

BOOK REVIEW

Migration and Development in South-East Asia: A Demographic Perspective edited by R. J. Pryor, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1979, xxi + 354 pp.

I

Until recently, the migration of population was generally regarded as a desirable process in which surplus rural labor was gradually taken away from traditional agricultural sectors in order to provide manpower to growing modern industrial sectors. Nowadays social scientists such as economists, sociologists, demographers, and human geographers rarely consider rapid internal migration in this way. On the contrary, contemporary migration is increasingly recognized as the major influencing factor to generating urban surplus labor and aggravating serious urban problems such as unemployment and housing shortage. The impact of migration on economic and social developments is even more significant in its implications for economic growth in the Third World.

This volume, consisting of twenty-five chapters which are classified into eight parts, contributed by eighteen demographers, geographers, and related scientists including the editor, reports on the variety of migration patterns and migrant characteristics in the context of economic and social developments in Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines. In Part I "Introduction" by the editor, R. J. Pryor, perspectives on the demographic and mobility transitions and the regional patterns of internal migration characteristics of countries "in the transitional stage of economic development and social change" are discussed and the theme of migration and development is introduced. Although theoretical schemata are not examined in detail, one simple way of conceptualizing the behavioral and structural setting of internal migration is outlined in a diagram in which "the spatial or regional manifestations of population redistribution—migration streams, counterstreams, net population shifts, continuing origin-destination linkage—are integrally bound up with individual psychological processes; societal processes, controls and norms; and socioeconomic and demographic structure; and the whole 'mix' changes through time and varies across space at a point in time" (pp. 5–6). In the major patterns of internal migration at the "transitional" stage of development of Southeast Asian countries, Pryor stresses the importance of intra-rural migration, rural-urban migration, rural-rural migration, and circular mobility (short-term "oscillation" within rural areas). He surveys the nature of the migration data, made up chiefly of the migration statistics collected in the 1970 round censuses on which a number of chapters in this book are based before going into detailed descriptions of each country.

II

Part II "Thailand" consists of six chapters. In Chapters 2 and 3, L. Sternstein discusses

the changing patterns of population movement over the decade 1960–70, the migration patterns of the streams to and from Bangkok, the capital of Thailand, and the capital's primacy. According to his analyses, the major interprovincial migration streams during 1955–60 focussed on the capital district to adjoining provinces and those coming into several remote peripheral provinces as well as a few which were undergoing certain major developments. During 1965–70 the major migration streams reinforced this earlier pattern. In-migration to the capital district increased, while the major counter-streams from the capital district intensified and diffused deeply into the adjoining provinces. Also, he points out that the decline of the migrants' sex ratio during the two periods may be attributed to differences in the census procedures of the military personnel for the 1960 and 1970 population censuses. The reviewer has observed a similar case of internal migration in the Republic of Korea, which indicates that his explanation is appropriate and correct.

In Chapter 4 V. Prachuabmoh et al. describe the migration selectivity between urban and rural areas. They based their study on the results of longitudinal study by Chulalongkorn University, and confirm the findings of the 1960 census that "only a small proportion of current rural residents had moved during the preceding five years, thus indicating the very high degree of stability that characterizes rural Thailand. Conversely those living in urban places had high mobility rates" (p. 57). From the data on migration differentials they point out the importance of educational and occupational differentials between migrants and non-migrants. Also, the authors allege the necessity of exploring the reasons for people not migrating in order to achieve a better understanding of internal migration in rural Thailand. It would be difficult however, for the reviewer to make and evaluate the collected information of such a question survey unless a more intensive survey were employed. Chapter 5, written by Sternstein, deals with a case study on internal migration to and from Khon Kaen, the development center for north-eastern Thailand, in relation to rapid developments supported by the national government being made there. Chapter 6, contributed by S. Piampiti, discusses the population redistribution of 1960–70 in the context of previous regional growth and regional development and in terms of the implications of social, demographic, and economic policies. In the two chapters however, there are a few disagreements between the authors as to the strategies for development. Piampiti emphasizes the importance of growth centers because they can generate a variety of socioeconomic activities, whereas Sternstein, based on his Khon Kaen study on migration, proposes a reconsideration of the growth pole policy propounded by the government.

Part III "Malaysia" consists of four chapters and has been compiled by the editor himself. Chapter 7 reveals the major patterns of population movement in Peninsular Malaysia until 1970, and the author stresses here the importance of in-migration to metropolitan Selangor and the new agricultural settlement area of Pahang in the context of a relatively slow rate of urbanization. Chapter 8 deals with the demographic characteristics of the internal migrants and describes the dominance of Malayan migrants to those of Indians or Chinese. Also, higher ratios of young and single adults of migrants, and of householders with a small number of members but with higher fecundity were observed. Their chief reason for migration is seen as employment-oriented. Chapter 9 reveals the regional differences in income and in the contribution of modern and tradi-

tional sectors of agriculture. The results of the multi-variate analysis of migration and development based on three regions are delineated and this chapter claims that the structure of the factors and the spatial patterns produced by the factor scores realistically reveal the "vertical" complexity and "horizontal" spread of socioeconomic development and demographic change in Peninsular Malaysia. In Chapter 10 the author reviews the objectives of the second and third national development plans and a number of regional development studies, and identifies many problems to be solved during the implementation of the plans. The usefulness of the Markov chain model in the understanding of the migration system and the long-term projections of population redistribution among the states is discussed and the economic growth center and locational incentive policy are proposed as development strategies.

Part IV "Singapore" consists of three chapters and discusses certain aspects of internal migration which differ from those in the other four countries. In Chapter 11, which discusses the general characteristics of urbanization and demographic change in Singapore, the author W. Neville explains that rapid population growth is no longer evident as part of the process of urbanization in Singapore, and the total increase of population in the 1970s is almost entirely attributable to a natural increase. He points out that political separation from Peninsular Malaysia and the reduction of international migration to a lower level provide the mechanisms for regulating excessive population growth and supply only explicit needs in the labor force. Chapter 12, written by T. S. Eng and P. D. Weldon, deals with patterns of residential mobility in terms of social class and housing type; and Chapter 13, by S. U. K. Yeh, describes the specific issue of planned relocation of population in Housing and Development Board dwellings. Both chapters indicate that the housing type or form is closely associated with socioeconomic components of residents which exert a great influence on residential mobility. Furthermore, a very high volume of residential mobility during recent years is seen as a result of substantial achievements in public housing, urban renewal and resettlement planned by the government.

Part V "Indonesia" includes four chapters, the first three of which are described by G. J. Hugo and the last one by G. W. Jones. Chapter 14 deals with the patterns of interprovincial migration streams and demographic characteristics in Indonesia, based chiefly on the lifetime migration data derived from the 1971 census, and the major migration streams from non-metropolitan Java provinces to Jakarta and parts of Sumatra are discussed. Above all, migrations within provinces, particularly between rural and urban localities, are emphasized as the most important. Return lifetime in-migration which involved a fifth of all interprovincial in-migrants, was observed as most significant in provinces such as West and Central Java and West Sumatra in 1971. Chapter 15 examines the origin, volume, and composition of contemporary migration streams to Jakarta. Jakarta's out-migration field was found to be more extensive than that of in-migration, and there was also a predominance of young adult males in selectivity of migration to and from Jakarta. In Chapter 16 the results of a survey examining the major economic and social effects of out-movement to the city on fourteen West Java villages are outlined. A specific implication of the findings is that "in their struggle to find subsistence many households 'resident' in West Java villages have become economically dependent on money earned in Jakarta and other urban centres to meet the short-

fall between village resources and basic household needs" (p. 210).

Hugo alleges that most Western-derived theory on rural-urban migration, which is premised on the fact that the rural population has been displaced permanently, is inapplicable in Third World regions such as Java. Chapter 17 reports on the history and programs of transmigration in Indonesia, that is, the movement of people from the densely populated islands to new agricultural areas opened under governmental development policies. The writer admits that transmigration is one of the key solutions to the problem of continued population increase in Java. He warns of the danger of establishing programs based on inadequate knowledge of carrying capacities of the Outer Islands receiving transmigrants. Moreover he concentrates on methods to encourage chain migration and the effects of government policies on spontaneous movement, rather than general transmigration with family planning.

Part VI "Philippines" consists of four chapters. Chapter 18, written by Pryor, deals with the patterns of population movement until 1970 and explains that the foci of in-migration still tend to be in Rizal and southern and eastern Mindanao and the out-migration is concentrated on the Ilocos, western and southeastern Luzon, and Visayan regions. Pryor argues that there is no necessary correlation between "development" and "migration attraction," through the use of evidence showing that many of the net-in-migration provinces are less developed, while many of the out-migration provinces are at least moderately developed, according to the government's "development indices." He points out that some of the more developed areas are now rarely able to support their populations due to population pressure, declining soil fertility and other factors. Chapter 19, written by R. Ulack, deals with the impact of migration on the industrializing city of Iligan, Mindanao, and reveals that as a consequence of the heavy response to perceived employment opportunities, the labor supply has exceeded demand and a rapid population increase has occurred in the city. He concludes that migrant selection has tended to be more positive than negative as most migrants seem to have responded more to attractive factors at destination. In Chapter 20 which examines the relationship between migration and development in the less developed Bicol region, the author B. V. Carinô point out that the educational efforts concentrated in nonagricultural sectors provide an impetus for outflow to nonagricultural sectors in other regions. Furthermore, he argues the possibility that instead of being senders of remittances the out-migrants may be the recipients of economic aid from relatives in Bicol. It is interesting to note that this argument is the direct opposite to the opinion raised in regard to West Java villages in Indonesia. In Chapter 21 C. Cant analyzes the spatial patterns and regional development and population planning in the Philippines, partly using the principal component analysis of population, economy, and welfare as of 1970. He perceives that more effective urbanization should be promoted and regional development strategies should be integrated effectively into the national development plan which contains a policy of population redistribution.

III

In Part VII which consists of three chapters, the theme of development planning is discussed in the context of population redistribution. Chapter 22, written by Pryor,

outlines an example of conceptualizing the evolution of population redistribution policies, and suggests that two typological approaches, involving regional strategies and policy attributes, are of value in Southeast Asian countries. In Chapter 23, the author D. W. Drakakis-Smith, examines housing problems and the existing policies and programs for the provision of low cost housing in Southeast Asian countries and indicates the need for flexible approaches suited to specific situations. In Chapter 24 T. S. Bahrin investigates some of the policies adopted by the countries studied, excluding Singapore, in the planning and implementation of their respective land settlement programs, and concludes that achievements have as yet been very limited. He emphasizes, however, that land settlement would be worthwhile more as a means of agricultural expansion and development than as a means of redistributing people.

In the final chapter, Chapter 25, the editor attempts to make an international comparison of the patterns of internal migration between Southeast Asian countries, excluding Singapore, although close comparisons are not feasible due to the different bases on which migration data are generated. He generalizes that in each country in-migration streams focus on the largest metropolitan region, out-migration from the national capital flows into surrounding provinces, and dispersed migration moves to frontier or pioneer agricultural regions. Also, he summarizes the demographic characteristics of the typical internal migrants in developing countries as young, unmarried and unskilled males of agricultural background, with little education, and motivated essentially by population pressure in the area of origin, coupled with the attraction of city life. Further, he proposes several principles for population redistribution policies of the Southeast Asian countries. They include the development of a comprehensive policy, specification of the locational goals, and qualification of the expected redistributive consequences of all major social and economic strategies including the continuous monitoring of population trends. Finally, the editor stresses that "urbanization" and "demographic" and "mobility" transitions are interdependent, but not necessarily in phase, with each other.

IV

Pryor has created a comprehensive framework to the volume and has arranged the chapters scrupulously. However, such elaboration makes the book a little tedious rather than interesting. Most of the data used in the studies, which are chiefly current ones based on the 1970 round censuses, are solely available and reliable for the study of mobility and migration patterns for each country. Migrations treated in the volume are based on mostly the units of provincial scale because of the scarce availability of data on intra-provincial or inter-communal migration. The editor defines "an internal migrant as an individual who within a given nation moves from one regional unit to another for a certain minimum period of time" (p. 3). Consequently, the findings obtained are stereotyped and uniform rather than being different for each country. Some examples include migration patterns involving the dominant influx of population to only a huge metropolitan region from rural regions, overspill movements from a former region to its surrounding regions, and dispersal migration to frontiers. Furthermore, most of those findings only confirm findings disclosed previously.

The trend, pattern, and characteristics of the intensity and flows of population

movement are not necessarily uniform between different scales of spatial units. Accordingly, the reader of the book should note that the conclusions derived from the findings based on the provincial scaled migration are not necessarily appropriate to the fair understanding of relationships between migration and economic development in municipal or community areas. They are, therefore, not always applicable to the formulation of the policies and programs in municipal and community development.

Reflected in its title, the emphasis of this book is placed on the interrelationship between migration and economic development. On the other hand, migrations relating to education, marriage, and other factors associated with social development are not dealt with in any great depth in the volume, although a lack of data on these factors could in turn be hindering such analysis. In the context of development, however, particular attention should have been given to the migration of people who enter or graduate from school. This is because, according to the reviewer's studies in countries such as Japan and the Republic of Korea, that migration of people for the purpose of education will definitely be enforced in the near future in Southeast Asian countries. From a demographic perspective, the reviewer regrets that studies on the relationships of migration with other demographic parameters, fertility and mortality, are not attempted in the volume, although he realizes the difficulties involved due to a shortage of available data. Changes in the regional distribution of population are brought about not only by internal migration but also as consequences of changes in fertility and mortality which are interrelated with internal migration and associated with the particular level of economic and social development in the region.

Nevertheless, the book is valuable and useful in its providing general information on contemporary internal migration in Southeast Asian countries in the light of economic development, the introduction of policies and programs of development in those countries, and evaluations of migration. Students of regional planning, regional economics, demography, human geography, and related sciences, who are interested in the movement and distribution of population in the Third World, should also find this book of value in their respective research.

(Atsushi Otomo)