Urban Squatting and Migration in Peninsular Malaysia

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This article examines some of the links between the phenomena of urban migration and squatter settlements in the Third World city. This will be done by demonstrating that both are outcomes of fundamental social and political forces that have operated on these societies. Migration and squatting are placed in a context of the historical processes that led to the uneven development of Malaysia[1]. The article offers some explanation for the origin of the inequalities observed in spatial structures—in this case urban housing—by focusing on one of the contributory factors, namely migration.

The characteristics of urban squatter housing cannot be considered independent of the forces concerned with their use, location and evolution.[2] It is necessary, therefore, to provide an analysis of some aspects of Malaysian development that have created the existing social and structural context in which squatting occurs. Here context refers to those variables and forces external to the subject matter which interact, directly or indirectly, while also affecting the subject under investigation. This article will also show how migration, as an indicator of socioeconomic and political changes, interrelates with and affects the evolution and growth of squatter settlements.

This historical-contextual approach has not yet been used widely in Third World studies on housing and migration, although recent work by Gregory and Piche (1978) van Binsbergen and Meilinck (1978), Forbes (1980) and Curtain (1980) have emphasized the need to locate population mobility, and its consequences, in the setting of

[1] In this paper reference is made only to Peninsular Malaysia.

[2] This point is developed in detail in my doctoral thesis—*See,* Johnstone (1979a).

the wide societal structures.[3] In addition, studies such as those by Leeds (1969), Cornelius (1976) and Lomnitz (1977) treat the development of squatting as the outcome of a variety of historical forces whose consequences have been the creation of a differentiated space economy. The subject matter may be different but the perspective is similar in both sets of research.

Marxist scholars argue that migration is:

> ...one aspect of the penetration of capitalism: it is one of the possible mechanisms by which rural producers are divorced from their means of production in a precapitalist mode of production and by which they enter into capitalist production (Gerold-Scheepers and van Binsbergen 1978:25).

The expansion of capitalism, thus viewed, is the primary cause of migration. As I have argued elsewhere (Johnstone, 1979a, b) this can be the starting point in the study of urban squatting but the analysis should also include consideration of historical, geopolitical and cultural factors. In this article, therefore, migration and squatting must be seen in the context of the Malaysian space economy which has been molded by interacting social, political and economic forces.[4] The single most important of these (but not, as some scholars claim, the determinate factor) has been the penetration of colonial economic enterprise and administration with its expansion of capitalist agricultural and mining activity (*See,* Drabble, 1973; Chai, 1967; Yip, 1969) and the co-evolving political and administrative framework (Emerson, 1964; Gullick, 1969). Other influences were also important, particularly those operating at the local and regional levels. Factors such as the strength of local political elites and the growth of a national political system (Gullick, 1958), regional differences in pre-extant economic systems (Sharom, 1970) and their resilience to colonial activity, the impact of Chinese entrepreneurs (Jackson, 1968) and the availability of natural resources (Ooi, 1963) all contributed to a process of development that today is characterized by distinct social and economic inequalities. Among these were the dislocation of certain rural and small town populations and their movement to the larger cities where new inequalities emerged, foremost of which were the creation of squatter settlements.

[3] For a review, *See,* Bedford (1980).

[4] For general discussions of these processes *See,* Amin (1974) and Gregory and Piche (1978).

Several characteristics of development in colonial and post-independence Malaya need to be emphasized, providing us with some background to urban squatting. First, the expansion of plantation agriculture initiated a process of uneven development, beginning in rural areas, through the extraction of resources and the transformation of the indigenous agricultural system (Caldwell, 1977a ; Shamsul, 1979), the concentration of land ownership (Syed, 1972) and the social impact of investment patterns (Courtenay, 1972). Second, this dislocation and change has resulted in both forced and voluntary out-migration (Ungku, 1964 ; Caldwell, 1977a)[5], often to the cities where many migrants could not find employment in the capitalist sector. Third, given the low incomes earned from employment in the petty and non-capitalistic sectors and the failure of both private and public sectors to produce low cost housing[6], most migrants must find accommodation elsewhere. Squatting provides the main alternative, although not all migrants become squatters and, as will be shown, not all squatters are migrants. Fourth, different levels of housing construction, which I have called conventional and unconventional (Johnstone, 1978, 1979b) can be identified. The importance of each level increases with the size of the city although each caters to different populations and, as a result, the relative importance of conventional housing, linked to industrialized production, can be expected to expand the urban system up to the metropolis. Conversely, smaller cities are likely to have relatively larger proportions of unconventional housing, mostly associated with small-scale petty production. Only this sector can meet the needs of the low income groups living in large cities.

The article is divided into two main sections each based on a different research method. The first provides a description of the historical growth of squatter settlements in Malaysia, showing how migration has always been an important contributory element. Although this may seem an obvious point, witness the literature of the social origins of squatters (Turner, 1968; Laquian, 1969; Cornelius, 1971; Hollnsteiner, 1972; Roberts, 1973) the issue pursued is not merely the existence of this relationship but what it means in terms of the pattern of development. Migration and squatting are part of sets of historical forces which have operated at the national

[5] *See,* Webster (1978) and Curtain (1980) for discussions of migrant labor systems, much of which was induced, even forced.

[6] For a discussion of the operation of this sector in Malaysia *See,* Johnstone (1979b).

and local levels and involve the expansion of the colonial economic and administrative structure and the responses of government to population and political change. This part of the article is interpretative rather than accounting for new historical evidence, but provides a different way of looking at existing data.

The second section, which is based on detailed studies in nine Malaysian squatter areas, outlines the migration histories of these low income urban dwellers and how their diverse migration experiences have influenced the physical and social attributes of their settlements. A summary of the main socioeconomnic characteristics of surveyed squatters is provided to offer some background to more detailed discussion. This two level approach is intended to integrate the detailed empirical information with the wider historical processes which have affected the nation, and to explain phenomena in terms of their local and extra local origins.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SQUATTING AND MIGRATION

Squatter housing and urbanward migration to Malaysian cities are not new phenomena. Indeed from the earliest times migrants established unconventional housing, often illegally, in the incipient urban settlements of the Peninsular. Most of the references to earlier periods were to residential forms constructed as part of the growth of ethnic communities in the cities. The growth of the Malay community in Kuala Lumpur, including Indonesian migrants, has been well documented by McGee (1965:335-346). Many of their early settlements, such as Kp. Kerinchi and Kp. Haji Abdullah Hukum, later became the core for extensive areas of squatter housing. By 1900 unconventional housing, including those occupied by squatters, became a prominant land use in Kuala Lumpur, and several other cities including Melaka, Kuala Trengganu and Alor Setar. It was, however, in the period after 1920 when dramatic social and economic changes were occurring in Malaya that squatting became firmly established.

In 1931 the report of the Kuala Lumpur Health Officer stated that one-sixth of the total population, almost 18,000 people, inhabited 'temporary' houses in the *kampungs* of the city. The Report noted the poor sanitation, drainage and communications, as well as the

residential densities which exceeded 160 persons per hectare, with an average of 15 people per house compared with 7.2 persons per dwelling for the whole city (KLTB, 1931:21). It also emphasized that the existence of so many 'hovels' reflected the inability of low income groups to pay economic rentals for minimum standard conventional housing.

During this period the colonial export economy was growing, accompanied by technological change (Bauer, 1948; Yip, 1969; Drabble, 1973) and an increase in urbanization (Hamzah, 1962). Fluctuations in economic growth were related to the vagaries of international trade, together with the Depression of the 1920s and 1930s. These forces, part of broad transformations at the national and international level, played a significant part in the growth of squatter settlements.

The combined effects of these changes brought increasing unemployment and decreasing wage levels. Thus, although plantation agriculture expanded the area under cultivation, estate employment fell from some 258,000 in 1929 to 125,000 in 1932 because of the introduction of labor saving processing technology. During the same period wages fell by over 50 percent (Caldwell, 1977b:45). In many rural areas the number of landless peasants increased as land, previously used for subsistence cultivation, was taken over by plantations and restrictions were placed on the farming activity of small-holders (Bauer, 1948; Caldwell, 1977b). In the mining sector, as capital intensive methods replaced Chinese labor, employment fell between 1922 and 1938 from 82,000 to 58,000 despite the continued increase in production and profits (Caldwell, 1977b:43). Retrenchment and unemployment on this scale during the Depression years resulted in large scale population movement involving displaced families who needed to find new places of residence and accommodation.

During the Depression, many of the unemployed, particularly the Chinese, moved onto cultivated lands to grow subsistence and later cash crops. Some of these rural squatters found land near existing cities which was later encapsulated by city growth. Others, having gained farming experience in remote areas, subsequently moved to the periphery of the towns to continue cash crop cultivation. Both sequences led to urban squatting, as did two other types of residential re-establishment. Unemployment relief camps were established by wealthy Chinese mine owners in many cities, particularly in Perak and Selangor, and the temporary mining camps

built on lands surrounding cities, such as Ipoh, Taiping and Kuala Lumpur, were later incorporated into the city area (Mohamed Rosli, 1975).

By 1935 the colonial government was tolerating, even encouraging movement of families to the peri-urban areas because they were becoming the main suppliers of fresh food for many towns. When the outbreak of war threatened the import of necessary foodstuffs, the British continued to encourage squatter cultivators in, or close to, the large cities. The same occurred when a nationwide 'Grow More Food' campaign was launched (MU, 1946; Sandhu, 1964b). The result of these campaigns, none of which specified where land could be occupied, was the illegal or partly authorized occupation of large areas of urban and peri-urban land. Several big squatter colonies were formed in Kuala Lumpur during this period, including Chinese settlements in Salak South and Sungai Besi, and Malay kampungs in the northern areas of Gombak and Setapak (Mokhzani, 1974).

These factors affected all cities, and records reveal the existence of squatters, including peri-urban food growers, in many centers other than Kuala Lumpur (Williams, 1940; MU, 1948; FMS, various years). For example, one report stated that in Ipoh "the real housing problem is in the shape of innumerable shacks and sheds erected by squatters...these huts are dotted about and huddled together without a trace of any plan...or drainage" (FMS, 1939:41).

Until 1941 the population in most cities was increasing but the Japanese Occupation of Malaya from 1942 to 1945 reversed this trend. This was due to the general fear of the Japanese, the arduous labor drafts, a substantial fall in urban economic activity, declining health and sanitary conditions, and political persecution particularly of the Chinese (Lee Tong, 1977). The total effect "was a general exodus from the towns" (Sandhu, 1964a:149). In Kuala Lumpur this upheaval caused migration out of the city to the peri-urban fringe or, for many Malays, back to the rural kampung. There was, it appears, a decline in the general population in Kuala Lumpur during the Occupation but an increase in the number of squatters, which was higher than during the preceding four years (Friel-Simon and Khoo, 1976:3). This was probably a result of the creation of new squatter areas in the urban periphery and the growth of existing settlements. At least two large Malay communities, Kp. Bukit Mati and Kp. Tangga China (Dato Keramat) originated during this period (McGee, 1968:354), while many Chinese settlers moved into Chan

Sow Lin (Ng, 1976). Thus, while no precise data are available on migration flows to and from the national capital during the Occupation years, available evidence points to the existence of two (partly) contradictory flows. On the one hand, movement out of the city by permanent residents, especially inner city Chinese and, on the other, the growth of squatter areas which were moved into by a combination of rural migrants and dislocated city residents. Thus, by 1945 the combined effects of the Japanese Occupation, the Depression, war induced shortages, structural changes in the economy, and the general weaknesses in reinforcing and administering land laws (*See,* Barakbah, 1971:204-206) had resulted in extensive urbanward migration generally from rural areas which had as a consequence the rapid expansion of squatter settlements in Kuala Lumpur and many other cities.

After the war the effects of rising unemployment, decreased wages, increasing prices and continued food shortages (Purcell, 1948; Caldwell, 1977c; Morgan, 1977) were exacerbated by the introduction of regulations associated with the Emergency[7] and increasing landlessness among rural Malays (Bach, 1976). The result was a considerable movement of population to the main cities, especially Kuala Lumpur, where there were severe housing shortages. There was a rapid increase in illegal land occupation which resulted not only in the expansion of existing squatter settlements, but also in the growth of annexes to existing concentrations and the creation of totally new settlements. This expansion was most apparent in Kuala Lumpur where the number of squatter houses rapidly increased in the postwar period 1946-1957 (*See,* Table 1). Indeed, if the estimates available from Table 1 are, even in part, accurate, during the period 1950 to 1957 the number of squatters, as a proportion of the total population, in Kuala Lumpur more than doubled. Actual numbers rose almost five-fold from some 22,000 to between 75,000 to 107,000. The reasons for this rapid increase, are discussed in detail, were associated with the general fast growth of Kuala Lumpur after 1946 as a commercial and administrative center (McGee, 1971), the extension of municipal boundaries which incorporated small town and village population into the city and the dislocating effect of the Emergency regulations in rural areas.

[7] The Emergency is a term given to the period of Communist insurgency which occurred in Malaya between 1948 and 1960. The most immediate effects were felt in the early 1930s. For discussions of this period *See,* Caldwell (1977b) and Gullick (1969).

By 1950 local and national governments, which until now had not considered squatting to be a problem, became noticeably concerned (Anthony, 1971). This can be seen in the statement made by a member of the Advisory Council of the Malaysian Union:

> Before the war the housing situation was already unsatisfactory. The influx of people from the villages and countryside during the war years into the various towns had almost doubled the urban population but there has been very little building activity to cope with this increase except in the mushroom growth of temporary buildings of a very inferior type...erected without regard to the elementary requirements of sanitation, light and air (MU, 1948).

Minor resettlement programs did little in the face of the influx of migrants into the city, particularly after the Emergency began in 1948. Between 1947 and 1953 an estimated 10,000 squatter houses accommodating 85,000 people, mainly Chinese, were built in Kuala Lumpur (Concannon, 1955). According to estimates, by 1954 the number of squatters had reached a peak of 35 percent of the total population.

The creation of New Villages during the Emergency period after 1948 to resettle rural squatters and villagers displaced from high risk areas (*See,* Hamzah, 1962; Dobby, 1952; Sandhu, 1964a; Gullick, 1969) had a significant impact on the development of unconventional housing and is important to our discussion. Intervention by colonial authorities dislocated considerable numbers of rural dwellers, many of whom were moved or drifted into New Villages. Among those affected were Malay small holders, who became landless, (Sandhu, 1964b) and young Malay men who were drafted into the army (Caldwell, 1977c). After hostilities declined both these groups contributed to voluntary movement into cities. Many such villages were located near or within existing urban areas, such as Segamat, Kuantan, Taiping and Kuala Lumpur, and generally housed up to 1,000 inhabitants in most rudimentary dwellings. Jinjang the largest New Village with 13,000 people was, for example, incorporated into Kuala Lumpur city area as a result of the 1957 boundary changes. The incorporation of these settlements within the urban boundary resulted in a sharp increase in the quantity of unconventional housing in the cities affected. While New Villages were legal settlements established by the government, much of their housing did not meet local authority standards. Moreover, the villages attracted more

unconventional housing, especially squatter dwellings, most of which were indistinguishable from the legal buildings. Noticeable concentrations of squatter huts centered in New Villages are currently found in many cities, for example Jinjang in Kuala Lumpur, Kp. Bahru in Kuantan and Kp. Simee in Ipoh, and centers which incorporate this settlement form generally have the highest proportion of unconventional dwellings. Between 1948 and 1960 the government moved about 600,000 people, affecting almost 12 percent of the total population (Sandhu, 1964b). The spatial pattern of population of Peninsular Malaysia was substantially transformed in this "forced migration" and greatly affected urban and residential patterns. It wasn't until the early 1960s, however, as will be seen below, that the mobility of people could be explained in terms of nation-wide social and economic changes.

In an attempt to overcome some of the problems associated with the creation of New Villages and extend the jurisdiction of local town councils, a series of laws was introduced after 1948 which gave councils greater powers to regulate buildings, collect rates, issue by-laws, and change boundaries.[8] Boundary extensions meant that many areas of unconventional housing, previously outside the city became incorporated into the area of urban authority. In smaller cities this resulted in housing problems which previously had not been recognized because the poor quality residential areas concerned lay outside the local councils' jurisdiction. While the general opinion held at the time was that such housing was a "menace" and a "nuisance", the desired policy of "condemnation and demolition" had to be curtailed because of the overall shortage of housing. In these circumstances it was state action, rather than economic pressure (as previously occurred) which catalyzed population movement although as Caldwell (1977c) points out the political-military actions of the emergency were also designed to protect British economic interest. Government intervention clearly restructured society, with the effect of transferring many rural poor to what was to become a deepening poverty in urban squatter settlements.

The case of Ipoh is illustrative of the processes operating at the time. When the area under jurisdiction of the Ipoh Town Board was enlarged in 1954, several large New Villages were encapsulated

[8] For example, the Municipal Ordinance 1948, Local Authorities Ordinance 1950, Local Authorities Ordinance 1952 and the Straits Settlement Act No. XXVII, 1957.

(Ooi, 1955:54). The *Ipon Town Board Annual Report* (ITB, 1954:2) of that year stated, in regard to the boundary extension, that,

> The enlargement brought with it many problems not the least of which was the inclusion of newly built houses...the houses, previously outside the jurisdiction of the Town Board were erected without proper consideration of roads, drains, and sewerage and their improvement set an immediate problem for the new Council...

In the same year only 420 conventional houses were built, of which 222 were for government officers, and it was observed "that existing housing production is failing to meet at least half the housing need arising from natural increase in population" (ITB, 1954:4). Existing shortages of accommodations were clearly exacerbated by the in-movement of population associated with new town council regulations.

By the mid-1950s squatting was clearly an established phenomenon in many secondary cities, as well as in Kuala Lumpur. In Kuala Lumpur, at this time, two broad groups of squatter settlement could be identified. There were those with legal origins which subsequently became illegal, for example Kp. Haji Abdullah Hukim, Chan Sow Lin and Kp. Kerinchi. Each of these were established through migration. The first of these was established on the urban periphery in the pre-war period and administered by the District Office. Like the legal settlement of Kp Bahru it acted as a focus for additional residential construction, much of it illegal. All of these areas attracted more squatters, mainly migrants, in the early postwar period and grew to become large illegal settlements with considerable subdivision of land and illegal extension of houses. As McGee (1968:360) suggests, "many of the problems of Malay accommodation in the city were to arise from the fact that Kp. Bahru—the desired settlement for many Malays entering the city—could no longer absorb them".

The second group of settlements in Kuala Lumpur was illegal kampungs established during and immediately after the Japanese occupation, often on sites outside the city boundary. Large areas were settled by Chinese agricultural squatters during this period, some of which remain today. One example is Kp. Cochrane which was originally occupied during the war by Chinese cultivators many of whom had been forced to move from rural areas by the hostilities. In 1976 this settlement contained over 500 houses and is still the center of a thriving market gardening area. Many of the squatter areas established during the period are the largest in their respective

cities and acted as a focus for growth after Independence, while many new settlements were created to accommodate the expanding urban population. Another form of illegal kampung, those centered on a previously constituted New Village, are also noticeable.

The processes which occurred prior to 1958 set the broad pattern for the continued growth of squatting in the post-Independence period. To this foundation two other important components were added: the rapid growth of large cities and increased Malay urbanization. This was particularly true of the national capital where both the number and the proportion of squatters have continued to rise despite the actions of the local authorities. By 1969 there were an estimated 20,000 squatter houses, 25 percent of the total dwelling units, inhabited by 26,500 families or 37 percent of the total (NOC, 1969). Since 1969, though estimates vary (Table 1), squatters have constituted between 25 and 30 percent of the total population in Kuala Lumpur.

The rapid growth of squatters and other unconventional housing in Kuala Lumpur (see Table 1), as well as several other cities, in the postwar period can largely be attributed to population movement, particularly the resettlement of rural dwellers by the government. Nearly half a million Chinese rural squatters were resettled (Ooi, 1975:46) and prior to 1960 this involuntary migration to New Villages was the major cause of high rates of urbanization. Caldwell (1963) estimated that between 1947 and 1957 62 percent of the total population increase in cities[9] was due to the influx of rural people to New Villages. This forced migration accounted for the 7 percent increase in the proportion of the population living in urban areas over the period 1947-1957 (Young, 1978). In the more recent intercensal period (1957-1970) patterns of migration have changed considerably (*See,* Pryor, 1972; Saw, 1972; Narayan, 1974, Hirschman, 1976; Young, 1978) with a lack of rural-urban migration compared to other flows. Young (1978:5) has shown that movement between cities in the period 1965 to 1970 accounted for over 32 percent of all mobility while movement out of cities to rural areas represented almost 35 percent. The main explanation, Young (1978:7) suggests, for these patterns "must be sought in the major government development schemes..." and data suggests that programs "aimed at

[9] Settlements with 1,000 or more inhabitants.

TABLE 1

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF SQUATTERS
IN KUALA LUMPUR 1930-1976

Year	Squatter Population Number ('000)	Squatters as Proportion of Total Population %
1931	17	16
1946	18	10
1950	22	13
1953*	107/75	35/27
1957	100	25
1964	105	22
1968	120	30
1968/69	140	30
1969	156	30
1973	174	35
1976	222	30

*Two estimates for the same year but from different sources.

Source: Johnstone (1979a:193).

providing incentives to village people to stay in rural areas have been relatively successful" (p. 8). There were, in addition, a number of other trends which affected housing in several cities, namely a net movement into the states of Selangor and Penang, considerable urbanward movement from small towns within states (amounting to over one and a half million migrants), with the majority of migrants being in the 20-34 year age group (Pryor, 1979). The single largest groups were unmarried Malay men, many of whom sought shelter in the burgeoning rental market within squatter settlements.[10]

The changing patterns of migration has affected the character of urban squatting. Initially forced migration through government resettlement and voluntary movement in response to restructuring of the rural economy during the 1940s and 1950s resulted in increasing numbers of Chinese squatters. However, since 1960 Malays have been the majority of urban movers—accounting for almost 54 percent of recent rural migrants to urban areas in 1970. This increase

[10]The existence of rental housing within squatter settlements to cater to newly arrived migrants — families and single people — is a long existing phenomenon (*See*, McGee, 1968). In the settlements surveyed levels of rental accommodation ranged from 40 to 11 percent of the total and in all localities rooms for single people were available for rent.

has had a disproportionately large impact in squatter areas, which appear to have absorbed the largest proportion of Malay migrants. Thus, for example, while Malays increased from 15 percent to 25 percent of the total population of Kuala Lumpur in the period 1957 to 1970, they accounted for an estimated 80 percent of the increase in squatter numbers between 1957 and 1973. Nationally, migration of Malays to urban areas has been selective and are represented in the gains shown in growth centers in the Kelang Valley, Kuantan and Johor Baharu (Rimmer and Cho, 1978) all of which are augmented with rapid natural population growth. The increase in urban Malays has been encouraged by the government through the new economic policy and the preferential treatment given to Malay squatters (*See*, Johnstone, forthcoming).

Squatter settlements in Malaysian cities had their origin in the socioeconomic and political changes that occurred before Independence but growth has continued since 1958 in the wake of increased displacement of rural population into towns and cities. The role and actions of government has also played a significant part during certain periods. Forces operating at a national level have created the preconditions for the emergence of squatting, as a response to lack of cheap conventional housing, but variations in the character of squatting are associated with local factors. The most important of these are the variety of land tenure forms, the operation of administrative mechanisms regulating housing, differentiated labor and employment systems, and the diverse character of migration in each city/region. The following section will examine in some detail this last factor, pointing to both the diverse migration experience of the squatters in the nine settlements surveyed[11] and the impact migration has had on particular squatting environments.

MIGRATION EXPERIENCE OF SQUATTERS

Early Latin American research noted that squatters typically migrate to cities directly from the countryside, are young and generally un or underemployed (Mar, 1961; Balan, 1969; Flinn, 1971). This claim is partly refuted by more recent research and by the data collected

[11] The settlements in Kuala Lumpur were Kp. Maxwell, Chendana and Selamat, in Kuantan Kp. Tanah Puteh, Alor Akar and Tanjong Api, and in Alor Setar Kp. Klub, Berjaya and Tongkong Yard. Full details of settlements, survey procedures and sampling are available from the author.

which show that there was no consistent socioeconomic pattern in the settlements surveyed. Basic socieconomic features of the surveyed squatters are now outlined to provide some context for the detailed discussion of their migration experience.

Basic demographic, occupational and migration data are presented in Table 2.

Demography

The typical squatter household was a nuclear family unit with 3 or 4 children, although areas of more recent inmigration and settlement, such as Kp. Alor Akar and Kp. Selamat, tended to have smaller families and childless couples. The nine settlements had youthful populations with the median age of household head ranging from 34 to 41 years. Children aged under 9 years constituted the single largest age cohort. The data available suggests that while well established communities, such as Kp. Maxwell or Kp. Berjaya, tend to have a higher proportion of older household units, the overall pattern is varied and depends on the present rate of movement into a settlement which, in turn, is controlled by the availability of land. For example, although Kp. Berjaya was one of the longest established kampungs, its adult age structure was not uniformly old because it had land available for occupation by younger families. Most settlements had several distinct zones of growth which reflect demographic features outlined, as well as their heterogenous occupational and migration histories.

Occupation

While squatter household heads were employed in a variety of activities, the majority can be grouped into two occupational categories (Table 2). The first comprises "low status" but regular wage earning employment in the modern economic sector, particularly in factories, offices and government services. The proportion of breadwinners employed in the sector ranged from 21 to 47 percent, although the numbers were noticeably higher in the three Kuala Lumpur settlements, largely due to the greater variety of opportunities in the national capital. The second group encompasses a wide range of "informal" sector jobs, often irregular and intermittent, in the small scale distributive services, transport, primary and traditional pursuits, as well as the gamut of casual work. These occu-

pations predominated in the settlements of Alor Setar and Kuantan, where the relatively high occurence of hawkers, trishaw riders, casual workers and the like reflected the more traditional economic system of the region and the low absorptive capacity of the capital intensive sector. Within the general occupational structure there was, however, considerable occupational specialization within some communities. For example, in Kp. Tanjong Api 37 percent of all household heads were fishermen (most having worked in this sector prior to inmigration), while in Kp. Selamat some 42 percent were employed by the Army in a variety of military and non-military roles (cooks, drivers, etc.). Such specialization has contributed to the character of several of the surveyed settlements.

Income

Just as occupation shows distinct inter-settlement and inter-city variation, so too are income data varied along similar lines. In all locations over 50 percent of respondents earned M$300 or less but there was a clear difference in both absolute incomes and the range of incomes between Kuala Lumpur settlements and those in the other cities. The more recent settlements and those with younger populations had lower total incomes and higher proportions of families below the poverty line (Table 2). Thus median incomes and the promotion of households with incomes below the poverty line ($300) are respectively higher and lower in Kuala Lumpur than the two regional cities. Income differences are generated by the earning capacity of each household unit which in turn is associated with its demographic structure and the occupational structure of the settlement and city. Thus, higher incomes in Kuala Lumpur were associated with more wage employment in the modern sector and easier access to a wider variety of job opportunities.

Overall, the squatters surveyed were low income urban workers, many were regularly employed and others would have been had such work been available. Most families had someone employed and dependency ratios were high. Within this socioeconomic context migration experience can now be detailed. Data show (Table 3) that although recent arrivals—those coming since 1970—were important, particularly in Kuantan and Kuala Lumpur, they did not constitute a majority of the migrants. Indeed a notable feature of the Alor Setar settlements was the high proportion of locally born respondents. Thus the pattern of movement to each city and the

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF NINE SURVEYED SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS

	City and Settlements								
	Kuala Lampur			Kuantan			Alor Setar		
Characteristic	Maxwell	Chendana	Selamat	Tanah Puteh	Alor Akar	Tanjong Api	Tankong Yard	Klub	Berjaya
Average household size	5.6	5.6	5.0	4.9	5.2	5.2	6.6	6.3	5.6
Median age household head	38	36	34	38	36	37	37	41	36
No. dependent children	2.6	2.9	3.1	3.1	2.9	2.9	3.6	3.8	3.1
% household heads									
resident since 1970	20	22	31	36	42	38	19	16	17
since before 1965	46	40	45	22	30	40	30	25	14
born in the city	10	13	2	4	3	7	37	44	57
of rural origin	32	27	26	35	46	51	24	27	25
Year kampung formed	1930	1950	1965	1940	1935	1946	1960	1952	1934
No. inhabitants	1625	1972	1600	1520	845	935	1035	1240	1735

TABLE 2 (continued)

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Characteristic	City and Settlements								
	Kuala Lampur			Kuantan			Alor Setar		
	Maxwell	Chendana	Selamat	Tanah Puteh	Alor Akar	Tanjong Api	Tankong Yard	Klub	Berjaya
Occupation/Income[a]									
% low status[b]	47	40	40	42	20	35	29	21	24
% informal sector[c]	37	18	34	52	68	59	57	58	65
% adults unemployed	10	7	4	13	11	12	16	14	23
Median income M$[d]	350	412	290	251	202	193	212	190	192
% households below poverty line (300 p. m.)	28	16	51	56	68	71	61	78	79
% Housing									
owner-occupied	82	83	74	76	61	89	79	76	89
self-built	53	37	71	59	36	47	48	38	55

[a] For heads of household only.

[b] Low status occupation: regular, generally wage employment—driver, guard, clerk, cooks, messenger, tradesman, factory and construction workers.

[c] Informal sector: often casual or irregular work including self-employment—laborer, hawker, trishaw-rider, gardener, fisherman, etc.

[d] Total household income. M$ refers to Malaysian dollars. In October 1976 when data collected SA1=MS2. 9.

growth of each squatter area has been diverse. Kuantan and Kuala Lumpur have experienced inmigration at a rate of 5 percent per annum since 1965 compared with only 1.5 percent in Alor Setar. In several settlements the majority of residents were migrants who arrived in the city prior to 1965. Furthermore, in two settlements over 25 percent of respondents had lived in the city for over 18 years. It is clear, therefore, that while the majority of households were originally rural migrants, significant proportions have had long urban experience.

While rural locations, either kampung or agricultural estates, were the single largest source of previous residence for the inhabitants of seven settlements, in only one did rural sources account for the majority of migrants (Fig. I and Table 2). In general, the majority of respondents migrated to their present city from other towns or urban centers, although their place of birth may have been rural. This concurs with previous research by McGee (1965) in Malaysia and by observers in other countries (Bernido, 1968; Chang Shub Roh, 1970; Feldman, 1975). This is partly explained by the high proportion of intra-state migration noted earlier.

Migration, from previous place of residence, varied in both distance and origin between the three cities but it generally involved interstate movement to Kuantan, intra-state flows to Alor Setar, and both types of movement to Kuala Lumpur. The three Kuala Lumpur settlements received migrants from virtually all regions, although Perak, Negri Sembilan and Melaka were the main source areas. By contrast to Kuantan between 84 and 87 percent of migrants came from the three east coast states.

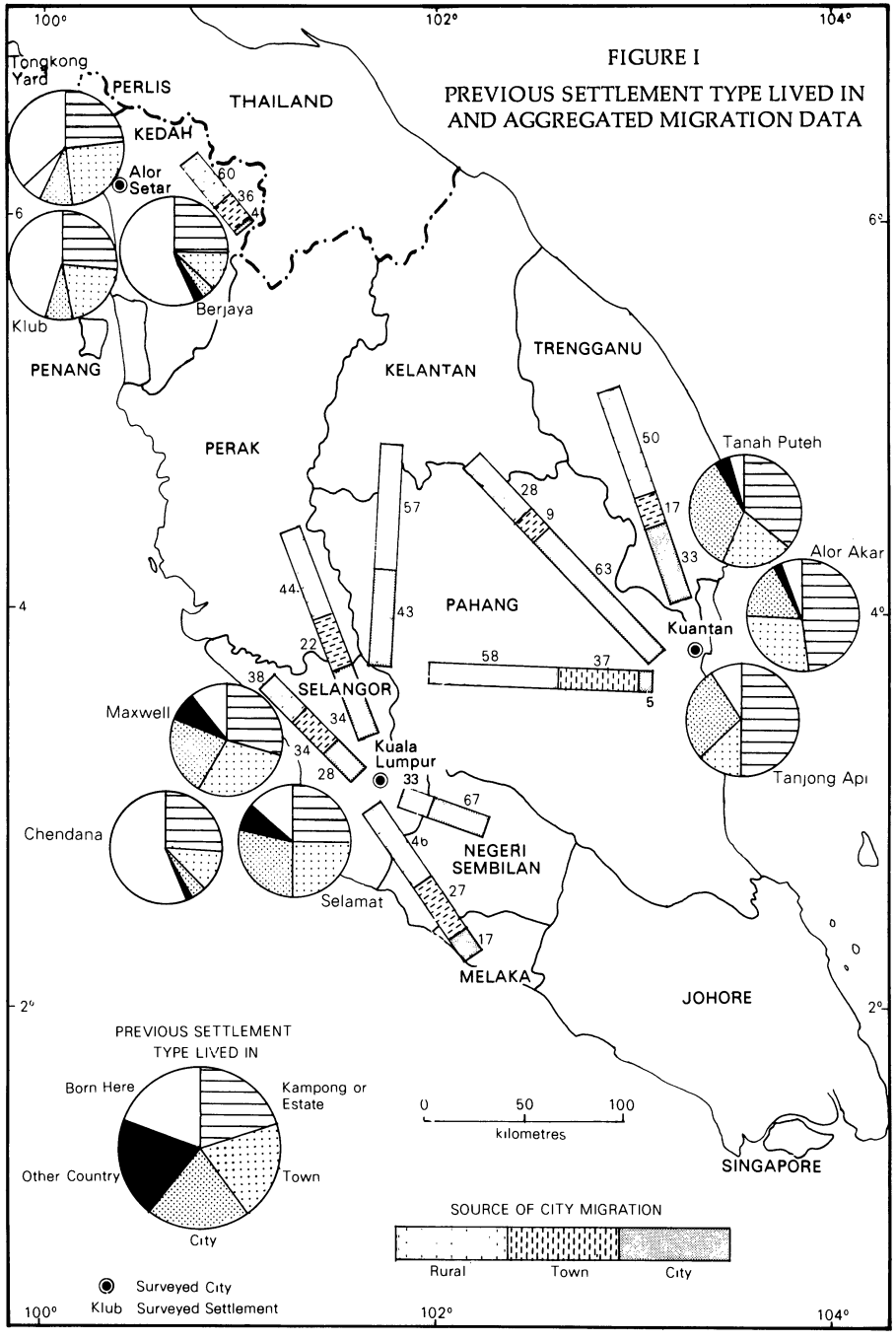
Migration to all settlements seems to have been a selective process with specific localities dominating the urban movement. While Pahang was the source of only 25 percent of migrants to the Kuantan settlements, almost all of these came from rural areas and small towns. In contrast, migration from Kelantan and Trengganu had an important urban component (Fig. I). There was also a tendency for migrants from the same locality to concentrate in one squatter area. For example, 12 percent of household heads in Kp. Tanah Puteh came from Dungun and Kemaman in Trengganu and over 10 percent from Kota Bahru. Migration to the Kuantan settlements was not only locationally specific but also displayed an occupational specialization; for example many of the squatters in Kp. Tanjong Api were employed in fishing while in Kp. Tanah Puteh there were many

hawkers and *beca*[12] drivers.

Migration to the Kuala Lumpur survey areas was more diverse because there were a number of source regions. Although rural migrants were a majority only in movement from Kelantan, in absolute terms they were important. This was most notable in Kp. Selamat. In contrast, the main feature of movement to the Alor Setar settlements was the high proportion of household heads who were born in the city. As a result the proportion of migrants in Alor Setar was, on average, 55 percent of the total compared with some 90 percent in the other cities. The majority came from rural and small town locations with Kedah rather than urban or interstate settlements (Fig. I). Migration to Kuantan's squatter areas is explained by a combination of general economic and specific social influences. Of the former the effects of population dislocation within the state (as well as in neighboring states) in both rural and urban sectors, together with urban concentration; as residents of small towns move to Kuantan (the largest center) or to Kuala Lumpur in response to the buoyant economic conditions in these centers help explain general mobility patterns. In the latter category, personal and employment based networks, such as these identified by Lomnitz (1974) and Kemper (1975) in Latin America, helped facilitate the direction of movement and its settlements in certain localities. The relatively lower contribution made by migrants to squatting in Alor Setar, is perhaps best explained by the fact that as a small, more traditional, city with fewer economic opportunities it is often bypassed by migrants who move directly to nearby Penang. Indeed, 40 percent of all movement originating within Kedah has Penang as its destination (Pryor, 1979).

The migration history of the squatters surveyed was diverse. There were few similarities between movement to the two smaller cities of Kuantan and Alor Setar and comparison between individual settlements reveal that areas of more recent occupation had a higher proportion of migrants from non-urban sources and more recent arrivals. In contrast, established settlements, irrespective of city, tended to have more locally born household heads and migrants from urban areas, as well as a greater number of long-term residents, together with a generally higher proportion of regularly employed 'low status' workers and fewer households below the poverty line (*See,* Table 2).

[12]*Beca* = trishaw.



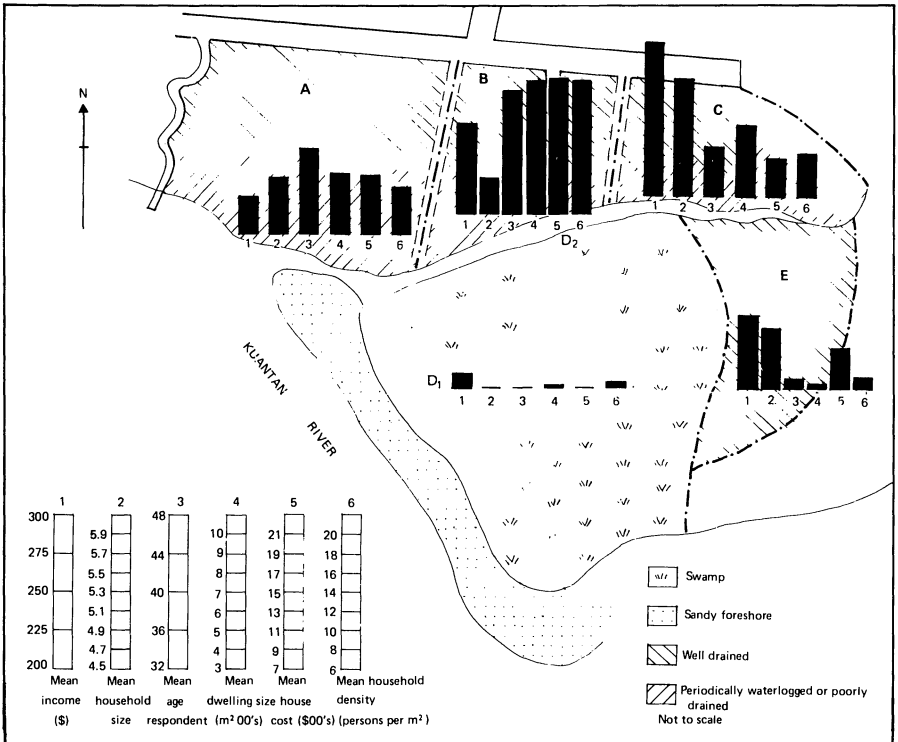


FIGURE II

INTERNAL RESIDENTIAL DIFFERENTIATION
IN KP. TANJONG API, KUANTAN

To a large extent the different patterns of migration reflect, and are dictated by, regional forces, which manifest themselves in the economic and employment systems and the residential environment of each settlement. Kp. Tanjong Api (Kuantan) provides a good example of a squatter area which has been affected by the diverse migration history of its inhabitants. Migration experience appears to have affected current socioeconomic conditions and the manner in which housing is acquired and this, in turn, influences, and is influenced by, local government policy. Kp. Tanjong Api began as a legal Malay kampung in 1946, although all of the original residents were "forced" migrants, squatters evicted from their previous homes.

These settlers were initially given temporary occupation licenses (TOL), but many subsequently reverted to squatter status because they failed to pay the requisite land fees. In essence the "legal" occupants were never recognized as owners of the land, which belonged to the state, but were authorized tenants who paid an annual fee which gave them the right to occupy land for that year. Dwellings without a current license were regarded as illegal.

By 1950 over 40 migrant families largely from coastal fishing villages had settled in Kp. Tanjong Api all of whom had, at some stage, held a temporary occupational license. Many had allowed their licenses to lapse, while others were second owners who had purchased the house and the land rights from the original licenses. In 1951, 16 of 60 occupied lots had been rented or sold by private arrangement and by 1959, despite explicit regulations from the Land Office prohibiting new buildings or alterations, the number of houses had increased to an estimated 110. Of these, at least 20 percent were never directly issued with a temporary occupation license (*ketua kampung,* pers. comm., 1976).

Although the Town Council attempted to control land occupation in the settlement, illegal habitation, some of it by the children of the original settlers, continued through the 1960s on land adjacent to the established core (Area C, Fig. 2). Most of the new inhabitants, however, were migrants from Trengganu, especially fisherman who were attracted by the coastal location of the kampung and the prospect of obtaining government permission to build there. Despite a recommendation from the Collector of Inland Revenues in 1961 that occupation licenses be issued to newcomers, this did not occur and the settlement continued to be regarded as illegal. Thus, initially this settlement was created as a response to government action against a group of low-income earners but subsequently has grown through migration flows catalyzed by economic change and declining employment opportunities in the depressed coastal areas north of the city. This community provides a good example of the impact of economic change and intervention by government on the unconventional housing system of a city.

The growth of Kp. Tanjong Api has been associated with 'waves' of settlement, each occurring in different zones of the kampung (Table 3, Fig. II). Until 1965 occupation occurred on the generally flood free coastal zone (Areas A, B, C) which was initially subdivided into 98 lots, although in 1976 there were 130 dwellings in the area.

This zone still retains an essentially rural appearance. As the original core became crowded, with 24 dwellings per hectare in Zones A, B and C compared with 8 per hectare over the whole kampung, groups of newcomers settled on adjoining land south of the stream (Zone Dii) and parallel to the river (Zone Di, Fig. II). Both areas are physically difficult for construction because of the frequent tidal flooding and the water-logged land. As a result, most houses in these zones were built of less permanent materials than elsewhere in the settlement. Moreover, because of the swampy environment a complicated system of wooden walkways has been built to facilitate movement through the area. Open spaces in both areas was still being occupied despite the prevailing conditions.

An association between physical and environmental conditions and socioeconomic characteristics in this area can be made (Fig. II). Household income and length of residence affected the ability of a family to pay for a dwelling. Thus, in the zones of early occupation (A and B), the original small dwellings had been extended to meet changing family needs while in zones of recent settlement only small basic structures had been built. In the former zones numbers of dependent children were lower due to aging of the early inhabitants, while in Zones B and C average incomes were higher. This contrasts in Zone D, one of the most substantial recent in-movement, where families were younger and larger than other zones and incomes generally lower. The more vulnerable position of residents in this latter zone is related to their migration experience and current economic position—recent migrants and poorly paid, casually employed fishermen. In other zones, some mixed social patterns can be discerned. In parts of Zones A and B newcomers or married children of original settlers have built small dwellings in open spaces between the original buildings, thereby increasing residential density and contributing to a more heterogenous social and physical environment with new and old settlers, poorer and more affluent families in the one zone.

Since 1973 new houses have been built on the higher and better drained land to the east of the swamp (Fig. II). This zone (E) is different from the rest of the kampung because of the environmental conditions, which are better than elsewhere, and because of the manner in which the houses have been constructed. While the 15 houses (December, 1976) are illegally occupying state land, almost all of the settlers have made an application to the Land Office for

occupation rights. However, permission has not been granted and in 1976 several of the houses were demolished by the Patrol Unit of the Department of Lands and Mines. Despite this incident, the dwellings in this zone were of a higher standard and the occupants had a generally higher socioeconomic status than was found elsewhere in the settlement.

The recent in-migration and construction in this last zone draws attention to a process, also observed by Ward (1978) in Mexico City, by which squatter areas begin to attract better off and more upwardly mobile settlers once the community is established and prospects for continued occupation are assured. This group of "consolidators" (Turner, 1968) not only have higher incomes and higher status jobs than most other residents but use this position to construct (or have constructed) better quality dwellings. At the same time a group of "non-consolidators" can be identified who did not have sufficient income to improve their residential environment. Most of this group were out of state migrants who had arrived in the area between 1960 and 1970, had no tenurial security and who showed no signs of socioeconomic mobility, with families relying on intermittent and poorly paid work in the fishing industry.

As a result of continued in-migration over 30 years Kp. Tanjong Api is stratified into a series of occupational and income groups and it is here that migration experience appears to have influenced the ability of households to acquire housing and integrate into the city. While other factors have also played a role in shaping this internal social mix, for example government land policy, local employment possibilities and availability of other low cost accommodation, migration experience sets preconditions or predisposes each group to a different set of socioeconomic circumstances. Flowing from the social stratification described, the settlement has a corresponding physical pattern with a variety of housing forms of different standards of construction, amenity and legality. Place of origin, type of previous settlement, length of residence, together with economic position thus affect the current conditions of squatters and, as McGee (1971:176) states:

> ...migrants are leaving the countryside as a result of processive forces operating at a national level...and they have, in effect, been "urbanized" before they left.

Thus, socioeconomic changes occuring in towns and rural areas

TABLE 3

CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTIAL ZONES AND HOUSING TYPES IN KP. TANJONG API, KUANTAN, 1976

Area	Year of First Settlement	Dwellings Number	Main Physical Features	Dominant Form of Land Tenure	General Standard of Housing[a]
A	1946	50	Flat, mainly	TOL[b]	High
B	1951	40	Well drained	TOL[b]	High-medium
C	1959	40	Treed	Mixed	Medium
Di	1965	22	Sandy foreshore	Squatter	Low
Dii		13	Tidal swamp	Illegal	
E	1973	15	Flat, well drained	Squatter Illegal	Medium-low

[a] Subjective index based on quality of building materials, standard of construction and level of amenities.

[b] TOL — Temporary occupation license: some residents had received approved land lease.

SOURCE: Johnstone (1979a:280).

which encourage population to move to cities are contributing to the development of squatter areas. In this sense squatter settlements are both a component and a consequence of modern development. In some respects, the migration experience of squatters affected their general social status. In Kuantan, for example, migrants who were not state citizens were discriminated against in the allocation of public housing and this effectively excluded them for a range of other urban services such as water and sewerage. Any social marginalization that occurs is not, therefore, a result of any inherent demographic feature of squatters but the way in which this group is perceived by the urban elites.

CONCLUSIONS

This article has discussed two different links between migration and squatting. Using a historical-contextual approach the first section has shown that the origins and development of squatter settlements were based in the socioeconomic and political structures of the developing nation. Changes occuring at the national level resulted in social and demographic dislocation which resulted in the movement, often voluntary, to towns and cities where, in the face of housing shortages, illegal land occupation and house construction occurred. In contrast, using a micro level analysis, the second section has linked the diverse experience of migrants to the internal growth and character of specific squatter settlements. For the individual squatter family the way in which they are viewed and treated by government is to a large extent dependent on the nature of their housing. Squatting is one consequence of the pattern of development in the Third World that has sytematically excluded and marginalized large groups of the population for the benefits of economic group. In a fundamental sense the fate of this group depends on the national and urban forces that govern the political economy.

The processes of population mobility which were initiated by socioeconomic change in different parts of Malaysia have had a strong impact on the creation of new sets of inequalities elsewhere; one of which is the expansion of squatter areas in cities brought about by the social demand for cheap housing. What needs to be recognized is that in the Third World movement of people to the cities reflects the consequences of uneven development but it also helps to extend the margines of inequality by relocating the movers

in a different setting.

In utilizing a dual level approach in which detailed empirical research is posited in a broader historical focus, the article has attempted a vertical integration of analysis, so often lacking in Third World studies. Research is required that successfully links detailed micro level fieldwork to theoretical assumptions about the processes operating at the national level.

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