but those on the CDC estate are represented, through elected members, in a Joint Consultative Committee. The Committee provides a limited forum for public discussion of matters of common interest, excluding wages and other matters directly related to the terms of employment. Settler representatives are paid by management for their participation.

3.5.3 Workers

The existing labour force is predominantly young; males and unmarried women work, the latter generally in small numbers, at lower rates of pay than men. At the present time, few wo-

workers in the Study Area look upon estate employment as a permanent occupation. This is reflected in the highly imbalanced sex ratio and the predominance of unmarried workers in the labour force. The rate of turnover is generally high; in the case of the CDC estate, for example, the average length of service is 4.6 months.

In general, estates are viewed locally as employers of last resort. Some workers are repelled by the rigid discipline, monotony and social isolation of company villages. But more important generally are economic issues, lack of job security, low income, absence of job training programmes or special incentives for continuous service, such as increments in pay or job promotion.

3.6 URBAN SETTLEMENT

To meet the needs of the developed rural areas and the commercial and industrial requirements of the region it is expected that by 1990 Miri will grow into a town of about 65 000 inhabitants and Bintulu into one of some 40 000 people.

Both places today are fairly typical of older towns in Sarawak, although Miri, with its close ties to the oil industry, is somewhat different. Both towns, like others in the State, consist of a central bazaar area made up of open shophouses, with dwelling space above and fronted by covered footways. Within the central bazaar and Government area there is normally an open or covered market. Further out is a growth of suburban detached houses. Along the river are settlements of semi-rural villages maintaining some elements at least of traditional life. In other large towns in Sarawak industrial estates, with modern housing estates adjacent, have also been built, usually at some distance from the bazaar centre.

Since Independence the social make-up of urban centres has changed notably. As Kuching and the larger towns have expanded, their economic and administrative functions have assumed an integral position as social and cultural centres within the State. Formerly non-urban populations have begun to move into towns and are contributing to the growth of peri-urban villages. This movement has not yet reached the proportions attained in many other parts of the world, but is likely to continue and increase in the future.

The State planning authorities envisage the future development of towns in Sarawak as an expansion of the present pattern. The business centres, however, are not planned to be dwelling areas and the types of business building would no longer be open shop houses in terraces. Industrial areas and housing

would be built away from the business and administrative centres and the enclosed rural village would be eliminated. These decisions would entail an expansion of suburbs catering for different levels of wealth.

Without detailed studies of urban centres in other parts of Sarawak, the Sociologists can only draw attention to a few of the problems that could arise in developing large towns at Miri and Bintulu. No recommendations can be made with any realism except to urge the establishment of fully trained and staffed welfare services with personnel prepared to find solutions to new and unexpected problems. Until detailed plans for the development of Miri and Bintulu are available, only the most general observations can be made beyond those already suggested for small towns in the rural development areas.

3.6.1 Urban Layout

(a) Urban growth of the kind that has occurred in Kuching leads to towns of enormous area and relatively low density housing. Subsidiary shopping centres and markets become essential, and unless good communications exist there is likely to be a low level of social amenity and efficiency. More carefully planned zoning of suburban development is called for, if public services are to be efficiently supplied and farmland is not to be wastefully annexed.

(b) The elimination of dwelling accommodation from the business centres will result in towns the centres of which, unlike those in Sarawak today, die at night. This in other countries has usually had a deleterious effect on civilised urban amenities which flourish in the midst of an active and on-going social life. A business, administrative, and entertainment centre deserted for a large part of the night also breeds problems of security and crime.

3.6.2 The Urban Population

(a) The population of Miri and Bintulu in 1990 may be predominantly Chinese; it is they who have the skills and experience to live successfully in towns. The only other group in Sarawak with long urban experience is the Malay community, and its experience has mostly been of life in semi-rural villages on the outskirts of towns. Large numbers of other indigenous groups are beginning to settle round towns in similar ways but as yet little information of this type of settlement is available.

To build and maintain the projected industries in the Study Area indigenous workers will be needed. Given adequate amenities and efficient social services rural immigrants could

probably be very rapidly urbanised, though at a considerable cost in human discomfort. The experience of rapid urbanisation in South America, Africa and India indicates that for some time there are likely to be almost intractable problems of adjustment.

(b) Despite the planned development of rural areas it is expected that the large centres like Miri and Bintulu will continue to draw in people from all parts of the State in search of work and accommodation. A likely consequence is unemployment and under-employment, and the connected problems could manifest themselves in many ways - from the growth of street gangs and criminality to the development of youth cultures of protest against their prevailing social conditions.

(c) An increase of crime almost inevitably accompanies rapid urbanisation and takes many forms ranging from offences against property to protection rackets and prostitution, organised and unorganised. In conditions of unemployment and hardship in cities men often desert their families; and women, for the protection of their children, frequently have no alternative but prostitution or a series of long or short alliances with other men. This type of family is characteristic of rapidly expanding cities where immigrant workers have cut their ties with their rural backgrounds. This problem could develop in Sarawak and present difficult social and welfare problems.

(d) Rapidly expanding industries inevitably give rise to problems of management and labour which can end in serious unrest. Unless labour organisations, which actually achieve results requested by the workers, are developed there is a danger that other organisations, of which many potentially exist, will take over the handling of labour unrest.

(e) Fruit and vegetable supplies for large towns require large areas of good land close by and considerable intensive labour. Plans to produce these crops must be made well in advance so that supplies keep pace with growth in population. Areas of Mixed Zone Land will need to be increased. Already land pressures are high in the existing market garden areas, and growers often compete with housing developers for land and force up land prices so that a stable supply of market garden produce is jeopardised.

household head for existing land development schemes in the Study Area. Qualification for entry into a scheme requires that a candidate be within the ages of 18 to 35 years. Where scheme planning involves repayment of development loans, 35 to 45 years can generally be accepted as a maximum age at entry, if loans are to be recovered during the active working life of the entering settler. On previous schemes in the Study Area, when whole families were recruited, age limitations were not strictly enforced. As a result, household heads tend to be older on the average, and the spread in age tends to be wider than would have been the case had age criteria been strictly applied. It is therefore difficult to estimate what the likely percentage breakdown will be of different age groups when, in the future, these criteria

CHAPTER 4

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AND LABOUR

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to provide a description of the basic household and labour characteristics of the probable recruits to newly developed areas. The recruits considered fall into two groups: those associated with land developed by SLDB (workers on public estates and small-holder farmers); and participating local farmers who are to be linked to the development area through road-based improvement schemes. The chief source of information used is the primary data collected in the sociological field studies (see especially Sociological Field Report No.4).

4.2 PARTICIPANTS IN SLDB DEVELOPMENT

Calculations of the household size and composition of future SLDB recruits are based on data collected from the existing Lambir and Bukit Peninjau Land Development Schemes in the Study Area. Information was gathered on a total of 152 households. Because of the small size of this sample, the results must be treated with caution, although they are broadly consistent with information obtained from other studies (Kedit, 1970; Yao, 1972).

The figures presented may be altered, however, by a number of factors; selection criteria, for example, may be changed; recruitment programmes may be undertaken to attract populations that are not presently moving to schemes or family planning programmes may alter current birth rates; all of which will affect future household trends.

4.2.1 Household Size and Composition

Table 4.1 shows the average composition of settler households by the age group of the household head for existing land development schemes in the Study Area. Qualification for entry into a scheme requires that a candidate be within the ages of 20 to 35 years. Where scheme planning involves repayment of development loans, 35 to 40 years can generally be accepted as a maximum age at entry, if loans are to be recovered during the active working life of the entering settler. On previous schemes in the Study Area, when whole families were recruited, age limitations were not strictly enforced. As a result, household heads tend to be older on the average, and the spread in age tends to be wider than would have been the case had age criteria been strictly applied. It is therefore difficult to estimate what the likely percentage breakdown will be of different age groups when, in the future, these criteria

are adhered to in selecting in-coming settlers.

Based on the current situation, the most probable breakdown is shown in Table 4.2. It is assumed that 15 per cent of the total in-coming household heads will be in the age group 20 to 24 years, 40 per cent in the group 25 to 29 years and 45 per cent in the group 30 to 35 years. They also assume that 35 years will be the maximum age of selection and that all recruits will be married family heads. These figures are weighted toward the more senior age groups and may need to be revised in the light of future selection policy and experience. But accepting this bias towards senior age groups and accepting their highly provisional nature, Table 4.2 shows the probable size of households for household heads of different age over a 15-year interval from the time of entry.

TABLE 4.2 ASSUMPTION FOR HOUSEHOLD SIZE OF IN-COMING SETTLERS

Years	Age group of household head at the time of entry	At year of entry	Years after entry		
			5	10	15
	Percentage	Household size			
20 - 24	15	3.0	4.0	4.8	5.2
25 - 29	40	4.0	4.8	5.2	7.0
30 - 35	45	4.8	5.2	7.0	7.6
Weighted average		4.2	4.9	6.0	7.0

At the time of entry, average household size is 4.2, rising to 4.9 at the end of five years, 6 at the end of ten years, and to a maximum of 7 at the end of fifteen years.

4.2.2 Household Labour Force

The potential labour force per household is calculated by applying the participation rates for rural workers given in Supporting Report 5. The assumptions used in arriving at these rates will need to be reconsidered in the future, but they give a reasonably accurate assessment of the current situation. The population from which these figures derive represents a cross-section of households at the Lambir Land Development Scheme (see Sociological Field Report No.4). The number of people interviewed was not large and given its size as a sample, these figures, again, must be interpreted with caution. Average household size for the total sample is 5.4 persons. Labour force figures for households at the time of

entry are likely to be lower than those shown in Table 4.3 by perhaps 20 per cent.

TABLE 4.3 LABOUR FORCE PER HOUSEHOLD

Cultural community	Age group					Total		
	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-64	M	F	Combined
Iban	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.5	1.3	0.7	2.0
Malay	1.0	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.5	1.5	1.0	2.5
Chinese	-	0.2	0.4	0.9	-	0.9	0.6	1.5
Total averages	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.5	1.3	0.8	2.1

4.3 ROAD BASED SCHEMES

4.3.1 Household Composition

In order to derive a picture of household composition and labour capacity of indigenous village communities located close to existing and newly constructed roads on land held under title or in native customary tenure, a series of six roadside communities were surveyed in the Beluru and Batu Niah areas. Information was gathered on 121 households, all of them Iban. A summary of the essential findings is presented below in Tables 4.4 and 4.5.

TABLE 4.4 HOUSEHOLD SIZE BY AGE GROUP OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

Age group of household head	Percentage of total households	Average household size
20 - 29	18	4.2
30 - 39	39	5.6
40 - 49	30	6.6
50 - 59	27	5.8
60 and over	7	4.8
Total	100	5.7

TABLE 4.5 AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION BY AGE GROUP AND SEX

Age group	Sex	
0-6	Male	0.7
	Female	0.8
7-14	Male	0.5
	Female	0.5
15-19	Male	0.3
	Female	0.2
20-29	Male	0.4
	Female	0.4
30-39	Male	0.4
	Female	0.3
40-49	Male	0.3
	Female	0.3
50-59	Male	0.2
	Female	0.2
60 and over	Male	0.1
	Female	0.1
Total	Male	2.9
	Female	2.8
	Combined	5.7

TABLE 4.6 AVERAGE LABOUR FORCE AVAILABLE PER HOUSEHOLD BY AGE GROUP

Age group		
15 - 19		0.4
20 - 29		0.6
30 - 39		0.5
40 - 49		0.4
50 - 64		0.4
Total	Male	1.5
	Female	0.9
	Combined	2.4

Few marriages take place before the husband has reached the age of 20, and there is nearly always at least a few years' delay, and sometimes considerably longer, before the newly married couple establishes a separate household. Households increase in size, in the normal course of events, until the household head reaches his or her late forties.

The average household age composition, as shown in Table 4.5, is pre-school age (0 to 6), 1.5 members; schooling (7 to 14), 1.0 members; unmarried dependents (15 to 19), 0.5 members; active labouring age (20 to 59), 2.5 members; and aged (60 and over), 0.2 members.

4.3.2 Household Labour Force

Following the assumptions made in Supporting Report 5, Table 4.6 shows the average labour force available per household.

Absence of household members, who are away working as migratory labourers, is relatively insignificant; only 18 persons out of 121 households fell in this category. On the other hand, all of the communities surveyed have absorbed some, and in some instances considerable in-migration, both temporary and permanent, from other parts of Sarawak, mainly from the Second and Third Divisions.

4.4 HOUSING AND HOUSE DESIGN

Housing is an important concern to in-coming settlers, and house design needs to reflect household size and structure, the social and physical demands of its occupants and their personal and cultural preferences.

Existing scheme houses contain considerably less living space than most settlers are accustomed to in traditional dwellings. Inadequate household space may discourage migrants from settling in permanently with the intention of remaining for the rest of their life in the development area. Household heads may be unwilling to bring their entire family with them unless adequate living space can be provided; they may look upon the move as a short-term change of residence and are likely to return to their original homes at the first opportunity. Young Iban settlers, for example, may come only as transient labourers, and, even though they may be accompanied by their wives and children, are apt to be unwilling to relinquish previous household (bilek) membership and move permanently to the new area to establish an independent household under these conditions.

To avoid this, houses must be built in such a way as to allow for enlargement. Moreover as Table 4.2 shows, the average size of settler households is likely nearly to double following the entry of the settlers into the scheme. Therefore, even if a house meets a family's needs initially, it is likely to become increasingly cramped as the household grows in size. In allowing for enlargement, the most suitable form of construction is one in which additional components can be added by the settlers to the original structure as they need and can afford them.

Also internal living space might be more efficiently utilised if houses were provided with portable wooden screens rather than stationary internal walls. In this way, settlers could divide the interior of their houses as they wish. This is likely to be particularly appreciated by Malay settlers whose social life requires a large reception area from time to time where guests can be received and entertained. Portable screens are also better suited to the climate as they allow for freer circulation of air than the small enclosed rooms provided by existing scheme housing.

In addition to adequate living space, it is important that houses be provided with a storage area where settlers can keep their farm implements, produce and family savings and valuables. This area might most suitably be located under the roof as in traditional Iban longhouses.

In order to minimise costs and allow for a greater variety of housing, consideration should also be given to "self-constructed" dwellings. Because of the need to accommodate settlers immediately upon arrival, self-construction is likely to be practical only on a limited scale, and might most satisfactorily be provided for through the use of high quality, prefabricated components assembled by the settlers under the guidance of a professional carpenter. Variation in layout and design would be desirable and savings in labour cost mi-

ght be re-invested in larger dwellings.

Cooking areas should be designed to allow for the kind of cooking that most settlers are accustomed to and for the use of the cheapest possible fuel, preferably wood. Mechanised gas cookers are likely to be rejected as they are too expensive to use. (See Sociological Field Report No.6)

Housing should be constructed, and the settlers permitted to live, in blocks with friends and relatives or persons of the same cultural group as their immediate neighbours, for reasons of personal security and in order to maintain a viable community organisation. In addition, greater variety of housing is needed to meet the special demands and preferences of different groups of settlers. In particular, some consideration needs to be given to the construction of longhouse dwellings, as such dwellings are likely to be the most familiar form of settlement to the majority of in-coming migrants. It is recommended that short blocks of terraced housing of a "longhouse" type be constructed with verandahs connecting, perhaps, five to seven semi-detached dwelling units. Most Iban prefer to live in some type of longhouse structure, generally for very cogent social reasons, such as the preservation of community constraints on social behaviour or of ties of mutual help and neighbourliness. (See Sociological Field Report No.4) The longhouse type of dwelling is also closely linked to Iban leadership patterns, and these patterns remain important to settlers in organising community opinion and in coping collectively with new situations. Each block of attached housing units could be expected to have its own leader responsible for settling minor disputes, safeguarding community norms, and, in general, performing an informal administrative role among his followers.

As most settlers will be rural in background, provision must also be made for garden and orchard areas close to their houses. For Iban, these areas should minimally include a plot for growing the family's sacred rice, or padi pun, which, as explained earlier, is an important symbol of its unity. To traditional Iban, permanent residence in a new settlement may not be possible without such plots (see Sociological Field Report No.6). Also farm land, in the case of independent farmers, must be located conveniently close to their settlements so that they can walk to their fields and easily transport produce to market. It should also be noted that some farmers are likely to prefer to build temporary huts in their fields to save time and to guard their crops from pests.

In order to promote greater diversity and incorporate a stronger sense of ownership and security in settlement design, it may be desirable to free housing from employment and its connection with a particular type of scheme. This could best be achieved if housing were built and financed by an independent

public housing agency and located in separate residential areas, such as the recommended service centres, not incorporated in any specific type of scheme. This would allow for a mix of people in the same settlement, sharing common facilities, such as schools, shopping areas or clinics, yet working at different types of employment.

As now, housing loans could be repaid by instalments deducted from the settlers' income, either as an estate worker or if a small-holder from the sale of his crops. However, in contrast to the present situation, housing should not be tied to a specific form of employment, and a settler might go on living in a house as long as he could keep up his payments and repays the mortgage, whether he remains at the same job or not. Once the mortgage is repaid, he could own the house outright. This form of financing provides the settler with greater security and does not bind him to a particular job. Also, in the case of a public estate worker, SLDB would be relieved of the task of supplying and administering housing and would not be compelled to evict from his home a worker who is forced by old age, illness or injury to give up active employment on the estate. Such persons could go on living in the house if they had repaid the mortgage or could continue payments. Otherwise, if they are without support they might be eligible for public relief. The communities formed, given the possibility of secure home-ownership, are likely to be more stable and socially diversified from present development scheme villages and contain a more normal age and occupational structure.

CHAPTER 5

WELFARE AND SOCIAL SECURITY

5.1 PRESENT WELFARE SERVICES

The recommendations made in this Report entail a number of different kinds of welfare and social security activities. Most of these services are already provided by the State and, with an extension of some of the services and an expansion of personnel, the existing welfare arrangement ought to be able to serve the needs of the Development Area adequately.

Administration of social welfare services in Sarawak is a concurrent matter divided between the Federal and State Governments. The responsibility of the Federal Government is confined mainly to the problem of juvenile offenders in the provision of Probation and Approved Schools administered locally by the State Government. All other welfare services are undertaken by the State or local voluntary organisations.

The Ministry of Welfare, Youth and Culture was set up in 1965. In the following year, a Welfare Division was established to get a Government welfare programme underway. Previous to it, due to the absence of a Social Welfare Department, welfare activities were almost entirely undertaken by organised voluntary bodies which were affiliated with the Sarawak Social Welfare Council, a central body set up in 1950 under Government sponsorship to co-ordinate voluntary welfare efforts on a State-wide scale. The Council, itself a voluntary organisation, received generous funds annually from the Government and it, in turn, disbursed these as grants to affiliated bodies. A number of much-needed welfare services and projects in the immediate post-war period had been established as a result of the Council's efforts. Two such projects, the Probation Service and the Sarawak Boys' Home (Approved School) are statutory services and therefore came directly under the Government, but others such as the Society for the Blind, the Anti-Tuberculosis Association of Sarawak and the Cheshire Home remain under voluntary aegis. With the establishment of the Welfare Division, all the services and responsibilities for which the Sarawak Social Welfare Council had been undertaking were taken over by the Ministry by the end of 1968. Since then, the Council has been reconstituted with a primarily advisory role.

Among the services taken over is the disbursement of annual contributions and subscriptions to more than twenty voluntary welfare and quasi-welfare or cultural organisations and the allocation of yearly grants to sixteen District Relief Committees and four Benevolent Societies for them to continue their work of giving public assistance and emergency relief on a local basis. These bodies retain their voluntary character and are to be found in districts throughout Sarawak wh-

ere no Government welfare office has yet been established.

Upon taking over the services and activities of Sarawak Social Welfare Council an expansion programme was established by the Ministry. This programme is to extend Government welfare services in gradual stages to all parts of Sarawak: first, by establishing offices at Divisional and later at District levels, so that eventually, it is hoped that there will be one Government welfare office to serve the needs of the community at ground-level in all the Districts and sub-Districts. The programme also calls for the stationing of at least one trained Welfare Officer and a small supporting staff in each District and a trained Welfare Assistant in a sub-District. One of the major problems encountered during this programme has been the lack of adequately trained personnel, however expansion plans are in progress and of the seven Administrative Divisions, five are now served by a Divisional Welfare Office. Plans to establish an office in the new sixth and seventh Divisions are in hand. In 1974, there will be provisions to recruit staff for training preparatory to setting up offices in the larger Districts, including Bintulu. Arrangements for training newly recruited staff will also be intensified.

5.1.1 Public Assistance and Emergency Relief

(i) Public Assistance

Public assistance takes the form of monthly cash assistance given to destitute individuals who are unable to earn their own living and have no one to support them. Included in this category are old people, the physically handicapped, widows with dependent children and unemployed family heads. Assistance is rendered in cash. The amount provided depends on the economic circumstances of the applicant and the number of dependents requiring support, but the minimum amount of \$11 per month is usually given to a single individual without any dependent. The maximum amount is \$25 per month for an applicant with five or more dependants. In exceptional cases of need a lump sum of up to \$75 may be paid on the once only basis. The unemployed are also referred to the Labour Departments' job service. In 1970 the Welfare Department also took over from the Prisoners' Aid Society responsibility for the assistance of families of prisoners.

(ii) Emergency Relief

The Welfare Department provides emergency cash relief to the victims of fire, flood and civil or natural disasters. In the case of fire, cash assistance of \$10 per person, up to a maximum of \$1 000 per fire occurrence, is provided by the Department. In the case of storm damage, the amount is \$5 per person, up to \$500 per village. In addition the Welfare or District Officer usually arranges for immediate voluntary assi-

stance, particularly through the Red Cross or the District Relief Committee, in the form of food and clothing. The Welfare Department also administers assistance to the victims of flood; the funding of this programme is through a separate trust fund and not the regular budget of the Department. Other emergency relief payments are met from the Ministry's own votes, in situations arising out of security operations. The Welfare Department also administers financial assistance given for the relief of needy dependants of those detained under the Public Security Regulations. The funds are provided by the Federal Ministry of Welfare Services, Malaysia.

5.1.2 Institutional Welfare Services

(i) Child Welfare Institutions

At present there is no Government home or institution for children in need of care. At the moment orphans, foundlings and other children requiring institutional care are looked after by voluntary organisations, such as the Salvation Army Homes and the Methodist Children's Home in Sibü.

(ii) Institutions for the Handicapped

Care of the handicapped is provided by voluntary groups and the Social Welfare Council established a day-school in 1972 in Kuching for mentally retarded children. Financial grants and occasional technical service are also provided by the Welfare Department. Also voluntary organisations, like the Sarawak Society for the Blind, Kuching Municipal Council School for the Deaf, and the Sarawak Cheshire Home, offer limited training programmes intended to equip the handicapped for a useful role in society.

(iii) Homes for the Aged

The State Welfare Department operates a single home for the aged in Kuching and an Old Persons' Home is to be built in Sibü under the Second Malaysia Plan. Other homes throughout the State are run by voluntary or charitable groups. Chinese community associations and Christian missionary bodies support an extensive network of nursing and old age homes many of which receive financial grants from the Department.

(iv) Probation and Approved School Services

Under Section 241 et seq of the Criminal Procedure Code, there are provisions for a probation service, staffed by probation officers, which allows youthful offenders and some cases of adults to be placed by a Court's order under the supervision of probation officers for social rehabilitation instead of being sent to an approved school or prison. Similarly, the Criminal Procedure Code provides for the establishment of the Sarawak Boys' Home (Approved School), an institution to pro-

vide for the resident training, treatment and rehabilitation of youthful offenders committed to it by an order of the High Court (The revised Malaysian Juvenile Courts Act, 1947 (Act 90) which governs approved schools and the probation service, has been introduced into Sarawak but has not yet been made operative). Both the Probation Service and the Sarawak Boys' Home were established after the Second World War and came under the direct control of the State Government. Upon Sarawak becoming a part of Malaysia, these two services were placed under the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry of Welfare Services, Malaysia. Nevertheless, the administration of the services comes under the State Ministry of Welfare.

(v) Protection of Women and Girls

The Welfare Department, through its officers appointed as protectors under the Protection of Young Persons and Children Ordinance, 1959, is responsible for cases of children in need of care or protection and of young persons exposed to moral danger who likewise may need protection, training and rehabilitation in a suitable institution. There is no law providing for the rehabilitation of adult prostitutes in an institution at present. The Women and Girls Protection Act, 1973 (Act 108) of Malaysia, recently promulgated for the protection of young women in moral danger and for the rehabilitation of young prostitutes is being examined with a view to its possible introduction; and it is intended to examine the need for the establishment of a Rehabilitation Centre for Women and Young Girls for possible inclusion in the Third Malaysia Plan.

In addition to these services, Welfare Officers may be called upon to arbitrate marital disputes or handle domestic maintenance cases. However, the Welfare Department is far too understaffed at the present time to be able to provide a public system of family work and social counselling.

5.1.3 Conclusions and Recommendations

As a newly created organisation with extensive responsibilities, the State Welfare Department is greatly understaffed. At the present time, welfare offices exist only in Kuching, Sibü, Simanggang, Miri and Limbang. Only one Welfare Officer and an Assistant Officer serve the entire Fourth and Fifth Divisions and their time is heavily committed to administering public relief assistance. As there are no training facilities for social workers in Sarawak, rapid expansion of staff, as will be necessary to fulfil the proposals made in this Report, will require careful planning and co-ordination with the Federal Ministry.

Even with a considerable expansion of staff, it is both desirable and necessary that voluntary organisations continue to play an important part in providing welfare services in the State. Many of these organisations have pioneered in welfare service and operate highly effective programmes. It is therefore recommended that the Welfare Department continue to assist these groups financially and with institutional and technical support in order to maintain and improve welfare standards.

It is also recommended that public activity in the field of welfare be consolidated and becomes the responsibility of an expanded social welfare staff. At the present time, public relief assistance is channelled largely through District Relief Committees or Benevolent Societies organised through the District Office with the local District Officer as chairman. Other members are prominent local leaders of the major cultural communities present in the District. It is recommended that the Welfare Officer replace the District Officer as the chairman of these groups as soon as Welfare Offices are established in the local administrative district in order to avoid duplication and to allow better co-ordination of the welfare service. Other voluntary organisations, besides District Relief Committees and Benevolent Societies, are mainly religious or community groups. Chinese community or Dialect Associations are particularly active in welfare work, especially in the care of the aged and in organising and meeting the expenses of funerals, while Christian mission groups are similarly active in a wide range of welfare work. Whereas some of the services provided by those groups are open to everyone, others are directed toward the members of a specific community and, in some instances, are particularly effective for this reason. Formal welfare organisations are poorly developed or non-existent among native groups outside of those provided by the missions. Such organisations could provide an important service, particularly in an urban setting or other context of rapid social change, as native groups move increasingly to cities and areas of rural development. An important task of the Welfare Department might be to encourage the creation of effective native welfare organisations through financial assistance and the loan of experienced social workers.

As rural migrants settle in urban centres, community groups could perform a useful function in easing the problem of social adjustment that the newcomers are likely to face. In some cases, such groups may be the only ones that can effectively perform this function, because many rural people are likely to have had little close contact with members of other cultural groups and will look to their own community for help and security. Community groups might provide a social centre, perhaps along the lines of existing Rumah Dayak organisation, where newcomers could meet established community members and receive assistance in finding housing or jobs. In order to prevent these groups from becoming strictly sectarian organisations it may be desirable to link them, perhaps through

the creation of co-ordinating body, such as the District Relief Committee, with members recruited from the different community groups acting as a joint advisory body.

The proposed welfare organisation required to accommodate newcomers in the planned rural development areas has already been described (Section 3.3.2). The Welfare personnel assigned to rural development centres would come within the State welfare organisation at the appropriate Divisional level.

5.2 SOCIAL SECURITY

A public system of social security, employee disability insurance and compensation is only now being set up in Sarawak. At the present time, workers earning under \$500 per month are covered only by the Workmen's Compensation Act. The Act makes it the responsibility of the employer to compensate a worker who is injured while discharging his duties. To claim compensation, it may be necessary for the worker to bring a civil suit against his employer, and few workers are in a position to do this, with the result that the provisions of the Act are infrequently fulfilled.

In addition, there is an Employees' Provident Fund to which employers and employees may contribute monthly in the ratio of one to one. Only employees earning under \$500 per month are eligible. Those who participate receive the amount contributed when they reach retirement age.

In West Malaysia there are, in addition, an Employment Injury Insurance Scheme and a planned Disability Pension Scheme. Both come under the Employee's Social Security Act 1969 and are administered by a separate body, the Employees' Social Security Organisation in the Ministry of Labour. The Disability Pension Scheme has not yet been implemented, but the Employment Injury Insurance Scheme is already in operation and is now being introduced to Sarawak on a pilot basis.

5.2.1 The Employment Injury Insurance Scheme

Those who are eligible are employees earning less than \$500 per month in any industry employing five or more workers who register with the scheme. Excluded are timber camps, domestic servants and members of the Armed Forces. Contributions are made by the employer at roughly 1¼ per cent of the workers' monthly wage. Benefits of the scheme include temporary, permanent and partial disability benefits; dependents' benefits for the wife and children of an insured worker who dies while performing his duties; hospital and medical treatment; constant attendance allowance and funeral benefits of up to

\$100 in case of the worker's death.

The Employment Injury Insurance scheme is not supplementary to the Workmen's Compensation Act and a worker who is registered under the scheme is thereby not entitled to claim benefits under the Act.

5.2.2 Disability Pension Scheme

This scheme has not yet been implemented, but its introduction is being planned. Workers who participate are eligible for benefits in the event that they become disabled due to illness or injuries sustained at any time, whether on the job or not.

Those eligible are the same as for the Employment Injury Insurance scheme except that elderly employees of 55 years of age or more are excluded. Both workers and employers contribute equally. Benefits of the scheme include a disability pension or benefits, attendance allowance and medical treatment. At the moment facilities for rehabilitation and re-employment are also being examined.

The reports should be directed to a special committee established within the sphere of the State planning and implementation systems to undertake the monitoring function. Two important objectives of the committee should be:

- (a) to adjust particular aspects of future development plans to accommodate or alleviate problems identified from the reports;
- (b) to co-ordinate sociological investigations.

It is suggested that the chairman of the committee should be the officer in charge of the State Manpower Section which should have attached to it one or two sociologically trained workers who would be available to undertake investigations wherever they may be needed. The membership of the committee will need to change as circumstances alter but it is suggested that the following should be among the first members: the Chairman, SIDS; the Chairman, SEDC; the Officer-in-charge, Farmers Organisation of the Agricultural Department; and the Director of the State Planning Unit.

CHAPTER 6

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MONITORING DEVELOPMENT PROGRESS AND FURTHER SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

6.1 INTRODUCTION

To attract migrants to the development schemes in the Study Area and settle them successfully will require continual and reliable sociological information concerning the reaction of the participants to the changing conditions. The developments themselves, by establishing industry, commerce and intensive cash crop farming, will attract migrants into the area whether brought there as settlers or coming on their own account. The problems produced by large scale changes will make it essential for the planning authorities to keep ahead of events by a continuous assessment of the situation. In effect this requires the establishment of a co-ordinated monitoring system.

It is therefore recommended that the assessment of progress in the Study Area should take the form of regular reports, say every six months, from the State Manpower Section, the SLDB, the ADU and the Department of Social Welfare. Responsibility for production of the reports should rest ultimately with the Directors or Chairmen of the agencies but the gathering and compiling of information would be done locally by the appropriate agency staff in the development areas. The reports should cover all aspects of physical development (acres developed, crop production, produce quality etc.) as well as the social environment, the more important factors of which are discussed in Section 6.2.

The reports should be directed to a special committee established within the sphere of the State planning and implementation systems to undertake the monitoring function. Two important objectives of the committee should be:-

- (a) to adjust particular aspects of future development plans to accommodate or alleviate problems identified from the reports;
- (b) to co-ordinate sociological investigations.

It is suggested that the chairman of the committee should be the officer in charge of the State Manpower Section which should have attached to it one or two sociologically trained workers who would be available to undertake investigations wherever they may be needed. The membership of the committee will need to change as circumstances alter but it is suggested that the following should be among the first members: the Chairman, SLDB; the Chairman, SEDC; the Officer-in-charge, Farmers Organisation of the Agricultural Department; and the Director of the State Planning Unit.

In Chapter 3 Section 3.3.3 the proposal has been made for welfare personnel to be stationed in the ADU centres and in the service centres for work among the participants in the development areas. It would be appropriate for them to be under the supervision of the Chief Welfare Officer but, in close liaison with the research sociologists, they would assist in the survey work directed by the State Manpower Section as well as carrying out the ordinary work of implementing the development plans and in training programmes.

Finally it is recommended that in the training of all the ADU staff as well as welfare and other services workers in the development areas there should be a short orientation course designed to give trainees some understanding of the principles underlying the social systems from which the settlers have come and of the principles behind the modern system to which they are trying to adjust. It is very important indeed that all officers concerned with implementing development plans should be aware that sudden changes in peoples' way of life bring problems of adjustment, which may show as opposition to authority, unwillingness to follow suggestions, and social disorder. In fact for all service staff concerned with development an understanding of underlying sociological and psychological factors would contribute to the growth of a more coherent and tolerant outlook on their part. This in itself could help the settlers adjust successfully to new conditions.

6.2 SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

The problems likely to arise during the implementation of the recommended developments are discussed under three heads:-

- (i) Refinement of Migratory Policies;
- (ii) Re-assessment of the Development Organisation;
- (iii) Co-ordination and Utilisation of Research Results.

Information on the sociological aspects of these problems will be indispensable to all concerned with planning and implementation of development. Some suggestions are given on how the information could be obtained. Unless studies of the kinds recommended are undertaken in a systematic and regular fashion, those responsible for making planning and implementing decisions will be compelled to rely on random information and personal intuition. With careful and imaginative officials and workers decisions taken in that way could be good, but equally the results could be disastrous. For such reasons it is essential that all sociological investigations are co-ordinated by a central organisation and that the staff are available to implement the field work.

6.21 Refinement of Migrationary Policies

The selection of migrants will depend mainly on two factors:-

- (i) the location of people willing to move because of poverty or dissatisfaction on other grounds; and
- (ii) successful publicity for the development schemes.

The following studies should be made to throw light on particular and limited problems by collating the latest available information and by undertaking field investigations.

(a) In the First Division

An investigation into land shortage, household composition, incomes and budgets among groups of Land Dayaks and Malays with the object of assessing their potentialities as migrants.

(b) In the First and Third Divisions

An investigation into the Chinese population, especially recent migrants into urban and peri-urban areas. The study should be based on an investigation of households, (that is household composition, incomes and budgets combined with a listing of occupations), to assess the degree of under-employment and willingness to migrate as agricultural or urban settlers.

(c) In the Second and Third Divisions

An investigation into land shortage and households (size, composition, incomes budgets etc.) among groups of Iban and Melanau with the object of determining their willingness to migrate as short term or permanent settlers, and to find out what experience and knowledge members of selected groups have of migrant labour conditions and development schemes.

(d) Publicity

It is recommended that investigations should be made at intervals of 18 months into the methods used to bring knowledge of conditions in development schemes to different groups in areas of potential out-migration.

6.22 Re-assessment of Development Organisations

Most migrants to the development areas will face difficulties and, unless specific efforts are made to help the people deal with these problems, a high failure rate may result. An exact knowledge of the difficulties that arise will be essential and this can be obtained only by systematic and regular investigation of the settlers, both rural and urban.

(a) Rural Settlers

Estate Workers

The composition of the estate worker population can be expected to change continually. It is therefore recommended that regular studies should be made of households with a view to gaining a knowledge of the peoples' aspirations, intentions and their views on the situation.

Small-Holder and Independent Farmers

The conditions of settlement as small-holders or as independent farmers will be more complex than most migrants have ever experienced. It is therefore recommended that reports of the kinds listed below, resulting from short systematic studies of records and field work, should be submitted to the monitoring committee at regular intervals. The investigations should cover all types of schemes whether the farmers are in SLDB initiated development, or block alienations or road based schemes.

Selection of Small-Holder Farmers

An investigation into the operation of the machinery of selection of small-holders from estate workers and of the farmers' understanding and evaluation of their status and rights and duties. One of the objects of such a study would be to decide if modification were needed.

The Operation of Farms

Such investigations would look into the problems of labour, credit and marketing with the object of discovering why certain farmers operate the system satisfactorily and others do not, and whether the reasons are short-comings of extension work, of individual personality, background or unsatisfactory social conditions.

Household Investigations

Regular studies of household composition, incomes, budgets and diets to assess the success or failure of the various patterns of settlement and the effectiveness of welfare measures.

Failure

A proportion of settlers will fail to adjust and will either return to their homes or move into towns or other rural areas. It will be important to find out, if possible, where and why such migrants have gone, particularly if it should be found that there is a differential rate of failure between former shifting agriculturalists and settled farmers.

(b) Urban Settlers

Urban Villages

A large part of the present indigenous urban population in Sarawak entered town life by way of the semi-rural villages that flank most large towns. There is little information on this subject and further investigations, of the kind carried out by the Consultant Sociologists of the Malay community of Miri, are needed, especially of Iban and other indigenous urban settlers.

Welfare Problems

As Miri and Bintulu grow in size and offer wider job opportunities they will attract an increasing number of rural migrants. In addition to the routine reports made by Government Departments dealing with the growth, employment and welfare of urban populations, it is recommended that at regular intervals surveys of the following types should be made:-

- a survey of households in samples of the urban population with a view to establishing migratory habits and any special problems of adjustment to urban life;
- a survey of the formal and informal institutions of social control in different sections of the population to locate conditions of stress and failure to adjust to urban conditions.

APPENDIX I

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