



**THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION UPON FAMILY STRUCTURE AND  
FUNCTIONING IN JAVA**

by

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“Between them and the Cities  
On which We had poured  
Our blessings, We had placed  
Cities in prominent positions,  
And between them We had  
Appointed stages of journey  
In due proportions: “Travel therein,  
Secure, by night and by day”.

(QS 34: *Saba*’ (verse) 18)

For the late Romeo Wirodimedjo, my Father,  
and Sumiyati Atmosumarto my Mother who always believe in me

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## ABSTRACT

This study was based on a case study with integrated macro and micro approaches to investigate some effects of the development and industrialisation processes in Indonesia. The macro information, such as population censuses, used to investigate the macro changes in migration and family structure. The micro approach was conducted in an origin village in Central Java and in Bandung, West Java as the destination area. The microanalysis was based on survey data from 270 households and some qualitative information used 'tracing survey' in destination area.

The main objective of the present study is to clarify the nature and strength of the relationship between migration and changes in family structure and functioning and their implications for family welfare in Java. The flow and volume of internal migration in Indonesia is determined by the economic development policy of the government that biased to Java. Migration, inter or intra-provincial and international, has become common solution for working age population from rural or less developed areas to be employed. Better transportation and communication systems between places in Indonesia and the increase in education level of the working age population have accelerated migration. Migration will become more important in the future because not all areas in Indonesia are able to provide enough employment opportunities for its growing labour force and it would be unwise to prevent people from migrating elsewhere.

The decision to migrate is usually made by the individual migrant while the family facilitate the migration process. Both male and female migrants occasionally sent a remittance to their family of orientation but it has become routine to their family of procreation. Migration commonly starts as temporary migration before

migrants establish themselves in the city as permanent migrants, although it may change in the future. Many migrants prefer to circulate between city and origin village for a length of time than to bring their family to the city. The individual life-cycle is very important in determining their migration status.

In destination areas migration has increased the number of non-familial and single person households and reduced the over all household size. Migration has created more female-headed households both in destination and origin areas. Migration also created a split of nuclear family into two or more households dispersed geographically between origin and destination areas, such as circular husbands leave their family at home and migrant mothers leave their children in the village.

Thorough investigation is needed to study the impact of migration on the welfare of children and elderly left behind, the economic strategy of female-headed households of circular migrant in the village of origin and a strategy to make use of remittances to reduce the pace of migration, also the process of people adjusting to migration and fast economic and social changes in the destination village. Migration should be treated as a way to the labour force and the employment opportunity, either in Indonesia or abroad. The granting of greater autonomy to local government is hoped to change the migration patterns, a regulation to protect overseas workers is urgently needed to reduce the negative effect of international labour migration, migration status of households needs to be included in family data collection, and it is urgent for each factory that employs female workers to provide child care facilities.

This research represents original research I conducted between May 1994 and December 1998 in the Population and Human Resources Program, Department of Geographical and Environmental Studies, University of Adelaide.

Ekawati Sri Wahyuni  
(June 2000)

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**This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.**

**I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Libraries, being available for photocopying and loan.**

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**DATE:** 10 OCTOBER 2000 .....

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## CHAPTER ONE

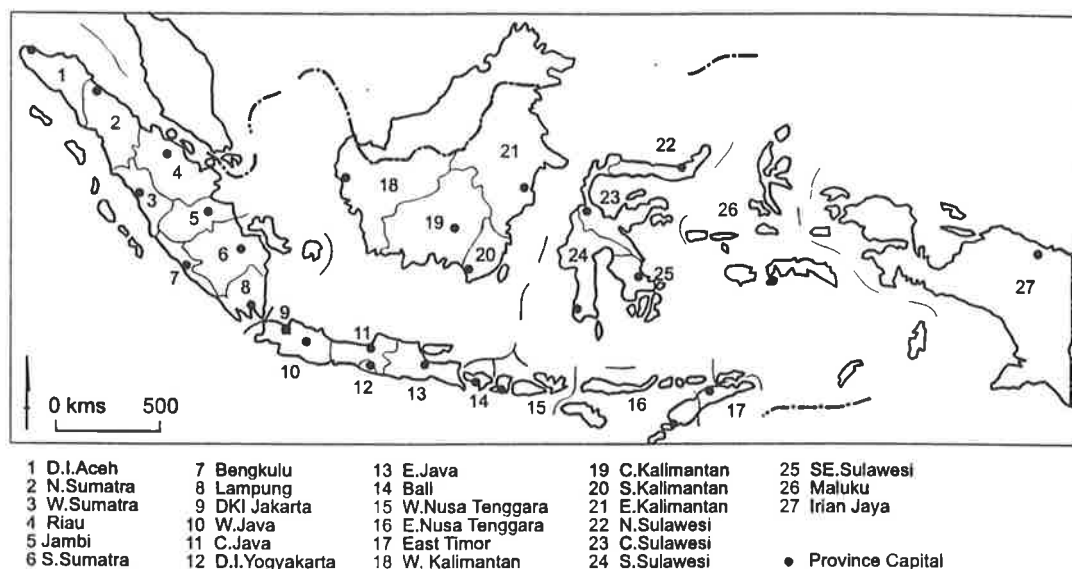
### Introduction

#### 1.1. Introduction

In the last two decades, population movement has become a common feature of everyday life in Indonesia (Figure 1.1). Nowadays, most Indonesians have had personal experience of migration, whether they themselves are migrants or other people who live around them, such as their family, friends, neighbours or servants have moved. In the destination areas, local people live and work together with people from other ethnic-groups with different languages and cultures, whereas in the origin areas, stayers have to create new arrangements to manage their household and community organisation in the absence of family members (Siegel 1969; Hugo 1987; Hetler 1986). The increasing level of population mobility not only involves particular high mobility ethnic-groups, such as the Minangkabau of West Sumatra or Bugis of South Sulawesi (Naim 1979), but it has extended to ethnic groups for whom migration is not institutionalised. This is closely associated with the development process in Indonesia. The development of the transportation and communication system has made travelling in Indonesia easier (Hugo *et al.* 1987) and the economic development policies which had been implemented by government have played a major role in accelerating movement between regions within the country. On the other hand migration has also influenced development in Indonesia.

Increasing mobility from rural or less-developed areas to urban or developed areas has had a considerable impact. In destination areas, the rapid growth of population has created problems, such as population crowding, housing,

Figure 1.1 Map of Indonesia



sanitation and environmental degradation, while in the origin areas there has been agricultural labour scarcity, 'brain-drain' effects and a negative impact on development activities. These problems have served to widen the economic and social disparities between rural and urban areas that in turn have accelerated the magnitude of population mobility. There is no limit on Indonesian citizens to prevent them moving within the country. A famous experiment of the Jakarta Administration to restrict people from other provinces entering Jakarta in the 1970s proved to be ineffective (Hugo 1978). As long as economic development is not evenly distributed among regions in Indonesia, population mobility from less developed to developed areas will continue to occur.

The increase of migration in Indonesia is indicated in the Population Census results. Based on the 1980 and 1990 Population Censuses and the

Intercensal Population Survey in 1995 (See Table 1.1.) the number of people who moved from one province to another was 16,583,863 in 1980, to 23,361,687 in 1990 and to 29,022,624 in 1995 (BPS 1982,1992, 1996)<sup>1</sup>. In addition to increasing numbers, the direction of migration has changed over time in accordance with the economic development policy being implemented by the government. In the colonial era, migration from Java was mostly in the direction of North Sumatra where migrants worked in plantations, which were developed by the colonial government (Hugo1978). After Indonesia became an independent nation, the government implemented a transmigration program that is a program to redistribute people from more densely settled areas, namely Java to other less densely settled islands. The initial destination of the transmigration program was Lampung and to a lesser extent, other provinces in Sumatra, but in PELITA IV which commenced in 1986/87 the destination was changed to more eastern islands, such as Kalimantan and Irian Jaya (Hardjono 1986, Hugo *et al.* 1987). On the other hand, between 1980 and 1995, the number of people from the Outer Islands who migrated to Java also increased, although it was still below the number of migrants moving in the reverse direction. Based on Population Census and Intercensal Population Survey figures, the number of lifetime migrants from Java to the Outer Islands increased from 3,706,357 in 1980 to 4,432,077 in 1990 and to 5,474,218 in 1995. This means, it grew by 2 per cent per annum between 1980

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<sup>1</sup>All quantitative analysis in this study includes East Timor, which was still one of Indonesia's provinces at the time of survey as well as at the censuses and intercensal surveys used. In September 1999, East Timor separated from Indonesia. The number of East Timor-born people living in other provinces was 9,692 persons in 1995, while the number of lifetime immigrants in East Timor from other provinces in 1995 was 58,856. About 45.6 per cent (26,847 persons) of them were born in Nusa Tenggara Timur Province, which is located in the western part of Timor island, and some 13,753 persons (23.4 per cent) were born in Java.

Table 1.1. Indonesia: Lifetime Migrants, 1980, 1990 and 1995

	1971	1980	1990	1995
<b>In Migration</b>				
DKI Jakarta	1,821,843	2,599,367	3,170,215	3,371,384
West Java	423,586	1,003,758	2,408,626	3,574,049
Central Java	260,308	350,724	516,315	672,878
DI Yogyakarta	101,204	180,367	266,500	347,245
East Java	297,948	465,949	575,541	808,995
Outer Islands	1,999,448	3,923,951	4,490,237	6,021,659
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,904,337</b>	<b>8,524,116</b>	<b>11,427,434</b>	<b>14,796,210</b>
<b>Out Migration</b>				
DKI Jakarta	132,215	400,767	1,052,234	1,589,285
West Java	1,192,987	1,487,935	1,751,879	1,891,579
Central Java	1,798,001	3,227,892	4,524,988	4,994,822
DI Yogyakarta	266,933	253,447	508,215	861,679
East Java	749,848	1,597,851	2,479,487	2,879,389
Outer Islands	616,677	1,091,855	1,617,441	2,009,660
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,756,661</b>	<b>8,059,747</b>	<b>11,934,244</b>	<b>14,226,414</b>
<b>Net-Migration</b>				
DKI Jakarta	1,689,628	2,198,600	2,117,981	1,782,099
West Java	-769,401	-484,177	656,747	1,822,170
Central Java	-1,537,693	-2,877,168	-4,008,673	-4,321,944
DI Yogyakarta	-165,729	-73,080	-241,715	-574,434
East Java	-451,900	-1,131,902	-1,903,946	-2,070,394
Outer Islands	1,382,771	2,832,096	2,872,796	4,011,999
<b>Total</b>	<b>147,676</b>	<b>464,369</b>	<b>-506,810</b>	<b>649,496</b>

Sources: Indonesian Population Censuses 1980 and 1990  
 Indonesian Intercensal Survey, SUPAS, 1995

and 1990 and by 4.7 per cent per annum between 1990 and 1995. On the other hand, the number of Java population who were born in Outer Islands increased from 1,091,855 in 1980 to 1,617,441 in 1990 and to 2,050,710 in 1995, or it increased by 4.8 per cent per annum between 1980 and 1990 and by 5.4 per cent per annum between 1990 and 1995.

The increased flow of migration from the Outer Islands to Java is related to the industrialisation process in Indonesia. Indonesia's industrialisation policy was to locate modern industries in the western part of Java, that is, in Jakarta and West

Java (Bappeda 1988). In the period of 1969 to 1987, Jakarta and West Java received 41 per cent of Indonesia's total domestic investment and 56 per cent of foreign investment (Hill 1988). The new foreign-investment industries established in West Java were mainly located in Botabek and Banten, whereas domestic investment industries were primarily concentrated in Bandung, Cirebon and Majalengka (Bappeda 1988). The large share of investment in Jakarta and West Java has created new employment opportunities that have attracted people from other provinces to migrate to Jakarta and West Java (Hugo 1994).

Jakarta as the Capital City of Indonesia and as the most prominent centre of economic, cultural and political activities has become a favoured migration destination area from people around Indonesia. Jakarta dominated net migration gains in the period up until a decade or so ago when its dominance of the internal migration pattern was reduced. On the other hand, West Java changed its status from being a net outmigration area until 1980, to becoming a net gain area (Table 1.1.). In addition, the majority of immigrants in West Java settled in urban areas. In 1980, 53 per cent of immigrants lived in urban areas, while in 1990 it reached 81 per cent. The migration to urban areas played an important role in the urbanisation process in West Java, so that between 1980 and 1990 its urban population doubled (Hugo, 1994).

The increasing number of immigrants in West Java is related to its role as the hinterland of Jakarta (Bappeda 1988). The most affected regencies in West Java are Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi (BOTABEK)<sup>2</sup>, because they adjoin DKI Jakarta. As its hinterland BOTABEK receives the overspill of industries and

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<sup>2</sup>BOTABEK is an acronym for Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi, the three regencies adjoin DKI

people from DKI Jakarta (Bappeda 1988, Hugo 1994), which has been almost fully built up. Hence BOTABEK has become a destination area for migrants from other provinces, and others who have moved from Jakarta in a suburbanisation process so they choose to live in BOTABEK and commute to Jakarta on a daily basis (Hugo 1994).

The figures in Table 1.1. show that while Jakarta and West Java had positive net lifetime migration figures in 1990, the three other provinces in Java: Central Java, Yogyakarta Special Region and East Java, had negative figures. Central Java has the biggest negative number of net lifetime migrants. In 1990, more than 4.5 million Central Java born people lived in other provinces of Indonesia, while only half a million migrants from elsewhere lived in Central Java: a loss of four million people to other provinces. Most Central Java people migrated to the Outer Islands (2,170,857), Jakarta (1,139,985) and West Java (832,138). The loss to the Outer Islands was mostly related to the transmigration program, whereas the outmigration flow to Jakarta and West Java was associated more with the rapid urban-based economic development in those areas. The net outmigrations from Central Java was a result of its limited agricultural land and relatively slow industrial development (Booth and Damanik 1989) which has encouraged people to migrate elsewhere despite a traditional cultural reluctance to migrate (Naim 1979).

However, it has been known for more than two decades that people in Java are not immobile, they move between places on a non-permanent basis through commuting or circulation. Those kinds of short period mobility mostly involve

rural-urban migration (Hugo 1975, 1978, 1982, 1994; Hetler 1986) or rural-rural migration (Rusli 1978; Mantra 1981), and are often adopted by the rural-based family as a means of maximising household income. Many of those non-permanent migrants go to the cities or other rural areas to find off-farm employment during the slack seasons and they return to the village to work on their own farms in the peak season. Despite the substantial significance of this movement there has been little investigation into its importance in Indonesia especially its social impact, such as on family life.

## **1.2. Study Objectives**

The incidence of migration of one or more members of the family will influence the way the family functions and the way it distributes the roles of its members within itself. The absence of particular family members, either on a permanent or temporary basis, will influence family structure, both in destination and origin areas (Hugo 1987). Following the changing of its structure, the family has to make adjustments for example in the roles of family members left behind. During the husbands' absence, the wives may take over several of his roles in order to maintain the family functioning, such as handling more agricultural tasks (Siegel 1969; Colfer 1985; Rodenburg 1993) or acting as a *de facto* household head (Hetler 1986). In a Central Java village, with the absence of their husbands who are working in the city, wives who are left behind have to represent the household in community activities, such as attending community meetings, involvement in community activities and paying taxes (Hetler 1986). The same situation in North Sumatra has increased women's decision-making power and control over land. Rodenburg (1993) found that the women in North Sumatra who are not considered



as land heirs have been forced to manage the agricultural land, which belongs to their brothers, their husbands or their sons who are away. Studies in Aceh (Siegel 1966) and Kalimantan (Colfer 1985) show that women become important decision makers in agricultural tasks when their husbands are away. In addition, there is always a chance that migration of adult children to the cities will influence the well being of their elderly parents in the rural areas (Hugo 1988a). Although several studies have discussed the impact of migration on the family, there is a lack of information about the impact of migration on family structure and functioning in Indonesia. How does migration influence the family structure? How do families cope with the instability due to the migration of particular members of the family? What do they do to maintain the family's function in the larger society? How do they change the distribution of roles among the family members left behind?

The focus of the present study is to clarify the nature and strength of the relationship between migration and changes in family structure and functioning and family welfare in the Java context. The detailed objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To establish the trends, spatial pattern and composition of migration out of Central Java and that of immigration in West Java.
2. To ascertain the changes in household number, size and structure between 1980 and 1990 in West Java and how far migration has influenced these trends, including to what extent are Central Java immigrant household structures different from local households.
3. To establish the role of household's socio-economic status in determining outmigration from village of origin in Central Java and to examine the dynamic

processes of migration as a household strategy.

4. To establish the impacts of migration in both rural origin and urban destination areas and its effect on family structure and functioning.

### **1.3. Literature Summary**

#### **1.3.1. The Importance of the Family in Migration Study**

In the early 1980s, the role of the family in migration decision-making was introduced as an alternative approach to studying migration behaviour (Harbinson 1981, Wood 1981). Before that time, there were two approaches adopted in migration study, namely the micro-economic and the historical-structural (Wood 1981, 1982). The micro-economic perspective on migration theorised that workers move geographically in response to uneven distribution of factors of production, such as land, labour, capital and natural resources spatially that implies to unequal returns to each factor (Wood 1981, 1982). The rational workers moved from places with lower wages, usually the rural areas, to places with higher wages, usually urban areas (Todaro 1969, Harris and Todaro 1970). The unit analysis of this approach is individual meaning that migration is treated as the accumulation of individual choices. Individual characteristics, such as age, sex or education influence the decision of potential migrants to or not to migrate, because this influences how each individual responds to the situation in origin and destination areas (Lee 1966). On the other hand, the historical-structural perspective assumes that the structural difference between regions determines the flow of migration from one place to another (Wood 1981, 1982). Wood explained that the structural changes, either in terms of social, economical or political, affects the demand of labour, the recruitment system and the wages, which, in turn, will cause population

movement. Opposite to the micro-economic approach that considers population movement as the aggregate of individual choices, the historical-structural perspective was regarded as a class phenomenon with stream as the unit of analysis (Wood 1982, p 302). He explained further that migration streams were determined by the changes of the organisation of production, which affects the opportunity of different social classes unevenly (Wood 1982, p. 307). The unequal development within and between countries that influences the flow of internal and international migration is one phenomenon that can be studied using structural approach (Wood 1982, p. 303).

However, critics said that migration study using micro-economic approach, in which rational worker moved from areas with lower wages to areas with higher wages, is only applicable to a capitalist mode of production (Wood 1982). In Less Developed Countries or LDCs (Hugo 1993, 1994) migration decision-making processes are often, however, undertaken with the involvement of the family, and do not depend solely on a single individual. In traditional societies, especially in the rural context (Wood 1981), the household or family plays a major role in making decisions about consumption and production and therefore the decision taken by the family to send one or more of its members to migrate is an example of this kind of decision. This means that the changes of macrostructural factors may not always have a 'direct or immediate effect on population movement' (Wood 1982, p308).

### **1.3.2. Migration As Family Strategy: A Conceptual Approach**

The peasant household was distinguished from other domestic units because it performed both activities of direct production and reproduction of

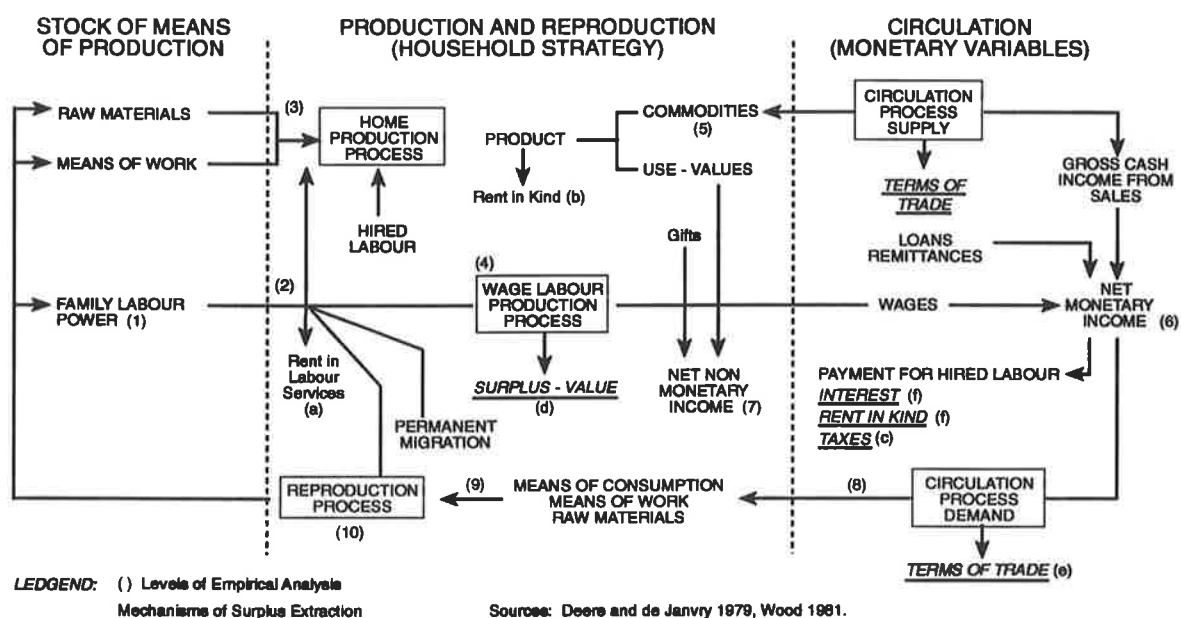
family labour and other means of production (Deere and de Janvry 1979). Family labour was allocated in the home production process and in the wage labour production process. If all of the family labour were only used in home production processes it shows one of the extreme type of households, namely the purely subsistence household which is producing all of its needs, goods and services by itself. At the other extreme lies the purely wage production household, which allocates all of its family labour for wage labour and buys in all its goods and services from the market. In between those extremes lies a range of combinations of labour allocation in both processes, which are adopted by the majority of rural households in LDCs. But whatever kind of labour allocation strategy is adopted, the household seeks to sustain itself.

In order to maintain its sustainability, the household needs to organise four basic processes: home production, wage labour production, circulation and reproduction-differentiation (Deere and de Janvry 1979, Wood 1981) as depicted in Figure 1.2. The figure shows that at a particular moment of time, a household has control over a certain amount of means of production, such as raw materials (land, water), means of work (seed, fertiliser, agricultural tools and machinery) and family labour (a certain number divided by age and sex), which is shown in the left-hand column. The middle column shows how the production and reproduction activities work at the household level and the right-hand column depicts the circulation process on both the supply and demand sides that requires a monetary involvement.

The process of household production and reproduction (Deere and de Janvry 1979) or household strategy (Wood 1981), in the middle column of

Figure 1.2., works under the influence of macro structural factors beyond the household. Furthermore, Wood (1981) explained that macro factors, such as socio-economic, political or physical environmental changes could support or limit peasant household activities, while structural factors could affect the allocation of the household's labour power and surplus product generated. The legal and political decisions may prevent the accumulation of the means of production, such as the law that governs access to land or water, and the uncertain price of fertilisers

Figure 1.2. Organisation of the Peasant Household



or agricultural tools due to instability of supply. The labour market situation may affect the value of wage labour, for example the adoption of agricultural machinery will reduce the need for agricultural labour. The capitalist mode of production will decrease the agricultural product price through an imbalance in terms of trade. As a consequence, the household strategy of labour allocation will enable it to produce or to buy the necessary amount to maintain household welfare. Individual

household members will be allocated to migrate to seek wage jobs in the city or other rural areas and in extreme situations the whole family might migrate permanently (Deere and de Janvry 1979; Wood 1981). The adoption of migration as a strategy in the household can be seen as a response of the household to the structural changes that occur beyond the household unit (Wood 1981). Beside the inability of peasant households to avoid structural changes, they also have to face drought, floods, crop failure or other unpredictable natural disasters. In order to minimise the risk or to spread risk across sectors, the family send out their members to migrate to pursue any employment opportunities in different sectors, which are available in other rural or urban areas (Stark 1984; Hugo 1978, 1982, 1994; Goldscheider 1987; Guest 1989; Massey 1990). This strategy is undertaken on the basis of an assumption it will diversify production risks (Stark 1984).

### **1.3.3. Migration As A Family Strategy: Cross-National Findings**

#### **a. Household's Socio Economic Condition As A Migration Factor**

Migration for economic survival is more likely to occur among the lower strata families, whereas the better off tend to use migration as a wealth accumulation strategy (Arizpe 1981; Connel *et al.* 1976; Findley 1987). If the purpose of migration is to gain greater wealth, families will send their children of both sexes away seeking a better education or to find a more prestigious job (Connell *et al.* 1976; Arizpe 1981; Trager 1984; Radcliffe 1986). However, in North Tapanuli, Indonesia, both the rich and the poor families send their children, preferably the son, to migrate to get a better education due to the belief that education is the only way to get a white-collar or non-agricultural job (Rodenburg 1993). Migration of sons in North Tapanuli, Indonesia cannot be associated

directly with a household strategy, but is mainly motivated by individual job expectations and the reciprocity relation between parents and their children as a basic moral consideration. However, once the son has secured a salaried job the "counter-obligation" definitely occurs, either by sending remittances to the village to support elderly parents or to pay for younger siblings' school fees or to provide accommodation and other help for their siblings in the city. In fact, she argues that the wealthier families have a greater chance to control their sons' income than poorer ones, because the wealthier families invest more in their sons' success, in terms of the family ability to pay for their education or to set up a perfect job for them, whereas the children's success from poorer families mostly depends on their own efforts. A similar strategy was also found in the Philippines, where some rural families send their daughters to study which may lead them to getting formal sector employment with the hope that their earnings will be useful for the education of other children (Trager 1984a). This pattern of income spending, in fact, was agreed to by migrant daughters as an obligation toward their families, because they have been educated by their parents (Trager 1984b) or they do so, because their parents told them to be responsible for their younger siblings (Lauby and Stark 1988). Both low and high-class families have a similar tendency to send out their family members (Connell *et al.* 1976; Arizpe 1981; Radcliffe 1986; Findley 1987), while the middle class has more difficulty to do so (Arizpe 1981; Findley 1987). The larger land holder peasant family in Juan Pablo village in the Dominican Republic (Pessar 1982) and Bajio village in Mexico (Roberts 1982) can finance the migration cost of their family members to the United States, while the small land holder peasant family can only work in local off-farm employment

(Roberts 1982) or are involved in circular migration over a short distance (Pessar 1982).

Beside their ability to take the risk or to finance the migration costs, the availability of family labour is also an important consideration before a family sends their members out to migrate. The family will be able to send out their members to migrate if the family labour situation is the combination of the following (Guest 1993): (a) the amount of family labour is above the minimum requirement to produce goods and services to meet the household's subsistence needs (Guest 1989; Pessar 1982); (b) hired labour can be afforded to replace family labour which has migrated (Connell *et al.* 1976; Roberts 1982); and (c) the family is able to maximise the use of the remaining family labour (Deere 1982). For larger landholder families it is easier to solve the problem, because they are not dependent on family labour in their agricultural activity. They already use hired labour (Connell *et al.* 1976; Roberts 1982). In the meantime the small landholder family does not need a large amount of labour for agricultural work, since they only have a tiny piece of land. Therefore, migration is more likely to occur in both the low and high-income families. On the other hand, for middle size landholder families the decision to send their members to migrate has to be taken in a more careful way. If the family chooses to send its members to migrate they will face a problem of losing labour for agricultural work or other reproduction tasks, while the family cannot afford hired labour to substitute for the loss. As a consequence the family will not be able to maximise production of their land and they will be more dependent on migrant income. On the other hand if the family does not send any of its members to migrate, their income source will depend solely on



agricultural products, which is usually a small amount (Arizpe 1981).

#### b. Family Structure As A Migration Factor

Family labour availability is determined by the structure of the family, and the structure of the family, in turn, is a function of the number of family members, its composition and the stage of family life cycle (Guest 1989, 1993; Radcliffe 1986; Hugo 1987; Arizpe 1981). The more family labour available the more likely the family will send a family member out for migration (Connell *et al.* 1976; Findley 1987; Lauby and Stark 1988; Guest 1989; Root and de Jong; 1991). Connell, *et al.* (1976) suggest several reasons for this tendency: (a) in larger families more labour is available for allocation in different employment sectors to reduce the dependency on farming income (Guest 1989); (b) the larger family cannot support the livelihood of all of their children from their own land or avoid excessive land fragmentation (Pessar 1982; Rodenburg 1993); (c) in larger families there is the possibility of other members who already live in the city acting as a sponsors for chain migration (Caldwell 1969).

Beside the size of the family, the composition and the stage of family life cycle will influence the choice of who among the family members is chosen to migrate (Guest 1989; Arizpe 1981; Radcliffe 1990). Migration usually involves the working age population, therefore the higher the number of working age members available in the family, the more migration is likely to occur. Another consideration to be taken into account is the sex of the family member. Three factors influence the family in deciding whether to send male or female members to migrate, they are the culture of the society of origin, the socio economic condition of the family and the type of labour force demand at the destination.

Among poor families which use migration as a means of economic survival, a family with both sons and daughters of working age may send their most dependent members to migrate so as to assert control over their income, and this often involves young female members (Trager 1984; Lauby and Stark 1988; Radcliffe 1990). In the Philippines (Lauby and Stark 1988) and the Andes (Radcliffe 1990) families send their young daughters to the city to work as domestic servants because it is the only opportunity for generating income available in the city. Meanwhile they let their sons work in the village. By sending the girls, the family will be able to control their income, because the girls are usually more loyal to their parents than the boys. In addition, Trager (1984b) stated that parents in the Philippines have higher expectations of the daughters' remittances than those of the sons. The migrant daughters usually have more concern about their families' welfare at home than their sons, who are more likely to use their income to meet their personal needs. A similar situation was also found among unmarried women in factories in the cities in Sri Lanka (Rosa 1989), who are obligated to send money home to show their loyalty to their families. On the other hand, in North Tapanuli, Indonesia, the family do not expect remittances from their migrant daughters as much as they expect it from their sons (Rodenburg 1993).

In Taiwan, parents insist their daughters work and give their earnings to the family because they have to pay their parents back for raising them (Wolf 1972; Kung 1978). Parents will refuse to send a daughter to the city if she is the only available daughter at home because the family needs her to perform domestic tasks or to help with agricultural activities (Kung, 1978). What is more, the parents also

play a major role in deciding where their daughters should go for work. They will only give permission to their daughters to work in nearby places so they do not have to live separated from the family. The reason given by the parents for such living arrangements for their daughters is to protect them from any bad influences by their new friends and city life. But this original reason that was described by Wolf (1972) has been criticised by Kung (1978), who stated that the reason why parents keep their daughters at home is genuinely economic. By keeping them at home the parents will have more control over their income. If the daughter lives in a dormitory she has to pay her living expenses, which comprise up to fifty per cent of her income. It means the family will only receive a small share of her income. Although sometimes daughters were allowed to spend some of their earnings to pay school fees, their needs rarely become a priority in the families' spending arrangements. When the family needed a bigger share of her income, the daughter gave up her right to use the income for her own education.

However, women's migration is not always related to a household strategy. In some cases the women, without any familial considerations, decide their own mobility. In poor Javanese families daughters have more freedom to decide where to work without parent's direction (Wolf 1990). Their motivation to work is to get some cash to purchase luxury things, such as perfumed soap bars, clothing or lipstick, in order to show off with the other girls in the village. What is more, by migrating to the city they have more chance to meet a non-farmer future husband (Wolf 1986). It was also obvious that the money they earned was useful for sustaining the household's survival in a bad situation, such as crop failure, drought or the effect of natural disasters. In Cusco, Peru (Radcliffe 1986) there were

independent women wanting to flee from subordination in the household, although this only comprised a small part of the whole migration. In some cases, the decision to migrate made by those women opposed the family will and as a response to the women's action, the family exerted pressure on her to go back home.

In the case of an early stage family, where the only available working age persons are the parents, the father will often migrate and the mother will stay at home to manage the household and take care of the children (Arizpe 1981; Radcliffe 1986) and/or to undertake the agricultural tasks (Rodenburg 1993). They believe that once a woman is married her place is at home taking care of the children and family and no longer participate in independent mobility (Radcliffe 1986; Rodenburg 1993). However, for poor families, the privilege of a married woman to stay at home sometimes does not work. Because their husbands' income is insufficient to meet their subsistence needs, the wives are forced to enter the labour market. The married women usually migrate for shorter periods than single women and often are accompanied by their husbands or children (Radcliffe 1986, 1990). In Central Java, Indonesia, beside migrating together with their husband and leaving their children with the extended family members, poor women also migrate independently and leave their husband in the village (Hetler 1986, 1991). This kind of migration arrangement was undertaken because the opportunity to gain a better income in the city is available for women, whereas men still have the opportunity to generate income in the village. Therefore, some families adopt a strategy that let the husbands stay in the village to undertake agricultural work, while the wives work in the city to generate a cash income (Hetler 1991).

## **1.4. Indonesia: The Setting of the Study**

### **1.4.1. Geography**

Indonesia is the world's largest archipelago with 13,667 islands, less than seven per cent of which are inhabited. Among the scattered islands, which lay between 6 degrees north and 11 degrees south latitude and between 95 to 141 degrees north, there are five larger islands where most of the population are living and groups of smaller islands. The major islands are Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and western part of Irian, and groups of islands in Maluku and Nusa Tenggara (See Figure 1.1.). The archipelago is located between the Australian and the Asian continents and surrounded by the Indian Ocean in the south and west, the Pacific Ocean in the north and east and the South China Sea in the north. The total area of Indonesia is 9.8 million square kilometres, but more than 80 percent of the area is covered by water and the land area is only 1.9 million square kilometres.

Indonesia's climate is tropical with two seasons: a dry season from May to October and rainy season from November to April. The dry season is influenced by dry air masses from Australia in June to September, while the rainy season is caused by air masses from the Sub-continent passing over the oceans and bringing rains between November and March. The transitional periods between the two seasons are April to May and October to November. Given its tropical climate the country's monthly temperature ranges from 26.1<sup>0</sup> C to 34.7<sup>0</sup> C during the day time and from 16.5<sup>0</sup> C to 28.4<sup>0</sup> C at night time, while its humidity ranges from 72 per cent to 97.7 per cent (BPS 1998). The average monthly temperature in each region is determined by its altitude, the higher the altitude of a region the lower the average temperature. The rainfall is relatively high in the western area which is

greatly influenced by the monsoon from the Sub-continent, while in the eastern part the rainfall is less. The less rainfall in the eastern part of Indonesia, especially in Nusa Tenggara, has caused frequent crop failure and created food crises and famines in the past.

Besides the different rainfall between regions, the soil fertility also varies. The variations in soil fertility have created different types of traditional farming systems. Geertz (1963) has contrasted Indonesia into 'inner' and 'outer' regions based on the ecological differences. 'Inner' Indonesia area is located on Java island, except South Banten and South Priangan, while 'outer Indonesia is almost all areas outside Java island except South Bali and West Lombok (see Figure 1.1). Inner Indonesia is characterised by a wet rice-farming system, while the other by swidden agriculture<sup>3</sup>. According to Geertz (1963) the different farming systems can be used to explain the striking difference in population density, land use and agricultural productivity between inner and outer Indonesia. About two thirds of Indonesia's population live in Java-Bali which only comprises seven per cent of Indonesia's area, and therefore it has a much higher population density than outer Indonesia. The rice-farming system in Java has higher productivity which can be cultivated twice a year. In addition to this difference, there is also a political-economic contrast between inner and outer Java, where Java has become the centre of national political, economic and decision-making (Hugo *et al.* 1987).

In addition to the difference in ecological systems which divide Indonesia into two different major farming systems, culturally, Indonesia consists of various ethnic groups, each with its own culture and language. The influences of other

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<sup>3</sup> Other terminologies are shifting cultivation or slash-and burn farming (Geertz 1963)

cultures, such as from China, India, the Arab world and Europe, have contributed to this ethnic diversity. As the majority of the population live in Java, the Javanese ethnic group is also dominant in the country. To unite these various ethnic groups to become a single nation, Indonesia has a national motto 'Unity in Diversity' (*Ind. 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika'*).

#### **1.4.2. Demography**

As well as being the world's largest archipelago country, Indonesia has also the fourth largest population in the world, after China, India and the USA. This sub-section will briefly describe the demographic situation in Indonesia<sup>4</sup> based on several basic demographic indicators compiled from various sources and produced in Table 1.2. This shows that the total population has increased over time although with decreasing growth rates. In 1995 the total population was 194.8 million and it was projected to reach 225.7 million in 2005 (BPS 1998). Between 1990-1995 the population of Indonesia grew by 1.66 per cent per annum, and the rate of increase will decline to 1.4 per cent per annum in the 2000-2005 period. Java's percentage of the population has slowly but surely decreased from 69 per cent in 1930 to 58.9 per cent in 1995, and it is projected to decrease to 57.9 per cent in 2005. The decreasing percentage of Indonesia's population in Java was in part caused by higher natural increase in Outer Java and the increasing migration flow from Java to Outer Java (Hugo *et al.* 1987, Hugo 1997, BPS 1998). The level of urbanisation has also increased from 14.3 per cent in 1961 to 35.9 per cent in 1995 and the projected urban population in 2005 is 46.1 per cent (Ananta, Anwar and Suzenti

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<sup>4</sup>Comprehensive analysis on demographic changes in Indonesia can be found from various sources, such as Nitisastro (1970), Hugo *et al.* (1987), Jones and Hull (1997).

1997). The uneven distribution of population, especially between Java and the outer islands, has caused an imbalance in population density between islands and provinces. Java which comprises around 6.58 per cent of the total land area of Indonesia is inhabited by more than 114 million people in 1995 making Java the most densely settled area in the country, with 900 persons per square kilometre. The pattern of population density between provinces is depicted in Figure 1.3. The figure shows that several provinces, such as Irian Jaya, East and Central Kalimantan, were inhabited by less than 25 people per square kilometre, while in Jakarta Special Region there are more than 13,000 people in a square kilometre. The uneven population distribution between regions, especially between 'inner and outer' Java according to Geertz (1963), was caused by the ecological differences resulting in different cultivation systems. In Java, the agriculture is intensive so it can absorb more labour than the system used in the outer islands. Variation of population density occurs between regions within Java island due to the differences in soils and topography (Hugo *et al.* 1987) and later on to imbalances in the level of industrial development that is centred in Jakarta and West Java which has attracted migrants from all over Indonesia and made the population density in Jakarta increase.

In addition to the population increase and the distribution between regions, the age composition has also become older. In 1961, the percentage of population under 15 years of age was 42.1 per cent and it declined to 30.5 per cent in 1998 and was projected to reach 27.8 per cent in 2005. On the other hand, the percentage of elderly population has increased from 2.5 per cent in 1961 to 7.3 per cent in 1998 and is projected to reach more than 8 per cent in 2005. The decline of



Table 1.2. Basic Demographic Indicators in Indonesia (1930-2005)

Indicators	1930 <sup>1)</sup>	1961	1971	1980	1985	1990	1995	1998 <sup>2)</sup>	2005 <sup>3)</sup>
Population (million) <sup>4)</sup>	60.73	97.02	118.37	146.78	164.88	179.38	194.76	204.39	225.75
• Java (%)	69.00	64.93	63.83	61.88	60.72	59.99	58.88	58.32	57.88
• Urban (%)	n.a	14.80	17.29	22.38	26.23	30.93	35.91	n.a.	46.10 <sup>5)</sup>
• 0-14 (%)	n.a	42.09	43.96	40.91	39.36	36.65	32.77	30.54	27.83
• 15-59 (%)	n.a	n.a	52.35	46.36	54.88	57.06	60.36	62.16	64.04
• 60+ (%)	n.a	n.a	3.69	5.45	5.76	6.29	6.87	7.30	8.13
Growth rate (% p.a.)	2.36	n.a.	2.10	2.32	2.22	1.95	1.66	1.50	1.40
Population Density (person/km <sup>2</sup> )	40.17	50.08	62.4	77.0	85.0	93.0	100.5	105.5	116.5
• Java (person/km <sup>2</sup> )	327	494.07	597	715	735	843	900	938	1,025
• Outer Java (person/km <sup>2</sup> )	13.8	18.80	23.85	30.92	34.73	39.66	44.25	47.07	52.54
Total Fertility Rate (TFR) <sup>6)</sup>	n.a.	n.a.	5.6	4.7	4.1	3.3	2.8	2.6	2.4
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 births) <sup>6)</sup>	225-250	175	142	112	71	70	51	50	36
Life Expectancy: Male + Female <sup>6)</sup>	30-35	39.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	64.4	n.a.	n.a.
• Male	n.a.	38.1	45	50.9	57.9	57.9	62.4	n.a.	n.a.
• Female	n.a.	40.9	48	54	61.5	61.5	66.4	n.a.	n.a.
Household Number (1,000)	n.a.	n.a.	24,323	30,372	35,069	39,695	45,65.3	49,383	57,625
Household Size	n.a.	n.a.	4.9	4.9	4.7	4.5	4.3	4.1	3.9

Sources: 1) Nitisastro 1970

2) *Indonesia Dalam Angka*, BPS 1998

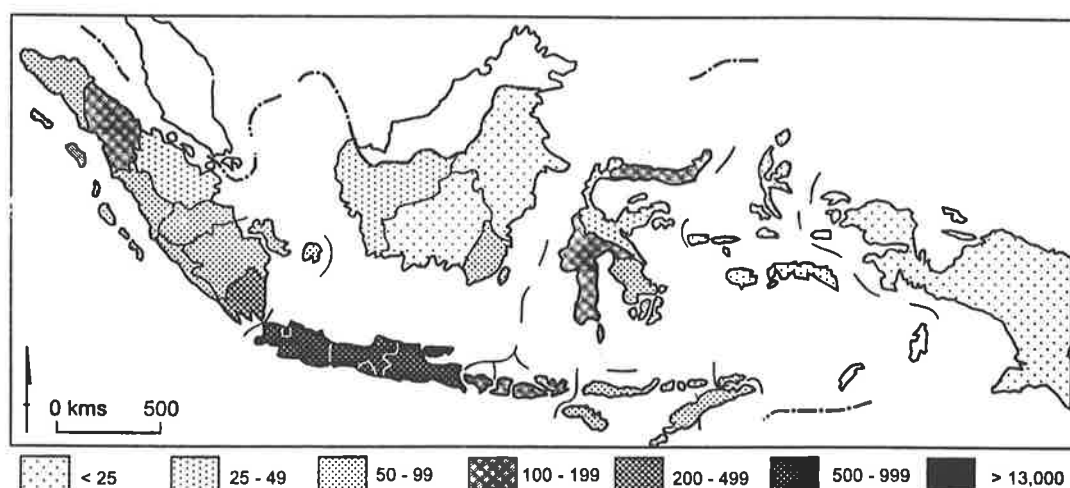
3) *Proyeksi Penduduk Indonesia per provinsi 1995-2005*, BPS 1998

4) Various Population Censuses and Intercensal Population Survey Publications (BPS 1962, BPS 1973, BPS 1982, BPS 1987, BPS 1992, BPS 1996)

5) Ananta, Anwar and Suzenti, 1997

6) IDHS 1997 (CBS 1998)

Figure 1.3. Indonesia: Population Density (person per sq. km.) by Province 1995



the share of the young population reflects a substantial reduction in the fertility rate, while the increase of the elderly population is partly due to the increasing life expectancy level due to better health services, social and economic improvement.

The decline of the population growth rate is influenced by the decline of the fertility rate. The Total Fertility Rate or TFR has decreased from 5.6 in 1971 to 2.8 in 1995 and it was estimated to reach 2.4 in 2005. The Demographic and Health Survey 1997 Report on Indonesia shows that the falling fertility rate in the last 30 years was in part influenced by the tendency of Indonesian women to delay their marriage or even to stay single (CBS 1998). The median age of marriage of younger women has increased compared to older generations, and is 19.9 years for women currently at 25-29 years of age and 17.3 years for women currently at 45-49 years of age. The delay of marriage is correlated with the higher levels of education women have attained. Another factor considered important in reducing fertility rates is the promotion of the family planning program by the Government of Indonesia since the 1970s which makes it easier for women to access fertility control.

At the same time, there has been a decrease of the mortality rate in Indonesia. The Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) has declined from around 225-250 in the 1930s to 51 in 1995 and it is projected to drop to 36 in 2005. The decline of the mortality rate has seen an increase of life expectancy at birth from 30-35 years in 1930 to 64.4 years in 1995. The decline of mortality is related to the improvement of health care facilities and socio economic conditions in Indonesia and control over infectious diseases, such as cholera, influenza, smallpox, plague, and malaria (Nitisastro 1970, Gardiner and Oey 1983, Hugo *et al.* 1987, Iskandar 1997). In spite of the decline of the mortality rate and improvement of health condition in Indonesia at large, problems still lie ahead and need for continual improvement in health care services and education as well as economic and social conditions. (Hugo *et al.* 1987, Iskandar 1997, CBS 1998).

The number of households has increased over time, even faster than the population. The increasing number of households has been accompanied by a decline of household size, from 4.9 persons in 1971 to 4.3 in 1995 and is projected to decline further to 3.9 persons per household. The decline of household size can be related to the success of the family planning program where it campaigns that it is better to have fewer children has been widely accepted by couples.

### **1.4.3. Economy**

The economy of Indonesia has experienced fluctuations along with political change and the political economy of the country can be divided into the pre-independence era, the Skarn era, the New Order and the most recent the 'reformation' era economy. This section, however, will focus on the last two decades to provide the context to analyse the most recent patterns of migration. Agriculture is the basis of the economy of Indonesia, since the majority of its

population engage in agricultural activities, although the share is declining over time with industrial development followed by the emergence of the services sector. Indonesia's economy is also supported by revenue from oil and other natural resources, although with a declining share in GDP over time. From the mid-80s up to the onset of economic crisis in 1997, Indonesia enjoyed steady economic development. Over the 1985-1997 period, gross domestic product grew by 7.55 per cent per annum (see Table 1.3.). The growth rate declined in the late 90s with the onset of the economic crisis but a plunge to a negative growth of minus 13.69 per cent during 1997-1998, which meant more than a 21 per cent swing, was unexpected. This was caused by the collapse of Indonesia's economy in mid-1997 due to the fall of the currency value resulting in an increase of prices, especially those containing imported components, which has paralysed some economic sectors and created high inflation.

Comparison of the value of total GDP at current prices with its value at 1993 constant prices indicates high inflation has occurred in the late 1990s. Between 1985 and 1993 the overall economy was booming with steady growth by 7.77 per cent per annum, and in the following period 1993-1997 the growth rate declined to 7.11 per cent per annum. The oil contribution decreased from 13.93 per cent in 1985 to 7.96 in 1997, although it rose again in 1998 with the collapse of the economy. The contribution of each economic sector to total GDP has not changed too much, except for the increased share of the agricultural sector in 1998 at the cost of a decrease of the construction sector. The roles of the various sectors in economic development can be seen from changes in their growth rates over time. During 1985-1997 all non-agricultural sectors have shown significant growth rates, while the agriculture sector grew with the least rate.

Table 1.3. Gross Domestic Product in Billion Rupiah and Percentage, 1985-1998

	1985	At Current Price			At 1993 Constant Price			Growth Rate (% p.a)			
		1993	1997	1998	1985	1997	1998	1985-1997	1985-1993	1993-1997	1998
A. Total Gross Domestic Bruto	98,406.5	329,775.8	627,505.8	989,573.2	181,176.1	434,095.7	374,689.2	7.55	7.77	7.11	-13.69
1. GDP - Oil	18.16	9.98	7.88	11.56	13.93	7.96	9.14	2.66	3.38	1.23	-0.90
2. GDP - Non -Oil	81.84	90.02	92.12	88.44	86.07	92.04	90.86	8.16	8.38	7.71	-14.79
B. Sectoral Share											
I. Agriculture	<u>19.56</u>	<u>17.88</u>	<u>15.96</u>	<u>18.84</u>	<u>24.12</u>	<u>14.81</u>	<u>17.20</u>	<u>3.27</u>	<u>3.82</u>	<u>2.19</u>	<u>0.22</u>
II. Industry	<u>40.21</u>	<u>39.68</u>	<u>42.77</u>	<u>45.69</u>	<u>35.64</u>	<u>43.25</u>	<u>42.27</u>	<u>9.30</u>	<u>9.23</u>	<u>9.45</u>	<u>-15.64</u>
1. Mining and Quarrying	14.81	9.55	8.69	12.86	11.75	8.84	9.82	5.03	5.02	5.07	-4.16
2. Manufacturing	<u>18.68</u>	<u>22.30</u>	<u>25.46</u>	<u>26.23</u>	<u>17.90</u>	<u>25.07</u>	<u>25.30</u>	<u>10.61</u>	<u>10.78</u>	<u>10.29</u>	<u>-12.91</u>
a. Oil	4.36	2.97	2.57	3.17	3.28	2.45	2.89	4.99	6.46	2.12	1.84
b. Non-oil	14.32	19.34	22.89	23.06	14.63	22.62	22.40	11.53	11.60	11.39	-14.51
III. Electricity, Gas, and Water	<u>0.40</u>	<u>1.00</u>	<u>1.27</u>	<u>1.17</u>	<u>0.64</u>	<u>1.27</u>	<u>1.52</u>	<u>13.84</u>	<u>13.91</u>	<u>13.70</u>	<u>3.70</u>
IV. Construction	<u>6.32</u>	<u>6.83</u>	<u>7.36</u>	<u>5.44</u>	<u>5.34</u>	<u>8.07</u>	<u>5.64</u>	<u>11.32</u>	<u>11.14</u>	<u>11.70</u>	<u>-39.74</u>
V. Services	<u>40.23</u>	<u>42.44</u>	<u>41.27</u>	<u>35.46</u>	<u>40.24</u>	<u>41.94</u>	<u>40.53</u>	<u>7.92</u>	<u>8.49</u>	<u>6.80</u>	<u>-16.58</u>
1. Trades, Restaurant and Hotel	15.43	16.77	16.54	14.90	14.12	16.93	15.90	9.20	10.12	7.37	-18.95
2. Transportation and Communication	5.84	7.05	6.73	5.42	6.83	7.41	7.49	8.29	8.21	8.46	-12.80
3. Financial, ownership and business services	6.51	8.51	9.35	8.23	7.27	8.92	7.57	9.41	9.91	8.40	-26.74
4. Other Service	12.45	10.12	8.65	6.91	12.04	8.67	9.57	4.66	5.46	3.07	-4.71

Source: Anwar, 1999

However, during the economic crisis in 1997-1998, only the agricultural and oil sectors have grown in a positive direction, while other sectors plummeted. The sectors that have been hardest hit by the economic crisis were construction, finance and business services, trades, restaurant and hotels and the non-oil manufacturing industry.

The booming economy in the mid 80s with the development of non-oil export oriented industries has influenced the structure of employment and population mobility patterns. Table 1.4. presents the labour force situation in the 1990s.<sup>5</sup> The number of economically active population increased over time in line with population growth, especially in the working age bracket. The increasing percentage of economically active population to working age population as well as the percentage of employed persons to economically active population in 1998 may be influenced by the economic crisis. In this situation people cannot stay unemployed, even for women and children, resulting in an increase of people into the workforce. People possibly had to take up jobs with very low returns. The pattern is similar between Java and the outer islands. Sectorally, the decreasing percentage of people engaged in the agricultural sector has been expected as the economic development program in the country is intended to develop non-agricultural sectors. In Java the decrease of agricultural employment is more significant than that outside Java. In Java the labour force in the agricultural sector is below 40 per cent, while in the outer islands it is almost 60 per cent.

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<sup>5</sup>The sources of data use in this time series analysis may not really be comparable, although the population census, intercensal population survey as well as national labour force survey used similar questions. However, the different coverage and objectives of each enumeration affected the results.

Table 1.4. Indonesia: Labour Force in the 1990s

	1990 <sup>2)</sup>	Java 1995 <sup>3)</sup>	1998 <sup>4)</sup>	1990 <sup>2)</sup>	Outer Java 1995 <sup>3)</sup>	1998 <sup>4)</sup>	1990 <sup>2)</sup>	Indonesia 1995 <sup>3)</sup>	1998 <sup>4)</sup>
1. Economically Active Population (in '000)	45,337.2	51,652.2	54,985.1	28,576.5	34,709.1	37,749.8	73,913.7	86,361.3	92,734.9
2. Percentage of Economically Active to Population Aged 10+	56.35	56.19	65.97	52.36	57.28	68.38	54.73	56.62	66.93
3. Percentage of Employed Person to Economically Active Population	96.60	92.61	93.93	97.19	92.99	95.43	96.83	92.76	94.54
4. Percentage of Unemployed Person to Economically Active Population	3.40	7.39	6.07	2.81	7.01	4.57	3.17	7.24	5.46
Sectoral Employed Person (percentage) <sup>1)</sup>									
1. Agriculture	42.53	34.93	37.59	62.82	57.40	55.52	50.40	43.98	44.96
2. Mining and quarrying	0.92	0.69	0.46	1.14	0.96	1.22	1.00	0.80	0.77
3. Manufacturing	14.32	16.33	14.16	7.11	7.17	7.27	11.53	12.64	11.33
4. Electricity, Gas, and Water	0.22	0.31	0.18	0.17	0.22	0.20	0.20	0.27	0.17
5. Construction	4.82	5.48	4.52	3.02	3.56	3.29	4.13	4.70	4.02
6. Trades, restaurants and hotels	17.60	19.96	21.73	10.53	13.43	15.53	14.86	17.33	19.18
7. Transportation and Communication	4.22	4.92	5.45	2.85	3.42	3.71	3.69	4.32	4.74
8. Financing, ownership and business services	1.22	1.15	0.81	0.55	0.33	0.56	0.96	0.82	0.70
9 Services	14.14	16.23	15.13	11.80	13.51	12.71	13.23	15.13	14.14

Notes : 1) Excluding 'Not Stated' Category

Sources: 2. Population Census 1990, Series No 2 (BPS 1992)

3. Intercensal Population Survey 1995 (Supas 1995), Series No 2 (BPS 1996)

4. National Labour Force Survey 1998 (Sakernas 1998), (BPS 1998)

On the other hand, the percentages of people engaged in non-agricultural sectors were higher in Java compared to those outside Java. Industrial development has also attracted people from outside Java to migrate there, while within Java itself the industrial development has been increasingly concentrated in Jakarta and West Java. As has been explained at the beginning of this chapter, the industrial development in those areas has made Jakarta and West Java the major destination of migration in Java. In accordance with the decline of the non-agricultural sectors, their ability to absorb labour force also declined, especially in the sectors that were hardest hit by the economic crisis such as manufacturing, construction, trades and services.

Up to the present time, the prospects of the Indonesia economy are uncertain. Several signs of recovery, though, have emerged, among others is the stabilising of the rupiah and food prices. However, the economic recovery process is happening at a slower pace than in other Asian countries which suffered a similar economic crisis, such as South Korea and Thailand. The current political factors, such as the presidential election, the status of East Timor as well as domestic separation movements in Aceh and Irian Jaya have influenced this.

### **1.5. Structure of the Thesis**

This thesis consists of nine chapters. The first two chapters provide the background and methodology of the study, Chapters Three and Four present the study results using secondary sources, while the following four chapters present the findings of a study and Chapter Nine concludes and summarises the study results. Chapter Two elucidates the methodology used, and the concepts applied, in the study. This study integrates macro and micro approaches to provide a comprehensive examination of the impact of migration upon family structure and



functioning. In the macro study population census data are analysed to produce large scale information on the relationship between migration and household structure in destination areas, while the micro study is utilised to explore the causes and consequences of migration on family structure and functioning in both origin and destination areas.

Chapter Three provides the context for the micro study in the origin area of migration by describing the geography, demography, economy and the extent of population mobility in Central Java, the province of origin. This chapter utilises secondary sources. The next chapter reports the results of the macro study on the role of migration in influencing household structure in West Java, the province of destination based on 1980 and 1990 population censuses. In Chapter Four a comparison between Central Java-born and West Java-born population and households is presented.

Chapter Five analyse the extent of population mobility in the village of origin. After briefly introducing the overall social, physical and economic conditions of the village, this chapter focuses on a description and analysis of sample households. Following the description of the demographic characteristics of sample households, such as sex, age, fertility, and value of children an analysis of migration status of household members is presented. This chapter also examines the marriage pattern and living arrangements of newlyweds as well as household welfare status in respect to migration, especially the role of agriculture and other sources of livelihood in inducing outmigration. Chapter Six is devoted to an analysis of outmigrants from the sample households, including their characteristics, reasons for migration, migration decision making, and the impact of migration on household structures. The chapter starts by examining the outmigrants according

to their destination areas and their decision-making processes in choosing particular areas of destination as well as the reasons for migration. The conceptual framework for the empirical analysis of peasants initiated by Deere and de Janvry (1979) and then adopted by Wood (1981) as a conceptual framework for the study of rural migration is used to analyse migration as a household strategy.

The two previous chapters are based on proxy information given by household heads in the village of origin. Chapter Seven analyses migration in the destination area in Bandung, West Java using information collected from the migrants themselves. After an overview of the destination area's social, physical and economic conditions, this chapter is devoted to an analysis of the living arrangement and occupation networking among migrants. A comparison of household structure between destination and origin villages is also given. Chapter Eight, on the other hand, explores the migration impact on family functioning using Murdock's definition of functions of the nuclear family (1949) and Geertz' statement on the most important roles of nuclear family in Javanese society (1961).

This thesis is closed by summarising the study findings and presenting some conclusions. This chapter also addresses the policy implications for the findings in line with the wider social, economic and political changes in Indonesia. Finally this study will recommend future studies in respect to migration and family interrelationship.

## **1.6. Conclusion**

This chapter has attempted to place the present study in the context of the migration and family literature. Most of the earlier migration studies in various regions in Indonesia are concerned with investigating patterns, magnitudes and types of migration and their impact on regional development (Hugo 1975, 1978,

Naim 1979, Mantra 1981, Abustam 1989). Some recent studies, though, have attempted to study migration impact on women (Hetler 1986, Rodenburg 1993). This study intends to examine the impact of rural-urban migration at the family level, especially on its structure and functioning utilising a peasant household strategy approach (Deere and de Janvry 1979, Wood 1981). The methodology of the study will be presented in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Methodology

#### 2.1. Introduction

This study is based on both primary and secondary data. The primary data were collected in a micro study by means of a sample survey, participant-observation and in-depth case study methods. The secondary data sources principally include the various Indonesian Population Census data sets and other published material from government sources. The primary analysis deals mainly with the current situation, while the secondary data relate to previous years and allow examination of changes that have occurred over time. As the secondary data coverage is larger than that of the primary sources, it is useful for analysis of the macro situation. One of the advantages in using a macro scale approach is that it is often more persuasive in support of policy recommendations than are small-scale information (Hugo 1988). However, despite the benefits of using macro scale data, there are also some significant limitations. The macro-scale data cannot explain why a certain situation has occurred and how it has happened (Bilsborrow 1984a; Hugo 1988). For example, the number of outmigrants from a particular province can be counted using population census data, but those data cannot indicate the causes and consequences of the migration upon the migrants themselves and their family left behind. This information needs to be collected in focused, micro-scale research, necessarily covering only a small area, to obtain a thorough understanding of those questions. By combining both approaches, this study aims to examine the impact of migration upon family structure and functioning, in the context of social and economic changes in Indonesia, at both micro and macro levels.

At the micro-scale both quantitative and qualitative information were collected. The quantitative data were collected by means of a structured sample survey while the qualitative data were collected by participant observation and in-depth interview methods. The participant observation was conducted to study the processes, relationships among people and the organisation of people in their family life. By living among the villagers and involving herself in everyday life in the village, the researcher was likely to observe and note events affected peoples relations to their family and the community. On the other hand, in-depth interview methods were used to collect information on the interpretations of the respondents themselves. The combination of quantitative and qualitative data aims to make the analysis more insightful and this is called a “mixed methodology” and is gaining considerable acceptance among social science researchers, especially those working in LDCs.

## **2.2. Approach To The Study**

The study of the impact of migration can be carried out, either, in the destination or origin areas alone or in both areas. Previous studies on this subject are mostly concerned with the impact of migration in the destination areas and deal with the adjustment of individual migrants to the new situation, but there is a lack of research in origin areas (Bilsborrow 1984a; Hugo 1987). However, it can be argued that the study of the impact of migration is better carried out in the origin area since migration decision-making takes place in these areas (Caldwell 1969; Connell *et al.* 1976; Hugo 1988). Moreover, by undertaking rural-based research, one can assess all types of migration, which are commonly occurring in the village, particularly the non-permanent types (Hugo 1978). The majority of non-permanent migrants considered themselves as village residents. As their travel to urban areas is

usually undertaken as a strategy of household economic survival they usually do not intend to move out permanently to the city. Accordingly, they very rarely have a permanent place of residence in the city and therefore their existence would be missed in studies located in the destination areas. Since the decision making process of migration occur in the village, the context of that decision-making can only be studied in origin-based approach. Moreover, there is an opportunity to study the impact upon the family left behind. In the case of non-permanent migrants, the biggest share of their earnings is spent in the village and the permanent migrants also send some of their income back to help their family in the village. Along with these economic impacts, the social impacts are also significant. By leaving their family, the outmigrants give up many of their responsibilities to remaining family members. As a result, the family left behind eventually have to redistribute family responsibilities among themselves to maintain their everyday life. Since the aim of this study is mainly concerned with the impact of migration on family structure and functioning, this research was conducted predominantly in rural areas, as this is the origin of the majority of migrants.

Although the advantages of a rural-based study on the impact of migration are obvious, it is not without its weaknesses. The main weakness of origin-based research is the loss of information about permanent migrants since they have already moved to the city or other places and are not in the village at the time of the survey, they are missed during the interview process (Connell et al. 1976; Bilsborrow 1984a; Hugo 1988). This lack of direct information about outmigrants could possibly be compensated for by "proxy" information from their families or relatives left behind (Hugo 1978), although the information obtained may not be totally reliable (Bilsborrow 1984a). Another method of collecting data from outmigrants

in the area of origin is by waiting for their return to the villages. This method has been adopted by Saefullah (1992) in his study in West Java. He stayed in the villages during the Idul Fitri day to collect data from the outmigrants who commonly return to their villages to celebrate the big day with their family. As the outmigrants only stay in the village for a few days, there are difficulties involved with disturbing them with a questionnaire and in finding enumerators who are willing to work during that time. The other weakness of this approach is the impossibility for the researcher to observe the living conditions of outmigrants in the destination areas, which is very important in assessing their degree of adjustment and level of well-being. Another method of collecting data from outmigrants is to visit them in the destination areas; this is known as the 'tracing' method (Caldwell 1969; Connell et.al. 1976; Hadi 1981; Bilsborrow 1984a; Hugo 1988; Abustam 1989). However, this method is also not without problems especially relating to how to find the outmigrants in the destination areas since their addresses in the cities are often either unclear or unknown, substantial resources are needed to locate their whereabouts. Nevertheless, we know that immigrants who come from the same village usually live and work in a similar place in the destination area (Hugo 1978; Abustam 1989). Therefore, the location of one definite outmigrant address in the destination area makes a wider tracing survey possible. Since the information from the outmigrants themselves is important, 'tracing' methods in the destination area were also applied in this study.

The impact of migration depends upon the local socio-economic conditions and the types of migration (Hugo 1988). A key issue is the selection of the location in which to undertake the study. Two provinces in Java were chosen to represent the origin and destination areas of migration. Based on the analysis of

migration using Population Censuses data, Central Java was chosen as the province of origin, because it has sent out the largest number of outmigrants of all provinces in Indonesia. The province of destination was decided later, after the primary survey had located the destination areas of migration for the 'tracing' survey. The next stage was the selection of a village which involved first choosing a regency in Central Java. In the following sections, a detailed explanation of the methodology of the study is provided.

### **2.3. The Micro Approach**

This section will describe the micro approach adopted in both the origin and destination areas. The first section will explain the stages of the study in the origin area, followed by the 'tracing-migrant' strategy in the destination area. The micro-scale research was conducted over a ten month period (September 1995 - June 1996). A summary of the fieldwork strategy is depicted in Table 2.1.

#### **2.3.1. The Micro Study in the Origin Area**

##### **a. Selection of The Research Location**

The selection process was carried out in several stages. Firstly, a letter of permission from the relevant authorities to conduct field research was obtained. As the principal researcher lives in West Java province, a letter of recommendation was needed from the Department of Social Political Affairs in West Java to be handed to the counterpart department in Central Java. Based on that letter a research permit was granted. From the province level that letter was passed down to every level of authority; that is the regency (*kabupaten*), the district (*kecamatan*) and the village



(*desa*)<sup>1</sup>. Since the research permit was only valid for three months, the process was repeated twice in each province, or four times over all, during my 10 months stay in the field. However, since I became well known in the village, the letter was no longer needed to stay in the village and to visit the respondents at any time afterward.

While waiting for the processing of the research permit letter, the time was spent seeking information about the regions in Central Java, which sent a large number of migrants to West Java and Jakarta. Officials in the provincial government office could not give the exact number, because there are no accurate records on migration. The office only kept records of permanent migration, those who moved into, or moved out of, Central Java with a formal letter from the authorities. Those people comprise mainly civil servants or military officials who had been transferred from one province to another. The majority of migrants from Central Java are not detected in these records, as moves are conducted on a non-permanent basis, involving various kinds of informal sector employment. On the basis of the experience of government officials it seems that the major regencies of sending migrants areas were Wonogiri, Sukoharjo, Puworejo, Kebumen, Tegal and Jepara (See Figure 2.1.). Migration studies have already been carried out in several

<sup>1</sup>The Regional Administration Hierarchy in Indonesia is regulated in Regional Administration Legislation No. 11, 1974 as follows:

Hierarchy	Name	Indonesian Terminology
1	Province	<i>Propinsi</i> or <i>Daerah Tingkat I (DATI I)</i>
2	Regency/Municipality	<i>Kabupaten/Kotamadya</i> or <i>Daerah Tingkat II (DATI II)</i>
3	District	<i>Kecamatan</i>
4	Village	a. Urban village or <i>Kelurahan</i> b. Rural village or <i>Desa</i>
5	Hamlet	<i>Dusun/Dukuh/Kampung</i>
6	Community Group	<i>Rukun Warga (RW)</i>
7	Neighbourhood Association	<i>Rukun Tetangga (RT)</i>

Table 2.1. The Fieldwork Strategy

<b>A. THE SURVEY IN THE AREA OF ORIGIN</b>	<b>: CENTRAL JAVA</b>
STEP 1 : The research location selection	
a. The Regency	: KEBUMEN
b. The District	: GOMBONG
c. The Village	: WONOSIGRO
STEP 2 : a. Pre-survey in the village b. Select the household to be interviewed c. Develop the questionnaire	
STEP 3 : a. Conduct the initial interview by using the first version of the questionnaire b. Revise the questionnaire c. Finalise the questionnaire and recruit assistants	
STEP 4 : a. Interview the rest of the respondents by using the final version of the questionnaire. b. Edit the completed questionnaires and re-interview if the questionnaires are incomplete. c. Code the edited questionnaires and data entry processes.	
STEP 5 : a. Select some households for detailed case studies. b. Conduct in-depth interviews in the village.	
<b>B. THE 'TRACING SURVEY' IN DESTINATION AREA: BANDUNG (WEST JAVA)</b>	
STEP 1 : Select the outmigrants to be traced.	
STEP 2 : Interview the traced migrants	

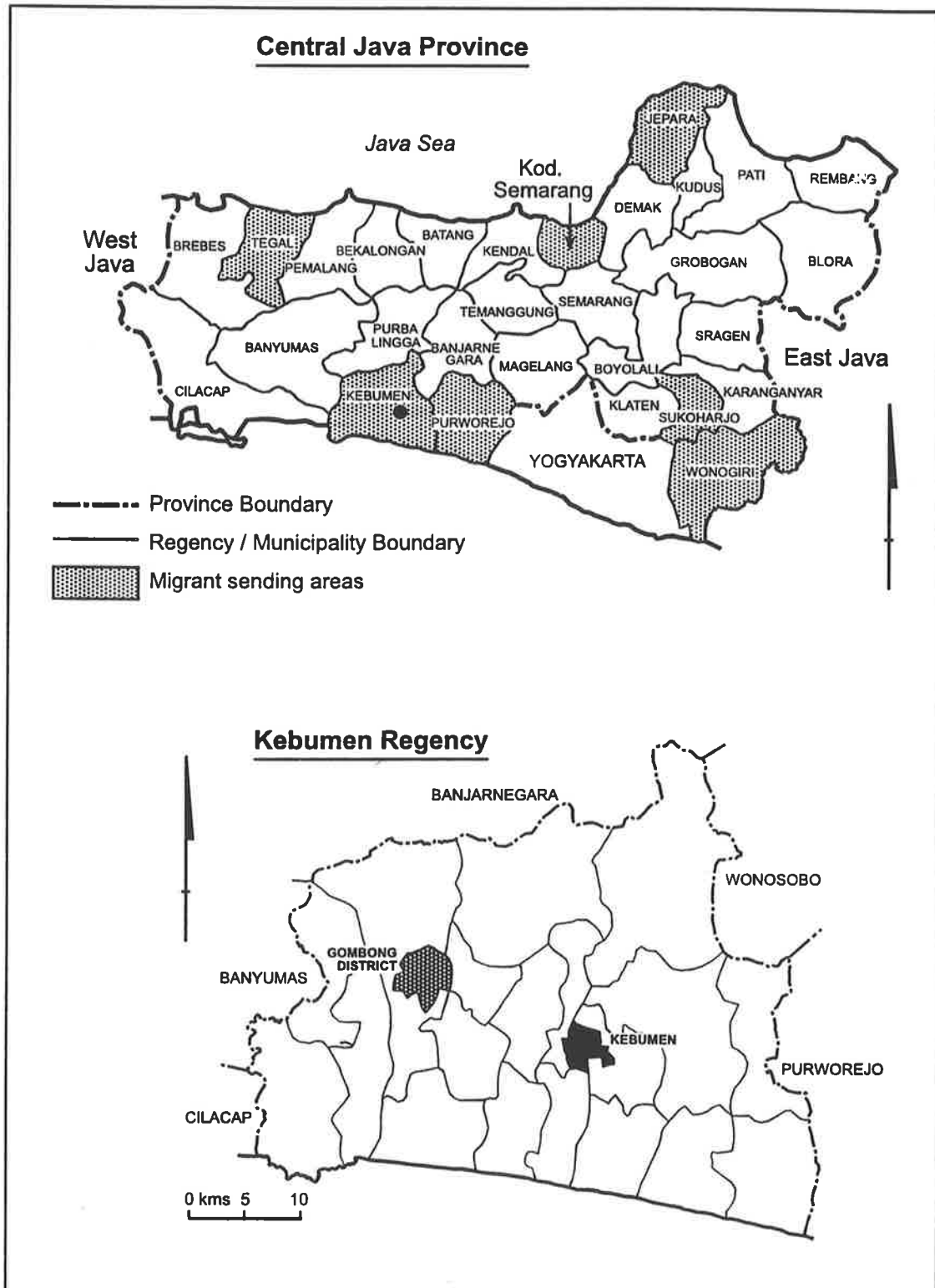
of those regencies, such as Wonogiri (Hetler 1986), Sukoharjo (Guest 1993; Table Williams 1992) and Semarang (Wolf 1984, 1992). Since there were no such studies in Kebumen regency, it was considered to be a useful contribution to the literature on migration if research was conducted in this area. Kebumen is located in southern Central Java region, which is already famous as a migration sender areas in the province since 1930 (Nitisastro 1970), because it is an area well known for its pockets of poverty during

pockets of poverty during the colonial era as reported by Osche and Terra (1934) in research on agricultural development, while several other studies conducted in Kebumen in the past were concerned with the economy (Nitisastro and Ismael 1959), ethnography (Koentjaraningrat 1959) and the rural trading system (Alexander 1984). Considering the lack of information on this area, particularly in relation to population movement, Kebumen was chosen as the research location. The location of Central Java Province and Kebumen Regency is shown in Figure 2.1.

After choosing Kebumen, the next step was to locate one *kecamatan* out of the total of 22 where the research would be carried out. While seeking a research permit in the *Bappeda* office, I had a chance to consult several officials there about the general condition of each district in relation to migration. They said that all districts had sent migrants to Jakarta and West Java, therefore the research could be conducted in any district in Kebumen. After visiting several districts located along the Southern Java main road (Prembun, Kutowinangun, Kebumen, Karanganyar, Sruweng and Gombong), Gombong was chosen as the research location. Among the districts, Gombong was the liveliest, since major trading activities were conducted there. The district consists of 14 villages, only one of which is designated a poor village that receives government aid through IDT (*Ind. Inpres Desa Tertinggal*). After selecting the district in which to focus the research, the next step was to select the villages where the survey would be conducted.

After consultation with the district head, three villages were chosen as prospective study areas. The villages represented the whole district; one village was located in the north, another in the middle and the third one in the south. All of

Figure 2.1. Maps of Central Java Province and Kebumen Regency



them are agricultural villages, which have sent a considerable number of migrants to Jakarta and West Java and none of them are *Desa Tertinggal*. The next step was to visit the three villages and conduct a reconnaissance study there in order to select one village for intensive study. This village, Wonosigro had different characteristics from the other two villages. Even though Wonosigro is one village in terms of administration, it consists of two sub-villages, in terms of socio-economic characteristics namely the sub-village on the northern side of the river and the village on southern side. One could easily see the difference between the two sub-villages. The southern side is far better off economically than its counterpart in the north. Figure 2.2. shows the location of *Kecamatan Gombong* and *Desa Wonosigro*.

#### b. Data Collection Methods

Following the decision to select Wonosigro as the research location, the pre-survey was carried out to obtain more insights into the village. Several activities were carried out during the pre-survey. Firstly, the village headman was asked to find a boarding house for me and he and his family opened their doors to me. By living with them, I had an opportunity to conduct participant observation on the everyday life of the village. Secondly, I went to the village office every day to chat with the village officials and to discuss the socio-economic life of the village, the incidence of migration and many other things. The main objective of this activity was to complete the Village Questionnaire (Appendix 2a), which recorded village statistics and the village officials' opinions regarding migration and family life. Thirdly, a list of households that contained at least one person who *merantau*<sup>2</sup> elsewhere was produced which was to be used as a sampling frame in the sample

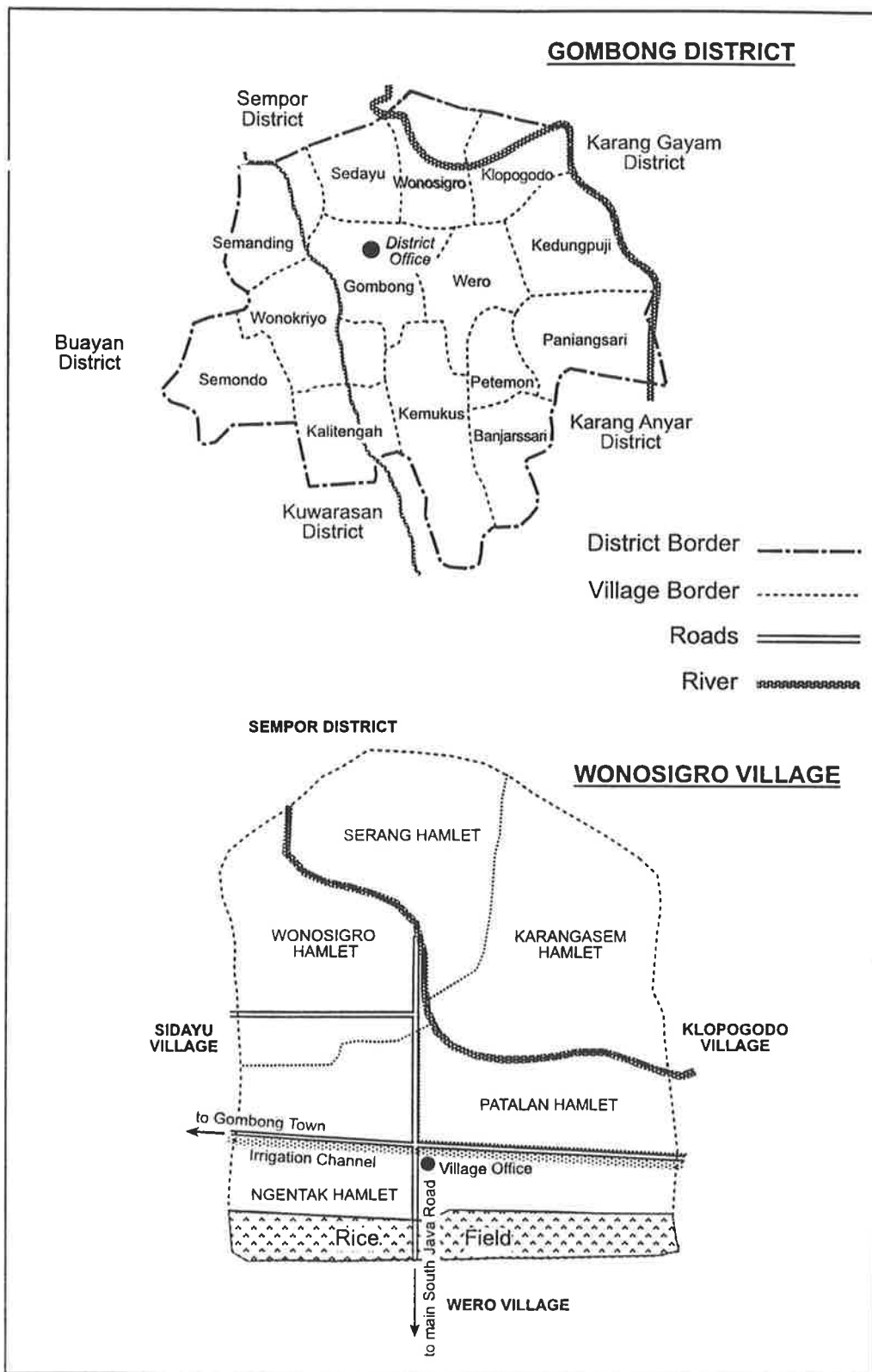
selection. The list was produced with the help of village officials. Fourthly, the households on the list were each visited and a village official accompanied me to each household. There were two objectives in making that early household visit. The first was to test the questionnaire that had been developed in the real village context. The second was to introduce myself to the villagers to create a pleasant form of rapport with them. Good rapport between the researcher and the respondents is important for the successful accomplishment of the research objectives. The information obtained either by asking questions to the respondents, or by making observation on their daily lives was important to enhance the information collected in the questionnaire.

The next activity after making the household visits was to amend the questionnaire and to set up the strategy for household sample selection. As mentioned before, the household sample was to be drawn from the *merantau* household list, but after several household visits, it was found that permanent outmigrants and return migrants are also influencing the family structure and functioning. Therefore, to cover all kinds of migration, an expansion of the *merantau* household list was needed. The new list included permanent outmigrants, return migrants and married children who left their parents' household to set up their own household. Non-migrant households which contained none of these types of migrant, were also included in the sampling frame as a control group. The new list, therefore, covered all households in the village. By undertaking a full community sample, there was more opportunity to study the family networking among households and to examine the dynamics of the family in the decision

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<sup>2</sup>This terminology will be explained in sub-section 2.5. Definition of Concepts

Figure 2.2. Maps of Gombong District and Wonosigro Village



making process.

There were two different community settlements, one located on the northern side of the river and the other on the southern side, consisting of two and three hamlets respectively. One hamlet on the northern side and two hamlets in the south were chosen for the community sample. Every household in the selected hamlets were interviewed in the survey. To get more information on non-permanent migration, any household in the village that contained non-permanent migrants was also included in the survey. The distribution of the household sample is shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. Distribution of Household Sample

No	Hamlet	Migrant Household	Non-Migrant Household	Total
1.	Ngentak (SS)	15 ( 7.2 %)	1 ( 1.6 %)	16 ( 5.9 %)
2.	Patalan (C, SS)	52 ( 25.0 %)	14 ( 21.6 %)	66 ( 24.4 %)
3.	Wonosigro (C, SS)	57 ( 27.4 %)	23 ( 37.1 %)	80 ( 29.6 %)
4.	Karang Asem (C, NS)	61 ( 29.3 %)	24 ( 38.7 %)	85 ( 31.5 %)
5.	Serang (NS)	23 ( 11.1 %)	-	23 ( 8.5 %)
	Total	208 (100.0 %)	62 (100.0 %)	270 (100.0 %)

Note: C = community sample; NS = Northern Side; SS = Southern Side  
Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

After the household sample selection was completed and the questionnaire was revised, the formal interviews with each household could be conducted. Again, one village official accompanied me to each household to introduce me to the head of the household. Six different village officials accompanied me, and later my assistants, throughout the research period. Each official was responsible for one hamlet where his residence was located. In one hamlet (*Dukuh Wonosigro*) two



officials assisted me because one of them was very old and refused to continue the work in middle of the survey, so another official replaced him. All the village officials were male. In his introduction speech the village official explained the purpose of the visit and the importance of the data that were being collected. Sometimes he sat with the respondent(s) and me during the interview, especially in the households with female or elderly heads. On the one hand, the presence of a village official was supportive, but on the other it was disruptive to a degree. He was supportive in two ways. Firstly he helped the respondent to answer particular questions, such as those relating to land ownership of the household; and secondly he translated questions into the local dialect to make it clearer to the respondents. It is important to note that although I was born a Javanese and speak the Javanese language fluently, I speak in a different dialect and it is difficult to change within a short time. Therefore, whenever I spoke, the villagers noticed that I was not a local person. On the other hand, the village official sometimes became too involved in the interviews and often took over the role of the respondent and answered questions himself, which left the respondents watching the conversation somewhat perplexed. As I became aware of this I adopted different techniques and asked different questions. Overall however the presence of village officials during interviews was highly appreciated because they made the interviews run smoothly and no refusals to be interviewed were experienced. At the beginning of an interview there was always some doubt about the purpose of my visit. As an indication of their suspicion, some of them would ask many questions of me or they would turn to the village official to ask for help in answering the questions. The role of the village official at this stage was very important. If the respondents showed any tension or fear, the officials would comfort them and encourage them to answer each question

as best they could; or he would repeat the questions in the local dialect. Fortunately, once the suspicions disappeared the interviews usually took place very smoothly. Another group that deserves much appreciation in this research is the respondents for their willingness to give up their time to be interviewed. This was no small sacrifice, given that the interviews often lasted up to two hours, in addition to the countless hours spent by several of them in the in-depth interview sessions.

After the second visit to several households, my knowledge about the village and village life increased. Familiarity with the questionnaire also increased which meant that delivery of the questions could be improved. This resulted in development of good rapport with the respondents. At this stage assistants were invited to assist with the remaining interviews. Improved knowledge about the research location, the characteristics of the respondents and the complexity of the questionnaire were very important for training the assistants and for editing their work. An important step undertaken before the recruitment of the assistants was to rewrite the questionnaire, taking into consideration the experiences of the initial interviews. In other word, the initial interviews undertaken at the beginning of the data collection stage can be regarded as a pre-test of the questionnaire. Instead of discarding the data collected from the pre-test (about 30 questionnaires) these were included as part of the survey. By doing this, it meant considerable resource savings, although some respondents had to be visited again to collect additional data, which had not been collected in the first visit. The second visits were made while the data were being transferred from the old version of the questionnaire onto the final one. One advantage of visiting respondents several times was the increased possibility of creating an intimate conversation with them, in order to get more qualitative information.

While the final version of questionnaire was being written, the assistants were recruited. Initially it was hoped that local enumerators, such as officials from the Regency or District Statistics Office could be hired. However, as the timing of the survey coincided with the 1995 National Economy Survey (*Ind. Susenas*), they could not give up their time to participate in the present survey. Hence, graduates of Bogor Agricultural University (IPB) West Java were recruited to work as professional enumerators. Three male assistants and one female were eventually hired, after a short interview to assess their capabilities as enumerators in terms of their ability to speak Javanese and to establish good rapport. Although the assistants did not necessarily have to be Javanese-born, it was essential that they could speak Javanese, since the interviews were mostly held in Javanese, especially with respondents who live on the northern side of the river. On the other hand, the advantage of using experienced enumerators is the time saved in training. In one day of training the research objectives, the particular terminology used, the complexity of the questionnaire and a short description about the research location were given. Other things such as how to create rapport with respondents and how to live in a village were not in the training agenda. The topics addressed in the main questionnaire are listed in Table 2.3. while the complete questionnaire is attached in Appendix 2b.

As the male assistants arrived in the village they were introduced to the village officials and immediately went to do an interview. The next day we discussed the experience gained from the visits. The main problem faced by all the assistants was how to begin the interview and how to distinguish between non-permanent outmigrants and the current residents. After they interviewed about five households, their understanding and familiarity with the questionnaire improved and

Table 2.3. The Questionnaire Structure

Information Being Sought	Applied to
1. Household Characteristics	Household
2. Characteristics of HH Members	
a. General Characteristics	All Households Members
b. Employment	Hhs Members 10 years and over
3. Characteristics of Outmigrant HH	
a. General Characteristics	Individual (proxy)
b. Migration History	Individual (proxy)
c. Contact With Outmigrant	Individually to Household
4. The Household Welfare	Household
5. Fertility and Mortality	Ever Married Women
6. Value of Children	Ever Married Men and Women)
7. Marriage and Dissolution	Ever Married Person

they began to enjoy the interview process and started to develop their own methods of creating rapport with the respondents. In the first week, I accompanied the three assistants into the field. There were two reasons for this. The first was to help them understand the questions and the second was to keep the survey strictly on schedule. Four people were needed to finish the survey within one week on the northern side hamlets (which comprised 109 households). The survey in the northern hamlets was carried out first because to get there one needs to cross a river, which often floods on rainy days. The survey coincided with the peak of the rainy season, and therefore the level of the river was often dangerously high. Although some of the villagers who were familiar with these conditions were able to cross the river, the safety of the team members needed to be considered. Therefore, if the river rose to a level that made it impossible to cross, then the team had to take a long walk to get to the other side of the river via the adjacent village which had a

new bridge built across the river. It took almost one hour to complete that journey - compared with only five minutes on the normal route wading across the river. Since there was no electricity, no toilet facilities available and no available room to rent, it was impossible for the team to stay overnight in the northern side hamlets. Together with the female assistant, I stayed in the village head's house while the male assistants lived with another prominent family in the village. The most suitable interview time differed between the northern hamlets and the southern ones. On the northern side, we had to make the visits during the daytime, since there was no electricity of any kind for reading and writing activities to continue in the evening. Therefore, the team left the houses at about 9.00 a.m. and returned at about 6.00 p.m. On the other hand, the interviews in the southern hamlets were done in the afternoon and evening up to midnight as most of the respondents worked during the day.

In the second week, the female assistant joined the team in the village, as we started to visit households in the southern hamlets. The characteristics of people who live in the southern hamlets were slightly different to those of their counterparts in the northern parts. They were relatively better off, well educated and speak the Indonesian language better than people in the north. Since the female assistant spoke only the low-level of Javanese language, which is impolite to use in a formal conversation, she did the interviews by using both Indonesian and Javanese languages. While the four assistants were in the field finishing the interviews, I stayed at home to edit already completed questionnaires.

By doing the editing work in the field it was easier to revise the incomplete questionnaires. Each questionnaire was examined for inconsistencies and missing information. Flawed questionnaires were largely found in the first week, because the

assistants' familiarity with the flow of questions was not yet well developed. On the other hand, missing information occurred because either the assistant had missed the question or the respondents had given unclear answers. In the following weeks the completion of questionnaires was improved, although one assistant made mistakes continually because he was not able to establish good rapport with the respondents. Several of his respondents had to be interviewed again, because his questionnaires were neither consistent nor completely filled-out. The second time, the interviews were done by different assistants. After examining each questionnaire thoroughly, notes were written on the front page about any mistakes that had been found or any clarification needed for particular answers. The assistants were then asked to revise the questionnaire. In certain cases, I encouraged the assistants to visit the respondents again to revise the incorrect questionnaires. The first editing finished one day after the last visit was made. The second editing was conducted in Bogor at the same time as the data entry process.

The data entry process was done in Bogor where computer equipment was available. While the assistants did the second revision of each questionnaire, I created a codebook to use as a guide in the data entry process. In addition to handing in the completed questionnaires, the assistants were asked to write field notes. The notes covered qualitative information about migration history, family history, respondents' opinions and perception of migration, income generating activity patterns, marriage history etc. These notes were very helpful in the editing process. With the codebook ready and the questionnaires compiled, the data were transferred from the questionnaires onto computer disks. While doing so, each questionnaire had to be read again in a more systematic way, because each had to be in accordance with the computer programme, which was already set up. At this

stage, some undetected inconsistencies within answers were found. To overcome these problems I had to go back to each assistant to clarify the answers or visit the respondents again. Another purpose of re-reading all questionnaires was to select households for the in-depth case studies and the tracing survey as well.

When the data entry process was completed, I planned to go back to the village to carry out the case studies and to fill-in the missing information that still remained after the second editing. Twelve households out of 270 had been chosen as case studies to be visited again to obtain more in-depth information. The twelve selected households had the following characteristics:

- One household contained a return migrant.
- Four households contained both return and non-permanent migrants.
- Three single person households.
- Three households contained permanent migrants.
- One household contained no migrant and had limited migration experience.

The twelve households were revisited one or more times to collect qualitative information concerned with migration history, marriage history, family history and working experience. The in-depth interviews were carried out using a Question Guide (Appendic 2c). The guide contained a list of information to be collected in some detail. The guide did not include the structure or the sequence of questions so as not to restrict the interview technique of the researcher. Since I did the study by myself the guidance was not always needed. As the majority of cases were visited by myself, the respondent already knew about the purpose of my visits. Therefore no tension or doubt showed when I visited them without being accompanied by village officials. Moreover, in the following visits, I was already considered as a close neighbour or relative and I was trusted to share any new gossip. The

interviews were conducted in a very informal way. However, the gender bias in data collection could not be avoided. As a woman, I was able to create a close or even an intimate conversation with female respondents, but it was impossible to do the same with the males. This was because male respondents were reluctant to have such a conversation or if he were willing to, he would always invite his wife or the village official also. To compensate for the lack of male opinions, the field notes made by the male assistants were used. Most interviews were hosted by the husbands and the wives, and sometimes with other family members as well. They usually answered the questions as a team, and they corrected each other's answer to a particular question before they agreed to give one unanimous answer to me. The in-depth interviews were done within two weeks and I then returned to Bogor to set up the tracing survey in West Java.

### c. Some Methodological Considerations

The enumeration of outmigrants as a part of household survey in the origin village should be carried out on the basis of the following considerations:

Firstly, in enumeration of outmigrants, the house is the spatial boundary to define migration. This means that all members of a particular household, who had already moved to a different house, including those who just moved to the main household's backyard, should be included as outmigrants. This method was applied to avoid overlooking some people who used to be household members, especially the children. However, the use of household as the boundary can cause double enumeration for particular people. An example of this situation is as follows: a man has been recorded as an outmigrant from his parents' home as he moved-out to live in his own home next door, but he does not live in his home for most of the year because he is working in Bandung as a temporary migrant, so in his own



household he will again be recorded as an outmigrant. To avoid the confusion that may arise, probing questions had been used to identify whether the particular people still live in the same hamlet or village at the time of survey or not. If they are still living in the same hamlet or village of study, they will be coded as 'Moved out to their own house' instead of 'Temporary Migrant' or 'Permanent Migrant'. The man, in the above example, therefore was coded as 'Moved out to their own house' in his parents' questionnaire and recorded as a 'Temporary Migrants' in his household's questionnaire.

Secondly, to be consistent with the lifetime migration definition applied in this study, people who had migrated permanently were not including as an outmigrant unless they were village-born. For easier listing, those people were also included in the enumeration and coded "Not village-born" although they are excluded from the data processing and analysis.

Thirdly, is a consideration in defining household. A household in its long history might have been headed by different people following the end of a family cycle. Commonly, elderly widowed men or women gave up their headship to their sons or sons-in-law as they got older and do not want to be troubled with various matters related to household affairs. He or she has changed their status in the household from head to become a member. On the other hand, a son or son-in-law has been promoted to become a household head. This study, therefore, used the current household heads as the basis to define its members' migration status. This means that only members who left the house under the current household head are considered as outmigrants, meaning that other family members left the house with different household heads were not included. This definition was applied to be in accordance with the family and household analysis as the main reference point of

household is the household head. Therefore, the number of outmigrants is more related to households than the village, because not everyone who used to live in the village had migrated permanently to other places is counted. The common people who are missing from the enumeration are siblings or in-laws of current household heads who used to live in the same home but left it, permanently, when it was headed by their parents or parents-in-law. These people might still have a strong influence on the household, especially when the mother or father is still alive. The analysis of outmigration therefore will be based on those who were coded as 'Temporary Outmigrants' and 'Permanent Outmigrants' and live outside the village boundary only.

Another set of definitions has been taken to classify a migrant as temporary or permanent. Based on the definition of migration explained elsewhere (See subsection 2.5.), migrants who had been said to be *merantau* by the respondents in the village were classified as temporary migrants, while those who were said to be *pindah* were permanent migrants. There will be two questions addressed to identify the migration status of outmigrants, the current status and the initial status. Generally, respondents will more accurately answer about current migration type rather than the status on initial movement, because it is difficult to recall the migration status of every outmigrant at the time of their initial movement as it sometimes happened decades ago. Therefore, in classifying migration type in their initial movement a definition has been used that is, except for marriage and transmigration, other initial migrations will be classified as temporary migrants or *merantau*. This is because marriage and transmigration were considered as permanent actions, which often meant the separation from parents' households to build their own households. On the other hand, migration with other objectives,

such as go to school, look for work or for work, was largely considered as *merantau*, because these single migrants generally still regarded their parents' households as their homes. A change of migration status frequently happened when the migrant got married and set up home elsewhere. If the outmigrant bought land or built a house in the village, they were considered as temporary migrants. Commonly, these migrants intend to return to the village in their old age to enjoy the fruits of a long time of hard work. Those migrants could have lived and worked in the city for more than six months, but as long as they put their saving in the village, they were considered temporary migrants.

From 270 sample households, 719 people had been recorded as having left the households, excluding the 'Not village origin' people. Twenty-two people left the households to live elsewhere within the same hamlet and 88 people moved to other hamlets within the village. Therefore, the number of people who had migrated to other places outside the village are 609 consisting of 346 males (56.7 per cent) and 263 females (42.3 per cent). Among them, 38.4 per cent (N=233) are temporary outmigrants and 61.6 per cent (N=376) are permanent outmigrants. Some 58.4 per cent (N=356) used to live on the Southern-side and 41.6 per cent (N=253) are from the Northern-side. The 609 outmigrants are related to 208 households, meaning that 22.9 per cent (N=62) of sample households do not have a member who lives elsewhere and classified as 'Non-migrant households' (see Table 2.4.).

### **2.3.2. Primary Research in the Destination Area**

#### **a. Selection of The Research Location**

The destination areas considered for the tracing survey were Jakarta and

Table 2.4. Distribution of Outmigrants from Wonosigro

Type of Movement	N	per cent
Moving within hamlets	22	3.1
Moving within the village	88	12.2
Moving to outside the village outmigrants or	609	84.7
Total Movers	719	100.0
Distribution of outmigrants: (N=609)		
<u>By Sex:</u>		
-Male	346 (56.7 %)	
-Female	263 (42.3 %)	
<u>By Migration Status:</u>		
- temporary outmigrants	233 (38.4 %)	
- permanent outmigrants	376 (61.6 %)	
<u>By Location:</u>		
- Southern-side	356 (58.4 %)	
- Northern-side	253 (41.6 %)	
<u>By Household: (N=270)</u>		
- With Outmigrants	208 (87.1 %)	
- Without Outmigrants	62 (22.9 %)	

Source: Field Survey, 1995/1996

BOTABEK (Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi), because most outmigrants from Wonosigro went to those areas. A definite address of one outmigrant in Jakarta who invited me to visit his *martabak* stall was established. Even though he only gave me his stall location, and not his home address, it provided a good channel to other outmigrants' addresses in Jakarta for the tracing survey. In a number of previous interviews, I met several non-permanent outmigrants who were visiting their family, but they refused to disclose their address in Jakarta. One reason is that they were ashamed to show their place of residence in the destination areas, because it was either not in good condition or it is very difficult to locate.

Fortunately, it was easy to find his stall location, although he could not help find his friends elsewhere in Jakarta, because their places suffered from flooding at that time. Some of his friends had moved and he did not know the location of their new residence. At that time a heavy flood hit Jakarta and it was very difficult to travel within the city. Since there was no sign of the flood diminishing in the short term, and there was no other definite address of any outmigrant in Jakarta or Botabek, another destination area had to be chosen in which to undertake this research. The second option of a destination area was Bandung. If the province is used as a spatial boundary for defining migration, there would be 477 people defined as outmigrants. Among them, 57 per cent (N=274) went to Jakarta and BOTABEK, while 26 per cent (N=124) moved to Bandung and the remainder (17 per cent) were distributed to other provinces in Indonesia or went abroad<sup>3</sup>. However, one should remember that this number consists of both types of migration, permanent and non-permanent. Based on these data, Bandung is the second most popular destination area and therefore, was chosen as an alternative to Jakarta as the location of the tracing survey. Accordingly, West Java province, of which Bandung is the Capital, was chosen as the research area for macro-scale research. The location of Bandung and West Java Province are shown in Figure 2.3., while *Kecamatan* Dayeuh Kolot and *Kelurahan* Pasawahan are in Figure 2.4.

The first step to be carried-out was to go to Bandung and try to meet an immigrant from Wonosigro village there. Even though I already had one definite address of an outmigrant to Bandung, no one could guarantee that it would help.

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<sup>3</sup>The distribution of outmigrants by destination areas is analysed in Chapter 5.4.2.

Figure 2.3. Maps of West Java Province and Bandung Regency

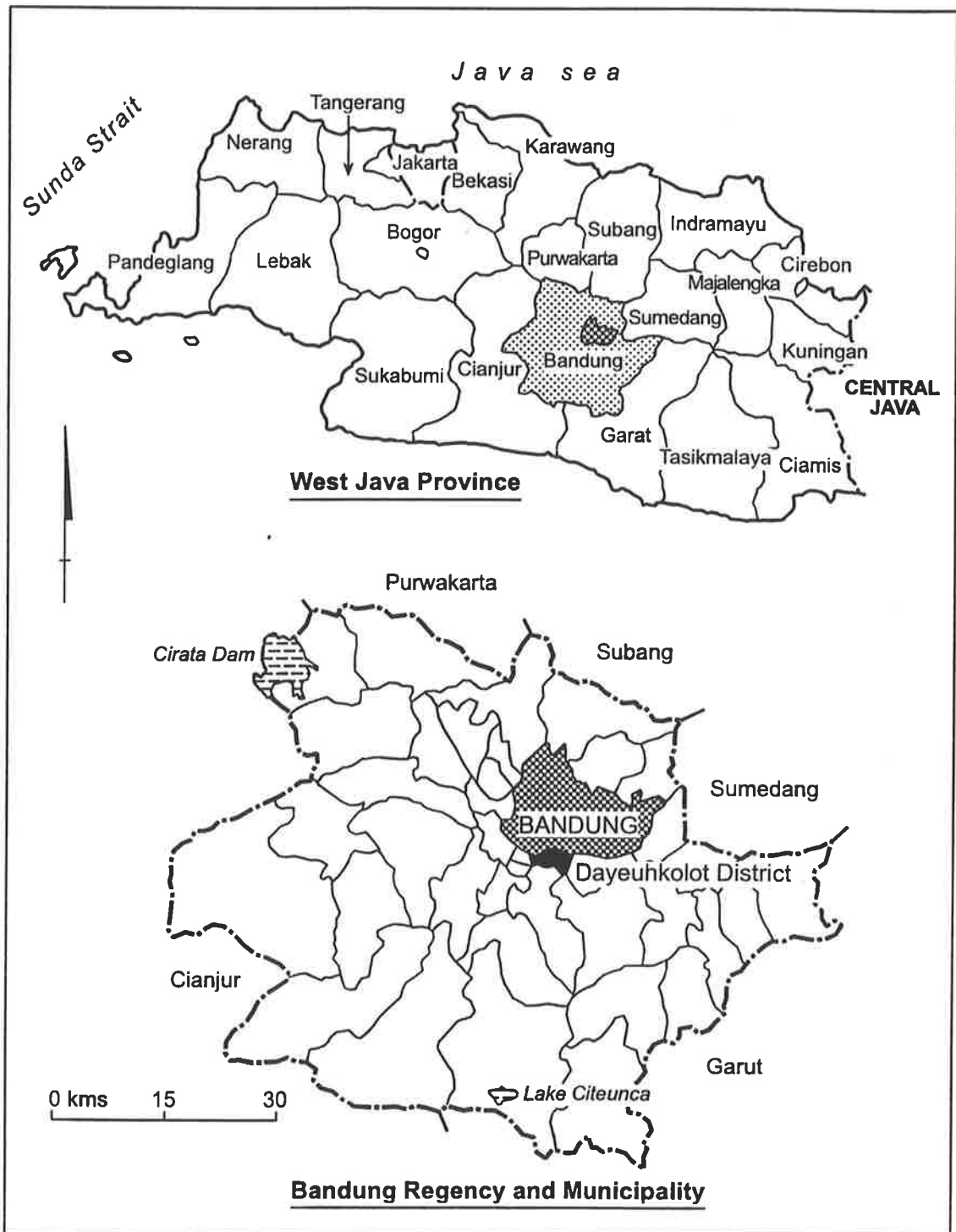
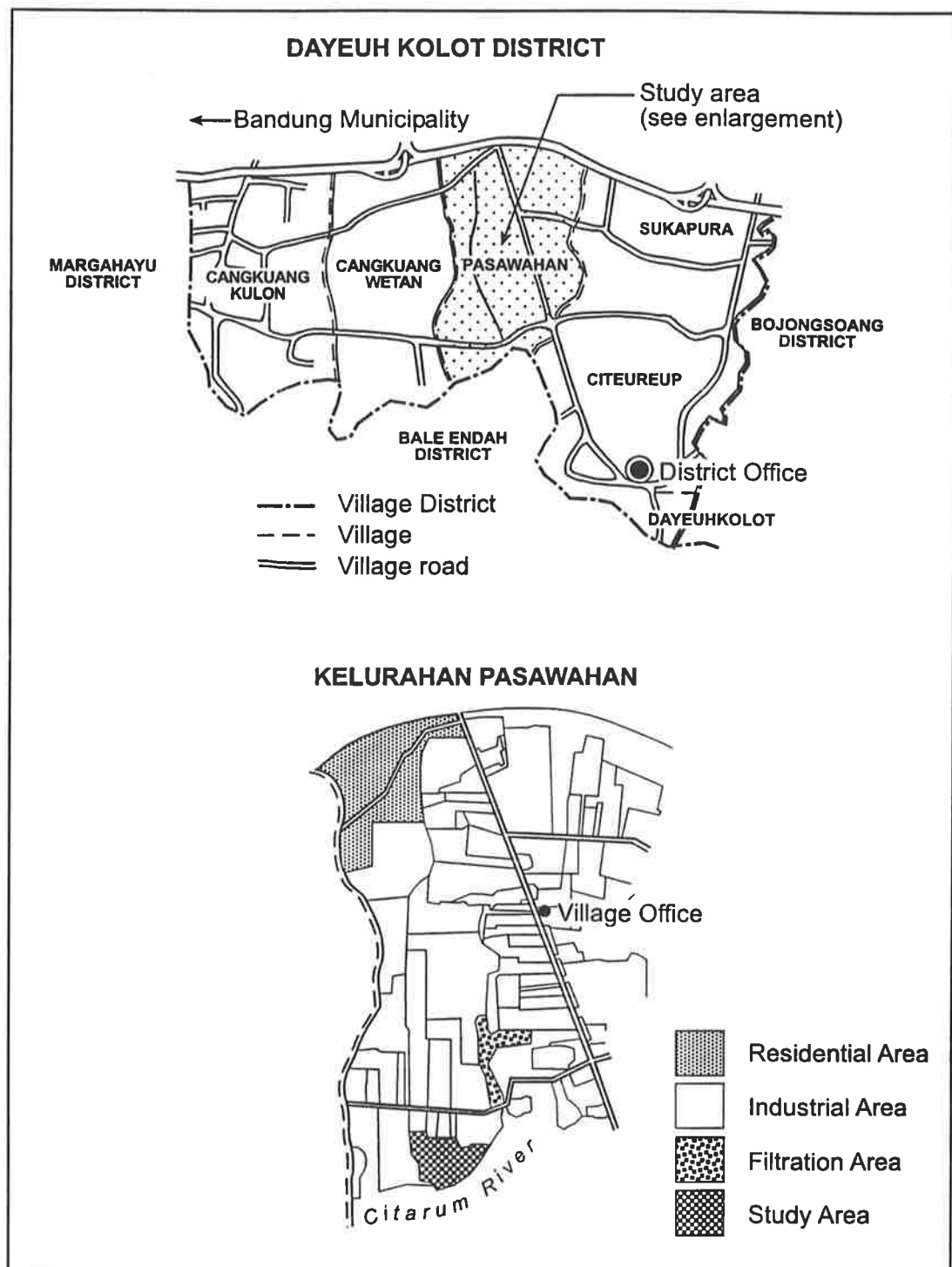


Figure 2.4. Maps of Dayeuhkolot District and *Kelurahan* Pasawahan

Before going to Bandung a list of all immigrants from Wonosigro was produced. The list contained such information as their names, sex, age, parents' name, hamlet, address and job. This list was taken to Bandung to assist in locating the migrants. In the middle of February 1996, I met a male outmigrant in Bandung (C1)<sup>4</sup> whose wife in the village has given me his work address in a textile factory.

After a brief conversation in the factory he invited me to his boarding house, located in the back yard of the factory, on Sunday during his day-off for a longer interview. He gave me a map to his boarding house and the type of public transportation I should use. It was rather difficult to find, since it was in the very dense urban settlement of Pasawahan village in Southern Bandung. His boarding house was actually a factory *bedeng*<sup>5</sup> located outside the factory compound. The factory had bought the land and several houses the villagers to be used as a factory *bedeng*. The factory does not need to build new houses and only provides facilities for the workers, such as clean water and toilets. Although C1 had lived there for more than two years he is an immigrant, and therefore was unknown to the local people. He gave me the name of a prominent local person who could help me find his house.

As I arrived at his *bedeng*, I was introduced to the other occupants. He shared the house with seven other workers. Although he accepted me kindly, I could feel his suspicion regarding my activity. Initially, he questioned me about the purpose of the research and how far it would have implications for him. I answered

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<sup>4</sup> Cn is a code number given to traced-outmigrants in Bandung, which will be used throughout the report. C1 is the code for this particular male outmigrants.

<sup>5</sup>The literary meaning of *bedeng* is 'shed' or 'hut' (Echols and Shadily 1994). A building made of very simple materials, such as bamboo or plywood to be temporary accommodation for temporary workers which could be easily dismantled to be moved to other location. The *bedeng* was usually built by employers to provide free accommodation for their workers.



all his questions and gave explanations in the same way I had told his wife in the village. When I showed him the list of immigrants I wished to visit, he told me that half of them live in this hamlet named Citepus, but he did not know them very well. However he agreed to introduce me to one immigrant who did know them well. In the afternoon he accompanied me to her house. Fortunately, she already knew of my activity from her family in the village and she agreed to help me find the other people. Later, the young female worker, C12, and her family became important informants.

#### b. Data Collection Methods

With the help of one female and one male worker, I visited as many of the names on the list as possible. Among the 124 people who migrated to Bandung from Wonosigro, 42.9 per cent (54 people) lived in this *kampung* and worked as factory workers, in the textile or garment industries. The rest of them lived scattered around Bandung, either in the regency area or in the city. Most immigrants, who lived in the city, worked as street vendors or had a job in a restaurant. Although I could not visit all of them, I tried to choose the prospective respondents with regard to the following considerations:

1. It is preferable to choose immigrants who came from case-study households in the village.
2. Immigrants who came from the same family (brothers or sisters) should be visited.
3. The respondents should represent the variation, which exists in terms of sex, marital status, migration status and work types among the total group of migrants.

In the process of sample selection I found that job variations were a reflection of the hamlet's location in the village of origin. Most immigrants from the northern hamlets worked as street vendors, while the majority of those who came from southern

hamlets work as factory workers. This phenomenon called the occupational clustering of migrants from a particular origin (Hugo 1978, p.230).

It was easy to meet the factory workers because they live in the same *kampung* and most of them knew each other very well. From C12 I obtained information about who would be available to interview that day and when would be the best time to visit. She always accompanied me during the visits, because without her it would take longer to find each house. The role of C12 was the same as the village official in the village. She would introduce me to each respondent. The difference was that she would then leave me alone with the respondents to have a chat with other friends who were living nearby. She was not formally interviewed, although she was an important respondent. The information about her was collected informally at any time I was alone with her. I asked her questions on the way to the respondent's houses or while we were having a meal together. To find immigrants who lived in the city of Bandung was a rather different experience. The female informant knew some of them, but she did not know where they lived. Therefore she introduced me to her friend, a male factory worker who came from the northern hamlet. C7 knew many of his hamlet fellows, where they lived and what they did. Moreover, he agreed to accompany me to visit them and became an important informant.

A great deal of effort was needed to meet immigrants who lived in the city of Bandung. Based on the considerations on selecting prospective respondents, I had tried to locate several migrants taken from the village of origin outmigrants' list with the help of factory worker migrants in *Kelurahan Pasawahan*. Fortunately, C7 knew two of them. He assured me that they would help us to locate the other immigrants in the city. The first person visited was C6 who lived in a rented house

'with his family in a *kampung* in the City of Bandung. Later Mrs. C6 told us how to get to the other prospective respondents. The other prospective immigrants that knew my informant quite well were C2 and his brother C3. C2 has a *martabak*' stall, while C3 helps him to serve the customers. One evening, we visited them at his stall. After some conversation, I told C2 of my intention to visit his house to interview him about his migration experience. He agreed with the idea and gave me a map of how to get to his house. I only visited him once at his house, but visited him more frequently at his stall. The difference between the immigrants who lived in Pasawahan and those in the city is that the immigrants in the city did not know much about the whereabouts of their fellow villagers. The main reason for this was that they lived in different places, which were quite distant from one another. Another reason was that they worked in the informal sector as own-account workers or labourers, which is not located in the same areas. This meant outmigrants in the city seldom made social visit to each other.

Within three months of beginning the tracing survey, I was able to compile a set of qualitative information gathered by means of in-depth-interviews and participation observation. The method used in participation observation was slightly different to that applied in the village. Since the respondents do not involve themselves in the local community, I did not use the community approach. Instead, I involved myself in their everyday life; I visited each of them in their house, I ate with them, went to shopping together, went to Bandung city with them on their day off, watched Indian movies on television and made conversation with them. The range of information collected from the respondents in the destination area covered such topics as: migration history, work history, marriage history, living arrangements, the relationship with the village of origin, childcare, the adjustment

process and domestic arrangements. A total of 16 people were interviewed in depth.

## **2.4. The Macro-scale Research**

### **2.4.1. Introduction**

Parts of this study have utilised secondary data. The secondary data collection stage was conducted after the primary data collection was completed. The data were collected mainly from the Central Bureau of Statistics in Jakarta and its branch offices at the relevant province and regency levels. Information obtained from Bappeda and other government offices was important to describe the study area and to provide the context of the study. The majority of population and demographic trends were obtained using secondary sources such as from Population Censuses. Secondary data are also a useful indication of the social and economic changes in a particular community or country. This study will explore secondary data sources, such as Population Censuses (SP) 1980 and 1990 and Intercensal Population Survey (SUPAS) 1995 data sets in obtaining reasonable macro-scale information on migration and household structure changes to place in context the micro-scale study. In addition to raw data sets, the analysis will make use of other available published materials from the Central Bureau of Statistics Indonesia. The analysis of household structure will be based on SP1980 and SP1990 only, while SUPAS 1995 was used to explore the intra-provincial migration to study the magnitude and direction of migration between *DATI II* areas within Central and West Java provinces.

## 2.4.2. Some Considerations in Data Analysis

### a. The Life-time Migration Approach

In the Indonesian population census there are three sources of information relating to the migration status of the population, these are place of birth, place of previous residence, and place of residence five years ago (Hugo 1978). According to the Central Bureau of Statistics (1992:xxxvi), a place of birth is the province where the respondent was born and had lived for at least six months, while a respondent's place of previous residence is the province where one lived before moving to the current province of residence. Based on the first type of information, people who are living in a province other than that of their birth place are defined as life-time migration and those who have ever lived in another province are defined as total-migration. In this study a lifetime migration definition will be applied to increase the probability that the Central Java immigrants in West Java came from the Javanese ethnic group rather than using a total migration definition, which would have included everyone who ever lived in Central Java before they migrated to West Java. One should bear in mind that the Central Java-born migrants do not necessarily come to West Java directly from Central Java, some of them might have migrated to another province before entering West Java. Table 2.5. shows the proportion of Central Java-born immigrants who directly arrived from Central Java in 1990 was 74.9 per cent, a decline from 86.7 per cent in 1980, although the overall numbers increased very rapidly by 8.3 per cent per annum, from 336,572 in 1980 to 616,438 in 1990. The rest of the Central Java-born migrants entered West Java from other provinces, especially Jakarta Special Region that contributed 13.2 per cent in 1980 and this increased to 22.1 per cent in 1990. This is evidence of the Jakarta's residential spill over to West Java region (Hugo 1996, 1997). This has

extended Jakarta urban fringe into the neighbouring regencies of Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi in West Java and created Jakarta Metropolitan Region called 'Jabotabek' an acronym for Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasi (Firman and Dharmapatni 1995).

Table 2.5. Central Java -born Migrants in West Java According to Previous Provinces of Residence, 1980 and 1990

Previous Residence	Household				Population			
	1980		1990		1980		1990	
	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent	N	per cent
Sumatera	1,591	1.0	5,099	<u>1.7</u>	3,116	0.8	10,768	<u>1.3</u>
Jakarta	22,756	14.2	80,380	<u>26.6</u>	52,457	13.2	182,083	<u>22.1</u>
Central Java	133,070	<u>83.2</u>	210,990	69.8	336,572	<u>86.7</u>	616,438	74.9
Other Provinces	2,578	1.6	5,835	<u>2.0</u>	5,250	1.3	14,024	<u>1.7</u>
Total	159,995	100.0	302,304	100.0	397,395	100.0	823,313	100.0

Sources: Indonesia Population Census Data 1980 and 1990 on West Java Province

The micro-study intended to examine Javanese immigrants in West Java using a socio-cultural approach and by limiting the scope of the immigrant origins in ethnicity in the secondary analysis will increase the reliability in integrating it with the primary data. Although one should remember that the Central Java-born people do not necessarily belong to the Javanese ethnic group and there is no direct information of ethnicity in the population census data. A proxy of whether a person comes from a particular ethnic group can be obtained by looking at the language used at home as a considerable number of Indonesians prefer to use their ethnic origin languages in everyday communication at home rather than use the language of people in the destination areas or *Bahasa Indonesia*, the official national language in Indonesia. The use of *Bahasa Indonesia* among Central Javanese immigrants has increased over time and the use of ethnic languages has declined.

Table 2.6. shows that in 1980, 36.2 per cent of Central Java-born migrants in West Java used the Javanese language at home and this declined to 26.1 per cent in 1990, while the percentage who use *Bahasa Indonesia* has increased from 38.9 per cent in 1980 to 59 per cent in 1990. It means that a substantial number of Central Javanese migrants still retain their Javanese language while living in West Java that as is the case in Indonesia generally, the use of *Bahasa Indonesia* is increasing. On the other hand, not all West Java-born people are Sundanese, the major ethnic group living in West Java. Nevertheless as about 72.7 per cent of the non-migrant population speak Sundanese at home it is clear that the majority of non-migrants in West Java are Sundanese or influenced by Sundanese culture. However, we should remember that the application of language use by immigrants as a proxy for ethnic origin is unlikely to be totally accurate as migrants tend to adapt to their new environment (Abu-Lughod 1961; Hugo 1978; Abustam 1989), and this includes casting aside their ethnic origin languages and adopting the local language or *Bahasa Indonesia*. In another situation, the West Java-born people who speak Sundanese do not

Table 2.6. Percentage of Languages Use for Everyday Communication at Home  
Among Central Java-born Migrants in West Java, 1980 and 1990

Languages	< 1 year		1-5 years		> 5 years		Total	
	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990	1980	1990
Indonesian	61.9	64.1	51.9	68.1	28.1	49.6	38.9	59.0
Javanese	30.3	28.9	31.9	22.4	39.4	27.7	36.2	26.1
Sundanese	7.5	5.9	15.8	8.7	32.3	22.0	24.5	14.1
Others	0.3	1.1	0.4	0.8	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N ('000)	70.47	161.91	80.89	286.31	245.90	360.56	397.26	808.79

Sources: Indonesia Population Data, West Java Province 1980 and 1990

necessarily belong to the Sundanese ethnic group. Some of them could be the second or later generations of migrants from different ethnic groups who had limited contact with people who speak their own ethnic origin languages and subsequently adopted the local language or *Bahasa Indonesia*. Moreover, in a multi-ethnic society there is always a possibility of mixed-marriages to occur and consequently will create a blend of two or more cultures in particular household which often force its members to use *Bahasa Indonesia* to communicate with each other. Another reason is that some of the Central Java-born migrants had lived in cultures other than the Javanese before they migrated to West Java that might have eroded their ability to speak Javanese so they prefer to communicate in *Bahasa Indonesia*. All of my respondents in Bandung still maintain their Javanese language and almost all of the interviews were conducted in Javanese. The first generation of migrants speak in Javanese with each other, but they mostly communicate in *Bahasa Indonesia* with their children. Some of them who use *Bahasa Indonesia* with me were meant to respect me, because it's too difficult for us to speak in high Javanese, the appropriate language to be used with me as a guest or stranger.

#### b. Migration Classification

It has been mentioned before that migrants have to adjust to their new environment. The process of adjustment to the new environment needs time and therefore the longer migrants stay in a destination area the likelihood is higher that they have adapted to the new situation. In Third World countries, either internal migration within Third World countries or international migration from Third World countries to developing countries, the role of family or friends in the migration network is important in the process of adaptation (Abu-Lughod 1961; Bruner 1961; Hugo 1978; Chaves 1985; Abustam 1989 and Glick *et.al.* 1997). The family



or friends who already live in the destination area will provide assistance to new arrivals to obtain a job or a place to stay. Accordingly, the length of stay in destination areas may also influence the migrants' living arrangements. To analyse the changes of living arrangement of migrants in the destination area, migrants are grouped into five categories according to their length of stay in West Java province, as follows:

1. Most-recent immigrants, which covers people who were born in other provinces and migrated to West Java less than one year before the census.
2. Recent immigrants, which includes people who were born in other provinces and migrated to West Java more than one year but less than five years before the census.
3. Life-time immigrants, which refers to people who were born in other provinces and migrated to West Java more than five years ago.
4. Return Migrants, which refers to people who were born in West Java but have ever lived in other provinces.
5. Never-migrated Population, which covers all West Java-born people excluding Return Migrants.

While some analyses need the detail of categorisation of migration status as above, some others may not. Therefore, a more general grouping into two categories was also created as follows:

1. The first three categories will be joined into one as Immigrant Population or non-West-Java-born population.
2. The last two categories will unite into Non-migrant Population or West-Java-born population.

#### c. Household Structure Classification

The development of a household structure variable was more difficult than creating a migration status variable from the census data as a household unit variable needed to be created from individual records. There are two categories of households applied in the population census, namely ordinary and special households<sup>6</sup>, there is no household structure or composition information available as such, but people are asked to state their relationship with the head of the household. In this study the concern is only with the private or ordinary households, because the living arrangements of people in private households is more likely to involve families.

In the Indonesian literature no attempt has been made by the census to create a family variable from census data. The approach adopted here was to create a household structure variable by combining two individual variables, these are 'Total members of household' and 'Relationship to head of household'. The existence of a household is determined by the household head, while its structure is based on the composition of members according to their relationship to the head (Glick, 1956). Therefore in this study the household structure is defined as any combination of members' relations to household head. There are eight categories of members' relationship to head of household, namely spouse (1), children (2), children-in-law (3), grandchildren (4), parent/ parent-in-law (5), other relatives (6), servant (7) and others (8), which make 256 household structure combinations. These combinations range from head and 'no-members' to 'head and all-eight type of members'.

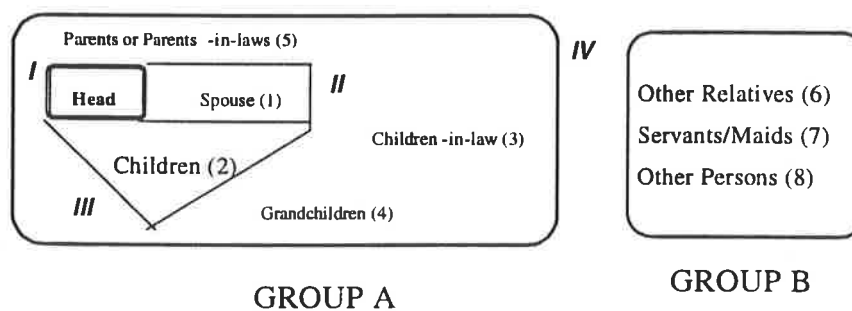
It is not practical to analyse the 256 type of household structure separately

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<sup>6</sup>See Chapter 2.5. for the definitions.

as most of them will only make up a very small percentage of households and are too complex to analyse. Therefore, unifications of several combinations that have close similarity in terms of meaningful family relations need to be done (See Figure 2.5.). The unification should be carefully handled to create a more manageable number of household types that are able to identify the existence of a family. For example, nuclear family type consists of two combinations, which are 'Head and Spouse' and 'Head, Spouse and Children'.

Figure 2.5. Diagram of Household Structures



- Notes: 1. SPF (Single Person Household) = Head Only (A I)  
 2. NonF (Non-familial Household) = Head (A I) + Group B  
 3. NF (Nuclear Family) = Head + Spouse (A II) or Head + Spouse + Children (A III)  
 4. EV (Extended Family Vertical Household) = A IV Only or (AIV + Group B)  
 5. EH (Extended Family Horizontal Household) = (A II + Group B) or (A III + Group B)  
 6. ErF (Eroded Family Household) = NF or EV or EH without Spouse(2)

Basically, there are two major types of family according to marriage and blood relations, namely nuclear family and extended family (Murdock 1949). The nuclear family consists of husband and wife with or without children. The extended family consists of nuclear families with other relatives, which could be extended

vertically or horizontally. A form of nuclear family with either parents, children-in-law, grandchildren or any combination of the last three is called extended-family vertical, while a nuclear family with other relatives or other persons created extended family horizontal (Laslett 1972; Hammel and Laslett 1974; Chaves 1985; Glick *et.al.* 1997). As there is no information about what is exactly the relationship of 'other relatives (8)' to 'head of households' in the Indonesian census, it is assumed that 'other relatives (8)' should be placed in the same generation as the head. Therefore any combinations including 'other relatives (8)' will be grouped into extended family horizontal.

After the unifications into these three types of family, some combinations still were left-out, those are the form of extended-family vertical with relatives /servants/others, household head only, combinations of members without spouses and combinations of heads with other relatives, servants and other persons. The extended-family vertical with relatives were joined to extended-family horizontal, as the existence of other relatives or persons was assumed to be more influenced by migration than that with the addition of parents or grandchildren. The last three types, on the other hand, were treated as different categories and all together with the previous familial categories made six new categories of household structure as follows:

1. Single person household (SPH) is a household that contains only a head.
2. Non-familial household (NonF) is a household that includes head and "other relatives", servants or other people or any combination of the last three.
3. Nuclear-family household (NF) is a household which includes heads, spouses and with or without children.

4. Extended-family Vertical household (EV) is a two or three generations-families household, that is a household consisting of any combination of NF above plus parents/parent-in-law, sons/daughters-in-law and grandchildren of heads.
5. Extended-family Horizontal household (EH) is any type of Nuclear-family household (NF) or Extended-family Vertical households (EV) accompanied by other relatives, servants, and other persons or by any combination of the last three.
6. Eroded -family household (ErF) or single-parent household is a household consists of any combination of NF, EV or EH above but without the existence of one of the spouses.

The first two of the household categories are referred to as non-familial household structures, while the last four categories are included in familial-household structures.

The following household analysis will be based on head of household records, so that household migration status and household type will be defined by that of the head. This analyses including the changes of household number, size and characteristics, according to its structure, location and migration status. The household head's characteristics, such as age, sex, marital status and education level, as well as their migration status will be used to indicate the household characteristics. Additional analysis was applied to study the characteristics of household members who live in particular structures of household according to their migration status and area. The first analysis will explain how many households there are in each type and how far it has changed between 1980 and 1990; whereas the second analysis will explain how many people live in each type of household and how far it has changed in the same period of time. From the second analysis we will

also get information about what kind of relationships to household head appear more frequently in what kind of household structures.

Another factor to be considered in the analysis is the dynamics of regional development in West Java province. West Java province attracts people from all over Indonesia because of the rapid growth of industrialisation, which promises more employment availability in the province than elsewhere (Hugo 1996, 1997; Firman and Dharmapatni 1995). However, one should be aware that the rapid-industrialisation has occurred only in particular regencies, which means that the immigrant population is not evenly distributed over West Java, but concentrated in some areas. To demonstrate this we will not use the 20 regencies and four municipalities, but will utilise another official regional grouping called Development Regions (Bappeda 1988), which was established by the West Java Regional Development Planning Agency (Bappeda) in the 1980s. The Development Region is not a new administration hierarchy but it is merely a union of several regencies and municipalities with similar economic characteristics as shown in Figure 2.6.

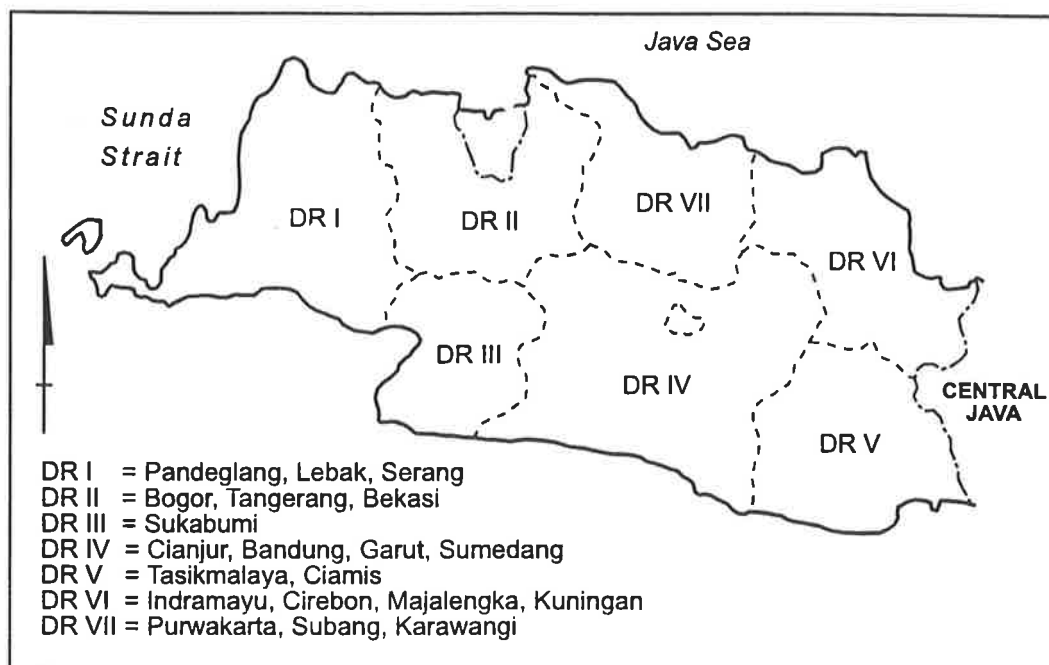
West Java province has been grouped into seven Development Regions as follows:

DR I or Banten includes Pandeglang, Lebak and Serang regencies, which is planned for agriculture and large industry (especially in Serang regency).

DR II or Botabek includes Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi regencies and Bogor municipalities to become a centre of industries and trade and a hinterland for Jakarta Special Region.

DR III or Sukabumi comprises Sukabumi regency and municipality which is important for plantation, agriculture and tourism.

Figure 2.6. West Java Province By Development Regions



DR IV or Greater Bandung includes Bandung municipality and Bandung, Cianjur, Garut and Sumedang regencies which was characterised by household and handicraft industries in the Dutch colonial era and becoming more important for the expansion of textile and garment industries in current development.

DR V or Eastern Priangan (Priatim) comprises Tasikmalaya and Ciamis regencies where large private plantations were established in the 1929 depression but in the current situation the government-owned plantations are becoming more significant.

DR VI or Cirebon includes Cirebon municipality and Cirebon, Kuningan, Majalengka and Indramayu regencies, which is also important for plantation as well as small scale and petty industries.

DR VII or Purwasuka comprises Karawang, Purwakarta and Subang, which are very important coastal rice producing regions.

In order to obtain more information about the nature of household structure in different economic development regions, Development Regions will also differentiate the analysis of household change.

## **2.5. Definitions and Concepts**

### **2.5.1. Temporary and Permanent Migration**

There are many types of population mobility based on their time and space characteristics. Gould and Prothero (1975) created a typology of population mobility based on their experience in Africa using different time and space criteria. In Indonesia, some scholars had applied the typology with modifications (Hugo 1978; Mantra 1981). In the Gould and Prothero typology, the space dimension could be defined as distance or direction; while in Indonesia it is an administrative boundary (See Footnote no. 1). Based on that sequence, one can define the spatial dimension of migration, such as Hugo (1978) in his study in West Java applied village boundary as the spatial boundary and in Yogyakarta Mantra (1981) applied hamlet, while for national census province is taken as the migration defining boundary. This means that one is considered as a migrant if one moved out from one village to another village in the Hugo definition, while in the national census people can be categorised as migrants only if they moved out from one province to the other.

The time dimension, on the other hand, was differentiated as non-permanent and permanent migration. According to Zelinsky (1971) the difference between the two is whether a migrant has the intention to change residence permanently or not. In Indonesia the definition of the non-permanent migration including all types of short period of movement. A commuter refers to a migrant who leaves their village



for another place on a daily basis, without an intention to stay overnight in the destination area (Hugo *et al.* 1987). Various terminologies have been found in Indonesia to define particular types of mobility. In Yogyakarta, Mantra (1981) came across local terminology designating a commuter as *nglaju* and *mondok* or *nginep* for circulation, while *pindah* stands for permanent migration. In West Java, Hugo (1981) uses *merantau* for non-permanent migration and *pindah* for permanent movement. Similar to that of Hugo's, the people in this study area use *merantau* to indicate a form of non-permanent migration, while a person who has already migrated permanently was considered as *pindah*. People who *merantau* elsewhere were still considered as village residents and their names were still registered on the Family Card (*Ind. Kartu Keluarga*) whereas people who had already migrated permanently were removed from the card. To establish that someone intends to move permanently or not is not an easy job, therefore in the national census a strict period of time was applied to categorise people's migration status. The Central Bureau of Statistics defines people as permanent migrants if they had moved to another province for at least six months.

In this study, in the enumeration the spatial boundary used to define migration is the household. Therefore, one will be recorded as an outmigrant if one moved to another house even if it is in the same hamlet. It is important to analyse household formation. The household formation is very much influenced by the onset of the children leaving the family, which is not only caused by migration, but is in fact associated often with marriage. However, in the analysis of migration, geographically, only those who moved to other villages will be analysed. On the other hand, the time dimension was not limited to a certain length of time to define

the permanency of migration, but it was decided by the outmigrants themselves, whether they were already *pindah* or still *merantau*.

### 2.5.2. Family and Household

The distinction between family and household can be recognised through 'the essential features that define membership' in each of them (Bender 1967). The membership of a family is kinship, whereas the membership of a household is propinquity of residence or co-residence. Demographers, such as Burch (1978) mentioned that because of the need of covering the entire population it is necessary to combine the sociological definition of family, namely a group of kin, with the methodology of modern population censuses and surveys, which place the unit of census enumeration in a central position. Therefore in a demographic sense:

*“Family refers only to those kin with whom one co-resides. Persons living in the same dwelling unit comprise a household, whether they all are related or not. ....kin with whom one does not share the same dwelling unit are not part of one’s family ..... even though they may live close by, and even though there may be considerable social and economic integration among them”* (Burch 1978 p.174).

In other words Glick (1977 p. 389) defines family “as a group of related persons who live together in the same household”. The demographic definition of family and household has been applied widely in population surveys and censuses, which is supported by United Nations (UN 1973).

The UN concept of household is based on “the arrangement made by persons, individually or in groups, for providing themselves with food or other essentials for living (UN 1973 p.4). Therefore a household may be either “.. (a) a one-person household, that is, a person who makes provision for his own food or other essentials for living .... (b) a multi-person household, that is, a group of two or more persons who make common provision for food or essential living. While UN

concept about family is “those members of the household can, however, consist of more than one family .....” (UN, 1973 p.6).

In Indonesia, there are two categories of household in the population censuses, namely ordinary and special households, adopted by Central Bureau of Statistics, which are similar to that of UN. The CBS definition of ordinary household is:

“..... an individual or a group of people living in physical/census building unit or part thereof who make common provision for food and other essentials for living” (BPS 1992, p.xxxiv).

while a special household is:

“ ..... a group of people living in a particular institution such as dormitory, military barracks and penitentiary, where food provision is made collectively usually by the institution organization or roomer when they membered 10 or more people in a particular rooming house.” (BPS 1992, p.xxxiv).

However, unlike other countries such as Australia or United States, the Indonesian population census does not have a definition of the family and how it can be differentiated from household. Australian Bureau of Statistics, on the other hand, define a family as:

“ .. two or more persons, one of whom is at least 15 years of age, who are related by blood, marriage (registered or de facto), adoption, step or fostering, and who are usually resident in the same household. The basis of a family is formed by identifying the presence of a couple relationship. Some households, therefore, contain more than one family’ (McLennan 1995, p.3).

while using a similar household definition as Indonesia’s. The U.S. Bureau of the Census defined a household as:

“all persons who occupy a housing unit such as a house, apartment, single room, or other space intended to be living quarters. A household may consist of one person who lives alone or several people who share a dwelling”

and a family is:

“ ... two or more persons related by birth, marriage or adoption who reside together. This definition does not measure family ties that extend beyond the immediate housing unit”. (Ahlburg and De Vita, 1992).

There is a similarity in defining the relationship between household and family and all families form households while not all households are families. This means the marriage or blood relations found among members in a household can be used to indicate the existence of a family in household. This kind of relationship is more likely to be found in private households than in special households in Indonesia. Therefore in this study, special households have been excluded from secondary analysis using population census data.

## **2.6. Conclusion**

This chapter has summarised the methodology of the study. Two approaches, micro and macro are applied to examine the impact of migration upon family structure and functioning in the context of social and economic changes in Indonesia. The macro study will utilise the Population Census data sets for 1980 and 1990, the Intercensal Population Survey 1995 and other published materials. The micro approach is conducted in origin area, that is Central Java province, and a destination area, that is West Java province. Two methods of data collection are used in the micro study, a survey in origin village and a qualitative approach in both areas. The survey data are used to obtain the magnitude of outmigration, while the data from qualitative interview will be very important in explaining the reasons for of migration. The results of this work will be presented in subsequent chapters beginning with the description of population mobility patterns in Central Java province using secondary sources in Chapter Three.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Population Mobility in Central Java Province

Central Java is the largest migrant sender area of the provinces in Indonesia (Table 1.1.) and it has been selected as the origin area of migration in this study. This chapter provides an analysis of the patterns and characteristics of internal migration in Central Java. At the outset however there is a discussion of the geographical setting and the demographic, social, and economic background that is important in shaping the migration process as has been indicated by Mabogunje (1970 p. 3-4). The analysis is based on secondary sources, particularly the population census, *SUPAS95*, and other documentary sources.

#### 3.1. Introduction

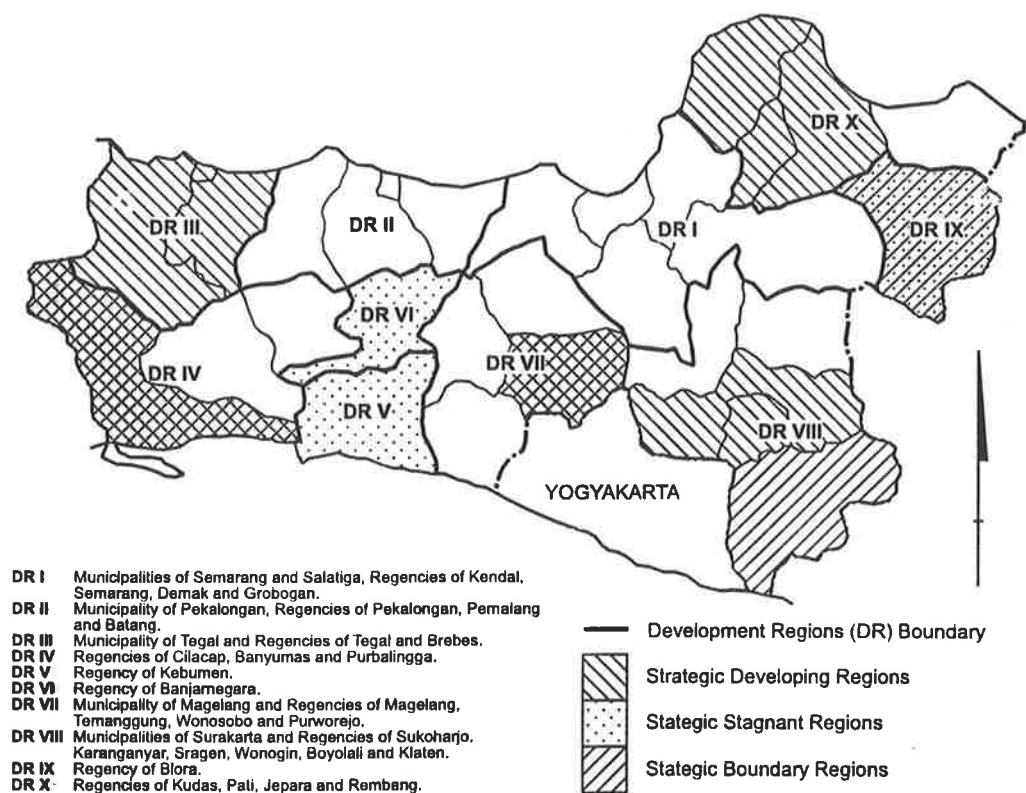
##### 3.1.1. Geographical Setting

Central Java Province shares the middle part of Java Island with the Yogyakarta Special Region (Figure 2.1). Precisely it lies between 5.4 and 8.3 degrees south latitude and between 108.3 and 111.3 degrees east longitude. The province is bordered by the Java Sea on the northern side, Yogyakarta Special Region and the Indian Ocean on the southern side, the province of West Java in the west, and East Java province in the east. Its climate is divided between a dry season (June to September), and rainy season (December to March) with two transitional periods, April to May and October to November. The average temperature is between 19.4 and 27 degrees Celsius, while the humidity ranges from 60 to 93 per cent. Topographically Central Java consists of rows of volcanoes in the western-middle part of the province, some of which are still active, such as Mount Merapi (2,911 meters), limestone mountain ranges in the middle-eastern part, coastal areas in the south and the north, and several river

basins scattered throughout the province. The lowland and the areas surrounding the volcanoes are relatively fertile and suitable for intensive rice farming, while the areas within the limestone mountain ranges are less fertile and less productive. The variation in soil fertility influences population density between the *DATI II* regions in Central Java.

Central Java province covers an area of 32,549 square kilometres or 1.68 per cent of Indonesia. Administratively, Central Java is divided into 29 regencies and 6 municipalities as *DATI II* Regions, 533 *kecamatan*, and 8,536 villages (BPS 1998) with Semarang City as the Capital. Semarang is located on the northern shore of the province on the Java Sea, about 291 kilometres north from Kebumen Regency, where the research village is located. For development strategy purposes the province has been divided into 10 regional development regions (DR) according to *Bappeda* of Central Java. Each DR consists of one *DATI II* region or a combination of two or more *DATI II* regions with similar characteristics. Besides creating development regions, Central Java province *Bappeda* has also classified particular regions as strategic development regions or KPS (*Kerangka Pembangunan Strategis*). A particular region can be categorised as KPS because, either it has potential resources to accelerate development progress or it has problems which hamper development processes. Figure 3.1. shows the development regions and strategic development regions in Central Java. There are three strategic development regions, namely strategic growing regions, strategic stagnant regions and strategic border regions. Included in strategic growing regions were Brebes and Tegal, Semarang, Kudus, Pati, Jepara, Magelang, Klaten, Sukoharjo, Karanganyar and Cilacap, while those in stagnant category were Blora,

Figure 3.1.: Central Java Province By Development Regions and Strategic Regions



Kebumen and Banjarnegara, and strategic border regions were Magelang, Blora, Wonogiri and Cilacap.

### 3.1.2. Demography

Similar to Indonesia as a whole, Central Java's population has experienced declining growth rates over recent decades, even lower in fact than the national figures (see Table 1.2. and 3.1.). Between 1961 and 1971 Central Java's population grew by 1.76 per cent per year, while all Indonesia's figure was 2.1 per cent. The growth rate declined to 1.64 in the 1971-1980 period, to 1.18 between 1980 and 1990, and to 0.78 per cent per year in the 1990 -1995 period. Consequently, Central Java's share of the total Indonesian population decreased

Table 3.1. Central Java: Demographic Indicators, 1971-2005

	1971	1980	1990	1995	2005 <sup>1)</sup>
Population Number ('000) <sup>2</sup>	21,865.3	25,372.9	28,516.8	29,653.3	33,121.2
• % to Total Indonesia	18.35	17.20	15.91	15.23	14.67
• % to total Java	28.75	27.80	26.50	25.85	25.35
• % Urban	16.36	18.74	27.00	31.90	n.a.
• % of 0 - 14	39.86	39.77	35.33	32.30	26.63
• % of 60+	5.13	5.97	7.82	8.80	9.88
Population Growth Rates (per cent per annum)	(1961-1971) 1.70	(1971-1980) 1.64	(1980-1990) 1.18	(1990-1995) 0.78	(1995-2005) 1.11
Population Density	672	779	876	911	1,018
Total Fertility Rate (TFR) <sup>3)</sup>	5.330	4.370	3.049	2.584	2.251
Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) <sup>3)</sup>	144	99	65	39	34
Number of Household ('000)	4,615	5,286	6,414	7,155	8,368
Household Size	4.7	4.8	4.4	4.1	4.0

Sources: 1) *Proyeksi Penduduk Indonesia per Propinsi 1995-2005*, BPS 1998

2) Various Population Censuses and Intercensal Population Survey (BPS 1973, BPS 1982, BPS 1992, BPS 1996)

3) IDHS 1997 (BPS 1998)

from 18.4 per cent in 1971 to 15.2 per cent in 1995 and it was projected to decline to 14.7 per cent in 2005. So too, the share of Central Java's population of the total Java population has also decreased over time, from 28.8 per cent in 1971 to 25.9 per cent in 1995. However, the trend of urbanisation in Central Java was similar to that of all Indonesia which has increased over time from 16.4 per cent in 1971 to 31.9 per cent in 1995. The age structure of the population also has shifted toward an older population so that it is even older than the national population. The percentage of 0 to 14 year olds in the population decreased from 35.5 per cent in 1990 to 32.3 per cent in 1995, and it was projected to drop to 26.6 per cent in 2005, while the percentage of 60 years old and over increased from 7.8 per cent in 1990 to 8.8 per cent in 1995, and it was projected to reach 9.9 per cent in 2005.

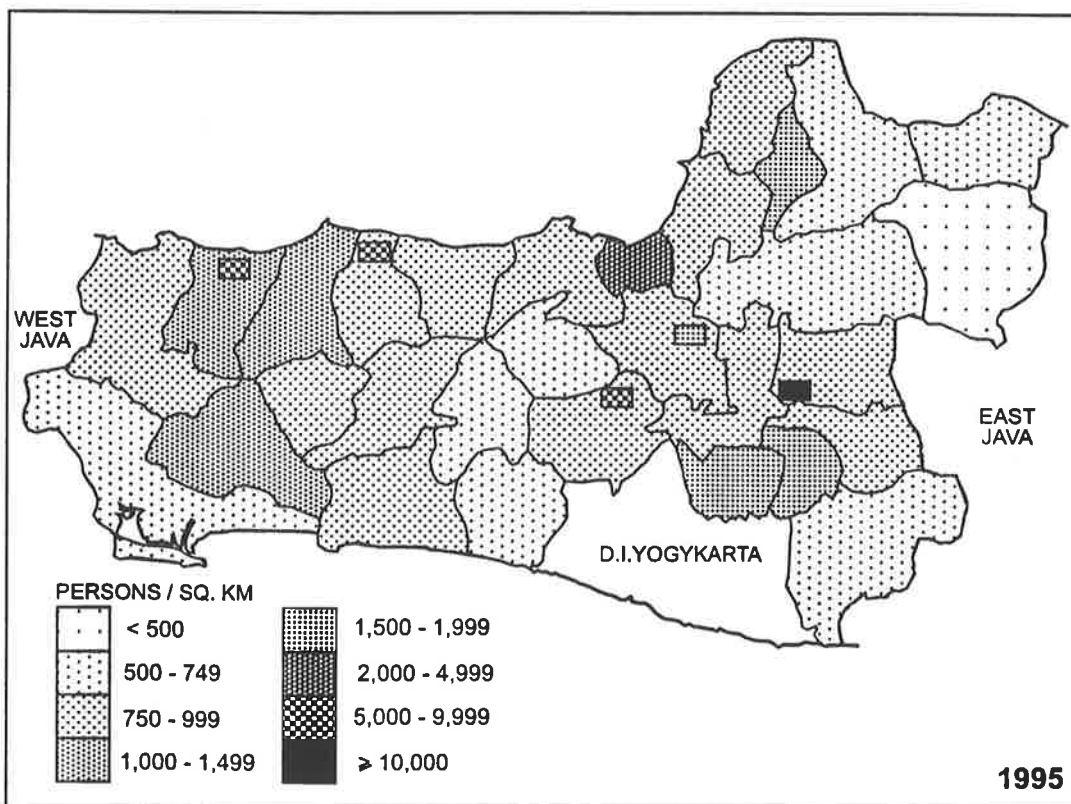
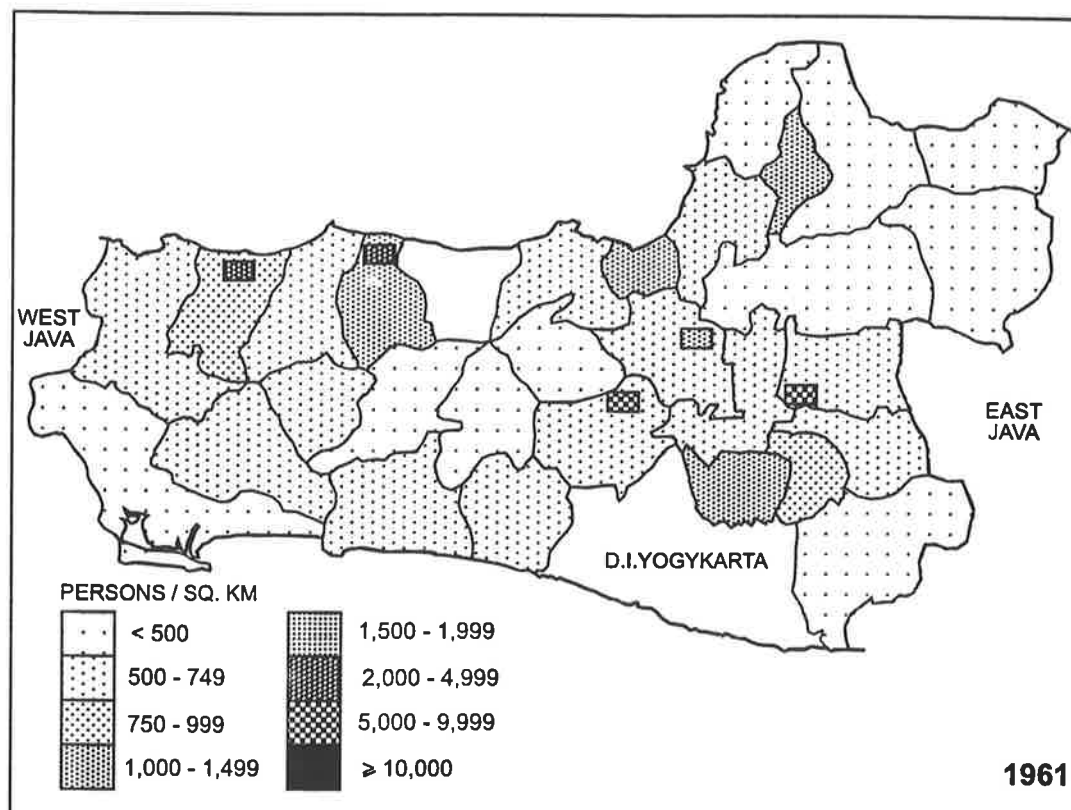
The decrease of population growth rates was in line with a decrease in the Total Fertility Rate, from 5.3 in 1971 to 2.6 in 1995 and it was projected to decline to 2.3 in 2005. The Central Java TFR is slightly lower than the national figure (see



Table 1.2.). The infant mortality rate has also decreased faster than all of Indonesia, from 144 in 1971 to 39 in 1995 and it was projected to decline to 34 in 2005. The number of households increased at 2.2 per cent per annum between 1990 and 1995 which is slower than the Indonesian figure of 2.8 per cent per annum. This is influenced by the relatively high outmigration from the province which largely involves the productive age population and therefore it reduces the rate of new household formation due to marriage or separation from parental households. The average household size was slightly higher than that for all Indonesia.

As a direct consequence of the increasing population there was an increase in population density, from 565 in 1961 to 911 persons per square kilometre in 1995. The report of the 1930 population census indicated that Central Java (including Yogyakarta) was the second most densely settled area in Indonesia at 408.2 persons per square kilometre (Nitisastro 1970), and for south-Central Java and Pekalongan the population density was especially high. However, in 1961 the highest rank areas according to population density had shifted to Jakarta although *Kotamadya* Surakarta still remained the most densely settled area in Java (Booth and Damanik 1989). Up to 1995 *Kotamadya* Surakarta, Pekalongan and Tegal remained the most densely settled *DATI II* regions in Central Java, while several other regions had population densities of over 1,000 persons per square kilometre. Between 1990 and 1995, some *DATI II* regions grew more rapidly than the province, such as *Kotamadya* Pekalongan, Tegal, and Semarang and *Kabupaten* Sukoharjo, Karanganyar, Rembang, Kudus, Jepara, Demak, Pemasang and Brebes, while the other regions have grown very slowly. *Kabupaten* Purworejo and *Kotamadya* Magelang have grown by less than 0.1 per cent per year. Most of the

Figure 3.2.: Central Java: Population Density (person per sq. Km.) 1961 and 1995



SOURCE: Indonesia Intercensal Population Survey 1995.

*DATI II* regions which have higher population growth rates were designated as strategic growing regions by the Central Java *Bappeda*. Figure 3.2. depicts population density by *DATI II* region in 1961 and 1995. The population density between *DATI II* regions has increased consistently, which means that all regions became more densely settled by 1995 except *kabupaten* Purworejo and Blora which did not change much. The south-Central Java area, including *Karesidenan* Kedu<sup>1</sup>, which has relatively low population growth due to high out-migration from the area since 1930 (Nitisastro 1970) and there was little economic development in the region to attract people to move there. *Kabupaten* Pekalongan was divided into two with the promotion of *Kecamatan* Batang to *Kabupaten* Batang in the 1960s, but this does not affect the population density of the two *kabupatens*.

### 3.1.3. Economy

As a consequence of high population densities, reports on the Central Java economy in the 1930s and 1960s frequently discussed the lack of sufficient arable land to produce enough rice for its large population (Booth and Damanik 1989). In an economy based on agriculture, the availability of arable land to be cultivated is important to be able to produce enough food and other crops to support its population. Booth and Damanik (1989) explain that there are several ways to overcome the problem of land scarcity in the face of a growing population. Firstly, to intensify *sawah* cultivation by increasing the cropping of rice to two or three times per year. Intensifying agriculture depends upon the availability of irrigation facilities and short-life rice varieties and it is only in lowland areas that rice can be

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<sup>1</sup>In the Colonial era, the division of areas in Java was based on administrative boundaries called *Regentschap* or Regency, which is different to the current meaning of Regency or *Kabupaten* or one of the *DATI II* categories (another one is *Kotamadya* or Municipality). The old Regency was known in Indonesian as *Karesidenan* which consisted of several *DATI II* regions. The *Karesidenan* Kedu consisted of *Kotamadya* Magelang and *Kabupaten* Magelang, Temanggung, Wonosobo, Purworejo and Kebumen.

cultivated intensively. In unirrigated areas, on the other hand, agriculture depends on rainfall to grow rice and it is difficult to double-crop. Therefore, in unirrigated areas, people grow other crops which need less water, such as cassava or maize. The second response is to alter diet by reducing rice consumption and increasing consumption of maize or cassava. Up to the 1970s, rice was considered a luxury staple food and only the better off ate rice, while poorer people ate maize or cassava. Reports on the Central Java economy in the 1960s described a discouraging situation of poverty and malnutrition in the area (Mubyarto and Partadireja 1968, Partadireja 1969) as a consequence of reducing rice consumption. The third response, as reported by Nitisastro and Ismael (1959), was by combining agriculture and non-agricultural work. They reported that many people in village of Djabres, in Kebumen engage in secondary activities. People who primarily work in the agricultural sector were also making roof tiles during the slack season, while those whose primary activity was roof tile maker took jobs in agriculture during the planting season and harvest time. Another way to overcome this problem is by increasing employment opportunity in the non-agricultural sector, such as in industry or accelerating out-migration (Booth and Damanik 1989).

Booth and Damanik (1989) also indicated that the involvement of women in the economy was an important element in the process of employment diversification. Based on the 1930 Population Census, the female labour force participation in Central Java was 45.8 per cent, which has much higher than the figures found in Europe and North America at a similar time (Booth and Damanik 1989). The women were mostly involved in traditional handicrafts, such as *batik*, agriculture and small trading. Women's work was characterized by its irregularity, low productivity and low pay. The acceptability of women working in wage

employment in Javanese society, which required them to work outside the house, is an important aspect in explaining the positive response of Javanese women to employment opportunity in non-agricultural sectors outside their villages or even outside Central Java.

However with the implementation of the New Order Economy with its Five Year Planning (*PELITA*) Stages at the end of 1960s, the Central Java economy grew in line with national economic rates. From *PELITA* I in 1969/74 to *PELITA* VI in 1995/99 the Central Java economy grew steadily at over 6 per cent per annum and it grew at 10 per cent during *PELITA* I to III. A declining national growth rate following the economic crisis was also experienced by Central Java, between 1993 and 1997 the growth rate was 6 per cent per annum, but the yearly growth showed a declining trend. At the onset of the economic crisis, between 1996 and 1997, it grew by 3 per cent per annum and during the crisis, between 1997 and 1998, it declined by 12 per cent (BPS 1998). Central Java province was one of the provinces hardest hit by the crisis.

In accordance with the economic development strategy implemented in the New Order years, the share of agriculture in the Central Java economy has declined over time, both in its share of GRDP as well as employment (Table 3.2. and 3.3.). The agriculture contribution to GRDP declined from 29 per cent in 1986 to 19 per cent in 1997, while the agriculture workforce decreased from 55.2 per cent in 1980 to 40.3 per cent in 1995, although it increased to 43.1 per cent in 1998 in response to the crisis. The decline of agriculture in the Central Java economy is in line with developments in the Indonesia economy, that have promoted non-agricultural activity. If we compare the sectoral distribution of GRDP of Central Java with that of Indonesia, we see that in 1997 the agricultural share in Central

Java was higher than the national figure, while the industrial share was much lower than the national share. This is because Central Java has a lower share in the mining and quarrying sector but has a higher share in the non-oil manufacturing sector, especially in the food, beverages and tobacco industries. In the services sector, Central Java and Indonesia have a similar size share. In Central Java, the trade, restaurant and hotel industries make a higher contribution to the services sectors, while in national GDP, the transportation and communication sectors as well as financing and business services have higher shares than the other services sectors. This means that in Central Java the economy was characterised by more involvement of traditional sectors, such as agriculture, small-scale industries and trades than is the case nationally.

From the employment perspective the structural change was in the same direction as for GRDP (Table 3.3.). The structural changes of employment

Table 3.2. Central Java: Gross Regional Domestic Product (GRDP) in Billion Rupiah and Percentage, 1986-1997

	At 1993 Constant Price			Growth Rate (% p.a.)		
	1986	1993	1997	'86-'97	'86-'93	'93-'97
A. Total GRDP (in Billion Rupiah)	21,319.	33,978.	43,129.	6.60	6.00	6.10
	18	91	84			
B. Sectoral Share (Percentage)						
<b>I. Agriculture</b>	<b>29.14</b>	<b>22.99</b>	<b>19.05</b>	<b>2.6</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>1.3</b>
<b>II. Industry</b>	<b>23.95</b>	<b>31.32</b>	<b>33.15</b>	<b>9.8</b>	<b>9.6</b>	<b>7.7</b>
1. Mining and Quarrying	0.85	1.20	1.36	11.3	10.7	9.6
2. Manufacturing	23.11	30.12	31.76	9.8	9.6	7.6
<b>III. Electricity, Gas and Water</b>	<b>0.46</b>	<b>0.67</b>	<b>0.91</b>	<b>13.6</b>	<b>11.3</b>	<b>14.6</b>
<b>IV. Construction</b>	<b>5.13</b>	<b>4.72</b>	<b>4.96</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>7.5</b>
<b>V. Services</b>	<b>41.33</b>	<b>40.30</b>	<b>41.93</b>	<b>6.8</b>	<b>5.7</b>	<b>7.2</b>
1. Trades, Restaurant and Hotel	18.13	20.02	22.29	8.6	7.3	9.0
2. Transportation and Communication	3.50	3.76	4.10	8.1	7.0	8.4
3. Financial, ownership and business services.	5.44	5.01	5.29	6.4	4.9	7.6
4. Other Services	14.25	11.50	10.25	3.5	3.2	3.1

Sources: Kantor Statistik Jawa Tengah, 1993 and 1998

between 1961 and 1995 were consistent with a decreasing share of agriculture over time in favour of manufacturing, trades and services. However, during the economic crisis, between 1997 and 1998, the contributions of agriculture and trades have increased, while manufacturing, construction and services shares decreased. Compared to Java (Table 1.2.), the share in Central Java of agricultural workers was higher, although it was rather lower than that of all Indonesia, but the contribution of the services sector was lower compared to both Java and Indonesia as a whole. The comparison of percentage of agricultural product to total GRDP with employment in the agricultural sector indicated a low return per worker in the sector. In 1997, the agricultural product share of GRDP was only 19.3 per cent, while agricultural employment involved 43.1 per cent meaning that the increasing

Table 3.3. Central Java: Labour Force 1961 - 1998

	1961 <sup>2)</sup>	1971 <sup>2)</sup>	1980 <sup>2)</sup>	1990 <sup>2)</sup>	1995 <sup>3)</sup>	1998 <sup>4)</sup>
1. Economically Active Population (in '000)	6,449	8,116	9,882	12,810	14,236	14,945
2. Percentage of Economically Active to Population Aged 10+	52.4	54.0	54.5	58.6	60.17	71.2
3. Percentage of Employed Person to Economically Active Population	94.6	95.4	98.6	97.4	94.6	94.9
4. Percentage of Unemployed Person to Economically Active Population	5.4	4.6	1.4	2.6	5.4	5.1
Sectoral Employed Person (percentage) <sup>1)</sup>						
1. Agriculture	71.15	64.0	55.2	48.2	40.35	43.10
2. Mining and quarrying		0.1	0.4	0.86	0.60	0.42
3. Manufacturing	7.71 <sup>5)</sup>	10.3	11.0	13.83	16.00	15.01
4. Electricity, Gas, and Water		0.1	0.1	0.13	0.18	0.16
5. Construction	1.74	1.5	2.9	4.78	5.49	4.35
6. Trades, restaurants and hotels	7.02 <sup>6)</sup>	12.7	14.4	16.36	18.78	20.57
7. Transportation and Communication	1.70	1.6	2.2	3.24	3.87	4.48
8. Financing, ownership and business services		0.1	0.4	0.62	0.53	0.49
9 Services	10.68	9.6	13.3	11.94	14.22	11.42

Notes: 1) Excluding 'Not Stated' Category

5) Including 'Mining and quarrying' and 'Electricity, gas and water'

6) Including 'Financing, ownership and business services'.

Sources: 2. Population Censuses 1961, 1971, 1980 and 1990 (BPS 1961, 1973, 1982 and 1992)

3. Intercensal Population Survey 1995 (SUPAS 1995), Series S14 (BPS 1996)

4. National Labour Force Survey 1998 (Sakernas 1998), (BPS 1998)

employment in agriculture following the economic crisis was an indication of contemporary 'sharing-poverty' just like Geertz (1963) had indicated before the implementation of modern technology in rice production.

The agricultural sectors in Central Java were dominated by food crop production. The share of food crops production in GDRP was 66 per cent in 1986 and decreased to 63 per cent in 1996, but slightly increased again to 64 per cent in 1997 (Table 3.2.). Food crop production has increased over time (Table 3.4.), although with a decreasing growth rate, especially for wet-rice production. The high growth rate of production of staple food in the first three *PELITAs*, especially rice, was influenced by government policy that considered it a top priority of the development program of the New Order government. The decreasing wet-rice growth rate has been compensated by higher growth rates for other food crops, such as soybean and maize. These crops were important for food and animal feed. The effort to push rice production has increased the average rice production per capita, which means a better living standard for the population. However, the average rice-production was still below the poverty line introduced by Sajogyo (1974) of 240 kg of milled rice and, therefore, additional income from other sources to meet needs such as the production of other food crops and various types of non-agricultural income were needed. The need to get an additional income has pushed people to migrate to other places, either to villages or towns nearby or to other provinces or even to beyond Java and abroad.

Industrial development in Indonesia has been concentrated in particular regions, such as Jakarta, West Java and East Java, and less developed in Central Java. Besides the contribution of oil and gas industry located in Cilacap there was a relatively small share of non-oil industry in Central Java. According to Hill



Table 3.4. Central Java: Production of Food Crops, 1968-1996

	Production ('000 tons)			GR (% p.a.) <sup>1</sup>		Yield (qt/ha)			GR (% p.a.) <sup>1</sup>	
	1968	1985	1996	68-85	85-96	1968	1985	1996	68-85	85-96
Wet-rice	2,926	6,864	8,170	5.14	1.59	25.2	47.9	53.2	3.85	0.96
Dry-rice	99	133	189	1.75	3.25	13.2	22.5	26.2	3.19	1.39
Maize	821	866	1,703	0.31	6.86	11.3	20.0	27.7	3.42	3.01
Cassava	2,975	3,291	3,345	0.60	0.15	88.0	115.0	133.3	2.39	1.35
Sweet Potatoes	354	215	164	-2.89	-6.76	54.0	92.0	112.2	3.18	1.82
Nuts	67	97	134	2.20	6.50	7.3	10.3	10.7	2.05	0.35
Soy Beans	82	122	289	2.36	12.13	6.3	10.5	14.8	3.05	3.17
Rice-production per capita (kg) <sup>2</sup>	98	177	152	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Notes: 1) Growth Rate in per cent per annum

2) In milled rice equivalent

Sources: Booth and Damanik 1989 (Table II.5, p.291); BPS, 1998

(1990, p.101), Central Java's share in non-oil industrial output (7.2 per cent) was only one-third that of East Java (21.1 per cent) and one-sixth that of Jakarta - West Java (45.6 per cent) and similar to that of North Sumatra. The inclusion of oil changes the distribution, whereby Central Java output was 76 per cent that of East Java and one-third that of Jakarta - West Java. According to Booth and Damanik (1989, p.293), the lack of large urban centres with high purchasing power in Central Java has meant that the province was not able to attract new industry as much as West or East Java. Between 1967 and 1985, total approved investment in Central Java and Yogyakarta only accounted for two per cent of total foreign investment in Indonesia and 10 per cent of domestic investment. Central Java, however, was considered the 'heartland' of Indonesian small industry (Hill 1990, p.103) because it absorbed more labour in the manufacturing sector although with smaller output than large and medium industries. With the inclusion of small-scale industry, the share of Central Java's output increased by 0.6 per cent, while the employment absorption increased by 4.1 per cent. The importance of small-scale industrial sectors was indicated by the higher annual growth rate of this sector over

the large and medium sector rates. Between 1975 and 1983, the growth rate of small and cottage industries was 20.4 per cent per annum, while that of the large and medium sectors was 6.4 per cent per annum (Booth and Damanik 1989, p.294). However, Booth and Damanik (1989) also reported that the value added per worker in small industries was much lower than in any other sector of the economy. This may be caused by the 'part-time' nature of employment in small and cottage industries which are taken as the last choice by people who were nearly unemployed.

The service sector comprised 42 per cent of total GDRP in 1997. It was dominated by the trade, restaurant and hotel sector with 22.3 per cent and had a relatively high growth rate between 1986 and 1997. The share of trade, restaurant and hotel to total GRDP in Central Java province was higher than the share of this sector nationally. This was influenced by the importance of small trades to most Central Java workers, especially women. Another sector which contributed significantly to GRDP was 'Other services', that was 10.3 per cent in 1997. 'Other services' include government and private services. Government services comprised 75 per cent of total GRDP in services. According to Booth and Damanik (1989) the contribution of other services in Central Java's GRDP was higher than their share of national GDP. They explained that this was probably caused by the increasing number of agriculture, education and public health programmes implemented in the province which resulted in an increased number of government-paid employees. The relatively high share of government services in Central Java compared to the national share was still significant in 1997; 7.7 per cent compared to a national figure 5.4 per cent.

The economic performance of Central Java province was rather slower than

other provinces in Java and Indonesia as a whole. The economic growth rate in Central Java from 1993 to 1997 was lower than that of other provinces in Java and all Indonesia, although, during the economy crisis in 1998, its growth rate did not drop as low as that of Jakarta and West Java provinces and also Indonesia as a whole. Table 3.5. shows the economic growth in provinces in Java and Indonesia in 1993 to 1998. In addition to the lower growth rate, Central Java had a higher percentage of its population under the poverty line compared to other provinces in Java as well as to the national figure. The poorer condition of Central Java is a factor in the high outmigration from the province.

Table 3.5. Java and Indonesia: Economic Growth Rates (per cent) and Population Under the Poverty Line, 1993-1998.

	Economy Growth Rates (per cent)					Percentage of Population Under The Poverty Line <sup>1</sup>			
	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	Urban		Rural	
						1993	1996	1993	1996
Jakarta	8.61	9.27	9.10	5.01	-19.39	5.65	2.48	-	-
West Java	7.20	8.07	9.21	4.28	-17.36	15.55	10.50	10.01	9.37
<b>Central Java</b>	<b>6.96</b>	<b>7.34</b>	<b>7.30</b>	<b>3.03</b>	<b>-12.00</b>	<b>17.36</b>	<b>12.97</b>	<b>15.10</b>	<b>14.38</b>
Yogyakarta	8.11	8.09	7.80	3.52	-11.86	14.35	11.66	8.85	8.47
East Java	7.23	8.18	8.26	5.03	-10.24	16.85	13.43	11.69	11.08
Indonesia	7.54	8.22	7.98	4.65	-13.68	13.45	9.71	13.79	12.30

Notes: 1) Poverty line in 1993 and 1996 were, respectively Rp. 27,905 and Rp 38.246 in urban area, while in rural area were Rp. 18,244 and Rp. 27,413 (BPS 1998).

Source: *Kantor Statistik Jawa Tengah* (Statistical Office of Central Java), 1998; BPS, 1998

### 3.2. Population Mobility

#### 3.2.1. Inter-provincial Migration

Based on the 1930 census, Nitisastro (1970) discussed that the magnitude of population mobility that had occurred in Indonesia, both intra and inter-island movement, using information on place of residence and place of birth. Intra-island movement, especially in Java, occurred from high densely populated areas, such as Kedu and Yogyakarta, to less densely populated areas, such as Besuki in East Java

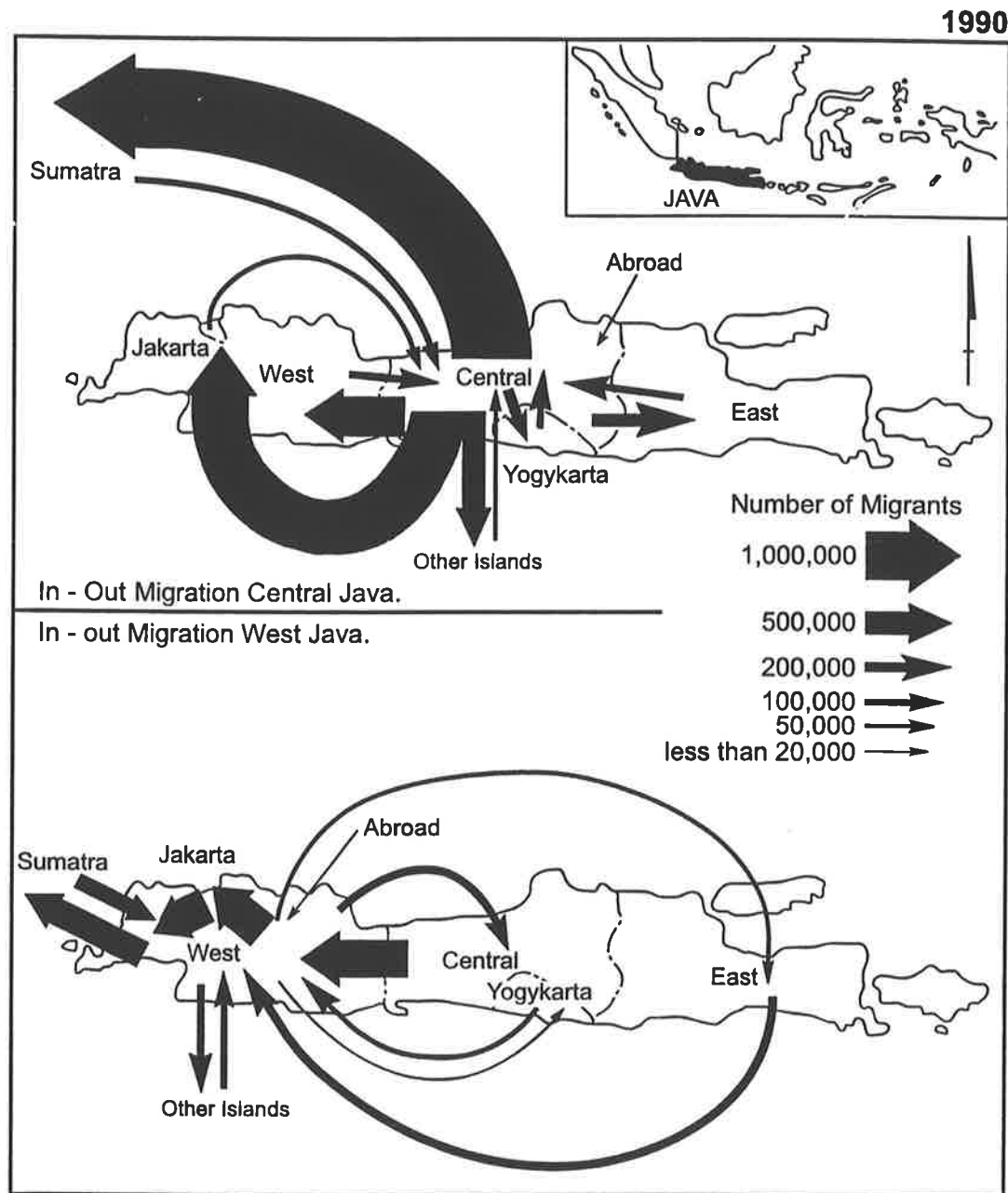
and Jakarta. *Karesidenan* Kedu with a low annual rate of population increase of 3.2 per 1,000 persons was a region where more local -born people left the region to live elsewhere, compared to other regions (such as *Karesidenan* Besuki in East Java with an annual rate of increase of 32.9 per 1,000 between 1920 and 1930). Inter island movement out of Java was largely headed to East Sumatra and Lampung. Around 31 per cent of East Sumatra's population and 26 per cent of Lampung's inhabitants were born in Java, while about one-sixth of East Sumatra immigrants and 20 per cent of Lampung immigrants were born in Kedu (Nitisastro 1970, p. 87-88). The Javanese people were attracted to migrate to East Sumatra because of the development of plantations in the area, while those who migrated to Lampung were related to the resettlement program or colonization started in 1905. The government-sponsored and government-organized program was intended to reduce Java's population pressure by resettling Javanese peasants to agricultural settlements in Lampung and other regions (Nitisastro 1970, p.89). This program was continued by the Government of Indonesia under the name transmigration. The new settlement areas have been expanded to other islands, such as Sulawesi, Kalimantan and Irian Jaya.

The opposite direction of migration from East Sumatra to Java occurred but in much smaller numbers. Nitisastro (1970) reported that according to the 1930 census, almost 1,400 persons in Kedu were born in East Sumatra and they are probably the children of return migrants from East Sumatra. Nitisastro (1970, p. 88) also indicated that return migration from East Java to Kedu was minimal before 1930, but it increased in the 1930s as an impact of the severe economic depression. Other immigrants from outer Java in Central Java mostly came from Maluku. However compared to Java's population in 1930, the number of Java-

born in the outer islands comprised only a small percentage (around 3 per cent of Java's 1930 population), while the number of outer islands-born in Java was also small (Nitisastro 1970, p.89). The percentage of Java-born living in the outer islands did not change much within the next 60 years; the percentages in 1990 and 1995 were 4.1 per cent and 4.8 per cent respectively of Java's 1990 and 1995 population. The percentages of outer islands-born living in Java were even smaller; those were 2.3 per cent of 1990 outer islands' population and 2.6 per cent of 1995 outer islands' population. Particularly for Central Java province, the percentage of outmigrants to outer islands to province population increased from 5.4 per cent in 1990 to 7.4 per cent in 1995, while inmigrants from outer islands in the province was relatively steady at 0.4 per cent in 1990 and 1995. This means that population mobility between Central Java and the outer islands has increased over time, and the incidence of migration from Central Java to the outer islands was larger than that in the opposite direction.

Central Java, as the largest migrant sender in Indonesia, sent more outmigrants to other provinces than it received. This was especially the case for West Java and Jakarta. Figure 3.3. and 3.4. depict the magnitude of out and in migration from and to Central Java province in 1990 and 1995 compared to West Java province as the major destination area of migration in Indonesia. Between 1990 and 1995 outmigration from Central Java to other provinces, especially to West Java and Sumatra, shows an increasing number while the population mobility in the opposite direction was smaller. Government-organised migration to Sumatra on various schemes since the pre-independence era has made a significant contribution to the large volume of outmigration from Central Java province. On the other hand, the fast industrial development in West Java - Jakarta was the main

Figure 3.3.: In and Out Migration To and From West and Central Java, 1990

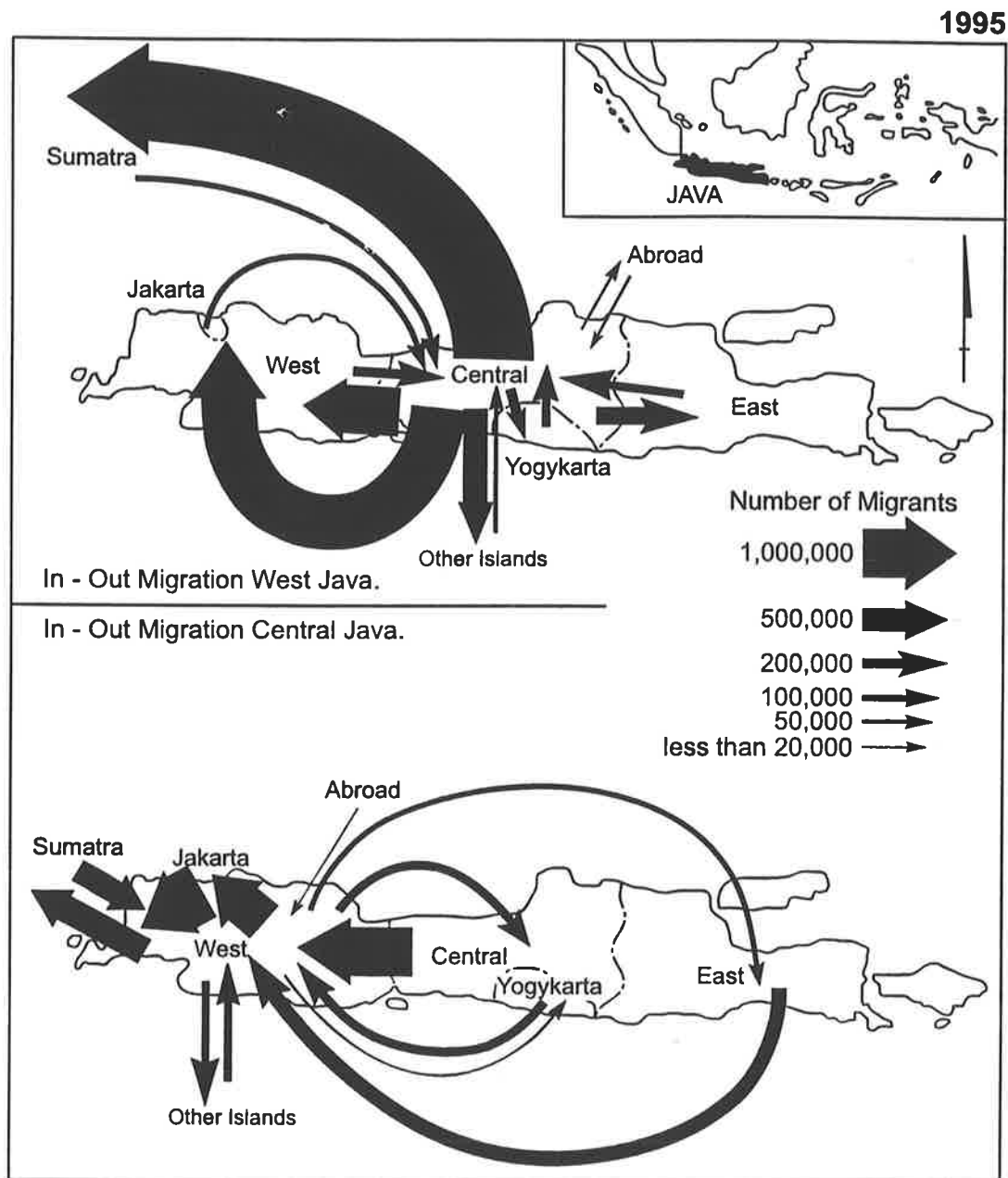


Source: Indonesia Population Census 1990.

reason for Central Java people migrating there in recent years. West Java outmigrants mostly go to Sumatra and Jakarta, although the immigrants from both areas have increased considerably between 1990 and 1995. People generally move from what are perceived as less favourable areas to more promising areas.

Outmigrants from Central Java also came from particular *DATI II* regions, which

Figure 3.4.: In and Out Migration To and From West and Central Java, 1995



Source: Indonesia Intercensal Population Survey 1995.

are known as poverty-stricken areas, such as *Karesidenan* Kedu, *Kabupaten* Wonogiri, or border regions, such as Cilacap, Tegal, Brebes, and also regions with relatively high average levels of education, such as *Kabupaten* Semarang, Sukoharjo, Klaten, *Kotamadya* Surakarta and Semarang. Figure 3.5. depicts the place of birth of outmigrants from Central Java to other provinces in Java in 1995

Figure 3.5.: Central Java: Outmigrants to Other Provinces in Java by DATI II Region 1995

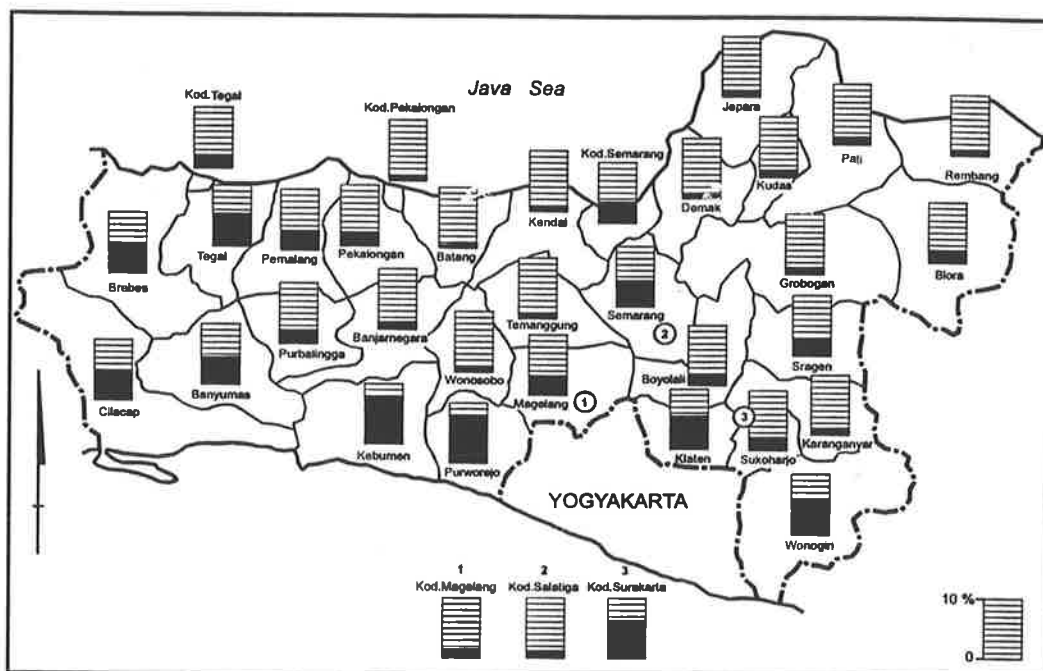
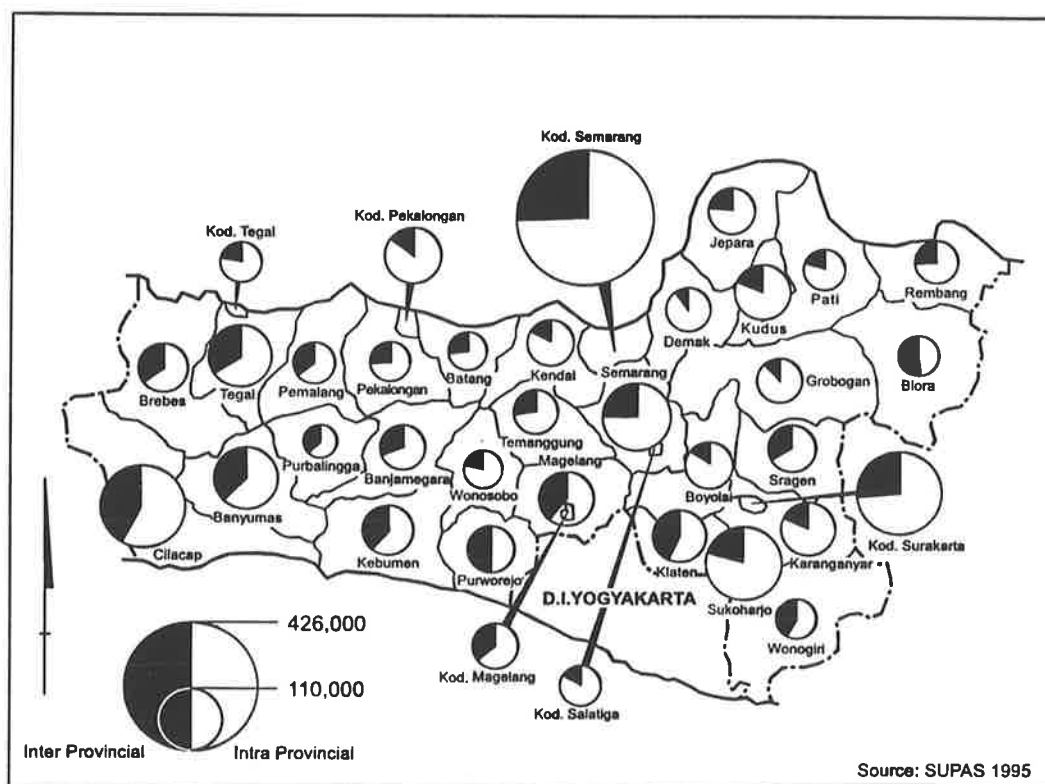


Figure 3.6: Central Java: Inter and Intra-provincial Immigration by DATI II region 1995





which comprised of 55.5 per cent of total lifetime outmigration from Central Java province.

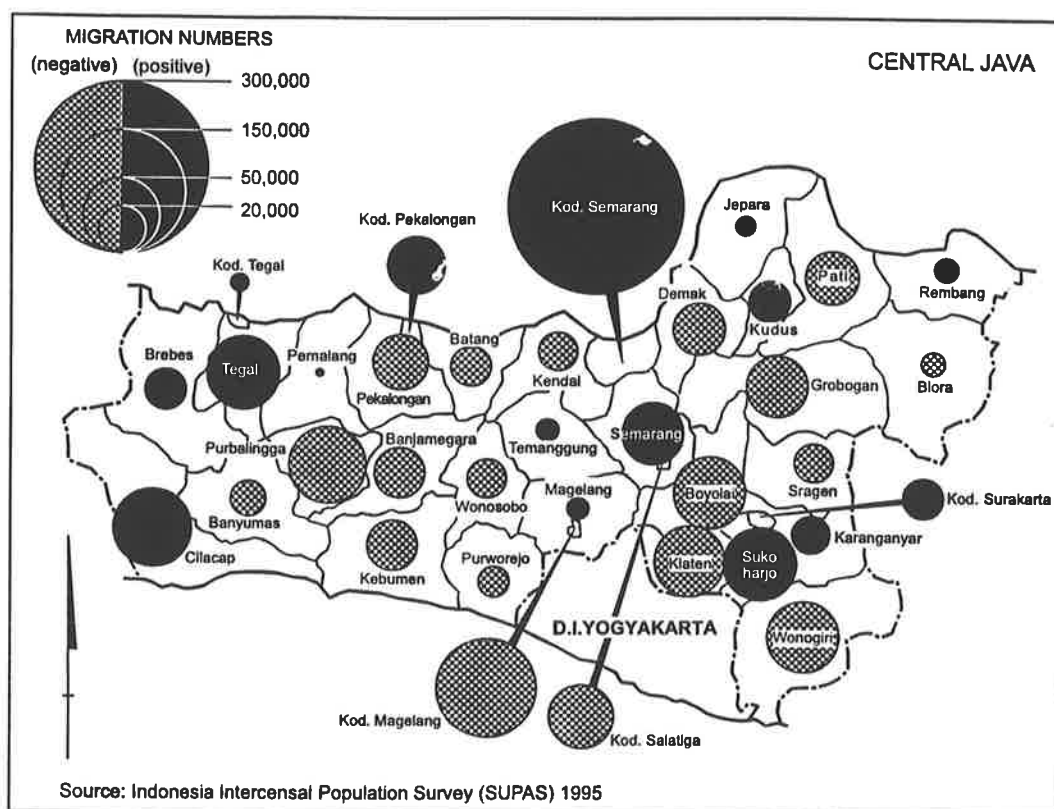
Inter-provincial immigrants in Central Java particularly went to *DATI* II regions with more advanced industrial development, such as *Kotamadya* Semarang and Surakarta and *Kabupaten* Cilacap, Sukoharjo, Karanganyar, Semarang and Kudus and also in regions at the borders, such as Cilacap and Magelang. Those regions received more immigrants than other regions. Besides receiving migrants from other provinces, the particular regions mentioned attracted migrants from other *DATI* II regions in Central Java. The distribution of inter and intra-provincial migration by *DATI* II regions is presented in Figure 3.6.

### **3.2.2. Intra-provincial Migration**

In addition to inter-provincial migration, intra-provincial migration between areas within Central Java province is also important. The incidence of intra-provincial migration was higher than that of inter-provincial movement, because it covered all movement between provincial administration boundaries, including inter-*DATI* II regions, inter-*kecamatan*s as well as inter and intra-village movement. However, due to the limitation of data sources, the examination of intra-provincial migration presented here only applies to migration between *DATI* II regions in Central Java province. Population movement between lower *DATI* II administrative boundaries, such as between *kecamatan*s and between villages is higher than that between larger regions because most people move short distances. All *DATI* II regions sent and received migrants from other *DATI* II regions, although with different volumes. Regions with higher economic opportunities received more migrants than those with fewer economic prospects, accordingly several regions have positive net-migration while some others have negative-net

migration. Figure 3.7. shows net-intra-provincial migration between *DATI II* regions in Central Java province.

*Kotamadya* Semarang as the Capital of Central Java province received the largest share of intra-provincial immigration (18.9 per cent). Such migrants comprised 23.3 per cent of *Kotamadya* Semarang's population. The second largest receiving region was *Kotamadya* Surakarta (6.7 per cent) followed by *Kabupaten* Sukoharjo with 5.9 per cent. Sukoharjo is a neighboring *kabupaten* of *Kotamadya* Surakarta and has received the overspill of Surakarta City. The development of new houses and industries in Sukoharjo attract migrants to the region. *Kabupaten* Cilacap and *Kotamadya* Pekalongan also have positive intra-provincial migration as these regions were important as industrial towns in the province; Cilacap with its oil industry, while Pekalongan has *batik* industries. On the other hand, *Kabupaten* Klaten and Wonogiri sent more outmigrants than they received immigrants for different reasons. Klaten is fertile and the most densely-populated area in Central Java with 1,673 persons per square kilometre. Although Klaten produced the highest average yield of rice per hectare of 59.9 quintal per hectare in 1993 with a total production of 243,004 tons of milled rice, it was not enough to make a good living for all of its population (1,092,630 persons in 1993). In order to meet the needs this area has developed various home industries, such as metal industries and garments. However, the heavy population pressure in the area has pushed some people to migrate elsewhere. Wonogiri, on the other hand, consists of dry and unfertile land with low average yields of rice per hectare as well as limited industrial development. Although the population density was only 532 persons per square kilometre, the quality of agricultural land was not enough to support the population and this made some of them migrate elsewhere. In many

Figure 3.7. Central Java: Net-intra-provincial Migration by *DATI II* Region 1995

destination areas around Indonesia, migrants from Wonogiri are popular as meatball soup and herbal drink sellers (Hetler 1986).

### 3.2.3. International Migration

Up to 1980, international population movement from Indonesia was very limited and dominated by the Dutch and Chinese people, who migrated to Indonesia in the colonial era and experienced mass repatriation following Indonesia's independence (Hugo *et al.* 1987). However in recent years most of the outflow of international movement from Indonesia has been related to contract workers to Middle Eastern and other Asian countries. In the 1970s when this movement began in Southeast Asia the number of international labour migrants from Indonesia was not as large as those from Thailand or the Philippines, but from 1980 on the number increased considerably. The number of Indonesian

overseas workers processed by the Department of Manpower (Depnaker) has increased by 56 per cent in 1980-1981 from the number in 1979-1980 and the number gradually increased over time and by the 1990s Indonesia has become one of the most significant labour exporting countries in Asia with 149,777 workers sent abroad in 1991-1992 (Hugo 1995). In 1998-1999, Depnaker deployed 411,609 overseas workers 78 per cent of whom were women, 32 per cent went to Malaysia and 39 per cent went to Saudi Arabia.<sup>2</sup> However, the numbers above only cover part of the total overseas labour movement from Indonesia as many of those workers went overseas without legal process and documentation by the appointed legal agencies for the matter, that is the Department of Manpower (Depnaker) or the Centre for Overseas Employment or AKAN (Hugo 1995). This means that the actual volume of overseas labour migration from Indonesia was much larger than the numbers compiled by those agencies. These illegal overseas workers mostly went to Malaysia, neighbouring Indonesia.

The legal overseas workers mostly came from Java, including Central Java province and a lesser number came from Riau, East Kalimantan, and Nusatenggara, while the illegal workers mostly came from South Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara (Hugo 1995). Between 1989-1992, around 5,000 overseas workers originated from Central Java province (Hugo 1995). During 1998/1999 Central Java sent more than 10,500 male and more than 39,300 female workers overseas which comprised around 12 per cent of the total from Indonesia.<sup>3</sup> Overseas workers from Central Java came from all over the province, although a significant number are sent by the AKAN of *Kabupaten* Cilacap (19.4 per cent) and Wonosobo (5.9 per cent). As the majority of employment available for Indonesian

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<sup>2</sup> Information compiled from Depnaker Office 1999

<sup>3</sup> Compiled from regional reports from AKAN and Depnaker 1999.

workers is for females to work as household maids, the number of female overseas workers from Central Java (78.9 per cent) was much larger than that of males.

#### **3.2.4. Migrant Characteristics**

Migration is selective of certain characteristics of the population in origin areas (Lee 1966). People with different characteristics react differently to the origin and destination situation, either in a positive or a negative way, and this accordingly will influence their decision of whether to, or not to, migrate. Demographic characteristics such as sex and age are important discriminating factors in migration, young or male population tend to migrate more than female or old people in most countries. According to Connell *et al.* (1976, p.39), migration largely involves the young productive ages of between 15 and 30 years. Other social factors, such as marital status and education level, also influence the process of migration, while the economic opportunities in destination areas guide the flow of migration to particular areas. These factors influence the reasons for migration and the process of migration.

The demographic characteristics of the Central Java population according to their migration status and the reasons for migration are depicted in Table 3.5. Migrants commonly choose urban areas as their destination of migration as greater employment opportunities and education facilities are available. This has meant that the percentage of the population made up by migrants in urban areas is higher than in rural areas. In 1995, 69 per cent of the non-migrant population in Central Java lived in rural areas, while 62.5 per cent of immigrants from other provinces and 68.5 per cent of intra-provincial migrants lived in urban areas. On the other hand, Central Java outmigrants to other provinces in Java live in urban areas too, although outmigrants to Jakarta and West Java have a higher percentage in urban

Table 3.6. Central Java: Demographic Characteristics By Migration Status (Inter-provincial) and Intra-provincial Immigrant, 1995 (in per cent)

Demographic Indicators	NM <sup>1)</sup>	RM <sup>2)</sup>	Inter-prov. IM <sup>3)</sup>	Outmigrant to:				Intra-prov. IM <sup>3)</sup>
				DKI	WJ	DIY	EJ	
<u>Area of domicile:</u>								
Urban	31.1	35.7	62.5	100,0	83.8	77.8	71.2	68.5
Rural	68.9	64.3	37.5		16.2	22.2	28.8	31.5
<u>Sex:</u>								
Male	49.0	56.2	51.2	47.9	52.4	45.1	55.8	47.7
Female	51.0	43.8	48.8	52.1	47.6	54.9	44.2	52.3
<u>Age Groups:</u>								
<= 14	<u>33.2</u>	6.2	17.0	5.8	8.7	7.1	8.1	10.1
15 - 24	17.8	14.3	17.2	<u>22.5</u>	<u>21.6</u>	<u>34.0</u>	16.4	16.2
25 - 34	15.1	<u>30.4</u>	<u>23.9</u>	<u>29.4</u>	<u>29.2</u>	<u>22.6</u>	<u>25.3</u>	<u>23.7</u>
35 - 44	12.8	19.9	18.7	<u>20.2</u>	<u>21.1</u>	17.0	18.2	<u>20.4</u>
45 - 54	8.4	9.4	11.2	12.4	10.8	6.7	14.9	12.6
55+	12.7	12.1	12.2	9.7	8.5	12.6	<b>17.0</b>	<b>17.0</b>
<u>Marital Status:</u>								
Single	<u>49.4</u>	26.1	<u>34.8</u>	29.5	<u>30.1</u>	<u>42.6</u>	25.4	25.0
Married	<u>44.2</u>	66.6	59.8	65.9	65.1	51.9	65.0	67.7
Divorced	1.3	2.7	1.1	1.5	2.0	0.2	1.4	1.2
Widowed	5.3	4.6	4.3	3.1	2.8	5.3	8.3	6.1
<u>Education Attainment:</u>								
Did not complete.	<u>40.7</u>	25.3	19.4	12.5	14.0	11.6	15.1	<u>21.5</u>
Primary School	<u>37.5</u>	<u>39.1</u>	<u>26.5</u>	<u>35.1</u>	<u>29.8</u>	18.8	<u>26.8</u>	<u>31.5</u>
Junior High School	11.2	14.3	16.2	19.6	18.7	12.1	18.1	15.9
Senior High School	9.0	15.3	<u>29.1</u>	<u>25.9</u>	<u>30.8</u>	<u>44.9</u>	<u>31.1</u>	<u>24.4</u>
University/College	1.4	6.0	8.9	6.9	6.8	<b>12.5</b>	8.9	6.7
<u>Reasons for Migration:<sup>4)</sup></u>								
Working	-	-	<u>20.9</u>	<u>24.5</u>	<u>27.4</u>	<u>25.0</u>	<u>28.2</u>	<u>25.1</u>
Looking for Work	-	-	4.1	<u>34.6</u>	<u>21.0</u>	2.2	12.9	5.2
Education	-	-	7.9	0.3	1.6	<u>39.3</u>	10.4	6.6
Marriage	-	-	<u>52.5</u>	27.4	<u>37.3</u>	<u>27.1</u>	<u>35.9</u>	<u>50.7</u>
Others	-	-	14.6	12.4	12.8	6.4	12.5	12.5

Notes: 1) NM = Non Migrant, 2) RM = Return Migrant, 3) IM = Immigration

4) Only for migration from last residence 5 years ago.

Sources: 1995 Intercensal Population Survey (SUPAS 1995)

areas than those who went to Yogyakarta and East Java. A type of migrant who mostly went to rural areas was a return migrant, because usually they are returning to their family in the village on retirement (Hugo 1978, Mantra 1981) or returning following an unsuccessful migration.

In Central Java, all migrant categories have a higher percentage in the 15 to 44 years of age group than the non-migrant population, while the non-migrant population had a higher percentage of persons aged less than 15 years. The inter-provincial migrant category had a higher percentage of persons less than 15 years of age compared to the other categories. This was probably caused by the tendency of inter-provincial migrants to be comprised of families which include young children in their movement.

Outmigrants to Jakarta, West Java and Yogyakarta have a relatively high percentage aged 15 to 24 years, and those who went to Yogyakarta were dominated by this age group. This may be caused by a main reason for migration to Yogyakarta being to obtain higher education. The outmigrants to East Java were relatively older than the other categories, except the intra-provincial migrants, involving a substantial proportion 55 years and over. This was related to the destination of migrants which was more rural and agricultural oriented than the urban and non-agricultural oriented movement to most other main destinations. The relatively younger outmigrants to Jakarta and West Java, on the other hand, were attracted by the urban and non-agricultural economic development in those provinces (Mamas and Jones 1996, Sunaryanto 1999). Besides age, migration is also gender selective (Connell *et al.* 1976), although the pattern depends on the nature of migration and varies between places. In Central Java, male migrants exceeded the number of females in return migration, inter-provincial migration, and outmigrations to West and East Java categories, while the remaining groups, such as outmigrants to DKI and Yogyakarta and intra-provincial migration, consist of more females than males.

Single people are more likely to migrate than married people, because they

are often still at a young age and often have less responsibilities compared to older or married people because they do not have dependants (Findley 1982 p. 389). This makes single people more flexible and able to tolerate longer periods searching for the most desired jobs, although they may marry and set up their family of procreation in destination areas eventually. Therefore first timer migration commonly involves single people. However, the data in Table 3.5. show that the most common reason for migration for the recent-inmigrants was marriage, which comprised more than 50 per cent either among inter or intra-provincial migration. Marriage was also the major reason for recent-outmigration from Central Java to East Java, while recent-outmigration to Jakarta was mostly for economic reasons and those who went to Yogyakarta went mainly for education purposes and migration to West Java was motivated by both economic and marriage reasons. The migration of people between Central Java and West Java was very common and traditional in nature as the provinces share a border. However, the faster economic development in West Java, compared to Central Java, has made Central Java send more migrants for economic reasons to West Java than the opposite direction in recent years. Although marriage is still the main reason for migration, the increasing proportion of economic motivated migration has influenced the marital status of the migrant population. More outmigrants to West Java, so too to Jakarta and Yogyakarta, were single.

Education level is another selective factor in migration. People with higher education levels tend to be more mobile than those with lower education (Connell *et al.*, 1976, p. 59). Compared to the non-migrant population, all categories of migrants were better educated. However, among the migrants there were two major education types, these are primary school and senior high school graduates.



This was probably related to the social economic status of migrant's families in the origin village. Poorer families cannot afford education for their children more than primary school, while the better off were able to educate their children until senior high school. The different levels of education of migrants influence their access to jobs and employment in destination areas (Connell *et al.* 1976). Outmigrants to Yogyakarta have particularly high education levels, with 12.5 per cent being university or college educated and around 44.9 per cent were senior high school educated. Yogyakarta is famous as a '*Kota Pelajar*' or 'The City of Students' as famous universities are located in Yogyakarta which attracts students from all over Indonesia, even from abroad. In the last five years, about 39 per cent of Central Java outmigrants to Yogyakarta were to pursue education. Almost 25 per cent of Central Java outmigrants in Yogyakarta were attending school as their main activity during the previous week. This indicates that migration to Yogyakarta was strongly education oriented.

Another significant reason for migration was for employment or to look for employment and the percentage of economic reasons for migration to West Java and Jakarta was higher as there were more job opportunities in non-agricultural sectors than in the other provinces in Java (Jones and Mamas 1996). Table 3.7 shows that, although the majority of Central Java working outmigrants in Java worked in non-agricultural sectors, more outmigrants in East Java and Yogyakarta were engaged in agricultural sectors than those who went to Jakarta and West Java. In the four provinces, the trade, restaurant and hotel sector absorbed between 25 and 29 per cent of migrants from Central Java, while other sectors take in different percentages depending on the type of non-agricultural sectors being developed in each province. In Jakarta, most Central Java migrants engaged in services (37.6

Table 3.7. Central Java: Employment Characteristics By Migration Status (Inter-provincial) and Intra-provincial Inmigrant, 1995

Demographic Indicators	NM <sup>1)</sup>	RM <sup>2)</sup>	Inter-prov. IM <sup>3)</sup>	Outmigrant to:				Intra-prov. IM <sup>3)</sup>
				DKI	WJ	DIY	EJ	
<u>Activity during previous week:</u>								
Working	44.8	66.3	52.9	59.9	60.2	49.1	62.0	59.3
Looking for work	2.6	4.7	2.9	2.9	2.7	2.9	2.4	2.6
Attending School	15.4	6.0	12.5	4.3	5.5	24.6	8.6	9.3
Housekeeping	12.6	17.2	17.6	26.5	22.6	15.7	17.0	19.3
Others	3.8	3.6	3.6	3.2	3.4	2.9	6.0	4.3
Under 10 years of age	20.8	2.2	10.5	3.3	5.6	4.8	4.0	5.1
<u>Industry Categories<sup>4)</sup>:</u>								
Agriculture	41.6	26.9	9.4	0.3	4.7	9.1	14.2	11.3
Mining	0.6	1.3	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.3
Manufacturing	16.0	16.0	15.2	17.6	27.2	6.4	19.2	16.1
Electricity, Gas, Water	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.7	1.2	0.5	1.1	0.4
Construction	5.4	7.2	5.8	6.3	4.6	5.4	4.1	4.7
Trades	18.5	21.3	26.3	25.1	24.6	29.9	24.9	26.9
Transportation	3.8	6.3	4.5	6.9	7.1	3.7	5.1	6.2
Financing	0.5	0.7	2.8	5.1	1.4	0.5	2.9	1.4
Services	13.5	19.9	34.9	37.6	28.8	44.3	27.9	32.7
<u>Occupation Categories<sup>4)</sup>:</u>								
Professional	3.4	5.1	14.6	8.1	8.4	14.2	9.1	10.4
Administration	0.1	0.4	0.5	1.5	1.9	0.5	1.0	0.5
Clerical	3.5	5.6	13.2	12.0	11.9	12.4	12.3	11.1
Sales	18.0	20.6	25.3	23.3	23.0	26.0	24.8	25.6
Services	3.7	5.9	8.0	23.1	14.1	21.8	9.6	10.3
Agricultural	41.6	26.8	9.0	0.3	4.6	9.2	13.8	11.4
Production	29.7	35.6	29.3	31.7	36.1	15.8	29.4	30.8
<u>Employment Status<sup>4)</sup>:</u>								
Self-employed	22.4	22.8	18.7	21.5	18.9	10.8	25.0	22.2
Self-employed (asst)	20.7	17.4	11.3	3.5	7.7	10.6	10.7	11.7
Employer	1.4	2.2	3.1	1.8	1.4	2.9	2.8	2.4
Employee	36.2	43.5	58.9	71.6	67.5	65.5	56.3	56.4
Family Worker	19.3	14.1	8.0	1.5	4.5	10.2	5.2	7.4

Notes: 1) NM= Non Migrant, 2) RM = Return Migrant, 3) IM = Inmigrant,  
4) percentage of working population

Sources: 1995 Intercensal Population Survey (SUPAS 1995)

per cent), and in West Java in services (28.8 per cent) and manufacturing (27.2 per cent). In Yogyakarta, 44.3 per cent of Central Java origin working migrants worked in services, while 29.9 per cent were in the trade sector. This means that the majority of Central Java outmigrants to Yogyakarta work in service sectors, especially government-services, either civil or military. This is reflected in the high

percentage of migrants in the occupation category of professional and clerical and having an employment status as an employee. On the other hand, West Java provides more jobs in the manufacturing sector for Central Java migrants<sup>4</sup>.

### 3.3. Conclusion

Population mobility in Central Java province comprises several types of movement, namely inter-provincial, intra-provincial and international migration. The migration studied here was permanent migration as the sources of information were population censuses and the 1995 intercensal population survey (SUPAS), which only recorded permanent migration. The incidence of non-permanent migration is believed to be higher than that of permanent migration (Hugo 1978, Mantra 1981, Hetler 1986). Migrating to other provinces, either in Java or outer Java, was not a new phenomenon for Central Java people. According to Nitisastro (1970), *Karesiden* Kedu in southern Central Java experienced high outmigration based on the 1930 Population Census. Central Java people migrated to East Sumatra to work in plantations or to Lampung in government-organised resettlement. The level of inter-provincial outmigration from Central Java has increased over time, without being compensated for by immigration. This has made the province the largest migrant sender in Indonesia.

The poor condition of agricultural land and the high population density (Booth and Damanik 1989) have made several regions in Central Java poverty stricken and that has induced high levels of migration to other areas. Outmigrants largely came from *Kabupaten* Kebumen, Purworejo, Wonogiri, Tegal, Brebes, Cilacap, Banyumas and *Kotamadya* Surakarta, while immigrants to the province went to *Kotamadya* Semarang and Surakarta and *kabupaten* Cilacap, Banyumas,

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<sup>4</sup> A detailed analysis of Central Java migrants in West Java will be presented in Chapter Four.

Semarang. Regions on the border with other provinces, such as Cilacap, Blora and Magelang have higher levels of population movement. Regions with relatively advanced industrial development, such as Semarang, Surakarta and Sukoharjo, attract more immigrants, while regions with limited agricultural land, such as Wonogiri, Kebumen and Purworejo, sent more outmigrants. Population movement between *DATI II* regions was also significant. Most of them went to Semarang, Sukoharjo, Cilacap and Pekalongan and these regions had positive net-intra-provincial migration, while other areas with less favourable economic conditions had negative net-intra-provincial migration numbers.

The majority of recent migration into and within Central Java, either inter and intra-provincial migrations was traditional in nature, such as for marriage or to get agricultural jobs. On the other hand, Central Java outmigrants to other provinces in Java were more influenced by other reasons, such as to look for non-agricultural jobs or to pursue higher education. Those who went to Jakarta and West Java were more likely to move for employment purposes, while Central Java outmigrants to Yogyakarta went for education. Migration involved both lower and higher education levels. Intra-provincial migrants were older, had lower education, and were more traditional in nature compared to inter-provincial migration. The majority of migrants worked in non-agricultural sectors, such as trades, services and manufacturing. A significant percentage of Central Java migrants in East Java worked in the agricultural sector, while a relatively high percentage of Central Java migrants in West Java were involved in the manufacturing sector, and a large percentage of Central Java migrants in Yogyakarta were students. The next chapter, Chapter Four, presents a detailed analysis of Central Java migrants in West Java.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### The Role of Migration in Influencing Household Structure

#### 4.1. Introduction

This chapter uses 1980 and 1990 Indonesian population census data compiled by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) of Indonesia to examine the influence of migration on household structure. There are two reasons for utilising these data sources. The main reason is to obtain large-scale representative information about household structure and migration to provide a context for the microanalysis made later. Secondly, it is argued that this type of analysis is extremely limited in LDC's and an aim is to develop innovative approaches to the use of secondary data on households and migration in such contexts. Having reasonable information at the macro level increases the possibility of making the findings from the micro-study approach presented in the later chapters more widely generalised. Since there is a lack of study on the relationship between household and migration in LDC's in Indonesia, in particular using census data, this study represents an initial contribution to the literature.

The main objective of this chapter is to analyse changes in households in terms of their number, size and structure between 1980 and 1990 and how far migration has influenced these trends. Initially, the analysis planned to compare the Central Java immigrants in West Java with the non-migrant population in Central Java to be in accordance with the micro-scale study. To obtain that information two sets of provincial data, those for Central Java and West Java, needed to be analysed at the same time. The population censuses in Indonesia are conducted in two stages (BPS 1983, p.xxvii; BPS 1992, p.xxx). A complete enumeration of the

total population was carried out firstly; using the L type questionnaire, to get basic information on the total population in various levels of administration differentiated by a few populations characteristics such as sex and age. The second step was a sample enumeration based on five percent of total households to collect more detailed information on population characteristics, such as citizenship, religion, education, language, employment, births, deaths and migration, using the S questionnaire. The census is conducted on a complex combined *de jure/de facto* principle with only people who have come from another province and been in their current province of residence for six months or longer being considered migrants (Hugo 1978; BPS 1992, p.xxx). This includes those born in other provinces or those province-of-residence -born people who moved out and subsequently returned from elsewhere. It means that migrants from Central Java province data can only be obtained from the files of other provinces (in this case West Java file) and, on the other hand, Central Java's non-migrant population should be acquired from the Central Java file. Unfortunately, some substantial problems were experienced during the data processing that made it impossible to use both files. Firstly, the limitation of time to finish this study became a major constraint for prolonged data processing and secondly the corruption of the Central Java file available in Australia has produced unreliable information, which made it unacceptable for further analysis. For that reason, the secondary analysis will only be based on the West Java file with consequences that the analysis will compare Central Java immigrant in West Java with the West Java non-migrant population. Hence, the macro information will only be applicable as a context of study in the destination area of migration. The comparison is made between migrants and non-migrants in the destination area.

The objectives of this secondary study are: firstly, to examine the distribution of Central Java immigrants in West Java by area and Development Regions, secondly, to compare household structure and size between the Central Java immigrants, all immigrants and non-migrant populations and the pattern will be differentiated by area and development regions, thirdly, to study the characteristics of household head (age, sex, and marital status) by household structure, migration status and area and fourthly, to study the characteristics of the immigrant population (relationship to household head, age, sex, and marital status), especially the Central Java-born, by household's migration status and area of residence. The following analysis involves examination of changes in household structure by migration status over the 1980 and 1990 period.

#### **4.2. Distribution of the Immigrant Population**

Table 4.1. shows the number and percentage of population living in private households in West Java. Using only private households give a comprehensive picture of West Java since such households includes 99.6 per cent of total population in 1980 and 99.7 per cent in 1990 and comprises 98 per cent of the immigrant population in 1980 and 99 per cent in 1990. It means that there is a slightly greater proportion of immigrants living in special households compared to non-migrants and return migrants. Hugo's study in West Java (1978) showed that return migrants are often pensioners who want to spend their retirement life in the village. Some of them were able to build new houses and some others returned to their old family homes that make them more likely to live in private households. On the other hand, immigrants, especially the new arrivals, often tend to live in special households such as barracks or dormitories as they usually migrated alone and left their families in the origin areas. It is understood that most special houses, such as

boarding houses, dormitories, lodging houses, prisons, hospitals or military barracks provide temporary places to stay and organise food for a more mobile people include students, police, army, factory workers or tourists. These people are usually sole migrants who do not intend to migrate permanently to destination places. However, the proportion of immigrants, including the Central Java-born, living in private households has increased

Table 4.1. West Java: Number and Percentage of Population Living in Private Households, 1980 and 1990.

	1980		1990		Change % <sup>2)</sup>	Growth Rate <sup>3)</sup>
	N	% <sup>1)</sup>	N	% <sup>1)</sup>		
<i>All Population</i>	27,338,861	99.6	35,275,835	99.7	0.1	2.6
Urban	5,746,864	99.6	12,168,972	99.7	0.1	<b>7.8</b>
Rural	21,591,997	99.6	23,106,863	99.7	0.1	0.7
<i>Non-migrant</i>	26,109,829	99.7	32,212,337	99.8	0.1	2.1
Urban	5,138,084	99.7	9,928,573	99.8	0.1	6.8
Rural	20,971,745	99.7	22,283,764	99.8	0.1	0.6
<i>Return Migrant</i>	244,718	99.4	678,157	99.7	0.3	<b>10.7</b>
Urban	81,923	99.5	304,833	99.8	0.3	<b>14.0</b>
Rural	162,795	99.4	373,324	99.7	0.3	8.7
<i>Inmigrant</i>	984,314	98.1	2,385,372	99.0	0.9	9.3
Urban	526,857	98.7	1,935,566	99.2	0.5	<b>13.9</b>
Rural	457,457	<u>97.3</u>	449,806	<u>98.2</u>	0.9	- 0.2
<i>C. Java Migrants</i>	397,393	<u>97.9</u>	823,314	<u>98.9</u>	1.0	7.6
Urban	209,210	98.6	652,546	99.2	0.6	<b>12.1</b>
Rural	188,185	<u>97.0</u>	170,768	<u>98.2</u>	1.2	- 0.9

Notes: 1) (per cent) is percentage of population living in private household.

2) Change (per cent) is the changes of percentage of population living in private households

between 1980 and 1990

3) Growth Rate (per cent p.a.) is growth rate of population, including migrant or non-migrant between 1980 and 1990

Sources: West Java Population Census data set 1980 and 1990



by 0.9 per cent between 1980 and 1990, from 98.1 per cent to 99.0 per cent. This is probably caused by the lack of availability of dormitories to accommodate the fast-growing number of immigrants in West Java that forced immigrants to provide their own households. Another reason was, probably, that many new immigrants are engaged in non-formal occupations, such as food vendors or similar activities, and are not entitled to live in an organised institution. These new households created by the new immigrants fit the definition of private household and accordingly increased the number of private households.

Table 4.1. also indicates, that between 1980 and 1990 the number of immigrants in West Java increased rapidly from 984,314 to 2,385,372 or grew by 9.3 per cent annually. Besides increasing in number, the proportion of immigrants heading to urban areas is greater than to rural areas. In 1980, around 53.5 per cent of immigrants were in urban areas, but this jumped to 81.1 per cent in 1990 and making a 13.9 per cent annual growth rate. In rural areas, in fact, there was a decrease in the proportion of, as well as in the number of, immigrants resulting in a negative growth rate of -0.2 per cent per year. The increasing number of immigrants in urban areas is largely caused by the fast development of the non-agricultural based economy in the cities; such as in industries and services, which has created more employment. The opportunity to get a job has attracted people from rural areas or small towns to migrate to cities (Firman 1992a; Firman and Dharmapatni 1995). In the case of West Java, the number of immigrants might be not fully represented by the census data as it only records people from other provinces as immigrants and does not consider mobility within West Java into account. The intra-provincial mobility is bigger than the inter-provincial is, as Hugo has revealed it in his study in West Java (1978). The Indonesian Bureau of Statistics includes

intra-provincial migration in the Intercensal Population Survey or SUPAS, which were conducted in 1976, 1985 and 1995. Analyses of inter and intra-provincial migration in West Java based on SUPAS 1995 is presented in Appendix D. There were 2,608,648 movements between *DATI II* in West Java, consisting of 1,370,440 males (52.5 per cent) and 1,261,208 females (47.5 per cent). The advancement of the West Java economy has also attracted former West Java outmigrants to other areas return. The growth rate of return migrants was 10.7 per cent per annum between 1980 and 1990, and those who headed to urban areas grew more rapidly than those who went to rural areas, 14.0 per cent and 8.7 per cent per annum respectively. This made the proportion of return migrant to rural areas drop from 66.5 per cent in 1980 to 55 per cent in 1990. This suggests that the return migration was less retirement motivated than in the past.

The rapid growth of return migrants might have been caused partly by the overspill of Jakarta residential development into adjoining West Java (Hugo 1996, 1997). The expansion of Jakarta's residential development into West Java region provides a greater opportunity for immigrants in Jakarta region to enjoy better place to live, while, in fact, they still gain their livelihood in Jakarta. Some of those Jakarta's immigrants, who now live in new housing locations in West Java province, came originally from West Java province. From BPS's point of view those people would be classified as return migrants, although they did not intentionally want to return to West Java but engaged in suburban jobs. Botabek region was, in fact, a new place for some return migrants who originally came from other regions within West Java province. These people moved from one *DATI II* to another within West Java province. It has been mentioned before that the dynamics of intra-provincial migration was not captured in census data. As a result, people who originally came

from, for example, Ciamis Regency as far as 400 km from Botabek Region, would not be considered as migrants by BPS's definition of migration applied in the population censuses, when they moved to Botabek from Jakarta, but they would be categorised as return migrants instead. Based on SUPAS 1995, Botabek region received 32.7 per cent (44,186 persons) of migrants from other *DATI II* areas in West Java. These people receive that their migration from Jakarta to West Java meant nothing more than just moving to a new house within Greater Jakarta and they had no specific intention to return to West Java. They keep their work in Jakarta and take a longer commute than previously to there from their new homes in West Java. Consequently this new travelling arrangement between home and workplace has created more commuters between Jakarta and West Java (Hugo 1996).

West Java inmigrants came from all over Indonesia. In 1980 the major sending area was Central Java province that contributes around 40,4 per cent of total lifetime inmigrants in West Java. This proportion decreased to 34.2 per cent in 1990, despite the fact that the number of Central Java inmigrants grew considerably from 397,393 in 1980 to 823,314 in 1990 giving a growth rate of 7.6 per cent annually<sup>1</sup>. The decreasing share of Central Java inmigrants is caused by the increasing influx of inmigrants from other provinces in Java and other islands as well, which grew by 9.3 per cent per year. Similarly, Central Java inmigrants tend to go to urban areas rather than to rural counterpart. In urban areas, the growth rate of Central Java inmigrants was 12.1 per cent per year, while it has declined by minus one percent annually in rural areas. The decreasing number of Central Java

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<sup>1</sup>In 1995, the percentage of Central Java-born decreased to 30.5 per cent, although the number has increased to 1,089,023 or growth by 6.45 per cent per annum in 1990-1995 (See Appendix D).

immigrants in rural West Java was also caused by, in fact, the death of older migrants, from as far back as the pre Independence period without enough replacement (Hugo 1978). The growing tendency of migration toward urban area created a substantial growth of population in urban areas in West Java and increasing urbanisation in the province. Apart from the increasing level of net migration, including the overspill from Jakarta, and natural increase, urbanisation in West Java was partly caused by the reclassification of some 1980 rural areas into urban areas in 1990 (Firman 1997; Gardiner 1997). A reclassification does not necessarily require a migration in urban areas. As long as a particular rural area in 1980 met the requirements of an urban area in 1990, it will be classified as an urban area. Based on BPS criterion (BPS 1979, 1986) an urban area should: (1) have a population density of at least 5,000 people per square meter, (2) have less than 25 per cent of households working in agricultural sector and (3) have at least eight kinds of urban facilities<sup>2</sup>.

To classify an area as urban or rural, BPS applied a scoring system based on the three criteria above. Every area will be given a score for each criterion to make a total score by adding up the three scores. If an area reaches a total score of 23 and above, this area will be classified as an urban area, while if it has total score of 17 or smaller, than it is a rural area. If an area has a total score between 17 and 22, BPS will apply additional criteria to decide whether it should be classified as urban or rural. Rietveld (1988) and Firman (1992) argued that the scoring system used by BPS contains some weaknesses, especially relating to the second and third criterion.

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<sup>2</sup>In the urban facilities list including Primary school or equivalent, Junior High school or equivalent, Senior High school or equivalent, cinema, hospital, maternity hospital/mother-child hospital, primary health care centre/clinic, road that can be used by three- or four-wheeled motorised vehicles, telephone/post office agency, market with buildings, shopping centre, bank, factory, restaurants, public electricity, party-equipment renting service (BPS 1979, 1986).

Rietveld explained (1988) that the second criterion, percentage of agricultural household, tends to be exaggerated. The classification of an agricultural household, that is '*a household which makes its living primarily from agriculture, including fishing, forestry and animal husbandry*' (Rietveld, 1988:75), has been simplified to capture the main job of the household head only. If the head of household's main job is in agriculture, the village official will record this particular household as an agricultural household, regardless of the other sources of income. As more and more households generate their income from multiple sources (White 1976; Collier 1982; Rietveld 1988), this simplified definition of agricultural household will lead to an over-estimation of the number of agricultural household in one area. Regarding the third criterion, the presence of urban facilities, Rietveld (1988:76) considered that the list looks rather arbitrary, such as why does it include businesses renting equipment for parties but excludes motorcycle repairs? He also questioned the quality of each facility before applying score: has the quality of a facility been considered before determining it as an urban facility?

However, Firman (1992b) suggested that the residential classification of the 1980's population census is still comparable to the 1990's as both censuses applied similar urban area definition. Meanwhile, Hugo (1996) suggested that in the future, more Indonesians will chose to live in the outskirts of the cities but work in the cities by means of commuting or circular migration. The rapid increase of population mobility between villages and cities means a greater interaction between people of two areas as well as an increasing flow of goods, money and information. These will increasingly blur the distinction between urban and rural areas.

The result of Gardiner's study (Gardiner 1997) on the degree to which reclassification has affected urban growth between 1980 and 1990 in several of the

largest metropolitan areas suggested that reclassification has played a major role in urban growth. The exception is for Jabotabek area, in which the effect of net migration to urban growth rate is 35 per cent, which is greater than reclassification, that is 30.3 per cent. On the other hand, in the other metropolitan areas net migration made a smaller contribution to the urban growth rate, around 10 to 16 per cent, while reclassification contributed around 40 to 43 per cent. It means that population growth rate in many urban areas in Indonesia was caused by reclassification of areas without a substantial addition of immigrants

Inmigrants to West Java province, including the Central Java-born, are heavily concentrated in the most *industrialised* areas, those are the *kabupaten* and *kotamadya* adjoining Jakarta Special Region, namely Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi or Botabek and *kabupaten* and *kotamadya* Bandung or Bandung Raya (Greater Bandung). Botabek is important as a receiver of Jakarta residential overspill (Hugo 1996, 1997). The following analyses will explain the distribution of immigrants, return migrants and Central Java-born immigrants, within West Java province and how the Jakarta overspill influences the distribution. However, the development of industrial sectors in Botabek and Bandung has also attracted West Java-born people who live in other regencies. Table D.3. and Figure D.1.in Appendix D, show those areas have relatively high positive net intra-provincial migration, while regencies in southern and eastern West Java, such as Garut, Tasikmalaya, Ciamis, Kuningan and Cirebon have negative net intra-provincial migration meaning more people have left the areas for other part of West Java than have arrived, whereas Botabek and Bandung areas, especially Bandung Municipality, have positive net intra-provincial migration.

West Java has been differentiated into seven sub-regions for regional socio-economic development planning (Bappeda 1988). Immigrants tend to concentrate in the industrial regions, such as Botabek and Bandung as shown in Table 4.2. In 1980 Botabek and Bandung urban areas received almost the same share of immigrants around 40 per cent, but in rural areas Botabek took almost 50 per cent of all immigrants, while Bandung only received 10.3 per cent and Priatim had 15.2 per cent. Therefore in both urban and rural areas, Botabek had 44.5 per cent of total immigrants, while Bandung received 26.5 per cent. In 1990, the preference of immigrants to choose Botabek as destination area has increased considerably making the proportion of immigrants in Botabek jump to 66.9 per cent, while in Bandung the share decreased to 16.9 per cent. Again, if we differentiate the immigrants into urban and rural areas we will see that the increasing flow of immigrants into urban Botabek is bigger than that into rural areas. In urban areas the swing of immigrants from Bandung to Botabek is significant as Bandung only received less than a half of its share in 1980 decreasing from 40.1 per cent to 18.6 per cent in 1990, while Botabek jumped from 40.1 per cent in 1980 to 72.3 per cent in 1990.

Botabek and Bandung urban areas were also more popular as destination areas among return migrants and Central Java-born immigrants rather than other regions. Although the number of immigrants towards Botabek increased rapidly, it does not mean that the number of immigrants to other urban regions has also declined. The fact is the number of immigrants, including Central Java-born and return migrants has increased considerably in all urban regions between 1980 and 1990. Nevertheless, Botabek has the highest growth rate of 20.8 per cent per year for all immigrants (Table 4.3.), while other regions grew by 10 per cent or less. On the

Table 4.2. West Java: Distribution (%) of Migrants by Development Regions and Area, 1980 and 1990

Development Region	1980			1990		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
<i>All Inmigrant:</i>						
Banten	4.9	5.8	5.3	2.1	<b>11.5</b>	3.9
Botabek	<b>40.1</b>	<b>49.6</b>	<b>44.5</b>	<b>72.3</b>	<b>43.7</b>	<b>66.9</b>
Sukabumi	2.5	2.2	2.3	0.9	3.4	1.4
Bandung	<b>40.5</b>	<b>10.3</b>	<b>26.5</b>	<b>18.6</b>	9.4	<b>16.9</b>
Priatim	1.7	<b>15.2</b>	8.0	0.8	<b>13.3</b>	3.2
Cirebon	6.0	9.4	7.5	3.3	9.0	4.4
Purwasuka	4.3	7.6	5.8	1.9	9.7	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Return Migrant:</i>						
Banten	4.6	<b>20.2</b>	<b>15.0</b>	2.5	<b>15.9</b>	9.9
Botabek	<b>30.1</b>	<b>31.8</b>	<b>31.2</b>	<b>50.3</b>	<b>18.7</b>	<b>32.9</b>
Sukabumi	3.6	3.1	3.3	3.0	5.0	4.1
Bandung	<b>37.6</b>	<b>12.8</b>	<b>21.1</b>	<b>24.6</b>	<b>14.7</b>	<b>19.1</b>
Priatim	5.4	<b>10.8</b>	9.0	5.3	<b>18.7</b>	<b>12.7</b>
Cirebon	<b>11.2</b>	<b>14.0</b>	<b>13.0</b>	<b>10.5</b>	<b>17.6</b>	<b>14.4</b>
Purwasuka	7.5	7.3	7.4	3.8	9.4	6.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Central Java Inmigrant:</i>						
Banten	3.4	4.8	4.1	2.6	8.6	3.8
Botabek	<b>34.4</b>	<b>30.6</b>	<b>32.6</b>	<b>63.5</b>	<b>32.3</b>	<b>57.0</b>
Sukabumi	2.2	1.4	1.8	0.8	2.9	1.3
Bandung	<b>45.7</b>	9.1	<b>28.4</b>	<b>24.9</b>	8.7	<b>21.5</b>
Priatim	2.0	<b>31.4</b>	<b>15.9</b>	1.1	<b>24.7</b>	6.0
Cirebon	7.5	<b>11.8</b>	9.5	4.6	<b>10.5</b>	5.8
Purwasuka	4.9	<b>10.9</b>	7.8	2.6	<b>12.4</b>	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: 1) Including Central Java-born inmigrants.

Source: West Java Population Data Censuses 1980 and 1990

other hand, the rural inmigrants seem more evenly distributed between regions, although Botabek took the biggest share of 49.6 per cent in 1980 and 43.7 per cent in 1990. Other regions that received more than 10 per cent of inmigrant are Bandung and Priatim or Easter Priangan. Priatim region, which consists of Tasikmalaya and Ciamis regencies, shared 15.2 per cent of rural inmigrant in 1980



Table 4.3. West Java: Growth Rate of Inmigrants, Return Migrant and Central Java-born 1980 - 1990

Region	All Inmigrants <sup>1)</sup>			Growth Rate (% p.a.) Return Migrants			Central Java -born		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Banten	4.7	7.0	5.9	7.5	6.1	6.3	8.9	4.9	6.9
Botabek	<b>20.8</b>	<b>-1.4</b>	<b>13.8</b>	<b>20.1</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>11.3</b>	<b>19.0</b>	-0.4	<b>13.6</b>
Sukabumi	3.1	4.4	3.7	<b>12.0</b>	<b>13.8</b>	<b>13.2</b>	1.5	6.6	3.6
Bandung	<b>5.4</b>	-1.1	<b>4.5</b>	<b>9.3</b>	<b>10.2</b>	<b>9.6</b>	5.3	-1.4	<b>4.5</b>
Priatim	6.0	<b>-1.5</b>	-0.4	<b>13.7</b>	<b>14.8</b>	<b>14.6</b>	5.2	-3.3	-2.5
Cirebon	7.4	-0.5	3.5	<b>13.4</b>	<b>11.1</b>	<b>11.8</b>	6.5	-2.1	2.3
Purwasuka	5.1	2.3	3.5	6.6	<b>11.4</b>	<b>10.0</b>	5.1	0.3	2.1
Total	13.9	-0.2	9.3	<b>14.0</b>	<b>8.7</b>	<b>10.7</b>	11.9	-1.0	7.5

Note: 1) Including Central Java-born inmigrants.

Sources: West Java Population Census Data 1980 and 1990

and decline to 13.3 per cent in 1990. This region, together with Cirebon region, shares border with Central Java province and were the traditional destination areas of migrants from Central Java to work in agricultural and plantation areas (Hugo 1978). In 1980, 31.4 per cent immigrant from Central Java who headed to rural West Java went to the Priatim region and 30.6 per cent went to the Botabek region meaning both regions were major rural destination of Central Java inmigrants. In 1990 the shares are rather different as the proportion headed to rural Priatim declined to 24.7 per cent, while it slightly increased to 32.3 per cent in rural Botabek. However, the attraction of rural employment in West Java has already decreased even for Central Java people as is reflected in the smaller number of immigrant in rural West Java in 1990 compared to those in 1980 (Table 4.1). Except for Banten, Sukabumi and Purwasuka, all rural regions experienced decline between 1980 and 1990. As Banten, Sukabumi and Purwasuka are planned to become agricultural development areas, most migrants headed there will choose

rural rather than urban areas to find work. However, for return migrants the rural area is an interesting place to live especially for those that just retired from a job elsewhere and want to spend their retirement life in their home villages. The return migrant population was more evenly distributed between regions within West Java rural areas and it has a growth rate of 8.7 per cent per year.

In the beginning of this sub-section, it indicated that not all Central Java-born migrants came directly from Central Java. Table 4.4. provides data on the distribution of the last province of residence of all lifetime immigrants, return migrants and Central Java-born immigrants in West Java. It shows that the importance of Jakarta as the main province of previous residence of all lifetime immigrants in West Java. This effect became stronger in 1990. In 1980, 38.1 per cent of all lifetime immigrants came from Jakarta and this percentage increased to 49.3 per cent in 1990. On the other hand, those who arrived directly from Central Java have decreased in proportion from 36.5 per cent in 1980 to 26.7 per cent in 1990. The shift of importance of migrant origins for West Java was caused by the faster influx of people from Jakarta to West Java than the influx of from other provinces to West Java. The proportion of Central Java-born immigrants who entered West Java from Jakarta has increased considerably from 13.2 per cent 1980 to 22.1 per cent in 1990. About 56 per cent of return migrants came directly from Jakarta and 31.2 per cent from Outer Java in 1990, which was a significant increase from 1980 figures. The fast-growth of the migration influx from Jakarta to urban West Java provides evidence that there is a spillover of residential development from Jakarta into neighbouring West Java province (Hugo 1996, 1997). As shown in Table 4.5. in 1990 Botabek Region received the biggest share of immigrants or return migrants who came directly from Jakarta, 86.8 per cent for all immigrants,

48.7 per cent for return migrants and 89.8 per cent for the Central Java-born immigrants. These proportions are slightly higher from those in 1980.

Table 4.4. West Java: Distribution (%) and Growth Rate (% p.a.) of Migrants by Previous Residence and Area, 1980 and 1990

Previous Residence	1980			1990			Growth Rate (% p.a.)		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
<b>All Inmigrant:</b>									
Sumatra	14.7	7.3	11.3	10.6	12.7	11.0	10.2	5.5	8.9
Jakarta	31.3	45.9	38.1	50.7	43.5	49.3	19.5	-0.7	12.1
Central Java	36.0	37.2	36.5	25.3	32.4	26.7	9.9	-1.5	5.9
Other Java	10.6	5.5	8.2	9.1	7.5	8.8	12.3	2.9	10.0
Other Provinces	7.4	4.1	5.9	4.3	3.9	4.2	7.9	-0.5	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	13.9	-0.2	9.3
<b>Return Migrant:</b>									
Sumatra	13.0	18.8	16.9	13.4	30.7	22.9	14.4	14.1	14.2
Jakarta	50.7	54.4	53.1	62.9	50.3	56.0	16.5	7.8	11.3
Central Java	15.1	10.5	12.1	8.6	6.1	7.2	7.8	3.0	5.2
Other Java	9.7	9.6	9.6	5.6	4.1	4.7	7.9	-0.3	3.2
Other Provinces	11.6	6.7	8.3	9.6	8.8	9.2	12.0	11.7	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	14.0	8.7	10.7
<b>C. Java Migrant:</b>									
Sumatra	1.1	0.5	0.8	1.1	2.0	1.3	12.8	14.3	13.2
Jakarta	10.6	16.2	13.2	24.0	10.9	22.1	21.6	-2.0	13.2
Central Java	86.3	82.7	84.7	72.9	86.6	74.9	10.2	-1.0	6.2
Other Java	0.8	0.3	0.6	0.9	0.6	0.8	13.0	3.6	11.1
Other Provinces	1.1	0.3	0.7	1.0	0.3	0.9	10.7	3.5	9.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	12.1	-1.0	7.6

Note: 1) Including Central Java-born immigrants.

Source: West Java Population Census Data 1980 and 1990

Table 4.5. also shows the growing importance of the immigrants influx from provinces outside to Botabek Region, even among Central Java-born immigrants. As a consequence of economic developments in Jakarta, there is a substantial internal restructuring, physically and socio-economically, that has into West Java province, especially in the regencies surrounding Jakarta, such as Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi (Firman and Dharmapatni 1995; Firman 1997). Firman (1997) argued that in the process of socio-economic restructuring, the core area has become the centre

Table 4.5. West Java: Distribution (%) and Growth Rate (% p.a.) of Migrants by Previous Residence and Area in Botabek and Bandung Regions, 1980 and 1990

Previous Residence	1980 (% <sup>2)</sup> )		1990 (% <sup>2)</sup> )		Growth Rate (% p.a.)	
	Botabek	Bandung	Botabek	Bandung	Botabek	Bandung
<b>All Inmigrant:</b>						
Sumatra	23.8	<u>44.7</u>	<u>41.7</u>	32.7	<u>15.3</u>	5.6
Jakarta	<b><u>75.8</u></b>	10.0	<b><u>86.8</u></b>	4.9	<u>13.6</u>	4.4
Central Java	24.3	<u>31.4</u>	<u>48.3</u>	26.2	<u>13.4</u>	4.0
Other Java	37.1	<u>40.6</u>	<u>54.6</u>	27.6	<u>14.4</u>	5.9
Other Provinces	18.0	<u>48.5</u>	<u>44.4</u>	34.7	<u>15.7</u>	2.3
Total	<u>44.5</u>	26.5	<u>66.9</u>	16.9	<u>13.8</u>	4.5
<b>Return Migrant:</b>						
Sumatra	8.0	<u>26.4</u>	13.2	<u>24.7</u>	<u>20.0</u>	13.4
Jakarta	<b><u>48.4</u></b>	12.9	<b><u>48.7</u></b>	11.5	<u>11.4</u>	10.0
Central Java	14.8	<u>33.1</u>	14.1	<u>29.0</u>	<u>4.7</u>	3.8
Other Java	14.7	<u>27.4</u>	13.0	<u>28.0</u>	1.9	<u>3.4</u>
Other Provinces	11.4	<u>38.3</u>	10.6	<u>39.4</u>	11.0	12.1
Total	<u>31.2</u>	<u>21.1</u>	<u>32.9</u>	<u>19.1</u>	<u>11.3</u>	9.6
<b>C. Java Migrant:</b>						
Sumatra	18.1	<u>50.2</u>	<u>34.0</u>	30.0	<u>20.5</u>	7.5
Jakarta	<b><u>84.7</u></b>	6.0	<b><u>89.8</u></b>	3.5	<u>13.9</u>	7.3
Central Java	24.9	<u>31.2</u>	<u>48.3</u>	26.2	<u>13.6</u>	4.4
Other Java	25.8	<u>51.4</u>	<u>50.2</u>	30.2	<u>18.8</u>	5.4
Other Provinces	11.5	<u>60.5</u>	<u>51.0</u>	32.4	<u>27.1</u>	2.9
Total	<u>32.6</u>	28.4	<u>57.3</u>	21.3	<u>13.8</u>	4.5

Note: 1) Including Central Java-born inmigrants.

2) Percentage of inmigrants from particular province of previous residence who went to Botabek or Bandung Region.

Source: West Java Population Census Data 1980 and 1990

of finance and services and manufacturing activities have shifted to the fringe areas.

In line with these processes is the process of physical restructuring indicated by the conversion of agricultural to non agricultural land uses, such for industrial locations or housing development, in fringe areas and the conversion of slum areas in Jakarta city centre into business zones (Firman 1997). The development of new houses in fringe areas has attracted people from Jakarta and from other places as well, to migrate to Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi that are under the West Java administration. Many people living in these regencies commute to Jakarta for work

(Hugo 1997) and many of the new migrants from Jakarta prefer to retain their Jakarta Residency Card (*KTP Jakarta*) than change it to West Java, as revealed by Firman and Dharmapatni (1995) that in 1992 about 400,000 people residing in Bekasi and 100,000 people living in Depok, Bogor still hold a Jakarta Residency Card. The people who moved from Jakarta city to its fringe areas, which are under West Java administration, might feel less attached to West Java than to Jakarta as most of them still consider themselves as a Jakarta resident, while in fact they are living in West Java province. This opinion was shared by one of the Central Java-born migrants interviewed during the field research who told me that he migrated to Jakarta in 1991 and lived with his employer in Pasar Baru before moving to Pondok Gede in 1995 to live with his brothers. He does not know that he has moved into West Java and no longer lives in Jakarta. He would prefer to tell everyone in the village that he works and lives in Jakarta rather than in West Java. Although administratively he was not resident of Jakarta or West Java as he still keeps his Central Java Residency Card as he was not sure about his future in Jakarta (Interview, 18 November 1995).

#### **4.3. Distribution of Household Number and Size**

The last section has shown that West Java, especially its urban area, is experiencing a very rapid population growth caused by migration leading to urbanisation of some of its areas. The consequence will be an increased demand for a lot of additional facilities to be provided in the cities and other migration destination areas to support the increasing numbers of population, in such as housing, transportation, health service, and education. Housing shortages are a problem as new arrivals need a place to stay, temporarily or permanently in the destination areas and these may result in a change in household structure. How

does the household structure change? It is believed that industrialisation will lead to a change from an extended family structure to the nuclear family structure and smaller household size (Goode 1963). To succeed in establishing an industrial economy one should have a capability to go to anywhere that opportunity are available and therefore they need a smaller family to easily manage this. However, the results of contemporary research on the relationship between migration and household structure, especially involving Third World countries, have challenged this belief. These studies show that on the contrary population mobility will tend to enlarge household or family size in the cities (Hugo 1978; Chaves 1985; Abustam 1991; Glick *et.al.* 1997) because the new migrant will join their friends or relatives who already live in the cities to get some assistance. Moreover, recent study on the comparison on the family systems in Europe and Asia by Goody (1996) revealed that there is no major difference between West and East in mean size of household and the assumption that pre-industrial households consisted of large extended families was incorrect. How has household structure changed under the influence of migration in West Java?

One of the consequences of a rapid growth of immigration in destination areas is the increasing number of households to accommodate them. However, one should remember that household formation is not only caused by increasing numbers of immigrant but is also influenced by the separation of adult children from their parents' household to set up their own household. Table 4.6. presents the number and size of households in West Java province in 1980 and 1990 differentiated by the migration status of head of household and area. The number of households has increased considerably, especially in urban areas and for immigrant households including Central Javanese immigrants. The total number of households

Table 4.6. West Java: Household Number and Size by Area and Migration Status, 1980 and 1990

	Household Number					Household Size		
	1980	1990	GR <sup>1)</sup>	GRP <sup>2)</sup>	% <sup>3)</sup>	1980	1990	Change
<b>Indonesia:</b>	30,482,458	39,695,158	2.7	2.0	-	4.8	4.5	-0.3
Urban	6,331,268	11,692,856	6.3	5.4	-	5.2	4.7	-0.5
Rural	24,151,190	28,002,302	1.5	0.8	-	4.7	4.4	-0.3
<b>West Java:</b>	6,087,760	8,158,406	3.0	2.6	100.0	4.5	4.3	-0.2
Urban	1,139,636	2,580,693	<u>8.5</u>	<u>7.8</u>	100.0	5.1	4.7	-0.4
Rural	4,948,124	5,577,713	1.2	0.7	100.0	4.4	4.1	-0.3
<b>Never Migrate Household:</b>	5,697,861	7,157,772	2.3	2.1	70.5	4.5 <sup>6)</sup>	4.3 <sup>6)</sup>	-0.2
Urban	946,395	1,895,750	7.2	6.8	65.9	5.1 <sup>6)</sup>	4.7 <sup>6)</sup>	-0.4
Rural	4,751,466	5,262,022	1.0	0.6	81.1	4.4 <sup>6)</sup>	4.1 <sup>6)</sup>	-0.3
<b>Return Migrant:</b>	91,433	306,133	<u>12.8</u>	<u>10.7</u>	10.4	-	-	-
Urban	31,869	132,722	<u>15.3</u>	<u>14.0</u>	7.0	-	-	-
Rural	59,564	173,411	11.3	8.7	18.1	-	-	-
<b>Inmigrant Household<sup>4)</sup>:</b>	298,466	694,501	8.8	9.3	19.1	4.9	4.5	-0.4
Urban	161,372	552,221	<u>13.1</u>	<u>13.9</u>	27.1	5.1	4.6	-0.5
Rural	137,094	142,280	0.4	-0.2	0.8	4.7	4.3	-0.4
<b>Central Java-born Inmigrant:</b>	159,993	302,307	6.6	7.6	6.9 <sup>5)</sup>	4.8	4.3	-0.5
Urban	75,549	229,096	<u>11.7</u>	<u>12.1</u>	10.1 <sup>5)</sup>	5.0	4.4	-0.6
Rural	84,444	73,281	-1.4	-1.0	-1.8 <sup>5)</sup>	4.6	4.1	-0.5

Note: 1) GR= (Household) Growth Rate in per cent per annum.

2) GRP=(Population) Growth Rate in per cent per annum.

3) % to Addition Number of Total Household between 1980 and 1990.

4) Including Central Java-born inmigrants.

5) This percentage should be excluded from total household percentage (100%).

6) Including Return Migrant made of Total West Java-born population.

Sources: West Java Population Census Data 1980 and 1990

in West Java has increased from 6,087,760 households in 1980 to 8,158,406 households in 1990 making an annual growth rate of 3 per cent per annum. This number is slightly higher than that for all Indonesia, that is 2.7 per cent per annum and higher than the population growth rate in West Java, that is 2.6 per cent per annum. More than seventy percent (1,490,758 households) of the additional households located in urban areas making the urban household growth

faster than in rural areas, respectively 8.5 per cent and 1.2 per cent per year. If we differentiate the households by migration status, we find that the growth rates of immigrant household, in both areas, are higher than those of non-migrant households. The migrant household groups include return migrants, all immigrants and Central Java-born migrants. The number of those three immigrant household groups has increased rapidly in urban areas, respectively by 15.3 per cent, 13.1 per cent and 11.7 per cent annually. On the other hand, the growth rate in rural areas was low, except for return migrants and negative for Central Java immigrants, although, the rural growth rate of immigrant households is higher than that of never-migrated household. Compared to the other household groups, the return migrants appear to have had the fastest annual growth rate. In urban areas they grew by 15.3 per cent and by 14.0 per cent in rural areas. Apart from the intentional return migration, these relatively higher growth rates of return migrant household is also influenced by the rapid movement of people from Jakarta to their new houses located in the bordering West Java region. This spillover of Jakarta's residential development cannot be avoided as the need of land for economic reasons in Jakarta has increased rapidly.

The importance of migration in influencing the rapid growth of household numbers can be examined from the contribution of additional numbers of household between 1980 and 1990 by migrant households. In urban area, the contribution of immigrant household increment is 27.1 per cent and return migrant's is 7.0 per cent. As a part of immigrants household, the Central Java-born immigrant households alone contributed 10.7 per cent. It means that almost 40 per cent of total immigrant households' additional numbers are contributed by a single province. In rural areas, the situation is totally different where return migrants made more than 95 per cent



of the additional numbers of migrant households. This provides evidence that return migrants in West Java are usually ex-civil servants or ex-army who want to spend their retirement life in their home villages (Hugo 1978). The highest share of Central Java-born immigrant households is due to the fast growth rate of migration of Central Java-born immigrants who used to live in Jakarta to West Java. In urban areas, they grew by 21.6 per cent yearly between 1980 and 1990 in contrast to rural areas which where they decreased slightly by -2 per cent per year.

Another factor that is important in the household analyses is the changes in household size. In the period of ten years the household size of the West Java population declined in all areas for all migration status. For overall West Java, the household size has decreased from 4.5 in 1980 to 4.3 in 1990 or a 4.4 per cent change compared to national figure of 4.8 in 1980 and 4.5 in 1990 or a 6.3 per cent decline. The biggest decline was among the immigrant households in urban area, which was reduced in size by a half person or on 11 per cent change, yet the rural household consistently have a smaller size than urban households do. However, if we compare household size between migrant status categories, rural migrant household size is slightly larger than that of non migrant's, while the urban household size are slightly lower. Within the 1980 and 1990 period, all immigrant households declined by 0.4 persons (8.2 per cent), while non-migrant's decreased by 0.2 persons (4.4 per cent) and for Central Java-born immigrant's declined by 0.5 persons (10.4 per cent). The decrease of household size was partly influenced by the fertility decline in Indonesia (Adioetomo, 1997). As has been mentioned in Chapter One, Indonesia has experienced a decline in Total Fertility Rate (TFR) by more than 50 per cent, from a TFR of 5.6 in 1967 to 2.6 in 1997 (IDHS 1998), while West Java province the figures are 6.3 in 1967 to 2.9 in 1994 or decline by 54

per cent (BPS 1997). Besides being affected by fertility decline, the decreasing household size may also reflect new preferences of living arrangements, such as living alone or in a nuclear family (Chaves 1985; Glick *et.al.* 1997). The following section will analyse the distribution of household numbers according to household structure and migration status to find evidence of whether changes in preference of living arrangements had contributed to lower household size in West Java.

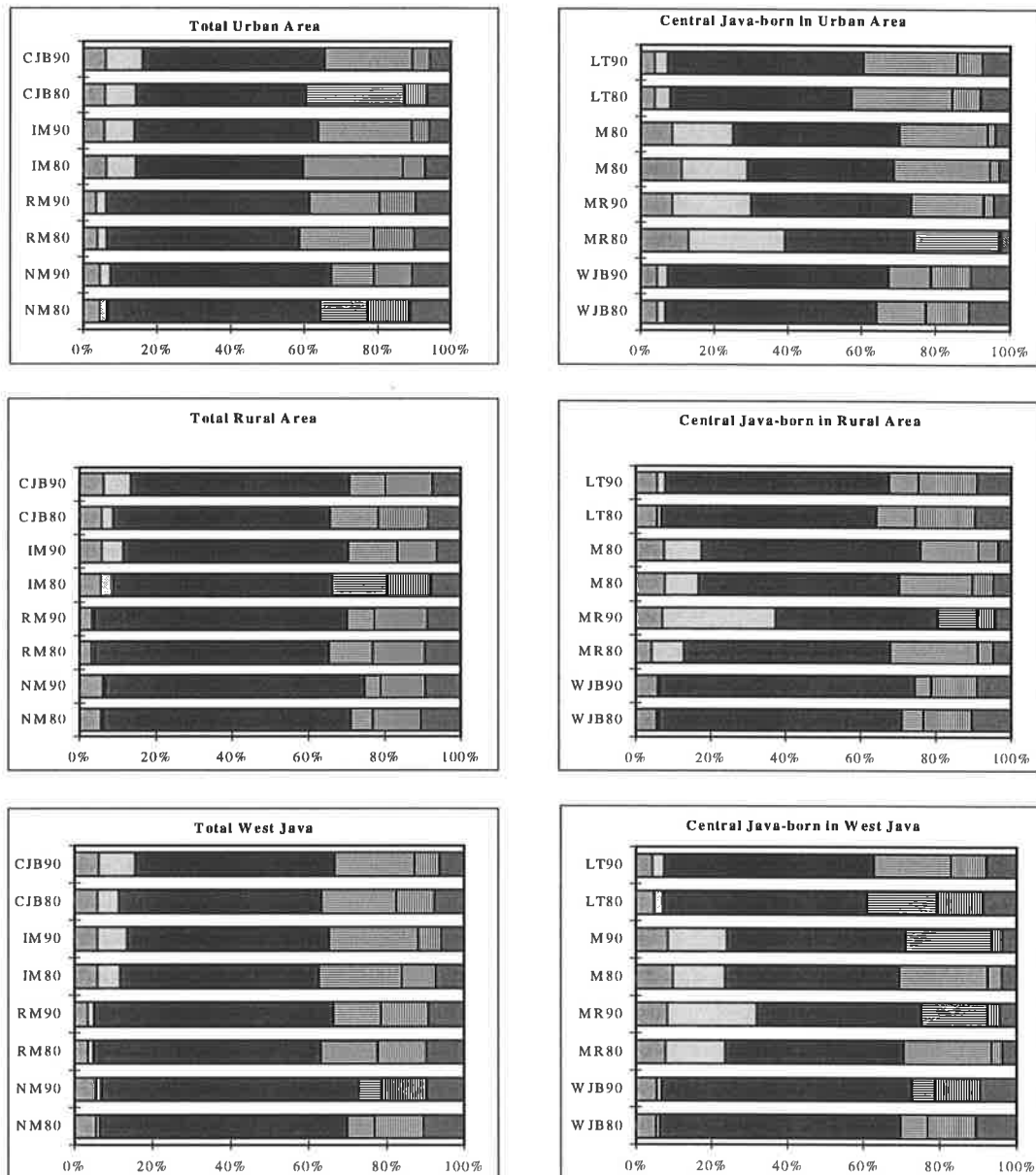
#### **4.4. Distribution of Household Structure and Migration Status**

##### **4.4.1. Distribution of Household Structure**

Household structure is the composition of household members according to their relationship to the head of the household (Glick, 1956). Figure 4.1. presents the distribution of households according to household structure and migration status. The nuclear family type dominates the household structure and has become more important over time. The proportion made up by the nuclear family is consistently higher in rural areas than in urban areas for any migration status, although it is greater among non-migrant households than immigrant. The lowest proportion of nuclear family type households is found among the most recent Central Java-born immigrants (Figure 4.1.) especially those in urban areas. The increasing numbers of the nuclear family type is the direct effect of mass-housing development to provide more homes for the growing number of population, especially in urban areas. The majority of new built houses were small, less than 70 sq.m. (BPS 1994), which cannot accommodate too many people. This has made more new migrants prefer to live separated from their relatives in non-familial households with their friends (see Chapter Seven).

It is interesting to examine the second largest proportion of household types, which may reflect the differences of household structure between groups of

Figure 4.1. West Java: Distribution of Household Structure By Migration Status and Area 1980 and 1990



Legend:



Notes: SPF=Single Person Household  
 NonF= Non-familial  
 NF=Nuclear Family  
 EV=Extended Vertical  
 EH=Extended Horizontal  
 Err=Single Parent  
 TErF=Temporary Eroded Family

IM80 or 90 =Immigrant Household 1980 or 1990  
 RM80 or 90 = Return-migrant Household 1980 or 1990  
 CJB80 or 90 = C.Java-born Immigrant Household 1980 or 1990  
 NM80 or 90 = Never Migrate Household 1980 or 1990  
 WJB 80 or 90 =West Java-born Household 1980 and 1990  
 MR 80 or 90=Most-recent Household 1980 and 1990  
 M 80 or 90=Recent C.Java-born Household 1980 or 1990  
 LT 80 or 90=Long-timer C.Java-born Household 1980 or 1990

Source: Indonesia Population Censuses 1980 and 1990

population. In urban areas, the extended horizontal household structure was the second highest contributor of household types in all groups although in a declining proportion over time (Figure 4.1.). This was caused by the addition of relatives from rural areas or other towns within West Java province. If the Central Java-born immigrant population was broken down by the length of migration (Figure 4.1.), the second largest household types among new arrivals was the non-familial type, which is in the contrast with the findings of other studies (Abu-Lughod 1961; Hugo 1978; Chaves 1985; Abustam 1991; Glick *et.al.* 1991). This may be caused by in fact, many of the new arrivals in 1980 were recruited by the employers and were given free accommodation in form of non-familial household structure, such as in *bedeng* or *pondok* (Jellinek 1986). Meanwhile, the new arrivals in 1990 lived in non-familial households as the only choice of living arrangement available for them in the form of rented rooms (See Chapter Seven). In rural areas, the second largest proportion of household types was the extended vertical, except for the immigrant population who live in extended horizontal. The extended vertical household type formed with the joining of children's families into their parents' households or the moving in of elderly parents into their children's households to be cared for (See Chapter Six). In contrast to the immigrant household's distribution, the Central Java-born household type distribution was similar to urban household type composition. However, when the Central Java-born population was classified by the length of migration, then only those who arrived more than five years ago have a similar distribution to the local people. The longer they stay in West Java the distribution of immigrant household type is getting similar to the non-migrants. In total, both in urban and rural area, the extended horizontal type of household was important for the migrant population, although, it is showing a declining in

importance over time and has been replaced by increasing incidence of non-familial households.

Between 1980 and 1990, the proportion of the non-familial type of households increased regardless of the migration status. Figure 4.1. shows that the proportion of non-familial households among the West Java-born population has increased from 2.1 per cent in 1980 to 2.9 per cent in 1990. This partly can be explained by the inclusion of intra-provincial migrants into the non-migrant population category, which, in fact, are not less important in numbers than inter-provincial migrants (see Appendix D). The main destination areas of intra-provincial migration are no different to those of inter-provincial migration that is Botabek and Greater Bandung regions. The intra-provincial migrants, in terms of rural-urban migration, have similar experiences with inter-provincial migrants, such as difficulties in adjusting to city life, to find a job and a place to stay and dependency to friends of families who migrated before (Abu-Lughod, 1961; Bruner, 1961; Hugo, 1978; Chaves, 1985; Abustam, 1991; Glick *et.al.*, 1997). Hence, the changes of household structure distribution among non-migrant household have been influenced by the dynamics of the intra-provincial migrant population.

Despite the small contribution of non-familial types of household, it had the highest growth rate between 1980 and 1990 compared to the other types in all migrant categories except in urban immigrant household as shown in Table 4.7. Its growth rate consistently was higher in urban areas than in rural areas. The non-familial household among Central Java-born new arrivals grew by 18.5 per cent per annum in the period of 1980-1990 and it was the highest growth rate between groups of population. On the other hand the non-familial households among the never migrated has the lowest growth rate that is 2.1 per cent per year. In rural

Table 4.7. West Java: Growth Rate (per cent p.a.) of Household by Structure, Migration Status and Area Between 1980 and 1990

Household Structure	Never Migrate	Return Migrant	Inmi-grant <sup>1)</sup>	Central Java-born <sup>2)</sup>			Total
				< 1	1 - 5	> 5	
<b><i>Urban:</i></b>							
Single Person	7.3	13.8	12.2	11.9	16.2	7.7	11.8
Non Familial	10.6	16.8	13.5	14.1	18.5	6.8	<u>14.0</u>
Nuclear Family	7.7	15.9	14.1	19.0	20.9	<u>9.1</u>	12.4
Extended Horizontal	5.3	14.6	12.4	14.5	18.2	7.4	10.6
Extended Vertical	6.3	14.4	10.3	<u>34.2</u>	20.3	6.5	8.7
Single Parent	6.8	14.7	11.3	24.4	<u>22.0</u>	7.6	10.4
Total	7.2	15.3	13.1	16.5	19.4	8.2	11.7
<b><i>Rural:</i></b>							
Single Person	1.7	11.8	0.6	4.9	1.6	-2.1	-0.7
Non Familial	<u>1.9</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>6.8</u>	<u>13.6</u>	<u>3.1</u>	<u>3.7</u>	<u>7.5</u>
Nuclear Family	1.5	12.1	0.6	-2.5	2.9	-2.0	-1.3
Extended Horizontal	-2.3	6.1	-0.6	-7.6	-0.4	-4.9	-4.3
Extended Vertical	0.4	11.5	-0.8	1.5	1.7	-2.4	-2.0
Single Parent	-0.3	10.5	-1.8	-1.3	-2.0	-3.1	-2.9
Total	1.0	11.3	0.4	-0.1	2.0	-2.3	-1.4
<b><i>West Java:</i></b>							
Single Person	2.6	12.6	8.4	9.9	12.5	2.6	6.9
Non Familial	<u>6.0</u>	<u>14.4</u>	<u>12.1</u>	<u>14.0</u>	<u>16.9</u>	<u>6.1</u>	<u>12.5</u>
Nuclear Family	2.7	13.4	9.0	8.5	14.4	4.1	6.5
Extended Horizontal	0.7	11.0	9.6	6.3	13.9	4.9	7.2
Extended Vertical	1.6	12.4	4.8	11.6	11.0	1.1	2.4
Single Parent	1.3	12.2	6.6	10.9	13.7	2.6	4.4
Total	2.3	12.8	8.8	9.4	14.2	3.8	6.6

Note: 1) including Central Java-born immigrants

2) Differentiated by Length of Stay in West Java

Source: West Java Population Census Data 1980 and 1990

areas, the number of non-familial households grew at a relatively lower rate compared to the urban rates, which mean that non-familial households have become an alternative living arrangement in rural areas, especially for individual migrants in factory areas.

Despite the slight increase of the non-familial living arrangement percentage and the decrease of the extended vertical households proportion, the distribution of households according to its structure has not changed in 10 years within similar group of households. The majority of all household groups are of the nuclear family type, although for migrant households the percentage is smaller than non-migrant households. The 10-year period may be too short to evaluate changes of household structure. Family and household studies (Geertz 1961; Koentjaraningrat 1967; Jay 1967; Evans 1984) have found that the basic Javanese family structure is the nuclear family, while adopting a bilateral principle of kinship system. This kinship and familial system is also adopted by Sundanese people, the major ethnic groups living in West Java, (Ekadjati 1995). The relatively large percentage of non-familial households among the Central Java-born are mostly recent migrants and is temporary in nature, when they become settled they will change into a nuclear family, which can be seen from the household distribution of long-time migrants (see Figure 4.1.). The development of the industrial sector in urban areas is inducing a large migration influx from rural to urban areas resulting in the need for living arrangements to fit industrial and urban life-styles.

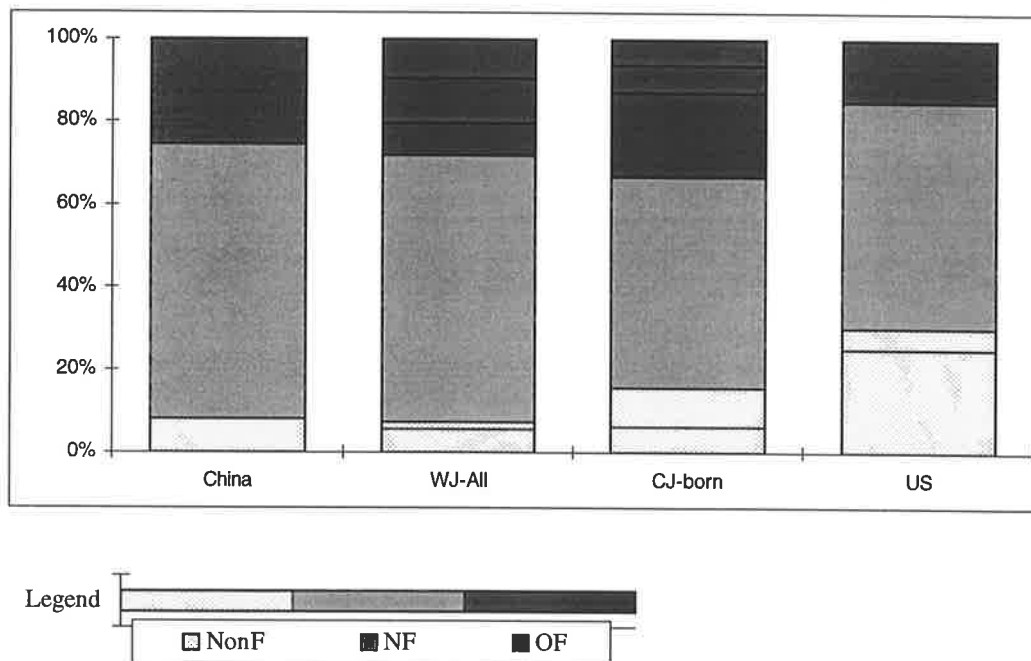
The West Java data on household structures are compared with China and the United States in Figure 4.2. A study in China (Rowland 1992) reported that multi-generation households or extended family have become less important since 1949 and the proportion of multi-generations households has decreased to 19 per cent in 1982 census from about 50 per cent in 1930 and the number of one or two-generations households has increased to reach Western patterns of household structure. Zeng Yi (1986) quoted by Rowland (1992), argued that the nuclear family has become the dominant family form in China. Based on the 1986 CASS

(Chinese Academy of the Social Sciences) survey in urban China, the proportion of nuclear family was 66.4 per cent, while the extended family - in the form of stem, joint and joint-stem families - was 25.5 per cent, and 'other' households - including those without married couples and persons living alone was 8.1 per cent. The smaller, less complex family, may be conducive to an increase in mobility. Employment opportunities in the cities have induced individual migration as a means to improve the living standard of the family (Rowland 1992). Although, the nuclear family has become an important family structure in China, the existence of the extended family may be sustained, because, for one thing, the Government retains the cultural tradition that 'children have full responsibility for their parents in old age' as Zeng Yi stated in Rowland (1992). Although, it is common for married couples in urban China to live in separate households at some stage of their family life cycle their households are often joined by their children' or parents' households.

On the other hand, in the United States, the proportion of nonfamily households has increased over time, in 1960 the proportion was 15 per cent, then it increased to 30 per cent in 1991 (Alhburg and De Vita 1992), while married couples have decreased from 75 per cent in 1960 to 55 per cent in 1991. The definition of married couple here is similar to the nuclear family definition apply in this study. While in this study the proportion of other family types, such as extended family and single parent family, is greater than single person and nonfamily households, the United States figures show that the single person, either headed by male or female, and nonfamily households is larger than other families' households. The development of the industrial economy, which subsequently is followed by large numbers of individual migrations, such as in West Java and China cases, will result in a rapid change in the household structure in



Figure 4.2. Comparison of Household Structure in China (1986), West Java (1990) and United States of America (1991)



Notes: NonF=Non-familial, includes single person household  
 NF=Nuclear Family  
 OF=Other Family, includes extended and single parent families

Sources: West Java: Population Census 1990  
 China: Rowland, 1992  
 US: Ahlburg and De Vita, 1992

urban areas to form more single person or non-familial households before approaching the United States household structures.

#### 4.4.2. Household Size By Household Structure

On the contrary, to the expectation that the increasing number of non-familial household was contributing to a smaller household size in fact, the West Java data show the increasing size of non-familial households in all migrant statuses and areas. Table 4.8. shows that the household size of all household types has decreased, except for the non-familial type. Among those, the extended horizontal household type is experiencing the biggest loss of members over the ten years,

ranging from 0.2 person in the rural non-migrant population to 0.8 person in the urban immigrant population. On the other hand, the average numbers in non-

Table 4.8. West Java: Average Household Size by Structure, Migration Status, and Area 1980 and 1990

Household Structure	Non-Migrant <sup>1)</sup>			All Immigrant <sup>2)</sup>			Central Java-born		
	1980	1990	Chg.	1980	1990	Chg.	1980	1990	Chg.
<b>Urban:</b>									
Single Person	1.0	1.0	-	1.0	1.0	-	1.0	1.0	-
Non-familial	3.3	3.4	<b>0.1</b>	3.0	3.4	<b>0.4</b>	2.9	3.4	<b>0.5</b>
Nuclear Family	4.8	4.6	-0.2	4.9	4.3	-0.6	4.7	4.2	-0.5
Extended Horizontal	6.9	6.3	<u>-0.6</u>	6.7	5.9	<u>-0.8</u>	6.4	5.7	<u>-0.7</u>
Extended Vertical	6.8	6.5	-0.3	7.1	6.6	-0.5	7.0	6.7	-0.3
Single Parent	4.4	4.2	-0.2	4.9	4.4	-0.5	4.7	4.2	-0.5
Total	5.1	4.7	-0.4	5.1	4.6	-0.5	5.0	4.4	-0.6
<b>Rural:</b>									
Single Person	1.0	3.4	-	1.0	1.0	-	1.0	1.0	-
Non-familial	2.9	3.4	<b>0.5</b>	3.2	3.8	<b>0.6</b>	3.0	3.9	<b>0.9</b>
Nuclear Family	4.3	4.1	-0.2	4.5	4.1	-0.4	4.4	4.0	-0.4
Extended Horizontal	5.8	5.6	-0.2	6.2	5.6	<u>-0.6</u>	6.0	5.3	<u>-0.7</u>
Extended Vertical	6.0	5.7	<u>-0.3</u>	6.3	5.8	-0.5	6.2	5.6	-0.6
Single Parent	3.6	3.5	-0.1	4.0	3.7	-0.3	3.8	3.5	-0.3
Total	4.4	4.1	-0.3	4.7	4.3	-0.4	4.6	4.1	-0.5

Source: West Java Population Census Data 1980 and 1990

familial household types has increased between 0.1 person in urban non-migrant populations to 0.9 in the rural Central Java-born population.

The extended vertical and single parent types are also experiencing decreasing in size. The members of this household type included children, other family members and other person who usually had an intention to leave to set up their own houses when they are ready to do so. Another reason for migrants to avoid living a longer time with their relatives or friends is that more recent migrants were engaged in formal sector jobs, such as factory workers, which made them independent in economic terms. Consequently, they do not need economic support from their relatives or friends ones they become employed. As they become

employed they have to spend most of their time to work and therefore will reduce their time to be subservient to their hosts, such as doing chores or other domestic works as they would have to do, if they were living with them. It will make them uncomfortable to live with their families or relatives without contributing to household work, despite making an economic contribution. Even if the non nuclear family members contribute to the household economy, they could not avoid household work. In addition, most urban houses were small, especially in densely settled urban areas, which will reduce the privacy of its occupant if many people live there. Although, the relatively new migrants decide to live in separate households to their former hosts, they commonly live around the neighbourhood and are still available to provide help in domestic work, such as baby-sitting (see Chapter Eight).

#### **4.5. Migrant Population and Migrant Household**

The previous explanation on distribution and structure of households was based on the household unit, which is represented by the household head's migration status, and it has no relation with the migration status of individual household member. This means that household members could be migrants, non-migrants or both migrants and non-migrants, although within a migrant household, there was one definite migrant member that is the household head. The following section examines the distribution of population, based on their migration status, according to the migration status of household heads. Table 4.9. shows the distribution of population by migrant and non-migrant households in urban West Java. The explanation is based on the urban area only as more migrants were domiciled in the urban area, for possible comparison with the households in origin area in rural Central Java in later chapters.

Table 4.9. West Java Urban: Distribution of Population By Migrant Status and Household Heads' Migrant Status, 1980 and 1990.

	Number		Percentage			
	Inmigrant Household	Non-migrant Household	Inmigrant Household		Non-migrant Household	
			Col	Row	Col	Row
<b>All Population 1980</b>						
Inmigrant	416,800	110,078	50.61	79.1	2.24	20.9
Non-migrant	406,789	4,813,218	49.39	7.8	97.76	92.2
Total	823,589	4,923,296	100.00	14.3	100.0	85.7
<b>1990</b>						
Inmigrant	1,474,521	307,464	61.49	82.7	3.19	17.3
Non-migrant	923,245	9,336,017	38.51	9.0	96.81	91.0
Total	2,397,766	9,643,481	100.00	19.9	100.00	80.1
<b>CJ-born<sup>1)</sup></b>						
<b>1980</b>	177,801	31,409	42.66 <sup>2)</sup>	85.0	28.53 <sup>2)</sup>	15.0
<b>1990</b>	574,213	83,940	38.94 <sup>2)</sup>	87.2	27.30 <sup>2)</sup>	12.8
Notes: 1) Not including Non-Central-Java-born migrant who live in Central Java-born-headed households.						
2) Percentage of total inmigrant.						
Source: West Java Population Data Censuses 1980 and 1990						

In 1980, almost 21 per cent of migrants in urban West Java live in non-migrant households (see the row percentage in Table 4.9.), while in 1990 the percentage decreased to 17.3 per cent, despite the number increasing three times. The column percentages show that the percentage of inmigrant population living in inmigrant households has increased, while the percentages of the inmigrant population living in non-migrant households has decreased. This pattern also occurred among Central Java-born migrants. The data above, however, cannot explain whether, there are any familial relationships between household heads and household members. Yet, overall, the increasing number of migrant population has

resulted in the increasing number of migrant households. The increasing proportion of immigrant population living in immigrant households means that more immigrants were living independently, such as in non-familial household structures.

Table 4.10. presents the distribution of population by migration status, relationship to household head and household head's migration status. For all population, there were some changes in the distribution of the relationships of members to their household heads overtime. The proportion of household members in 'Other Relatives' and 'Maids/Servants' relationships with household heads have decreased, in all categories, while the proportion of 'Other Persons' has increased. The decrease of the 'Other Relatives' percentage and the increased of 'Other Persons' percentage were consistent with the tendency of the increasing number of non-familial households type and the decreasing of extended horizontal household type. The decrease of 'Maids/servants' percentage especially among immigrants in non-migrants households might have been influenced by the increasing of employment opportunities in industrial sectors, which is more prestigious than household maids. The decreasing proportion of 'Maids/Servants' has also occurred among Central Java-born living in non-migrant households, from 21.7 per cent in 1980 to 18.9 per cent in 1990. On the other hand, the proportion of 'Other Persons' relationships has increased from 9 per cent in 1980 to 13.1 per cent in 1990. This means that more households, either immigrant or non-migrant, include 'Other Persons' in their households. 'Other persons' could be boarders, housemates, or roommates, who do not have familial relationships with the household heads and about their living together under one roof was largely based on economic considerations and the established networks of migrants from similar origin (see Chapter Seven).

Table 4.10. West Java Urban: Distribution (%) of Population By Migration Status, Relationships to Household Head and Migration Status of Household Head, 1980 and 1990.

	1980				1990			
	Immigrant Household		Non-migrant Household		Immigrant Household		Non-migrant Household	
	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM
<b>All Population</b>								
Heads	38.7	-	-	20.3	37.7	-	-	21.8
Spouses	17.3	13.3	25.0	15.9	20.4	15.6	28.1	16.8
Children	22.3	72.9	38.6	51.5	19.9	69.8	40.1	49.5
Children in-law	0.5	1.1	4.7	1.2	0.5	0.9	4.1	1.2
Grandchildren	0.5	3.6	3.4	3.7	0.6	3.1	2.9	3.4
Parents	1.4	1.3	4.0	1.6	1.2	1.4	2.6	1.7
Relatives	<u>13.4</u>	4.8	<u>10.3</u>	4.0	<u>12.0</u>	4.4	<u>9.0</u>	3.8
Maids	2.8	1.9	<u>7.2</u>	0.7	2.9	2.2	<u>6.1</u>	0.5
Other Persons	3.1	1.2	<u>6.6</u>	0.9	4.8	2.7	<u>7.1</u>	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Central Java-born:<sup>1)</sup></b>								
Heads	42.5	-	-	-	40.1	-	-	-
Spouses	20.3	-	30.5	-	21.2	-	35.0	-
Children	11.2	-	13.9	-	11.0	-	9.4	-
Children in-law	0.3	-	6.1	-	0.4	-	5.2	-
Grandchildren	0.3	-	0.7	-	0.2	-	1.1	-
Parents	1.5	-	5.7	-	1.2	-	4.0	-
Relatives	<u>15.6</u>	-	<u>12.3</u>	-	<u>13.6</u>	-	<u>13.3</u>	-
Maids	4.8	-	<u>21.7</u>	-	5.5	-	<u>18.9</u>	-
Other Persons	3.5	-	9.0	-	6.7	-	<u>13.1</u>	-
Total	100.0	-	100.0	-	100.0	-	100.0	-
Notes: M=Migrant Population, NM= Non-migrant Population								
1) The migrant household heads were not necessarily Central Java-born.								
Source: Indonesia Population Data Censuses 1980 and 1990								

#### 4.6. Household Members' Characteristics

In this section, the focus will move to analyse the changes in household member's characteristics, that is sex and age, according to their migration status and types of household structure between 1980 and 1990. Firstly attention will be given to the household heads' characteristics and this is followed by household

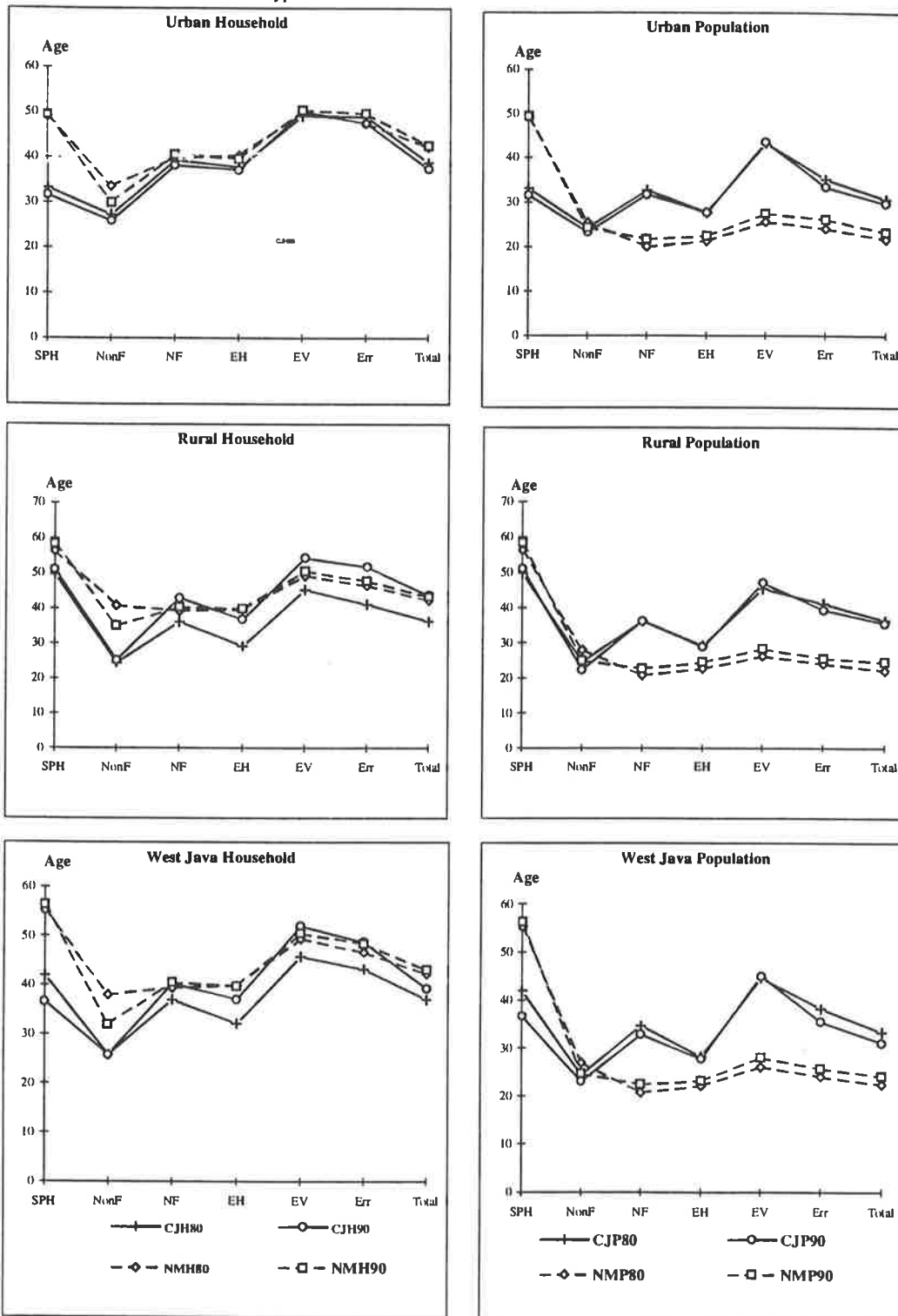
members' characteristics. The household heads' characteristics will be used as 'proxy' to indicate the characteristics of each household type, while the characteristics of household members will explain who live in particular types of household structure.

#### 4.6.1. Age

Between 1980 and 1990, the average age of all Central Java-born immigrant household heads in urban areas decreased slightly, from 38.8 years in 1980 to 37.4 years in 1990. On the other hand, it increased considerably in rural areas, from 36.3 years in 1980 to 43.7 years in 1990. This reflected an increasing urban bias in the migration from Central Java to West Java. This trend is similar among nonmigrant household heads', although the difference between 1980 and 1990 in the latter group is small. However, regardless of migration status, the average age of rural household heads is higher than that of their counterparts in urban area, while despite the place where they live, nonmigrant household heads have a higher average age compared to Central Java-born household heads as depicted in Figure 4.3.

The reason for these age differentials is the age selection in migration and the urban-bias of economic development in Indonesia (Hugo 1978). Migration is more favourable to younger people, except for return migration, while economic development planning in Indonesia has made urban areas, especially in West Java province, look more promising than anywhere else resulting in big influx of migration into those areas (Hugo 1978; Firman 1997). The population in rural areas, on the other hand, had grown very slowly by the loss of their youth leaving the older people and children behind. The ageing of the rural population was also added to by the returning migrants who mostly were already old and intend to live their retirement years in their home villages. This phenomenon has been found in

Figure 4.3. West Java: Average Age of Household Head and Population by Migration Status and Household Type 1980 and 1990



Notes: SPH= Single Person Household  
 NF= Nuclear Family Type  
 EV= Extended Vertical Type  
 CJ80 or 90= C.Java-born Inmigrant Household (1980 or 1990)  
 NM80 or 90= Nonmigrant Household (1980 or 1990)

NonF= Non-Familial Type  
 EH= Extended Horizontal Type  
 Err= Single Parents Family Type  
 CJP80 or 90= C.Java-born population (1980 or 1990)  
 NMP80 or 90= Nonmigrant population (1980 or 1990)

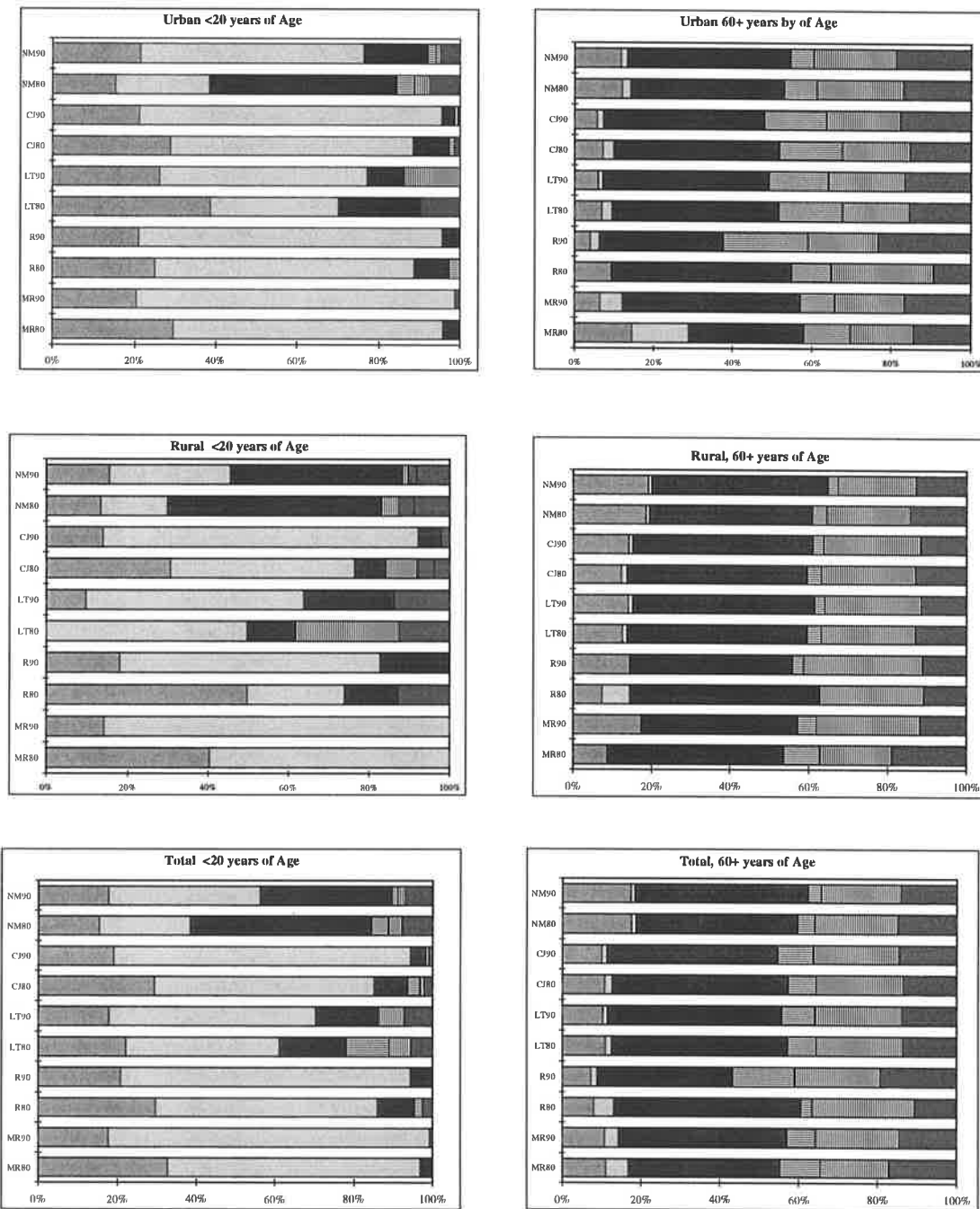


villages in West Java (Hugo 1978) and Yogyakarta (Mantra 1981). As return migrants were classified as nonmigrants in this study, they increased the average age of nonmigrant household heads.

If we separate the household into different structure types, we see that younger people more often headed non-familial households, while single person households are mostly headed by older people. In urban areas, the average age of single person household heads among nonmigrant households is much higher than immigrants', while in rural area the difference between the two groups presents less of a contrast. Figure 4.4. shows that the percentage of household heads of 20 years old or less among immigrants living in single person households is greater than those for nonmigrants, while the percentage of household heads over 60 years of age residing in similar types of household is higher among the nonmigrant group than the immigrants. On the other hand, in rural areas younger immigrant household heads live in non-familial type households than nonmigrants, whereas the percentages of non-familial household headed by older people are very small. These distributions have affected the different average age of household heads in those particular household types. In urban areas, more young immigrants live independently in a single person household, which makes the overall average age of household heads lower. The single person households among nonmigrants are mostly occupied by aged women who had lost their spouses and all their children had left home. As more aged women are likely to be left behind, the percentage of single person households occupied by aged women has been increasing.

This occurs in both nonmigrant and immigrant households. This is because Central Java people had been migrating to West Java for a long time in pre independence times and long before the industrial development begins to flourish

Figure 4.4. West Java: Distribution of Household Head Age <20 Years and >=60 Years by Migration Status and Household Type in 1980 and 1990



Legend:   
 ■ SPF ■ NInP ■ NF ■ EV ■ Et ■ Er ■ TErF   
 SPF=Single Person Household   
 NonF= Non-familial   
 NF=Nuclear Family   
 EH=Extended Horizontal   
 EV=Extended Vertical   
 Et=Single Parent   
 TErF=Temporary Eroded Family

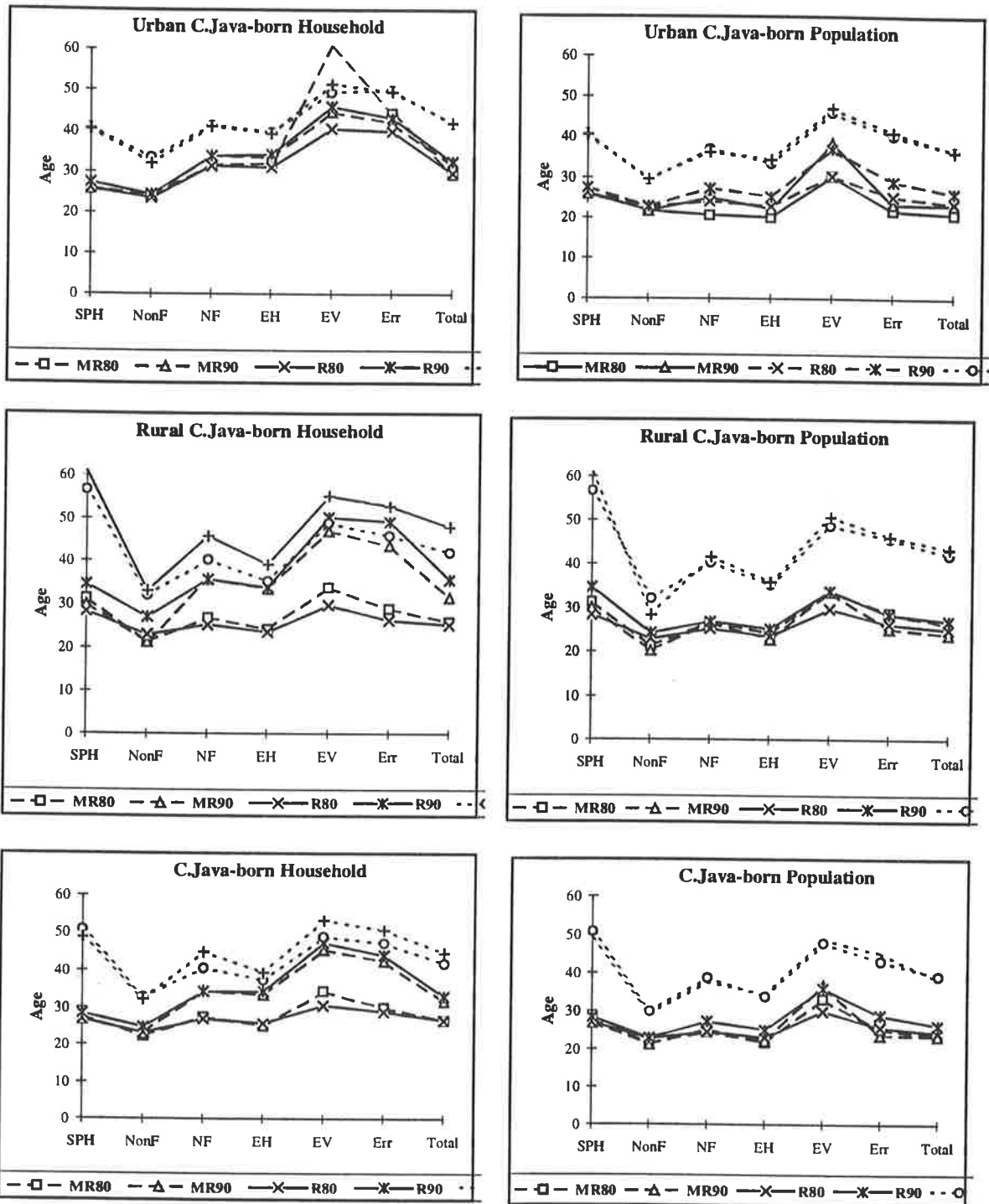
Notes :   
 MRM/F80 or 90=Most Recent C-Java-born Male/Female Household Head 1980 or 1990   
 RM/F80 or 90=Recent C.Java-born Male/Female Household Head 1980 or 1990   
 LTM/F80 or 90=Long-timer C.Java-born Male/Female Household Head 1980 or 1990   
 CIn/F80 or 90=All C-Java-born Male/Female Household Head 1980 or 1990   
 NMn/F80 or 90=Nonmigrant Male/Female Household Head 1980 or 1990

Source: Indonesian Population Census 1980 and 1990

(Hugo 1978). Those older immigrants went predominantly to rural areas and established their homes and families there. As the attraction of urban development has been great for contemporary young people, the nonmigrant and immigrant older people have both been left behind in the villages. This has made the average age of single person household heads being not too different between nonmigrant and immigrant groups.

Figure 4.3. also depicts the average age of the population, which is understandably younger than the household heads' average age, except for single person households. In contrast to the differential trends among household heads' average age, the average age of the nonmigrant population is much lower than the immigrant's. The average age of immigrant household heads is not too different with the immigrant population as they migrated at an older age and became household heads immediately. This means that the people included in household head group is almost identical to the people in the population group. One household often consists of more than one person since many immigrants prefer to live in non-familial types of household with people of the same age; this has made the average age of the two groups not too different. On the other hand, the nonmigrant population consists of people in a range of ages including the children of immigrants born elsewhere who were born in West Java. This trend is occurring in both urban and rural areas. However, the average age of the nonmigrant population has increased over time, while the immigrants' decreased. In 1980 the nonmigrants' population average age was 22.5 years and it increased to 24.1 years in 1990, while the immigrant population average age was 33.3 years in 1980 decreasing to 31 years in 1990.

Figure 4.5. West Java: Average Age of C.Java-born Household Head by Household Type and Length of Stay  
1980 and 1990



Notes: SPF=Single Person Household  
 NF= Nuclear Family Type  
 EV=Extended Vertical Type  
 MR80 or 90=Most-Recent C.Java-born Immigrants  
 R80 or 90=Recent C.Java-born Immigrant  
 Source: Indonesian Population Census 1980 and 1990

NonF= Non-familial Type  
 EH=Extended Horizontal Type  
 Err=Single Parent  
 LT80 or 90=Long-time C.Java-born Immigrant

The decreasing average age of the immigrant population is caused by the increasing number of younger immigrants moving in recently. Figure 4.5. shows that the average age of the long-time immigrants, household heads and total population and both, are higher than for the relatively new arrivals among Central Java-born immigrants. The exception was in extended vertical households among the most-recent immigrant household heads in urban area, which is the highest over all categories. This probably is caused by the moves made by Central Java-born immigrant to Jakarta into West Java that includes the older established families. The tendency of having older household heads in the extended vertical, single parent and single person type households is understandable as these households are typically more mature households. All types of migration status according to length of stay seem to be headed by older people over time and in all types of households. The wide gap between average ages of single person household of long-time immigrants with the new arrival's in rural areas probably indicates different stages of family life cycles. The new arrivals start their 'own' family life in the form of a single person household, while the long-time migrants were approaching the end of the life cycle. The figures also indicate that the average age of immigrant populations is not too different to the average age of immigrant household heads according to their length of stay. However, the gap between average age of the long-time immigrant population and new arrival's is more apparent in rural areas than in the urban.

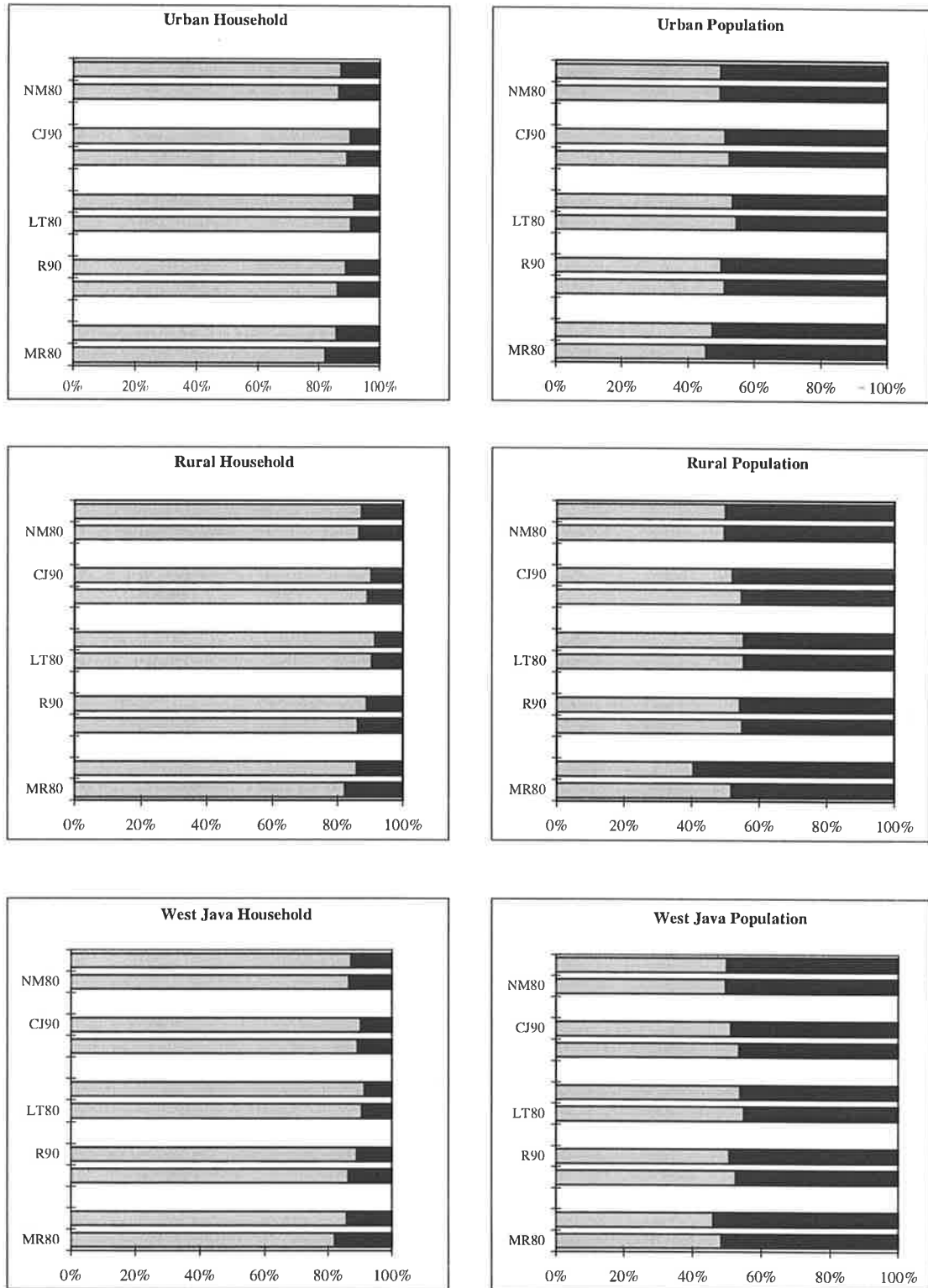
#### **4.6.2. Sex**

As has been argued by Hetler (1986, p.309), in her study in rural Central Java, migration is one of the primary demographic factors that lead to the emergence and persistence of female-headed households, while another primary

demographic factor is marriage dissolution. In West Java province, the number of households headed by women grew rapidly between 1980 and 1990, especially among immigrant headed households. However, if we compare it with the male-headed households, the proportion of female-headed households is slightly down over time. Figure 4.6. depicts the distribution of households and population according to sex, migration status and length of migration in West Java in 1980 and 1990. The proportion of households headed by women is much smaller than those headed by men. The proportion of households headed by Central Java-born women is slightly smaller than those headed by West Java-born women, although the proportion of those headed by recent and most-recent migrant groups is bigger than the other groups. On the other hand, the proportion of female population is almost equal with males and in some groups is higher. Both in urban and rural areas, the proportion of most-recent immigrant women is exceeded the males in 1990. This means that Central Java-born women have better chances to seek for their fortune in West Java in the 80ties. The large-scale export oriented manufacturing industries being developed in West Java, such as textiles, garments and footwear have been incorporating large number of women labourers (Grijns *et.al.* 1994). To guarantee the production process, the industrialists prefer to hire migrant women who are more loyal and industrious than local workers as has been argued by Tjandraningsih (1991) in export-oriented shoes manufacturing in Tangerang and Bogor.

The social life of woman-migrant-workers is not integrated with the village community's which usually very demanding of its members' participation in various social and familial activities, such as attending village meeting, religious rituals, and many other occasions (Tjandraningsih 1991). This makes them seldom refuse to

Figure 4.6. West Java: Distribution of Household Head and Population by Sex and Migration Status 1980 and 1990



Legend:   
 Male   
 Female

Notes   
 MR80 or 90 = Most-Recent C.Java-born Immigrant 1980 or 1990   
 R80 or 90 = Recent C.Java-born Immigrant 1980 or 1990   
 LT80 or 90 = Long-Time C.Java-born Immigrant 1980 or 1990   
 CJ80 or 90 = C.Java-born Immigrant 1980 or 1990   
 NM80 or 90 = Nonmigrant Population 1980 or 1990

Source: Indonesia Population Censuses 1980 and 1990

work overtime as they do not have other activities, while the local workers cannot avoid to get involved in these familial or village activities that are used as excuses for refusing overtime (Tjandraningsih 1991). The larger employment opportunities in West Java have attracted women from Central Java to migrate there too. The number has increased by 12.4 per cent per annum between 1980 and 1990, from 99,983 in 1980 to 322,233 in 1990. In 1995, Central Java-born women migrated to West Java increased to 518,865 (see Appendix D) or it grew by 10 per cent per annum between 1990-1995. However, to become a household head is still the males' privilege, especially if the household consists of a family with marriage as the basis of the memberships. Yet, for single women, the opportunity to become a household head is open, especially for those who had to migrate alone or live by themselves. Therefore, as more young women migrate to other places by themselves (Sunaryanto 1999), it is possible that the number of household headed by women also increases.

The growth rate of female-headed household between 1980 and 1990 is six per annum for all Central Java-born immigrant households, while nonmigrant women headed household decreased by -0.6 per cent per annum. The biggest growth rate is among the recent and the most-recent Central Java-born immigrants in urban area, which respectively grew by 16.8 per cent and 13.8 per cent per annum. In rural areas, the most-recent immigrant women headed households grew faster than males, that is 11.5 per cent per annum for females and -2.5 per cent per annum for males. This is because in the late 1980's more women migrated to West Java to pursue industrial jobs, many that are located in rural areas, although the female-headed household numbers in rural area was smaller than the male-headed households were. The figures were 895 females and 8,142 males' households in 1980 and for



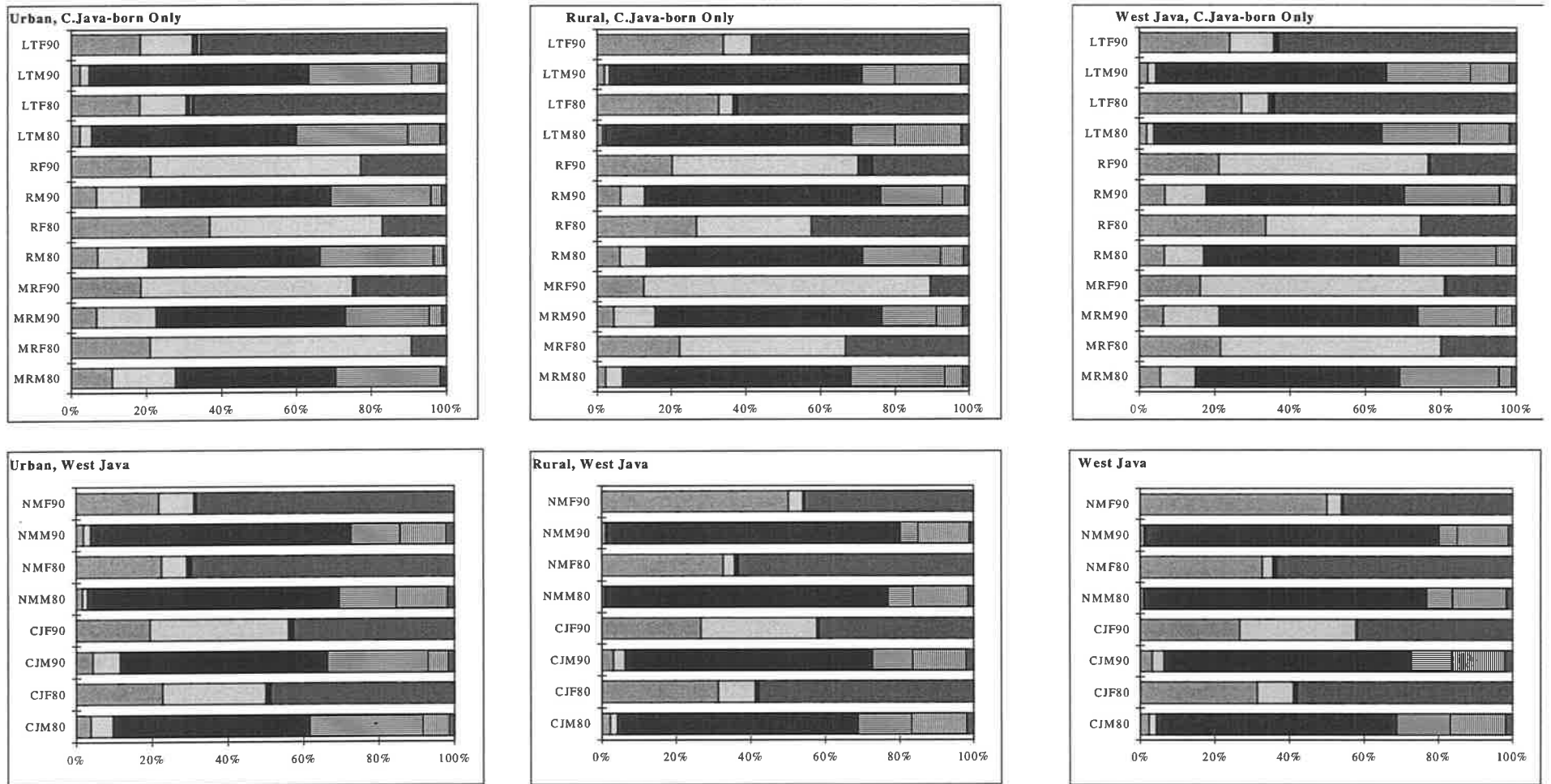
females this has trebled to 2,650 in 1990, while in the same year male-headed households were 6,346. These mean that in the period 1980-1990, the number of male-headed households decreased by 2.5 per cent per annum.

A single woman has a bigger possibility of becoming a household head than married women, because in the census enumeration, married women who live with their husbands would not be recorded as the head of household (Shryock and Siegel 1993). It was still possible to have married women heading the households despite the existence of their husbands. This could happen because the husbands were sick and could not represent the households, socially and economically or the husbands were new members of their wives households, as in the case with remarried widows or divorcees when the new husbands moved into their households<sup>3</sup>. Figure 4.7. shows the distribution of Central Java-born migrants based on their length of stay in West Java. It indicates that most women headed single person household (SPF), non-familial (NonF) and single parent types (ErF), which did not include spouses, while the male-headed households were found largely among households which include married couples, such as nuclear, extended horizontal and extended vertical families. The percentages of SPF and Non-familial households have become more important over time, especially for the most recent migrants and females, while single parent families made up the largest percentages among female long-time

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<sup>3</sup>There were situations found during the data collection in primary research when a widow or divorcee remarried and the new husbands moved into their households, the village official as well as the community did not regard the new husbands as the household heads as yet. The women themselves have appreciated their new husbands as the household heads and ask the village official to change the family card into the husbands' names.

Figure 4.7. West Java: Distribution of C.Java Household Head by Sex, Migration Status and Household Type, 1980 and 1990



Legend:

SPF	NonF	NF	EV	EH	Err	TErF

NF=Nuclear Family  
 EV=Extended Vertical  
 Err=Single Parent  
 TErF=Temporary Eroded Family

Notes :  
 MRM/F80 or 90=Most Recent C-Java-born Male/Female Household Head 1980 or 1990  
 RM/F80 or 90=Recent C-Java-born Male/Female Household Head 1980 or 1990  
 LTM/F80 or 90=Long-timer C-Java-born Male/Female Household Head 1980 or 1990

CJm/F80 or 90=All C-Java-born Male/Female Household Head 1980 or 1990  
 NMM/F80 or 90=Nonmigrant Male/Female Household Head 1980 or 1990

Source: Indonesian Population Census 1980 and 1990

migrants in both areas. The distribution of household structure among long-time migrants is similar to non-migrants', for both areas and genders, because both groups have been experiencing a similar family life cycle throughout their lifetime. After new arrivals become familiar with the new place, they live their life in similar stages to the local people that are getting married, having children, being left by the children and losing spouses to death. Among male-headed households, the Central Java-born have a larger proportion of extended households, while local people have larger extended vertical type proportion. This was influenced by the tendency of longer-time migrants to provide accommodation for new arrivals that will create more extended horizontal households. On the other hand, the local people tend to unite two or three generations within their households, which also form more extended vertical households.

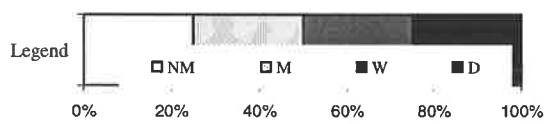
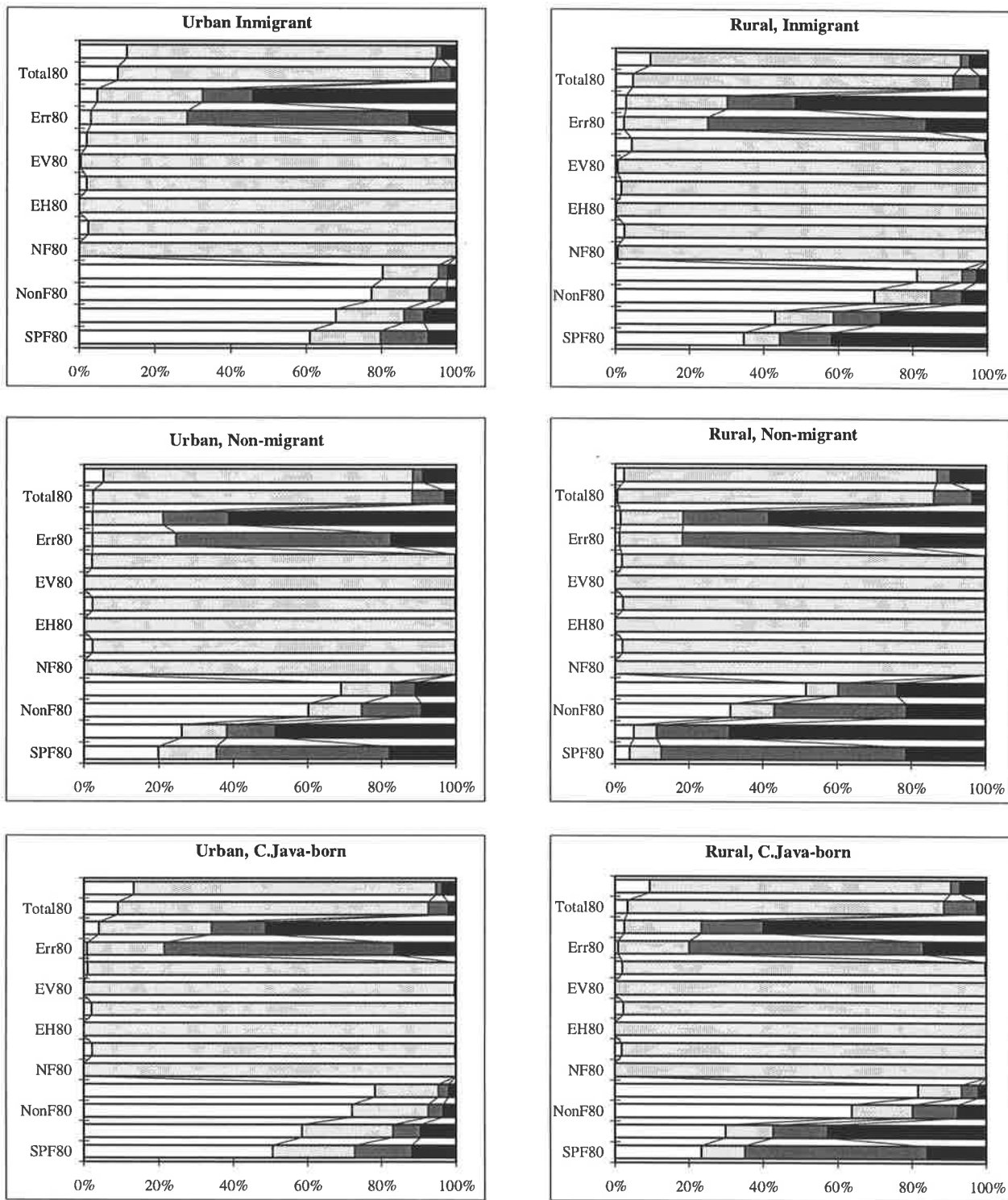
As has been explained in the sub-section on age differentials, the younger migrants tend to live in SPF or non-familial structures, while the older migrants mostly live in single parent households. The younger migrants, commonly the new arrivals who have to live in single person or non-familial types of households. The increase in percentages of single person and non-familial households among most-recent and recent migrants headed by female was a consequences of the increasing number of Central Java-born never married female migrants that grew by 12.6 per cent per annum between 1980 and 1990 (never married male migrants' growth rate was 13.7 per cent per annum in the same period). On the other hand, the distribution of male-headed households in the Central Java-born have a larger proportion of extended horizontal households in urban areas, while in rural areas they have a larger proportion of extended vertical households. It seems that the distribution of migrant households according to the sex of household heads was

influenced by marital status. The following sub-section will examine the influence of marital status on household structures.

#### **4.6.3. Marital Status**

Supporting the previous explanation, single person and non-familial households were found largely among never married household heads in migrant households, in both urban and rural areas. Meanwhile, among non-migrant households, widows or divorcees in both urban and rural areas headed the majority of single person and non-familial households. Central Java-born migrant households, however, have different distribution structures according to the marital status of household heads in urban and rural areas. In urban areas, the distribution of Central Java-born migrant household was similar to all migrant household's distribution, while in rural areas; it was similar to local household's distribution. As has been explained previously Central Java-born migrants in rural areas were most likely to be long-time migrants, whereas in urban area they were mostly new arrivals. The new migrants were more likely to go to urban area than rural area, as the industrial development in West Java was largely located in urban area. The new arrivals were young and most likely to be never married persons. In rural area, on the other hand, the long-time migrants were older than urban migrants (see Figure 4.3.) and are in their last stage of family life cycle, that is having the lost spouses through death and the children have left. Commonly these elderly people live alone in single person household or accompanied by maids, servants, relatives or they take up boarders to form non-familial households. Another type of household, which is generally headed by not married persons, was a single parent household (ErrF) that contained not married household heads with their children. There is also possibility of ErrF households to be headed by married persons, such as in abandoned or

Figure 4.8. West Java: Distribution of Household Head By Marital Status, Migration Status, Household Structure, and Area, 1980 and 1990.



Notes:

SPF=Single Person Household  
 NonF=Non-familial Household  
 NF=Nuclear Family

W=Widowed  
 D=Divorced  
 EH=Extended Horizontal  
 EV=Extended Vertical  
 Err=Single Parent

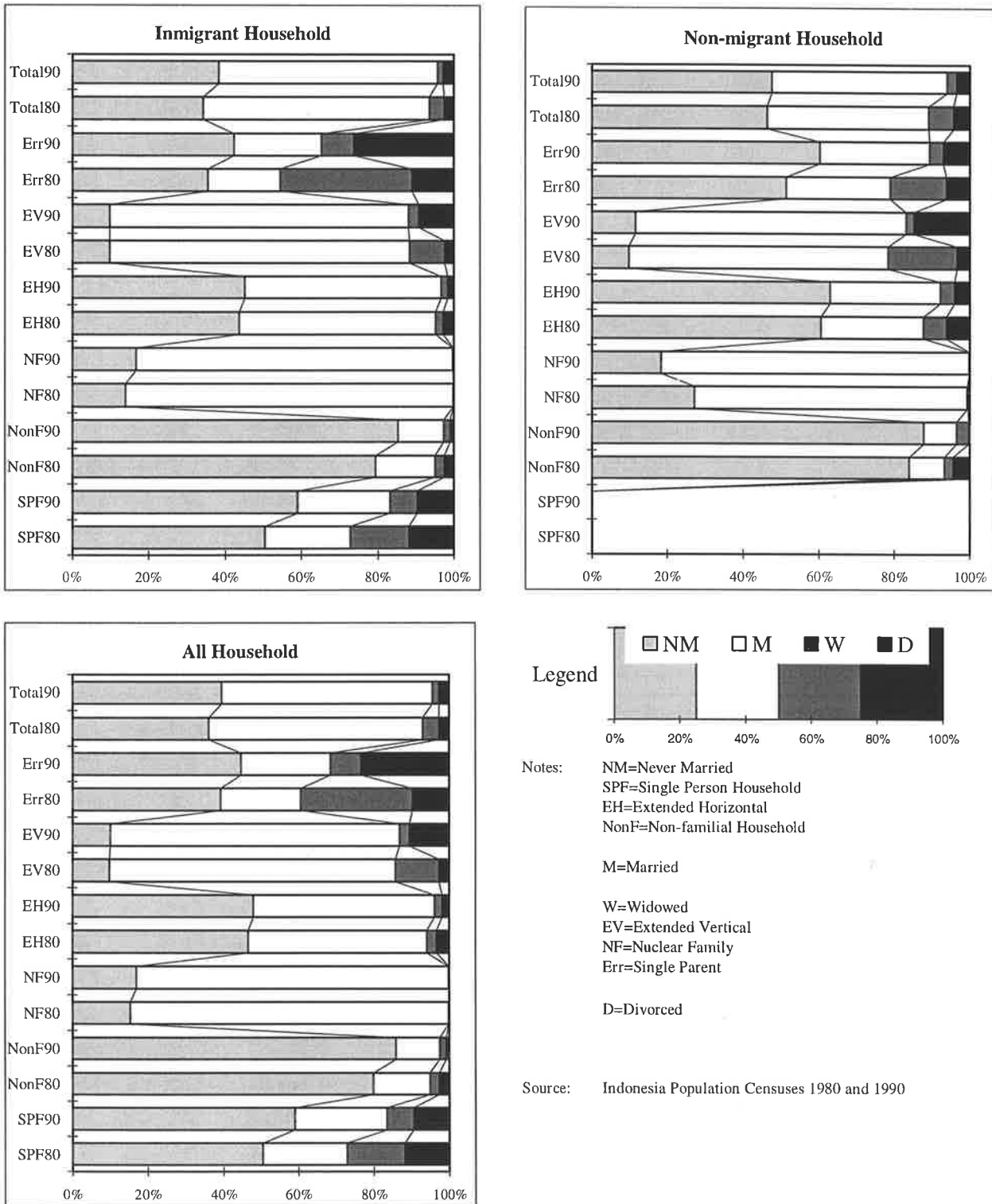
separated families or polygamous marriages whose husbands usually live elsewhere. The majority of ErrF households were headed by females (see Figure 4.8.). Elderly women living alone and female-headed households in single parent family as sole income earners often face difficulties in providing basic needs for themselves and their children and sometimes are being left-out by development programs (Hetler 1986). The less availability of other income earners in female-headed households will contribute to the lower welfare position of female-headed households (Hetler 1986).

Besides differentiating Central Java-born household heads by marital status, we can examine the marital status of migrants individually. In Figure 4.9 we can see that the distribution of Central Java-born migrants in urban West Java is similar to the household head's distribution. Never married migrants, living in migrant or non-migrant households, mostly live in either single person or non-familial households. The second largest proportion live in extended horizontal type of households. Those who live in extended-horizontal-local households were mostly as maids, servants or boarders.

#### **4.7. Conclusion**

This chapter has aimed to analyse the impact of migration on household structures using secondary sources, namely population censuses of 1980 and 1990. The analysis has been based specifically on private households, which comprised 98 per cent of the total immigrant population in 1980 and 99 per cent in 1990. As a consequence of the definition of household structure applied in this study, that is the composition of household members according to their relationships to the head of the household (Glick 1956), not all of the household structures reflect family structures because they do not included members who have familial relationships

Figure 4.9. West Java Urban: Distribution of C.Java-born Immigrant By Household Head's Migration Status and Household Structure, 1980 and 1990



with household heads, such as single person and non-familial households. Supporting previous studies on internal migration in Indonesia (Hugo 1997), as consequence of rapid industrial development in West Java, the migrant population in urban area grew rapidly by 13.9 per cent per year between 1980 and 1990, exceeding the urban population growth rate of 7.8 per cent per year. The Central Java-born migrant number has grown by 12.1 per cent per year. The rapid urbanisation in West Java was largely caused by the reclassification of rural areas into urban areas (Firman 1997; Gardiner 1997), although, for Jabotabek area the net migration have a larger effect on rapid urban population growth than reclassification (Gardiner 1997). The immigrants in West Java, however, are not evenly distributed among regions; they went prominently to Botabek and Bandung areas. According to Hugo (1996, 1997) the rapid growth of immigrants was caused partly by the overspill of Jakarta residential development into adjoining West Java. Many migrants, therefore, did not arrive directly from their places of birth, with more than 22 per cent of them lived in Jakarta previously before moving to West Java and only 75 per cent came directly from Central Java.

In line with the rapid immigrant growth rates, the number of households in urban areas has grown rapidly too; the fastest growth rate was among return migrants in urban areas. For overall urban West Java, the household numbers has grown by 8.5 per cent per annum in the period 1980-1990, exceeding Indonesia as a whole (6.3 per cent per annum), while immigrant households grew by 13.1 per cent per annum. In addition, the Central Java born by 11.7 per cent per annum. The increasing number of households has been accompanied by a decrease in the size of households. All households in urban West Java have declined by 0.4 persons within



the 10 years, which is slightly smaller than the Indonesia figure. The largest declines were among all immigrant households and Central Java-born households.

The distribution of households according to their structures shows that the nuclear family has the largest proportion of households in all migration statuses in both areas. There is not much difference between the 1980 and 1990 household structure distribution in West Java, except the increasing proportion of single person and non-familial living arrangement among new arrivals. The extended horizontal type is also important for migrant households in urban areas. This was caused by the importance of long-time migrant households in providing accommodation for their migrant friends or relatives before they can afford to live by themselves. The greater importance of non-familial living arrangement among new migrants may be affected by the small size of houses, which cannot accommodate too many people. The non-familial type of households has the highest growth rate in most of household groups, both in urban and rural areas. By comparing migrant with local households in West Java, there was a tendency for migrant households to create single person, non-familial and extended horizontal structures more than local households.

The average age of rural household heads is higher than the urban is, while the average age of non-migrant household heads is higher than the migrant is. The increasing number of younger migrants in urban areas caused this, while in rural areas the migrating of young people to urban areas has left behind older people. On the other, the average age of the migrant population is higher than the non-migrants' as the latter included people of all ages, while the former only considered migrants who are selective of certain age brackets. Younger people more often headed non-familial households, while older people mostly headed single person

households. The number of household headed by women grew rapidly between 1980 and 1990, especially among immigrant households. This was a consequence of the increasing number of single-female migrants to West Java who live in either single person households or non-familial households. Women seldom head household types, which contain married couples, such as nuclear or extended family types. Another household type that is largely headed by women is a single-parent household, which consist of a household head and their children or parents with or without other members but without the existence of a spouse. Non-familial households are commonly headed by younger women, while the single parent-family by older women. The increasing number of migrants not accompanied by their families will increase the proportion of single person or non-familial households, while the increasing number of single-female migrants will increase the proportion of female-headed households. Examinations of the impact of migration on household structure based on primary research are now to be examined and the next chapter will discuss the population mobility in the village of origin in Central Java-province.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Population Mobility in the Village of Origin

This chapter will examine the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the village of origin of migrants. The socio-economic characteristics, including the sources of livelihood, will be analysed to understand to what extent they have become push factors for out migrants from the village and how much it has been influenced by outmigration. Various sources of income of sample population will be examined to identify its role in supporting the household's economy. The demographic characteristics of the sample population, such as the population structure based on age and sex, fertility and mortality, marriage and migration, will be explored to obtain information on the capacity of human resources of the household sample. An analysis of immigrant and return migrant populations will be conducted to examine each group's composition and the reasons for migration. The physical setting of the origin village will be reviewed to have information about its openness to other areas as well as its physical conditions that might facilitate or hinder population mobility. The sample population will be separated into two groups, the north and the south. The study was based on 270 sample households and 1,102 people.

#### 5.1. Overview of the Village of Origin

##### 5.1.1. The Geographical Setting

As has been stated in previously, Wonosigro village is one of 14 villages within *Kecamatan* Gombong consisting of five hamlets or *dukuh*, namely Ngentak, Patalan, Wonosigro, Karang Asem and Serang (see Figure 2.2.). The hamlets have been organised into five RK or *Rukun Kampung* (Community Associations) and

each *RK* consists of two *RT* or *Rukun Tetangga* (Neighbouring Associations) making 10 *RT* for the whole village. Each *RT* consists of around 40 households. The village record notes that the village population in 1995 comprised of 958 males and 904 females living in 409 households. Around 29 per cent of population are under 15 years of age. There were 30 births and 14 deaths within the year of 1995. In the same year, 11 people had been recorded as having arrived from other places to stay in the village, while 13 people migrated elsewhere. The migration numbers only covered permanent migrants or *pindah*, but the village did not record those who left the village on a *merantau* or non-permanent migration basis. The latter type of migration occurs more frequently than the former one (Hugo 1978; Mantra 1981). All who *merantau* still have village KTP that needs to be renewed every five years and they are obliged to renew it before the expiry date in the village. These non-permanent migrants were given a Letter of Recommendation (*Ind Surat Keterangan Jalan*) from the village. This letter is valid for three months which then it needs to be renewed. The immigrants mostly came from neighbouring villages for marriage purposes, whereas the outmigrants went to different places. Three of them went as far as to Malaysia, Italy and Austria for work. A number of outmigrants had eventually returned to the village with various reasons. Those reasons included to raise their children, to accompany their elderly parents, their work in destination areas did not interest them anymore but mostly because they were getting older and wanted to spend their retirement life in the village. However, according to some village officials, more outmigrants never come back and more people are leaving the village than are indicated in official data.

This village is counted as a rural village, locally known as *desa*. This type of village is distinguished from an urban village, or *kelurahan*, apart from by location,

by the procedure of appointing the village headmen and how they were rewarded. The village headmen or *lurah* is elected by the village community and rewarded with the village communal land, *sawah* or wet rice field known as *bengkok*. On the other hand the 'kepala kelurahan' is appointed by the government and receives a monthly salary like other civil servants, as the villages are often located in urban areas they do not have communal land. The practice of payment of the village officials with communal land is commonly found in Central and East Java, but it is used less in West Java or other provinces where the individualisation of land-ownership is not as high as Java (Tjondronegoro 1984). The village officials have the right to control over the *bengkok* land as long as they sit on the position. Some positions sometime last for life, such as the *dukuh* headman, but under the Law No.5/79, a village headman can serve a term of eight years that can be extended by only one more term. Wonosigro runs 'lurah' elections every eight years and the last election was in March 1999. When an official retires from his position, he will get a fifth of *bengkok* from the new official who replaces him until another village headman is retired. Therefore anyone who is interested in competing in the *lurah* election is already aware that one will only be entitled to 0.8 of the *bengkok* area. The right to cultivate the *bengkok* land cannot be inherited, unless a son also inherits the positions. However, the village headman has full control over the *bengkok* he is entitled to, including renting it out or sharecropping it. The *bengkok* land takes up to 15 per cent of total *sawah* located in this village. The distribution of *bengkok* among the village officials ranges from 250 *ubin* or 0.35 hectare to 5,500 *ubin* or 3.85 hectares.

A small river runs across the village and divides it into two communities, one group live on the southern side of the river and the other on the northern side

(Plate 5.1)<sup>1</sup>. The southern side is made up of three hamlets, those are Ngentak, Patalan and Wonosigro, while two hamlets, Karang Asem and Serang are located on the northern side. The southern area consists of fertile lowland, while upland area dominates the northern side. The southern community is better off than the northern one. Good quality houses, with plastered brick walls and tile flooring, are more commonly found on the southern-side than on the northern-side. Some parts of the road in the southern part are paved and wide enough to accommodate cars or even trucks, while no paved road exist in the northern part. Moreover, electricity is available on the southern side, but has not yet materialised in the north. As there is no bridge over the river travel between the two is difficult. In fact, in the rainy season wading across the river is impossible.

The people can use a new bridge built in the neighbouring village, but as the bridge location is far away, about two kilometres, people prefer to wade across the river. It is common to see people carry a bike on top of their head while crossing the river. Some northern people keep their bikes or *becaks* at someone's house in the southern side for easier wading. However, the new bridge has lessened the isolation of the northern people as their mobility is no longer dictated by the level of river. If they need to go to town and cannot wait until the floods subside, people still can use this alternative way.

The northern people use the river more than southern people, as there is no other way out to town other than to wade across the river. The river is also used by the northern people and some southern people as a place for bathing, washing clothes or kitchen utensils and also as a toilet. The river is frequently flushed by

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<sup>1</sup>Plates are presented in Appendix E

floodwater that runs off the hills. The southern people need to cross the river less frequently, such as to go to the village mosque or visit the graveyard which located in the northern side. Since there is little social contact between the two groups of people this has created different networking between the groups in many ways including migration. The northern people tend to go to the other northern people for help, while the southern people go to other southern people.

Despite all the inconveniences, the river has also become a source of income for some of them. Some villagers depend for their everyday income on the river since they are sand gatherers (Plate 5.2.). Villagers, who want to build houses or anything else, using sand as a raw material, just dig it up from the river. If they cannot do it by themselves they can buy it from the people who earn money as sand gatherers. One particular villager seems to have a quarrying licence from the village for commercial purpose. He has a connection with a building materials shop owner. If a builder wants a supply of sand he will send a truck to this person sometimes with labourers and sometimes without. If the truck comes without labourers, he will invite local labourers to load the truck with sand (Plate 5.3.). The local sand gatherers usually get more money through this kind of networking.

In spite of this natural barrier, the village itself is very open to outsiders. Although it is not located beside the main southern Java road it is easy to find. There are two alternative routes to get into the village. One route is via Wero village and the other one is via Sedayu village (Figure 2.2). Despite the relative ease of accessing the town of Gombong most villagers rarely make the visit. Since most of them are farmers, they work in the village and the women do their everyday shopping in the nearby stalls or kiosks. Villagers who commute to Gombong or to nearby places on a daily basis are mostly school students and villagers who work as

teachers, civil servants, factory workers or traders. Usually villagers go to town to receive medical treatment at the hospital or to private doctor practices or, especially in days approaching *Hari Raya*, to buy new clothes or foodstuffs for special meals for the big day. Villagers who run a kiosk or *warung* go to town everyday to get fresh stock, such as vegetables, meat, chicken or other perishable foodstuffs, to meet local needs.

### **5.1.2. The Role of Migration in Socio-economic Conditions**

The openness of the village to the outside without major physical or geographical obstacles that hinder movement of people is a good facilitator of migration. Once the villagers reach the town, they can easily choose from the available public transportation to take them anywhere they want to go. If they fail to get a good job at a nearby town or village, they can go to other cities farther away to find one. It has become a common understanding among young people that working in nearby factories is less prestigious than working in a similar job in Jakarta or Bandung. According to some villagers, young people in this village avoid working in tile factories in nearby villages, because it was low-paid. Therefore the non-agricultural jobs available in the village have been taken by those who cannot leave the village, such as married women, or those who come from distant villages.

Migration, whether on a *pindah* or *merantau* basis, is not a new phenomenon for the villagers. Almost all families in the village have some experience with migration. Some family members who used to live with them, are living elsewhere now or some members have gone and now returned to the families after spending some time in another place or some members, who are now living with them, originally came from other places. A family with successful children



living in the cities is respected in the village. So, a successful child in the city becomes a centre of pride for the family. Working in the cities has become the ultimate aspiration for young people in the village. Therefore, migrating to the cities has become a common step to be taken by young people after finishing school, either only at primary level or at junior or senior high school. Some children from better-off families have gone to colleges in the cities, before entering the job market. However, the majority of them leave the village to get better jobs, better than a farmer, sand gatherer, *becak* driver or low-paid tile factory workers. Some parents urge their children to go to the cities by asking their neighbours or families who already work in the cities to take their children to the cities and help them find jobs. While there was little employment opportunity available in the village, some parents expressed concern about their children becoming involved with a group of unemployed 'bad boys' in the village, if they remain unemployed in the village. These 'bad boys' gang members commonly are spoilt children from better-off families in the village and villages nearby, who do not want to work, or are unsuccessful return migrants. The increasing number of gang members has scared some parents, because they had started to drink alcohol and smoking at a very young age. The village community does not prohibit smoking, as almost all adult men in the village smoke, although it is considered to be unsuitable for women and children. The children are not allowed to smoke, for one reason, because they could not afford it yet. On the other hand drinking alcohol or anything containing alcohol is prohibited by Islamic teaching, the major religion in the village. A villager who is a Moslem but also is known to drink alcohol will be branded as a bad person and should be avoided in social life. Parents prefer their children to go to the cities to learn the difficulties of getting money, so they will become more responsible in

spending it. The problem is that some of those children are still in school and they still have to live in the village until they finish and sometimes they could not avoid making friends with the gang members.

Apart from agricultural work, the villagers also take various non-agricultural jobs, such as teachers, civil servants, or factory workers. A household could have more than one source of income earned by various members of the household. Another source of income for most of the villagers is remittances sent back by migrated family members. Although, not every family receives regular remittances, there is a significant contribution of remittances in increasing the level of welfare of the village, both directly and indirectly. The migrant children buy a piece of *sawah* or dry-land for their parents, renovate the family house, and buy good quality furniture and electrical appliances. Another contribution is to pay their younger brothers' or sisters' education costs. These contributions will help the family in the village to enjoy a better standard of living.

The improvement in socio-economic conditions of the village, which are partly contributed to by remittances sent back by outmigrants has made higher education than primary school for children became more affordable to many families. Ironically, the higher the education they get the greater the possibility that they leave the village. As the young educated people migrate elsewhere the village is left with the older population or very young ones and those with a lower level of education. There are few relatively highly educated people living in the village to become teachers, religious leaders or village officials, many of these came from different villages. To stay forever in the village to be with the family is no longer appealing for young people. The limited resources in the village or places nearby cannot keep the people in the village.

### 5.1.3. Migration and Land Ownership Patterns

Wonosigro village covered an area of 126 hectares consisting of *sawah* for 52.6 hectare (Plate 5.4.), housing compound (30.6 hectare), woods and dry-land (29.5 hectare) and roads and graveyards (13.3 hectare). Unfortunately the village does not keep updated records on *sawah* and other land ownership, except an old record of land ownership, which is not appropriate for the current land ownership patterns. Transfer of land ownership has occurred and the practice of selling and buying *sawah* is actually a way to make full-use of a tiny piece of land. The size of land owned has become smaller over time due to subdivision following inheritance. Usually, the parents will bequeath their land to their children in the same fraction, regardless of the sex of the children and where they live (Geertz 1961; Koentjaraningrat 1967; Jay 1969). Therefore, if the parents only have a small piece of land but have several children, then each child will inherit a very small fraction of land. This subdivision will come to an end if future subdivision lead to land not being profitably cultivated. The solution to this situation would be selling the land and dividing the money between all the beneficiaries. The buyer could be one of the children, who had other personal resources, or other people, who live in the same village or people from different villages. These practices will automatically change the pattern of land ownership. Everyone who has a legal right to land is the sole bearer of the land ownership certificate. As the new owner of the land might not live in the same village, it is too difficult to collect information on land ownership for the whole village. In this research information on land ownership has been collected from households as part of a questionnaire to gauge the welfare status of the household.

Migration has contributed to changes in ownership of land in many ways. Some people who have migrated permanently to other places and do not have any intention to return to the village might sell their property permanently. Other outmigrants may have plans to return to the village some day and keep buying land in the village for investment. While they keep working and living in the cities, the land might be rented out or left under their relatives care. The practice of renting-out *sawah* is very common in this village. In local terms, renting-out *sawah* is known as *jual tahunan* (literally means to sell annually), and renting-in is called *beli tahunan* (buy annually). The landowners have sold the right to cultivate the land for several years to other people without losing their rights as the legal owners of the land. When people talk about *jual los*<sup>2</sup> (sell permanently) it means that a transfer of land ownership has been involved in the transaction. These terms, however, are commonly used in selling and buying transactions of *sawah* or dry-land only.

Villagers understand which meaning or word is applicable in particular conversations about *sawah* selling and buying transactions. If a mother said that she has sold her *sawah* for ten years it means that she has rented-out her *sawah* for ten years. The non-permanent selling and buying is a personal transaction in nature. It does not need authorisation from village officials nor any legal documentation. The agreement is based on mutual trust between the seller and the buyer, who usually know each other very well. As the practise of renting out land is more common in the village than permanent selling, it comes out more often in everyday communication. On the other hand, a permanent transaction needs to be witnessed

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<sup>2</sup>The word 'los' was picked up from Dutch word with literary means as loose or permanently gone (Singih and Mooijman 1969).

by the village officials and officials of the State Land Office (*Ind.Kantor Agraria*). The village will be given notice beforehand if someone wants to sell their land permanently. Accompanied by the village headman, officials of the State Land Office will measure the area of the land to be sold and mark the boundaries. In fact, the village officials play a major role in the deal, because the new land ownership certificate will be issued by the State Land Office based on the recommendations given by the village headman.

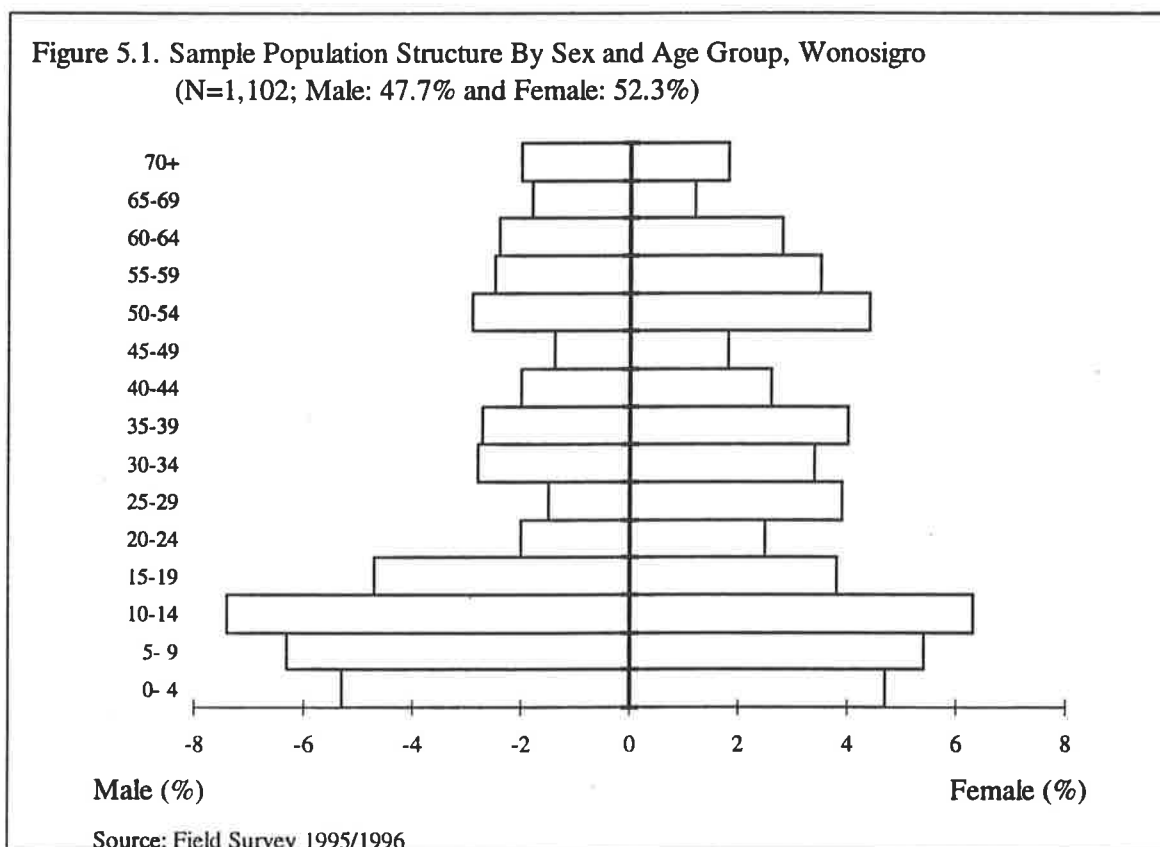
## **5.2. Demographic Characteristics of Sample Population**

### **5.2.1. Sex and Age**

The survey covered 270 out of 409 households registered in the village, and 1,102 people were actually living in the households at the time of survey. The population excludes temporary outmigrants who were not present at the time of data collecting as well as those who were present as temporary guests. Temporary outmigrants are those whose names are listed in Family Card or *KK (Kartu Keluarga)* and had village *KTP* but were working elsewhere and return to the village periodically to visit their families. The temporary guests are those who stay in the village for a short time (less than six months) and are formally registered as resident of other villages. Usually, if the household heads themselves are the absent members in the households, the wives would explain straight away about their husband being away at the very beginning of interview session. In some cases, this is due to the wife's reluctance to give information about their family affairs to strangers, before obtaining their husband's approval. At the time of the survey, five temporary-outmigrant-household-heads were visiting their families and stayed anywhere from a week to a couple of months in the village. Although, the wives said that their husbands return home regularly, often the visits meant more than just

to get together with the family. The visits were arranged at a particular time when other matters needed to be taken care of in the village to save the travelling cost. Of five visiting outmigrants interviewed only one did not have another business to attend to. One of them wanted to renew his *KTP*, one was awaiting the birth of his second child, one to build his house, one on sick leave and one was waiting for another position after he quit his last job. These people were recorded as village residents.

After elaborating the migration status of family members, Figure 5.1. depicts the composition of the sample population by sex and age based on permanent residence status of the household members (N=1,102, Male=526 and Female=576).



As the survey was intended to collect information on households with outmigrant, the sampling had selected more households with outmigrants than ones without outmigrants. This means the population structure may not be representative of the actual composition over the entire village population. However, the sample also comprises two hamlets, which were fully enumerated, one hamlet on the southern-side, that is *dukuh* Wonosigro (Figure 5.2.), and the other one on the northern-side, that is *dukuh* Karang Asem (Figure 5.3.), to represent the population structure of the village. The dissimilarity between the two structures is significant at the bottom of the age pyramid, which represents the number of younger population. The narrow base of the southern-side hamlet pyramid indicates a lower fertility rate than the northern-side's rate. The distribution of the older age population of the two hamlets, however, is not much different. Both areas have a relatively small proportion of working age male population indicated a high outmigration of working age male population. The broader base of the pyramid means a high proportion of children implies a great potential for outmigration from the village in the future. The proportion of the population under 15 years of age is 35.5 per cent (N=391, Male=209 and Female=182) indicating a young population structure. This figure is slightly lower than the Kebumen Regency figure (35.4 per cent), higher than the Central Java province figure (33.3 per cent) and similar to the national figure (35.5 per cent). The regency, province and national figures are based on Intercensal Population Survey 1995 or SUPAS 1995 for the rural population.

The slightly smaller percentage of male population of 50 years and over is because the male population tends to have a lower life expectancy at birth compared to female is (Iskandar 1997). However, the relatively low proportion of population in the 45 to 49 age group, and high proportion in the 50 to 54 age group

Figure 5.2. Population Structure By Age and Sex, Wonosigro Hamlet (N=305)

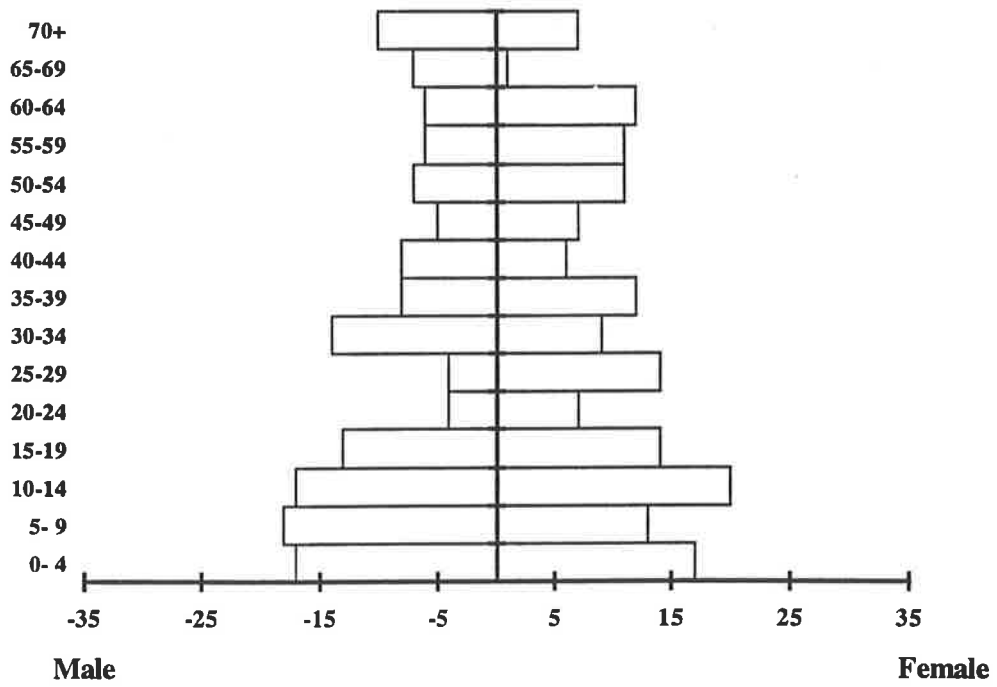
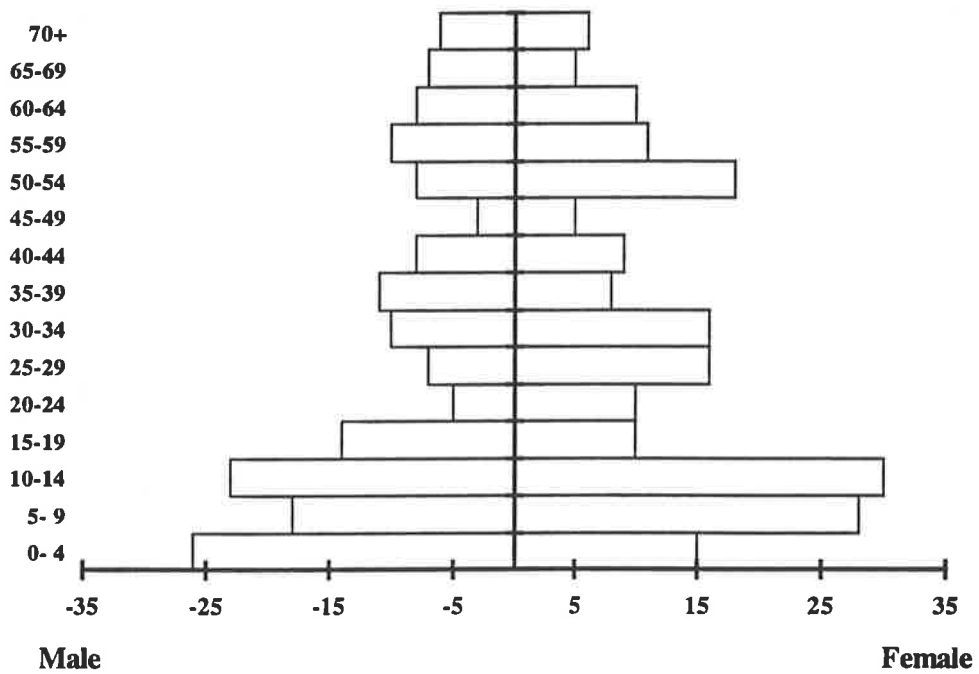


Figure 5.3. Population Structure by Age and Sex Karang Asem Hamlet (N=361)



Source: Field Survey 1995/1996



might have been affected by digit preference of the respondents when they stated their age. The older and traditional people, especially those with low education, usually do not know their accurate date of birth, let alone in the Christian calendar system.

A relatively lower proportion of working age male population does not imply that there is no female outmigration from the village. If we take a closer look at Figure 5.1, we will see that the proportion of female population aged 15 to 19 years is slightly lower than the males in the same age group, while the proportion of both sexes in the 20 to 24 year age group is similar. The smaller proportion of young adult population is typical of a population with high outmigration. However, for the age of 25 years and over, the proportion of females is higher than males proportion indicating a higher rate of male outmigration. The main reason for the decreasing proportion of female outmigration is marriage followed by the birth of the first child. The girls might leave the village at a young age, possibly after finishing primary school at age 12 to 14 years. Some of them may also return to the village earlier, maybe in their early twenties, to get married. On the other hand, the boys might leave the village at an older age and marry at an older age than the girls and may never come back to the village after marriage. The average age of first marriage of ever-married female respondents was 18.8 years, while their husbands' was 25 years. Similar numbers were given by the ever-married male respondents that the average age of their first marriage was 24.2 years, while their wives' was 19.5 years.

The different expectations of man's and woman's role after marriage might have influenced their migration behaviour. The marriage itself might not directly affect the migration behaviour of the newlyweds, but, sooner or later, when a baby

is coming, the couple may have to adjust their 'life-style' to suit the child rearing and income earning activity. In this situation, the wives were expected to devote more time to their child and domestic affairs, while the husbands were expected to provide income to meet the families' needs. The decision made by any couple is varied according to the resources they have. However, very often following the birth of the first child, the women had to withdraw from the workforce and many outmigrants had to return to the village, while the husbands kept working in the cities. This, eventually, will increase the proportion of women of childbearing age in the village and maintain the lower proportion of working age male population. Although, the birth of the first child following marriage seems to reduce the number of women outmigrants, there is no restriction on married women working outside the house. The increasing number of young women working away from home is a response to employment opportunity available for them in various industries in Bandung or *Jabotabek* area. Women and men are being given similar opportunity to make contribution to the family economy and therefore there is no limitation to the women seeking work outside the house. The continuity to work outside the house for women depends on the importance of her income in the family economy and the availability of a substitute mother to care for the children.

The population pyramid in Figure 5.1. has a broad base indicating a high, although decreasing, fertility rate. The fertility has been decreasing for several years and this is reflected in decreasing percentages of the population in the 0-4 and 5-9 year age groups. Figure 5.1. also shows a relatively small percentage of male population between ages 20 and 44 years. This structure might have been influenced by large outmigration among the working age male population. The population structure also shows a large percentage of older people aged 55 years

and over of age who make up 18.1 per cent of whole population. The figure is higher than *kabupaten* Kebumen figure (14.6 per cent), Central Java province figure (12.9 per cent) and much higher than Indonesia figure (10.7 per cent) based on SUPAS 1995. The population of the village therefore consists of more children, women and aged people than productive age male population, which can lead to a higher dependency ratio.

This situation, however, seems different if we differentiate the population into the hamlets on the southern side and the northern side. Figure 5.2. and 5.3. show that the structure of the population in the northern side hamlet (Karang Asem) is different from Wonosigro on the southern side. The Wonosigro (N=305, Male=144 and Female=161) population structure indicates a slightly lower fertility than Karang Asem hamlet (N=361, Male= 164 and Female= 197), as the percentage of population under 15 year of age is lower. Both hamlets, though, seem to have high male outmigration. Although, Wonosigro hamlet is more likely to have more male outmigrants than Karang Asem, with the exception of men in the 30-34 year age group. On the other hand, the female population on the southern side is more evenly distributed among age groups, while on the northern side the proportions of particular age groups, such as 25-34 and 50-54, are higher than the other age groups.

### **5.2.2. Fertility and Value of Children**

It has been mentioned above that fertility rate might have influenced the population composition in the village. Several fertility indicators consisting of average number of children ever born, children surviving, children still living at home with mother and children who died before their first birthday according to age of mother are depicted in Figure 5.4. The information was derived from 299 ever-

Figure 5.4. Fertility Characteristics of Ever Married Women, Wonosigro (N=299)

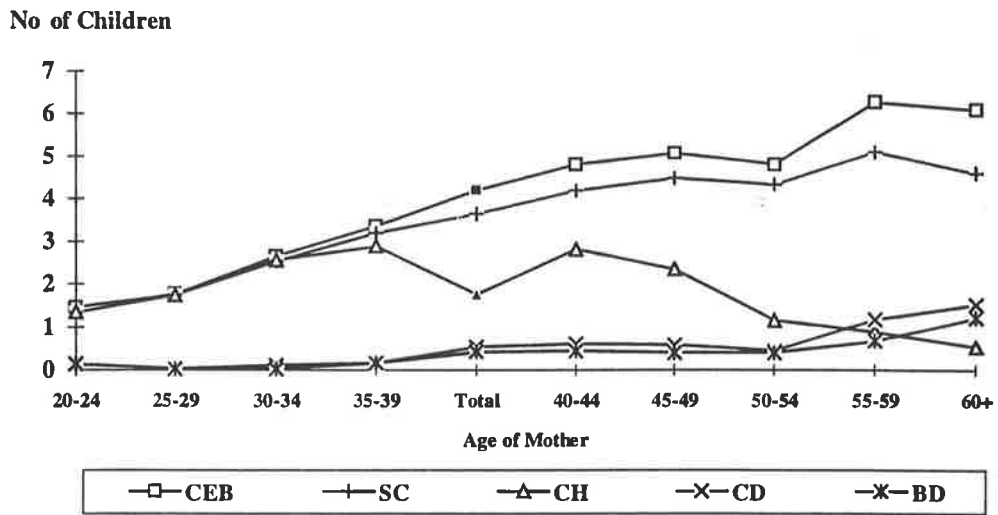
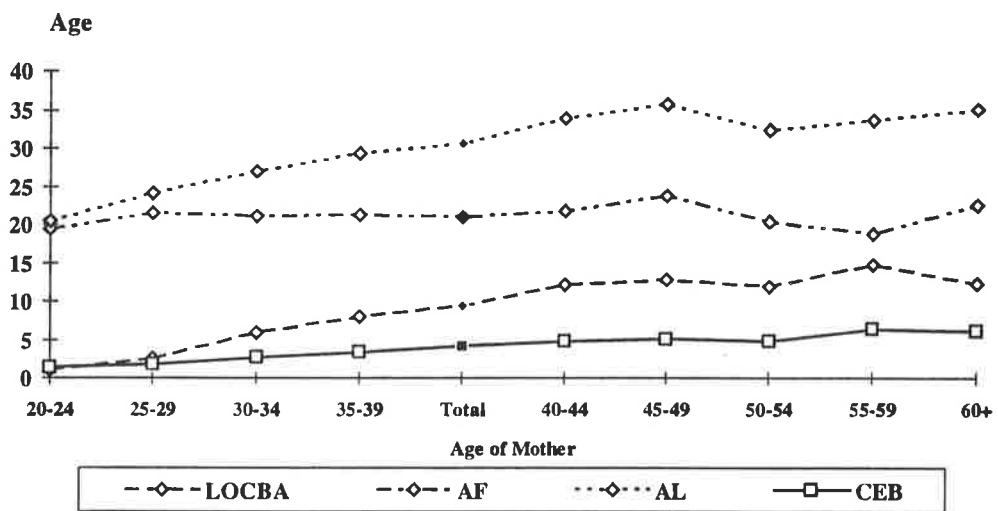


Figure 5.5. Average Length of Child-bearing Year, Age of Bearing First and Last Child and Child Ever Born of Ever Married Women, Wonosigro (N=299)



- Notes: CEB = Average Number of Children Ever Born
- SC = Average Number of Children Survive
- CH = Average Number of Children Live in same home with mother
- CD = Average Number of Children Died
- BD = Average Number of Children Died <1 year of age
- LOCBA = Length of Child-bearing Time
- AF = Average Age of Bearing First Child
- AL = Average Age of Bearing Last Child

Source: Field Survey, 1995/1996

married women, age between 15 to the oldest. There is only one ever-married women within 15 to 19 year bracket and she has been absorbed into the 20-24 year group. For the total sample, the average number of children ever born is 4.2, children still alive is 3.7, children still living at the same home with mother is 1.8, children dieing is 0.5 and children died under one year of age is 0.4. The average number of children dieing before they reached one year of age is higher for older mother. This seems related to the better quality of health care in recent years. The average number of children still living with their mother is at the highest when the mother is within the 35 to 39 age bracket. The number starts to decrease when the mother within 40 to 44 age group and reaches the lowest level at the age of 60 years and over.

The average number of children ever born is at its highest when the mother is 40 years old with 10 children (N=1). Several women had already had four children in their early thirties. The average number of children ever born to women who have passed the reproductive age (above 45 years) is five and slightly higher for older women. Figure 5.5. shows the average length of childbearing period, the average age of bearing first child and the average age of bearing the last child. The average length of childbearing period is 9.5 years when the mother was 40 years. The longest childbearing period is 21 years. The average age of bearing first child is 21 years and the oldest is 25 years, while the average age of bearing the last child is 31 years and the youngest is 24 years. Women under 30 years of age have born less than three children and only 65 (21.4 per cent) married women want to have another child. Among those who want to have another child, only 30 per cent affirm that they will have it next year, four of them were expecting a child within months, and the remaining gave unclear answers. One of those uncertain answers

was 'to wait until the youngest child is old enough'. The interpretation of this answer is that the mother does not want to have two babies at the same time, because she would not be able to care for them properly while also having to work. Apart from the irrelevance of the question to those who are not married anymore or already past their childbearing age, one reason for not wanting another child is they already have too many children. However, some women still want to have another child, despite the number of children they already have, because they want children of both sexes.

It has been reported (Darroch *et.al.* 1972), that there is no sex preferences for children among Javanese parents as they treat children from both sexes in the same way. It seems that this opinion has not changed up to the present time. It might get even stronger as the result of long and intensive Family Planning campaign by the Government of Indonesia to promote the small family-size norm. One government slogan says 'Two is enough. Boy or girl makes no difference'. They accept every child as 'a gift from God' regardless of their sex, they should be treated the same. However some parents still believe that to have children of both sexes is the ideal norm and eventually made them have more than two children. They want children in both sexes because each sex has a different role in family and society. A boy will be expected to 'help Father (to earn money)' and a girl will 'help Mother (to do some chores)'. They still accept the idea that there are some activities that are only suitable for men and other activities suitable for women, and therefore, to have children of both sexes is important. However, in response to a question 'Which one do you prefer, a boy or a girl, if you're only allowed to have one child?' about 74 per cent said 'Any one of them', 11.4 per cent prefer a girl and 14.2 per cent chose a boy and one respondent said 'It is not good to have only one

child'. The last response indicated that to choose a particular sex for a child is difficult, because the ideal is to have both.

At this time to have more than three children is considered too many in the village and to have too many children is no longer popular. Most parents want their children to have a better life than themselves, and they believe that better education will lead the children to better employment. The better employment is not an agricultural job or other rural-based employment. To give their children better education, parents have to have enough resources. As they believe that they will not be able to get more money than they earn now, they have to limit the number of children to a number they can support. Therefore almost all of married women in the sample admit that they are using contraception method that is most suitable to their condition to prevent them from unwanted pregnancies. Almost 65 per cent use injection and 0.8 per cent (N=2) two women) had been sterilised. As the injection is not subsidised by the government they have to pay for the service themselves. The cost of one injection is Rp 4,000.- (A\$ 2.20) every four months.

For women who work in the formal sector, resulting in more time spent outside the home, the need to have a small number of children is greater. Juti, a return migrant from Family No. 49, explained how she had to go back to work in Bandung after the birth of her first child leaving the child in her mother's care, because there was no hope of a better life while staying at the village. At that time, her husband was still working in the city, but his income could not meet the family's needs so she had to help him. Together with her husband she worked in the city for about four years and they saved *rupiah* by *rupiah* from their wages. Over a four-year period they thought of nothing other than to save, save and save, never spending money on new clothing or other entertainment, let alone another child.

During that period of time another child was the lowest priority to them. Certainly, they wanted another child, because they believe it is not good to only have one child, but it was not the right time to have another one. After their saving was enough to buy pieces of *sawah* and dry-land, a house and several pieces of gold jewellery, she went back to the village and left her husband to work in the city. It was time for her to look after her son by herself, as he was old enough to be enrolled in primary school. It was also the right time to have the second child who is three years old now. As she is in her early thirties, however, another pregnancy is not unlikely. Therefore she uses contraception very carefully. Although she has only boys, she does not want another baby because she is finding it tiring. She wanted to just relax as her children are going to school and less demanding of her time. She wanted to work again in a nearby tile factory, but her husband refused the idea as the job is a very low-paid and she has to leave the children everyday. He suggested she open a stall at home, so she could make use of her time without leaving the children. While she does not have any experience in trading she will not open the stall. The idea of working for her is to get some pocket money to spend on her personal needs without drawing from the household budget. As she used to earn money to support herself, she felt rather uncomfortable spending the money earned by her husband. The story told by Juti (33 years old) above, is shared by several other women, who returned to the village to care for their families.

However, not all women migrants are able to return home and stay at home caring for their children without worrying that the money sent by their husband will be sufficient to make ends meet. Some of them still have to work in the cities to support their children who live under the care of their parents in the village. About 14 children (3.6 percent) under 15 years of age, have their mothers living elsewhere.



The children were sent to their grandparents while the parents work in the cities. Commonly migrant parents sent their children to the village to go to school, saving on education costs. The cost of education in the village is cheaper because the parents do not have the transport costs for each child. The transportation cost is very expensive in the city. In Bandung, each child needs at least Rp1,000 per day for transport and another Rp1,000 for pocket money<sup>3</sup>, while in the village the children can ride a bike or walk to school. The parents send money to the village regularly to support the cost of education, such as to pay the school fees and their meals. Other necessary supplies, such as books, footwear and clothing, are sent by the parents from the cities.

### **5.3. Distribution of Population According to Migration Status**

#### **5.3.1. Immigrant Population**

According to place of birth and the place of last residence data from the sample population can be differentiated into three groups by migration status, those who have never migrated, immigrants and return migrants. Table 5.1. presents the distribution of village population according to their place of birth. Some 74 per cent of the 1,102 people were born in a particular hamlet and lived in the same hamlet at the time of data collection, while five per cent of the sample was born in different hamlets of the village. Therefore almost 79 per cent of sample population are village born, whereas the remainder (21 per cent) were born in other villages. Among the total immigrant (N=230), 33.5 per cent were born in other villages within *kecamatan* Gombong, 31.3 per cent migrated from other *kecamatan*s within *kabupaten* Kebumen, 14.8 per cent moved-in from different *kabupatens* within

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<sup>3</sup>If both parents, who work in a textile factory in Bandung, earn Rp400,000. - per month, about Rp24,000. - (around 6 per cent of the salary) should be put aside for one child transport cost only.

Central Java province and 20.4 per cent came from other provinces. Of those who came from other provinces (N=47), 85 per cent were born in West Java and Jakarta provinces. If we differentiate between hamlet's locations, there are more immigrants on the southern-side than the northern-side, respectively 26 per cent and 13.5 per cent. More than 80 per cent (N=38) of immigrants from other provinces reside on the southern-side. It is reasonable as the southern-side has better facilities and is easier to reach than the northern-side.

The immigrant population distribution by sex, age and hamlet locations is depicted in Figure 5.6a, 5.6b, and 5.6c. The pyramid shows bulges in the proportion of women aged 30 to 39 years in both locations as well as male children of 10 to 19 years on the southern-side (Figure 5.6b.) and 0 to 9 years on the northern-side (Figure 5.6c.). The immigrant children usually followed their village born parents who returned home after living elsewhere. Those children had been classified as immigrants as they were born outside the village while their parents are grouped as return migrants. Some of the children are those who had been sent to the village to live with their grandparents, while their parents were still working in the cities. The composition of the immigrant population according to sex and age is influenced by the reason why people migrated to the village.

### **5.3.2. Return Migrants**

Despite the high tendency of villagers to migrate elsewhere, there are also cases that involve return migrants. Those who left the village before but eventually come back to stay in the village. The majority of return migrants came from Jakarta and West Java provinces as shown in Table 5.2. About 9.6 per cent (N=106) of the

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Besides transport cost they have to provide the children with pocket money of a similar amount to the transport cost.

Table 5.1. Distribution of Sample Population By Place of Birth and Migration Status, Wonosigro (N=1102)

Place of Birth	N	Percent	Migration Boundaries				
			Household	Hamlet	Village	District	Regency
<b>Wonosigro:</b>							
Within Hamlets	817	74.1					
Wonosigro	55	5.0	19.3				
Gombong	77	7.0	27.0	33.5			
Kebumen	72	6.5	25.3	31.3	47.1		
Central Java	34	3.1	11.9	14.8	22.2	42.0	
W.Java/DKI	40	3.6	14.0	17.4	26.1	49.4	85.1
Other Provinces	7	0.6	2.5	3.0	4.6	8.6	14.9
Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1,102	1,102	285	230	153	81	47
Row % to Total			25.9	20.9	13.9	7.4	4.3
<b>Southern-side:</b>							
Within Hamlets	451	69.4					
Wonosigro	30	4.6	15.1				
Gombong	52	8.0	26.1	30.8			
Kebumen	47	7.2	23.6	27.8	40.2		
Central Java	32	4.9	16.1	18.9	27.4	45.7	
W.Java/DKI	32	4.9	16.1	18.9	27.4	45.7	84.2
Other Provinces	6	0.9	3.0	3.6	5.1	8.6	15.8
Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	650	650	199	169	117	70	38
Row % to Total			30.6	26.0	18.0	10.8	5.8
<b>Northern-side:</b>							
Within Hamlets	366	81.0					
Wonosigro	25	5.5	29.1				
Gombong	25	5.5	29.1	41.0			
Kebumen	25	5.5	29.1	41.0	69.4		
Central Java	2	0.4	2.3	3.3	5.6	18.2	
W.Java/DKI	8	1.8	9.3	13.1	22.2	72.7	88.9
Other Provinces	1	0.2	1.2	1.6	2.8	9.1	11.1
Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	452	452	86	61	36	11	9
Row % to Total			19.0	13.5	8.0	2.4	2.0

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

Figure 5.6a. Distribution of Immigrant Population By Sex and Age (N=230)

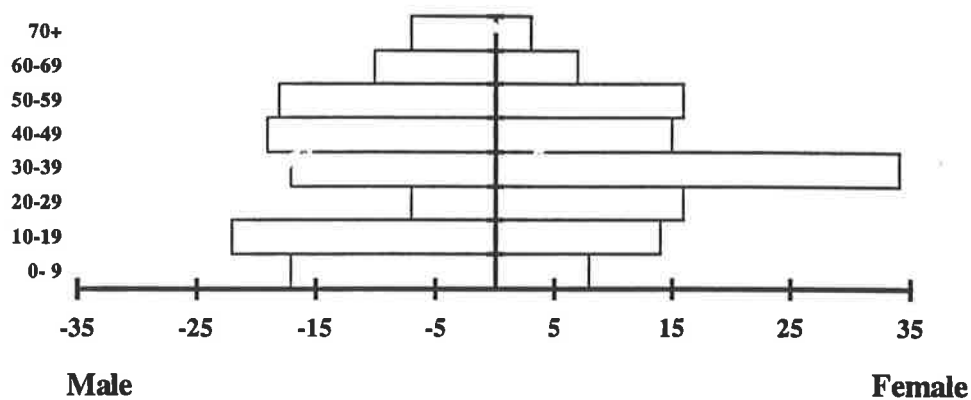


Figure 5.6b. Distribution of Immigrant Population By Sex and Age in Southern-side (N=169)

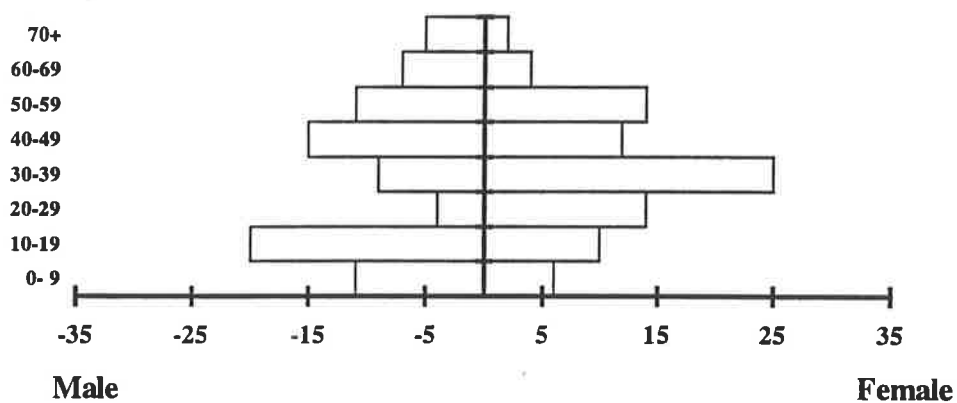
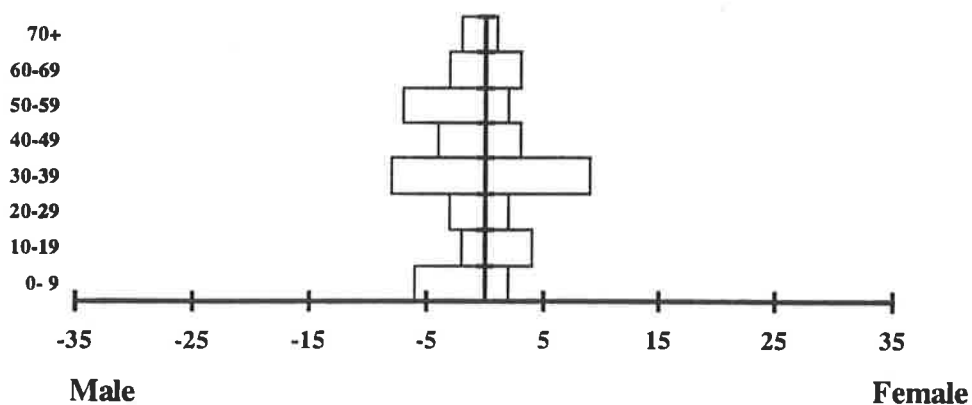


Figure 5.6c. Distribution of Immigrant Population By Sex and Age in Northern-side (N=161)



Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

sample population (N=1,102) had ever lived in different places outside the village and 60.4 per cent (N=64) had lived in Jakarta or West Java provinces previously. The majority of women migrants returned to the village to give birth to her first child and to nurse the baby while male migrants returned to the village to retire or because they have failed to earn income enough to support their families in the village. One man found a better opportunity in the village than anywhere he had ever been to, as he was appointed as a village official and was entitled to a piece of *bengkak* land. There are also children who returned to their place of birth to obtain education or followed their parents' migration.

The distribution of return migrants based on sex, age and hamlets location is depicted in Figures 5.7a, 5.7b. and 5.7c. The majority of return migrants are females within the 20 to 39 years old bracket and a significant proportion are males of age 30 to 39 years. Children under 10 years of both sexes are also significant. The proportion of return migrants is larger in the south (Figure 5.7b.) than in North (Figure 5.7c.) as most pensioners chose to live in southern hamlets. The number of return female migrants in the north is higher than those in the south because they are younger which meant they still have unweaned babies. It is very likely that these return female migrants will resume their work in the city after weaning their babies. They would leave their babies with their parents in the village. Some of them, however, could not leave their babies in the village, although they needed to because there were no appropriate people in their family to care for the baby. Suti (22 years), a daughter of Family No. 22, could not leave her baby with her mother in the village, because her mother is busy helping her father to produce terracotta pottery, the family's main source of income. Economically, Suti needed money to support her baby and wanted to resume work in the city, because she could not

Figure 5.7a. Distribution of Return Migrant By Sex and Age (N=106)

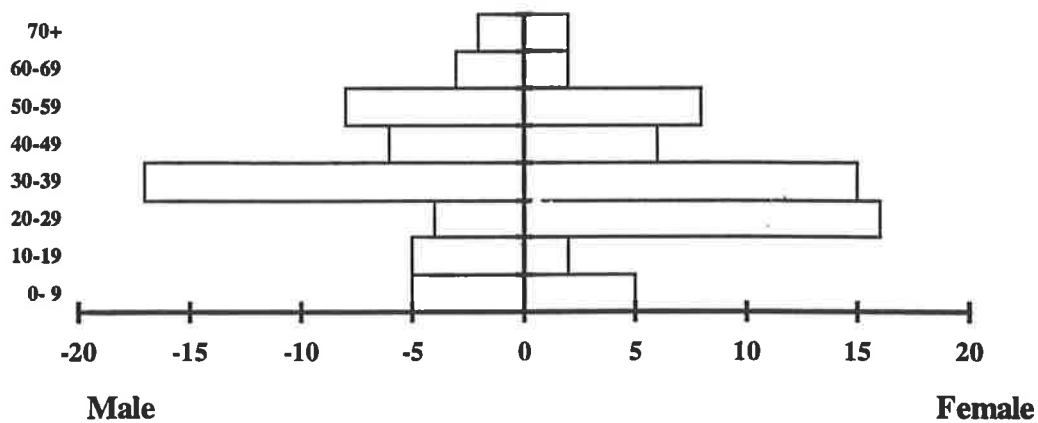


Figure 5.7b. Distribution of Return Migrant By Sex and Age in Southern-side (N=63)

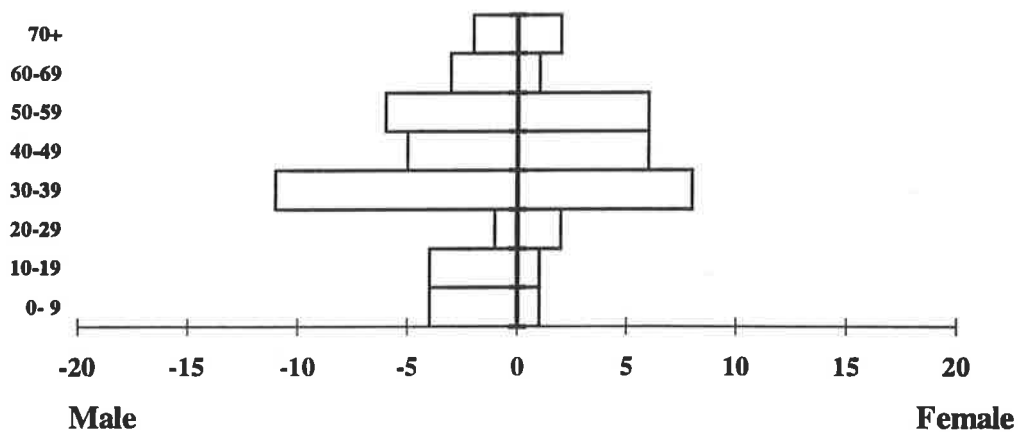
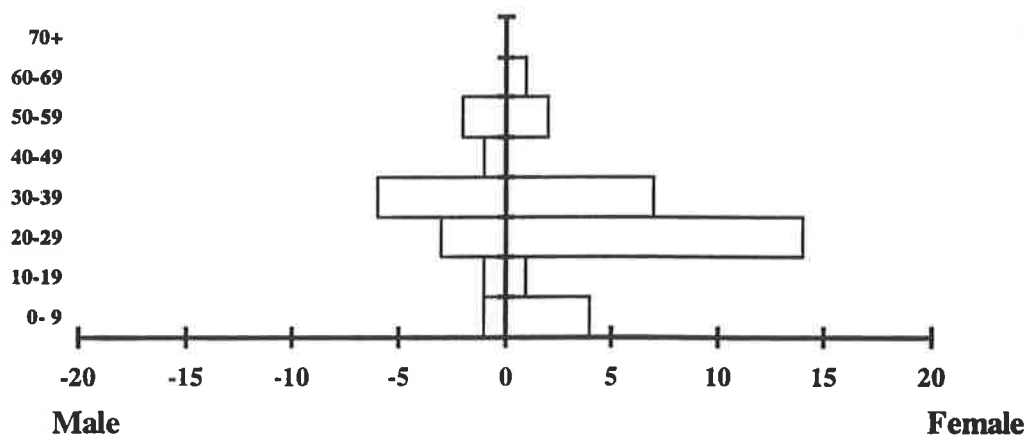


Figure 5.7c. Distribution of Return Migrant By Sex and Age in Northern-side (N=43)



Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

Table 5.2. Distribution of Return Migrant By Place of Last Residence and Migration-Status, Wonosigro (N=106)

Place of Last Residence	N	Migration Boundaries (Per cent)			
		<i>Desa</i>	District	Regency	Province
<b>Wonosigro:</b>					
Gombong	7	6.6			
Kebumen	12	11.3	12.1		
Central Java	12	11.3	12.1	13.8	
W.Java/Jakarta	64	60.4	64.6	73.6	85.3
Other Provinces	11	10.4	11.1	12.6	14.7
Total (per cent)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	106	106	99	87	75

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

count on her husband who just started working in the city. Instead she has to stay in the village and earn money by selling cold drinks. She and her baby were still being supported by her father, but she wanted to have income to support her child.

#### 5.4. Marriage and Living Arrangement

Migration is often caused by familial reasons, such as marriage or retirement. Many of the pensioners who chose this village as a place to spend their retirement used to live in the Military Barracks located in the adjacent village. The most important reason for immigration to the village is marriage. Based on the village boundary, about 48 per cent of married couples (N=243) in the sample contain an immigrant partner, either the husband or the wives. The percentage is larger (53.9 per cent) if using the hamlet as a spatial boundary. The distribution of married couples according to each partner's migration status is presented in Table 5.3. There is more couples of 'immigrant husband - local wife' (28 per cent) than the 'immigrant wife - local husband' (23 per cent) combination. The majority of immigrant partners were born in adjacent villages, within *kecamatan* Gombong (19.3

per cent) or within *kabupaten* Kebumen (20.2 per cent), while only 6.2 per cent came from other provinces, especially West Java and Jakarta.

The number of immigrant wives is almost similar to the number of immigrant husbands as there is no regulation of new family living arrangement in Javanese culture. A Newlywed is free to choose where they will build their new home. There is no fixed rule of residence to determine where they should live after marriage (Koentjaraningrat 1960, p.102). They can live close by the wife's family or within the husbands' family compound or away from both families. In the study village, local couples commonly built their houses on the bride's parents' house compound, especially in the northern hamlets. This created small cluster households, commonly between sisters' households, parents' and daughters' households or parents and sons' households. Commonly, parents will share their home compound with their daughters' families, while their sons will live with their wives' families, although in some cases, parents shared their home compound with their sons. However, for some parents, they will not be able to share their house compound with their daughters anymore, because there is not enough land to be shared. Family No. 2 was allowed to build their house in the wife's parent' compound, Family No.39, so there are two households in the same compound face to face. The whole compound covers an area of 630 sq. meters, while the daughter was given 140 sq.meters. Family No.39 has nine children, two of them are females. Four sons and one daughter have been married and lived elsewhere, while the youngest son still lives with them. When their sons were asked about living in the village, they said that their parents' home compound is too small. While the parent said, it depends on the children, if they are able to live a simple life in the village, they could come home whenever they wanted to.



Inmigrants are more likely to be found among younger couples than older couples. Figure 5.8. and 5.8. show the percentages of married couple according to husband's age and wife's age. The percentage of local couples is higher as the husband or wife get older, while inmigrant wife or husband is more likely to be found among the youngest couples. This is because more young people migrate elsewhere to find work where the possibility to meeting their future husband or wife from another village is greater. Figure 5.10. and 5.11. show that the percentage with inmigrant partners is larger among return migrants than non-migrants. Inmigrant partners found among older couples usually came from a neighbouring village, such as Klopogodo. This village has been a traditionally important place to find a marriage partner among villagers who live in the north, especially *dukuh* Karang Asem. The people from *dukuh* Karang Asem seems to have closer relations with Klopogodo residents than with other Wonosigro people as it located at the boundary of Klopogodo village.

The possibility of village people marrying people from other villages is high, since there is no restriction in choosing a marriage partner. Younger people, men and women, are allowed to marry anyone they like as the practice of marrying off daughters to a man chosen by the parents has diminished. The parents have an obligation to support their children's new families until they are able to support themselves. The parent's support can be in the form of giving them a house or a piece of *sawah*. The new couple will usually stay with the bride's parents until the birth of their first child for a period of one to two years. In that period the couple learn how to manage a household. Afterwards, they will move out from the house to live in their own home. As more people meet their marriage partner in migration

Table 5.3. Distribution of Married Couples According to Each Partner's Migration Status, Wonosigro (N=243)

Husband's Place of Birth	Wife's Place of Birth						
	Hamlet	Wonosigro	Gombong	Kebumen	C. Java	W. Java	Others
<b>Hamlet Basis:</b>							
Hamlets	82	5	18	20	5	5	2
Wonosigro	12	4	1	3	1	0	1
Gombong	27	1	1	1	0	0	0
Kebumen	24	2	1	1	2	1	0
C. Java	6	1	2	0	1	1	0
W. Java/DKI	6	0	1	0	1	1	0
Other Provinces	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>

<b>Village Basis:</b>							
Hamlets	82	5	18	20	5	5	2
Wonosigro	12	4	1	3	1	0	1
Gombong	27	1	1	1	0	0	0
Kebumen	24	2	1	1	2	1	0
C. Java	6	1	2	0	1	1	0
W. Java/DKI	6	0	1	0	1	1	0
Other Provinces	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>

	Hamlet Basis		Village Basis	
	N	%	N	%
Local (H) - Local (W)	82	33.7	103	42.4
Local (H) - Inmigrant (W)	55	22.6	56	23.0
Inmigrant (H) - Local (W)	76	31.3	68	28.0
Inmigrant (H) - Inmigrant (W)	30	12.4	16	6.6
	<b>243</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>243</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Note : H = Husband and W = Wife

Local = Hamlets or Village Born Husband or Wife

Inmigrant = Non-hamlet or non-village Born Husband or Wife

Source : Field Survey 1995/1996

Figure 5.8. Distribution of Married Couple's Migration Status  
According to Husband's Age Groups, Wonosigro (N=243)

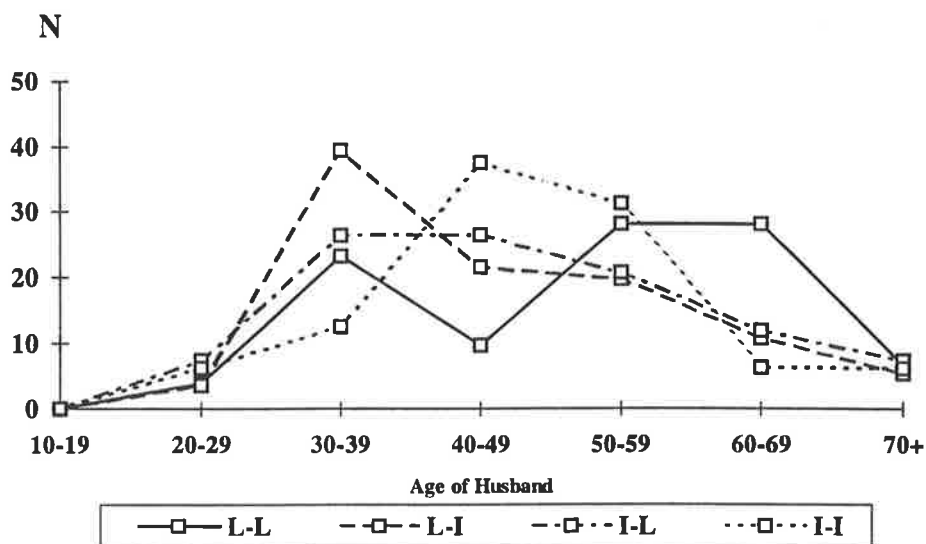
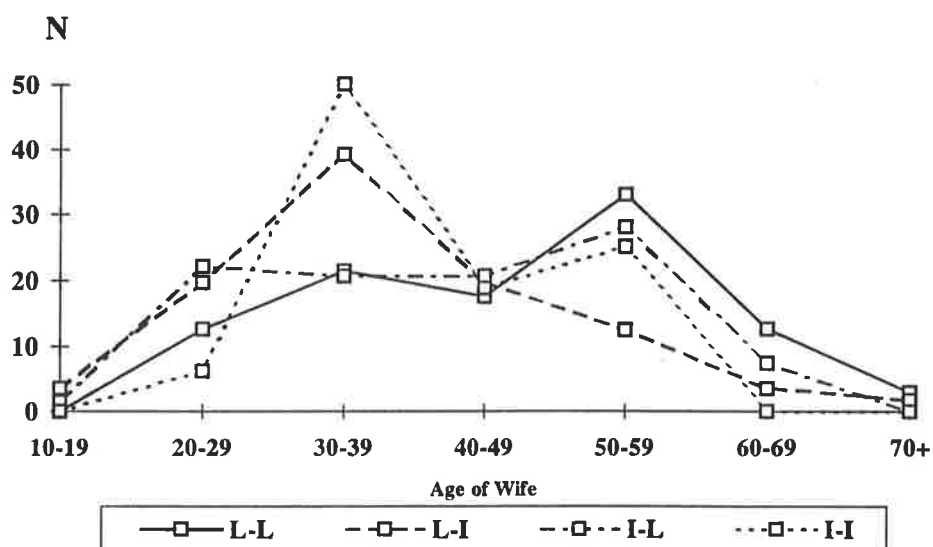


Figure 5.9. Distribution of Married Couple's Migration Status  
According to Wife's Age Groups, Wonosigro (N=243)



Notes: L-L = Village-born Husband and Village-born Wife  
 L-I = Village-born Husband and Immigrant Wife  
 I-L = Immigrant Husband and Village-born Wife  
 I-I = Immigrant Husband and Immigrant Wife

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

areas, the living arrangement is different. In such cases after the marriage ceremony, which usually takes place in the bride's village, they will immediately go back to the city until close to the birth of the first child when the wife will return to her village to give birth. The living arrangement following the birth of the first child depends on the availability of resources outside the nuclear family to support them. These include the substitute mother for the children when the mother returns to workforce. Many women will leave her baby after weaning, in her mother's care and go back to work in the city as was the case with Juti. Other women decide to stay and work in the village to care for her children by themselves and let their husbands work in the cities.

An unwise decision to get married and have a baby shortly afterwards, sometimes creates an additional burden for their parents in the village. Often, these women, as well as their husbands, are not ready financially to support a family as they have just started to work and they do not have a secure job, and therefore they do not have a regular income. Their income is dependent on whether or not they are working that day. Therefore, if they became pregnant and have to stop working to give birth, they do not have income. Certainly, the husbands can take on the responsibility of the main provider, but many of these women's husbands are unable to fulfil their responsibility. Although, there is no restriction upon women by migrating and working in the cities, from their family of orientation, apparently their responsibility as mothers has become the main restriction to women's involvement in migration.

Figure 5.10. Distribution of Married Couple's Migration Status According to Husband's Migration Status, Wonosigro (N=243)

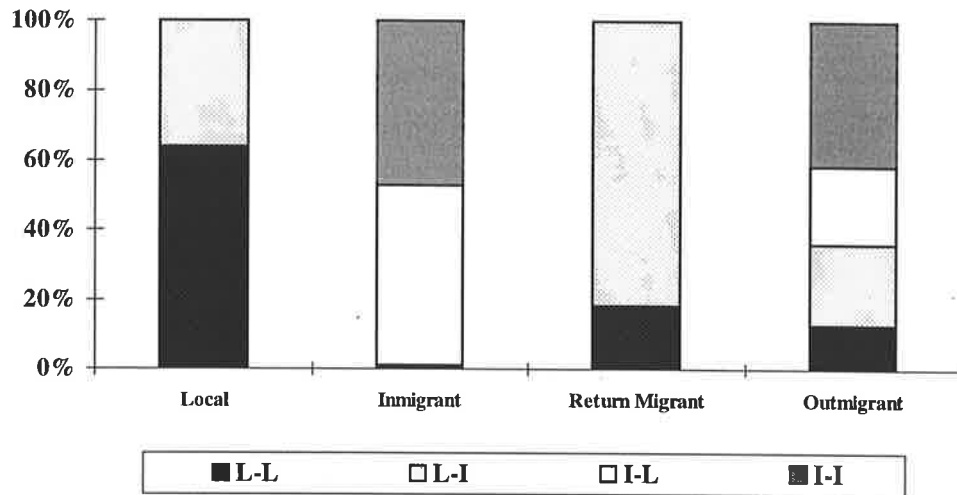
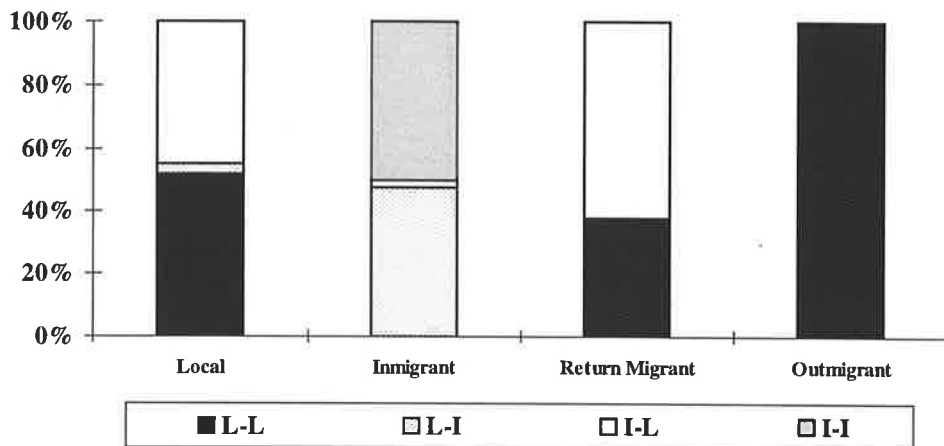


Figure 5.11. Distribution of Married Couple's Migration Status According to Wife's Migration Status, Wonosigro (N=243)



Notes: See Figure 5.8. and 5.9.

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

## 5.5. Sources of Livelihood

### 5.5.1. Agricultural Work

As a rural village, agriculture is the main source of livelihood of the Wonosigro inhabitants. There are 52.6 hectare of *sawah* and 29.5 hectare of

*tegalan* and 30.6 hectare of house-compounds. All *sawah* is located in the south, while most *tegalan* is in the north. The *sawah* are cultivated twice a year, in the dry-season (*Javanese ketiga*) and rainy-season (*Javanese rendengan*) to grow rice. The *tegalan* is used largely to grow cassava, corn or dry-land rice (*gogo*). The farmers use hand-tractors to till and plough the land and use manual labour for the rest. There are two people who possess hand-tractors and they rent the equipment, including the operator, to the farmers. One hand-tractor owner said that he provided services to cultivate 17 hectare *sawah*. The cost of hand-tractor rent per 100 *ubin* or 1,400 m<sup>2</sup> is Rp12,000 (A\$ 7). The tractor owner earned almost Rp. 3 million (A\$ 1,750) a year from renting the tractor only.

Agricultural employment is available in the village and is open to anyone, not exclusively village labourers. On the other hand, farm-labourers are free to go anywhere to find jobs. The 52.6 hectare of *sawah* can provide 12,032 man-days of work in each season, which is estimated from the use of labour in each stage of *sawah* cultivation as depicted in Table 5.4. However, not all of these jobs are available for farm labourer as the farmers and their family are actively involved in the process of cultivation. They need to hire labour when a particular job needs to be done in a short time, such as finishing land-preparation, planting and harvesting. Although, major land preparation, such as tilling and ploughing is done using hand tractors, hoeing the bunds around the field has to be performed by male labourers. Planting is a job for men and women. Men make the lines to enable women to plant the seedlings in a straight row. Harvesting is also done by men and women. While other jobs are paid in money, harvesting is paid in-kind in terms of a percentage of rice someone is able to harvest in one day, usually around 15 per cent. The wage of a male labourer is Rp2,500.- (A\$ 1.20) per day, and a woman is paid Rp2,000.-,

Table 5.4. Estimated Availability of Agricultural Employment in Man-days in One Year Wonosigro (*Sawah* Area = 52.6 hectare)

Activity	per 100 ubin <sup>1)</sup>	M/F	52.6 ha <sup>2)</sup>	Wages <sup>3)</sup>
1. Hoeing the bunds	2 x 5 x 2: 20	M	7,520	Rp. 2,500
2. Seedling bed	2 x 2 x 1: 4	M	1,504	Rp. 2,500
3. Planting the seeds	2 x 4 x 1: 8	M	3,004	Rp. 2,500
4. Seedling Removal	2 x 1 x 1: 2	M	752	Rp. 2,500
5. Planting seedlings:				
a. Lining	2 x 2 x 1: 4	M	1,504	Rp. 2,500
b. Planting	2 x 4 x 1: 8	F	3,008	Rp. 2,000
6. Fertilizing I	2 x 3 x 1: 6	M	2,256	Rp. 2,500
7. Weeding I	2 x 4 x 1: 8	M	3,008	Rp. 2,500
8. Fertilizing II	2 x 2 x 1: 4	M	1,504	Rp. 2,500
9. Weeding II	2 x 5 x 1: 10	M	3,760	Rp. 2,500
10. Harvesting	-	M/F	-	15 %
All Activities	74	66 M/8 F	27,820	
			24,812 M	
			3,008 F	

**Notes:**

- 1) Man-days needs to cultivate 100 *ubin* in one year, that is 2 x 2 x 5 means cultivate rice twice a year, five labours for two days per season.
- 2) Man-day needs to cultivate 52.6 ha, which equal to 376 times 100 *ubin*, therefore labourer needed for each activity for whole village is 376 times labours needed for each activity.
- 3) Wage per day in 1996 rainy season production. In 1999, for the similar season, the wages has doubled to Rp5,000 per day for male labour and Rp4,000 for female labour.

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

plus one meal. Women were paid lower than men, because they work for a shorter time. Men work until noon around 5 hours a day, while women work less than five hours per day. The estimation of agricultural employment is based on the number of labour needed to perform each activity for 100 *ubin sawah*. The *ubin* is land-measuring scale used by local people. The total *sawah* area in the village is equivalent to 376 hundreds *ubin*. Farmers usually use 100 *ubin* as a basis of counting input and output in rice cultivation. Assumed that all *sawah* area are cultivated, therefore in one year the estimated agriculture employment in the village (see Table 5.4.), excluding harvesting, is 24,812 days for men and 3,008 days for women. This means the agricultural sector is only able to provide 68 days of male

labour and 8 days of female labour each month so it is only able to support 76 households assuming that only one household member, man or woman, is working in the agricultural sector. Compared to the number of households in the village (409), the amount of agricultural employment is not adequate to support all families in the village. However, the sources of livelihood of the families in the village are various including both agricultural and non-agricultural employments. It is not uncommon for families to have several sources of income from both sectors. However, for some villagers, the agriculture sector is important to provide them with staple food. They feel more secure if they have rice in the kitchen, even when they have no money in their hands. The following paragraphs will explain the villagers' strategy to make ends meet.

Table 5.5. shows that only 38.9 per cent of the sample households (N=105) have access to *sawah* with an average holding of about 1,870 m<sup>2</sup>. Access to *sawah* can be procured by private possession, renting-in or been given it as *bengkok*. Out of 105 households who have access to land 61.9 per cent (N=65) have possession of an average holding of 1,770 m<sup>2</sup>. A household can possess *sawah* through inheritance or personal purchasing. The percentage of households in the north who have access to *sawah* is smaller than in the south, with 33.3 per cent and 42.6 per cent respectively. However, the average holding is larger among farmers on the northern-side (2,230 m<sup>2</sup>), than on the southern-side (1,690 m<sup>2</sup>). The relatively larger average holding on the northern-side has been affected by the largest-holding in the village, which is 2.17 ha, operated by a northern-side farmer. Without the inclusion of the largest holding, the average holding of northern-side farmers would decrease to 1,670 m<sup>2</sup>, similar to the southern-side's holdings. However, not all who have access to *sawah* cultivate the land by themselves; renting-out sawah or *jual*



*tahunan* is a common practice in the village. Many families may need cash urgently for various reasons such as to pursue non-agricultural employment, to pay the education costs for the children or to pay back a debt. For those who do not have other financial options, but are fortunate enough to possess *sawah* they can rent it out for several years. All village officials had rented-out all or part of their *bengkok* for one to three years. One official rented-out all of his sawah for three years to support his son's intention to join the army, which turned out to be unsuccessful. Another official sold a half of his *bengkok* for three years for Rp600.000,- (A\$350), to pay back the money he borrowed during his campaign to get the position. One family sold a piece of *sawah* inheritance from the husband's family located in another village for Rp700,000.- to help their son get a job in Malaysia. One woman said that three years ago she rented-out her *sawah* for ten years to help her son get a job in an Indonesian Aircraft Company - which, unfortunately, was unsuccessful.

Around 64 per cent of farmers operate their land by themselves, 6 per cent partly rented it out, and 20 per cent sharecrop it. One household inherited a piece of land, of about 560 m<sup>2</sup>, which is the joint possession of four brothers. The holding is too small as a whole piece let alone to be subdivided into four, therefore to make full use of it they rotate the operation. Therefore, one person has the right to cultivate the land every four years. Sharecropping is common practice between relatives, such as parents and sons or daughters, between siblings or grandparents with their grandchildren, although there is also sharecropping between people without familial relationships. Although, eventually the children or grandchildren will inherit the land, as long as their parents are still alive they could not claim the land as theirs. However, the parents know that their children need the land to

Table 5.5. Distribution of *Sawah* Ownership (%) and Average Holding of *Sawah* Area (ha) by Location, Wonosigro, 1996.

	Southern Side			Northern Side			Total Household		
	No	%	Aver.	No	%	Aver.	No	%	Aver.
<b><i>Sawah</i> Area and Access<sup>a)</sup></b>									
<b>No Access</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>57.4</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>66.7</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>61.1</b>	<b>-</b>
<b>Have Access</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>42.6</b>	<b>0.169</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>33.3</b>	<b>0.223</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>38.9</b>	<b>0.187</b>
<= 0.14	47	68.1	0.079	25	69.5	0.088	72	68.6	0.082
0.141-0.28	13	18.8	0.235	3	8.3	0.252	16	15.2	0.238
> 0.28	9	13.1	0.543	8	22.2	0.635	17	16.2	0.586
<b><i>Sawah</i> Area and Possesion<sup>b)</sup></b>									
<b>Have Possesion</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>63.8</b>	<b>0.167</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>58.3</b>	<b>0.195</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>61.9</b>	<b>0.177</b>
<= 0.14	30	68.2	0.081	18	85.7	0.073	48	73.8	0.078
0.141-0.28	7	15.9	0.226	1	4.8	0.266	8	12.3	0.231
> 0.28	7	15.9	0.488	2	9.5	1.260	9	13.9	0.659
<b>No Possesion</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>36.2</b>	<b>0.170</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>41.7</b>	<b>0.262</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>38.1</b>	<b>0.204</b>
<= 0.14	17	68.0	0.076	7	46.7	0.126	24	60.0	0.090
0.141-0.28	6	24.0	0.245	2	13.3	0.245	8	20.0	0.245
> 0.28	2	8.0	0.739	6	40.0	0.427	8	20.0	0.505
<b><i>Sawah</i> Operation and Possesion<sup>c)</sup></b>									
<b>Have Possesion</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>63.8</b>	<b>0.167</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>58.3</b>	<b>0.195</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>61.9</b>	<b>0.177</b>
Self-Operated	25	56.8	0.133	16	76.2	0.227	41	63.1	0.170
All Rented Out	3	6.8	0.257	1	4.8	0.056	4	6.2	0.207
Partly Rented- Out	4	9.1	0.487	-	-	-	4	6.2	0.487
Sharecropped	11	25.0	0.121	2	9.5	0.147	13	20.0	0.125
TA	1	2.3	0.035	2	9.5	0.056	3	4.6	0.049
<b>No Possesion</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>36.2</b>	<b>0.170</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>41.7</b>	<b>0.262</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>38.1</b>	<b>0.204</b>
Self-Operated	18	72.0	0.138	8	53.3	0.306	26	65.0	0.190
All Rented Out	1	4.0	0.210	3	20.0	0.271	4	10.0	0.256
Partly Rented- Out	1	4.0	1.155	1	6.7	0.350	2	5.0	0.753
Sharecropped	4	16.0	0.081	3	20.0	0.107	7	17.5	0.092
TA	1	4.0	0.056	-	-	-	1	2.5	0.056
Notes: a) Distribution of <i>Sawah</i> (%) and the Averages (ha) by Area are to Total Number With Access.									
b) and c) Distribution of <i>Sawah</i> Possesion (%) and the Averages (ha) by Area are to Total									
Number With Access, while Distribution of Operation (%) and the Averages area to Total									
Number of Each Possesion Groups.									
Source: Field Data 1995/19966.									

support their own families and it is the parents' obligation to provide help by allowing them to cultivate the land as sharecroppers. Sharecropping between

unrelated people is largely motivated by the limited resources of the landowner to provide cash to hire the labour and buy fertiliser and pesticide. Farmers with a smallholding of *sawah* without non-agricultural income will cultivate their land to produce rice for household consumption. A larger holder will sell their extra rice after the household's consumption is accounted for. For many villagers, agriculture is not the only source of income, and they prefer to spend their time on other jobs and leave the operation of their land to other people. The younger generation is becoming less interested in agriculture. The children with their parent's support prefer to go to school and prepare themselves for non-agricultural jobs and therefore most of them are not used to the hardship of being a farmer. A former factory worker said that she could not operate her family's *sawah* by herself, as her husband is a circular migrant, and she was being helped by her father-in-law to cultivate the land.

A vital question in examining the role of agricultural work in the household economy is whether the average holding is sufficient to provide rice for the whole family. Several researchers have proposed figures of the average agricultural land holding to be sufficient to support a family considering the local conditions of different research areas as presented in Table 5.6. It is clear that the quality of land and input of technology, such as irrigation and high yielding variety, were important in determining the production of rice, the Javanese staple food. The more favourable the land to produce rice and the better input of technology, the less holding is required to sustain a household consisting of 4 to 5 members. In Hardjono study (1987), she assumed that three HYV crops were obtained every year and each person needs 145 kg of rice for consumption and another 180 kg for other necessities. Therefore one person needs 325 kg of rice to be considered as living on the poverty line. She argued that the amount of rice she proposed would

Table 5.6. Various Study Results on Average Land-holding Sufficient to Provide Rice to Support a Family in Java

Researchers	Location	Average Holding	Household Number
Penny and Singarimbun (1973, p.2.)	Yogyakarta	0.7 hectare of rain-fed <i>sawah</i> and 0.3 hectare of <i>pekarangan</i>	5
White (1976, p.278)	Yogyakarta	0.2 hectare of double-cropped <i>sawah</i>	4.5 (rice only)
Hart (1978, p.103)	Kendal, Central Java	0.24 hectare double-cropped <i>sawah</i> or 0.575 hectare	5 (rice only) 5 (minimum requirement needs)
Hardjono (1987, p.248)	Bandung, West Java	0.36 hectare <i>sawah</i> of three HYV crops	4.25 (rice and other requirement needs)

be a more accurate poverty line in the research area than the figures proposed by Sajogyo (1974). In his pioneering study on measuring the poverty line, Sajogyo proposed from the point of view of nutrition, an income of 240 kg of milled rice or *beras* per person per year is the poverty line in rural Java. A half of this, 120 kg, was needed for consumption, while the other half was to buy other food, fuel and other basic necessities. When a person has an income equal to 240-319 kg of *beras* per year than they can be considered as poor, 320 kg and over is adequate, 180-239 kg was very poor and those with income equal to a less than 180 kg *beras* they were classified as destitute.

In this village, the average holding of 1,870 m<sup>2</sup> or 134 *ubin* will produce, after production costs and taxes, 1,670 kg of wet *gabah*, or 1,419.5 kg dry *gabah* or 908.5 kg *beras*<sup>4</sup> per year from double HYV crops. The average number of household members is 4.1 persons, and this means that each person will get 221.6 kg of *beras* per year. Therefore, when we use Sayogyo's poverty line, on an average the farmers in the study village were classified as very poor. However, as mentioned above, most farmers in the village will only cultivate a certain amount of *sawah*, just enough to meet the household's need of rice. The villagers usually cultivate up to 100 *ubin*, which will produce 166 kg *beras* per person per year, to obtain rice for household consumption. Those who have less than 100 *ubin* will get some more from *bawon*<sup>5</sup> by harvesting of other landholdings. Although, the agricultural sector is still important in providing rice for household consumption, there are more people engaged in non-agricultural work to get cash to meet the cost of other necessities including paying for their children's education.

### 5.5.2. Non-agricultural Work

Table 5.7. shows the distribution of villagers according to their main occupations. Only 22.6 percent (N=85) stated agriculture, including farming and other jobs related to natural resource exploitation, as their main occupation. Around 67 percent are male. Although, there is a possibility that more people are willing to do agricultural work they could not rely on it as their main income. They usually state their job as general labourer (*Javanese, buruh pancakan* or *buruh srambatan*). Villagers will accept any job offered by other people that is suited to their skills. The job could be in agriculture, construction, minor house repair or

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<sup>4</sup>The conversion factor from wet to dry *gabah* is 85 per cent (Stoler 1977, p. 698), while the conversion factor from dry *gabah* to milled rice is 64 per cent (Mears 1982, p. 175).

Table 5.7. Main Occupation of Household Members (N=382)

	SS	NS	Men	Women
<b>Agriculture:</b>				
Farmer	25	17	27	15
Laborer	9	14	15	8
<b>Others:</b>				
-sand-gathering	7	12	13	6
-raise chickens	1	0	1	0
<i>Sub-total:</i>	<u>42</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>29</u>
<b>Formal Services:</b>				
Village Officials	7	5	12	0
Civil Servants	9	0	7	2
Teachers	15	0	6	9
Private Company Employee	2	1	3	0
Other Office Employee	1	2	3	0
<i>Sub-total:</i>	<u>34</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>11</u>
<b>Factory Workers:</b>				
<i>Sub-total:</i>	<u>11</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>27</u>
<b>Transportation:</b>				
'Becak' driver	13	6	19	0
'Andong' driver	1	0	1	0
Motorcar driver	6	1	7	0
Driver Assistant	2	1	2	1
<i>Sub-total:</i>	<u>22</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>1</u>
<b>Construction:</b>				
Carpentry	3	3	6	0
Laborer	5	3	8	0
<i>Sub-total:</i>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>0</u>
<b>Trade:</b>				
Small trading	12	13	8	17
Pottery Collector	0	5	4	1
Stall ('warung')	4	1	1	4
Small food stall	6	1	2	5
Herbal drinks	0	1	0	1
Vegetable (itinerant)	0	1	0	1
Middleman	6	0	5	1
Laborer	1	1	1	1
<i>Sub-total:</i>	<u>29</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>31</u>
<b>Others:</b>				
Seamstress	11	9	13	7
General Labourer	26	23	39	10
Pottery maker	0	9	2	7
'Pandan' weaving	6	2	0	8
Reading Qur'an teacher	0	1	1	0
Bicycle service	1	0	1	0
Maid	2	1	0	3
Clothes washer (laborer)	1	1	0	2
Secondhand dealer	1	0	1	0
Traditional midwife	1	0	0	1
Traditional masseur	1	1	0	2
<i>Sub-total:</i>	<u>50</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>40</u>
<b>Pensioners:</b>				
Civilian	9	0	8	1
Military	8	1	9	0
<i>Sub-total:</i>	<u>17</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>1</u>
<b>No Occupation</b>				
<i>Sub-total:</i>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>
<b>Total</b>	<b>216</b>	<b>166</b>	<b>241</b>	<b>141</b>

Notes: SS=Southern-side

NS=Northern-side

Source: Field Survey, 1995/1996

<sup>5</sup>In-natura wages for harvesting, usually worth of 15 per cent of total rice harvested.

helping-out at this and that. A young woman said that for a short time she worked as agricultural labourer, later on for a few days in the beginning of the school year she took up a job in a local tailor to hem school uniforms and after that for three days she helped-out a neighbour who held a wedding party. When no one needs her labour she weaves *pandanus* leaves at home. A young father of four chose to 'do anything' in the village after returning from an unsuccessful migration to Bandung. He will take up agricultural work, construction work, *becak* driver, sand gatherer or anything else that needs his labour. Although, working as a general labourer will not guarantee their income, these people refused to take up job in the various industries in *kecamatan* Gombong, because those jobs are low-paid and very strict on working hours.

However, many villagers, especially women, work in the factory, because it is a regular paid job. The term factory using here means small-scale rural industries, which employed less than 20 people (BPS 1986), such as tile manufacturing, cigarettes and cotton packaging. These industries are very low paid and have been carried out by northern-side women for some time. As the northern-side people seldom possess *sawah*, many households have been relying on income from non-agricultural sectors to make a living. Five women in their early sixties said that they had been working in cigarette factories for more than forty years. These cigarette factories produce cigarettes flavoured with special incense derived from gum benzoin (*rokok menyan*) to meet the demand from village people. The demand for this distinctive strong smelling cigarettes is decreasing, however, because younger people prefer clove cigarettes, the production of *rokok menyan* has also declined. These factories, run by people of Chinese background in Gombong town, still employ these aged women because they have been working for so long and possibly

this job is not attractive to younger people. These women had to walk for at least an hour to the factories, about 3 km from their home. Nowadays, these women only work three days per week from 7 to 12 because they have to share the production time with other labourers. This means that one week's production which can actually be done by one labourer, had to be divided between two labourers, three days each. The wage is Rp1,500.- (A\$ 0.90) per day or Rp4,500.- per week, without meals. On the other hand, younger women who prefer to work in tile factories or cotton-packaging are, apparently, are no better off than the older women. One woman works as a delivery labourer in a tile factory, that is she and her friends will load a quantity of tiles onto the truck and deliver it to the buyer's place and then unload it there. It is heavy for her and not always available. She said that she works on a contract basis (*kerja borongan*) meaning that she only gets paid if there is a delivery. If there were no delivery, which fortunately very seldom occurs, she would not get a cent for leaving home for the whole day. The allowance she gets depends on the amount of tiles she has delivered and is not the same amount every day. However, she could bring home around Rp10,000 (A\$ 6) every week. Besides the hardship she has had to endure, she is happy with her job, as she can come and go whenever she likes. She left her job four times to give birth to her four children and each time when the baby was old enough to be left in her mother's care she returned to the factory to get her job back without a problem. Another woman, though, explained that re-entry to the factory is not easy, it depends on the availability of vacancies. A woman, who works in cotton-packaging has to endure long working hours from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. to get paid about Rp1,500.- (A\$ 0.90) a day without meals. She said that the labourers are not allowed to leave the factory before five o'clock sharp in the evening even if there is no more work to



be done. Rural industrial works is not attractive for young men from the village. Only eleven men work in industries, such as a cotton-packaging factory, tile factories, wood factory and a plasterboard factory. The man who works in the cotton-packaging factory is very proud about his job as a mobile sales person. He spends most of his time on the road delivering goods to retailers at Tegal, Pekalongan or Semarang and only stays at home for the weekend. He earns more than Rp100,000.- per month.

Other regular-paid jobs available for the villagers are various formal employments, such as village officials, civil servants or teachers. Forty two people are in these jobs, 11 of them are women and most of them (N=34) live in the south. Those who reside in the north are village officials and low-ranking officials in the Regency-branch office of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Government Office, both located at Kebumen. Nine out of 15 teachers are women, while no woman holds a position in the village office. The latter is mainly influenced by the village headman's preference who feels more comfortable in commanding men than women. It does not mean that women are not allowed to work as a village official. In the last *lurah* election, the strongest opponent to the elected *lurah* was a woman. A high-school graduated woman applied to *Pak Lurah* for internship to help the village secretary in organising the office administration, but so far no answer has been received.

Other sources of income from the non-agricultural sector are various, including transportation and construction (males), trade, seamstress, general labourer, pottery maker, *pandanus* weaving and household maid. People who work in transportation are mainly *becak* drivers, *Angkot* drivers and assistants to an *Angkot* driver. The people engaged in the construction sector are probably more

than the number depicted in the table, as many construction labourers claimed to work as general labourers. There are no women working in this sector. Women usually work in the trade sector, ranging from casual food or drink sellers to *warung* owners. *Warung* owners find it difficult to calculate their real income from their businesses, because they do not sell and buy the same amount of stock each day. One owner explained that he needs Rp35,000.- to Rp50,000.- per day to buy stock (*kulakan*) and he can provide for household consumption everyday including their children's daily allowances. A household with six members like his, needs at least Rp10,000.- per day for those needs. An herbal drink or *jamu* seller said that she earns about Rp5,000.- per week. Many people, both men and women, had been working as traders for more than forty years, especially those who live in the north, but they are starting to stop their activity as they are getting older and have less children to support. Another occupation that involves both men and women is working as a seamstress. There are two categories of seamstress, the ones who run their own business and those who are paid labourers. Those who work as labourers can be paid in terms of daily wages or on a 'contract' basis. In the first case, the labourers works every day at the shop for seven hours and get paid around Rp4,000.- (A\$ 2.5) per day. They can also take work home and are paid the extra hours on a 'contract' basis. This take-home work usually becomes available at the beginning of the school year making school uniforms. The second category is a private seamstress who provide service for individual clients. The income from the latter depends on the demand and what kind of clothes they sew. The income of this kind of seamstress depends on the quality of their work. A farmer who has taken up sewing as her secondary occupation charges Rp5,000.- per woman's suit. The demand for her sewing expertise will surge during Ramadhan month, because

people want to wear new clothes in *Lebaran* at the end of the month. The return to the labour of a seamstress is relatively higher than other jobs, because it is a skilled occupation. To become a seamstress one can take training or learn from an already trained seamstress. The cost of tailor training is Rp110,000.- (A\$ 65) for three month course and practice. Although some pay in instalments over three months, the amount of each installment is quite high for the average economic status of the villagers.

Other sources of income are terracotta pottery making and *pandanus* leaves weaving. Before the 1980s, terracotta pottery industries were very important as a source of livelihood for people in the north. The industry was brought into the village by people who migrated from the adjacent village Klopogodo for marriage reason. The craftsmanship of terracotta pottery making developed in area adjoining Klopogodo village and generally among families who have a familial relationship with Klopogodo villagers. The practical reason why this petty-industry has not spread to other parts of the village is because the raw material - the type of clay suitable for making the pottery is only available in the Klopogodo area. This industry has been supporting at least nineteen families and seemingly will not survive for another generation, as no young people want to maintain its continuity. The youngest person engaged in the industry is a 33-year-old widow with three young children, who could not go anywhere for work as there is no one to care for her children. The decreasing interest in this industry is in line with the decline of demand. The product in various sizes and shapes were widely used as kitchenware before the introduction of plastic ware or metalware for similar purposes. Nowadays, people use terracotta pottery mainly for garden decorations or flowerpots. The village people have been trying to meet the demand by making a

lot of flowerpots and reducing the kitchenware. However, as there is no improvement in the craftsmanship at all, the product is too simple in style and technique and it is not competitive in the wider market. An elderly woman recalled that she earned Rp7,000.- (A\$ 4) for two weeks of working days. Now, she considers the pottery business as a secondary job while their main occupation is farming of 288 *ubin* (0.4 hectare) *sawah*, which was partly bought when their pottery business was flourishing. When she was asked about the chance of her children continuing in the industry, she refused the idea, as the work is very hard and very dirty (having to work with clay), '*... it is enough for me and my husband no more for my children ....*'. Six of their seven children live elsewhere and no one works in the pottery industry. Their youngest daughter who married to a civil servant lives with them.

This terracotta pottery industry actually produces several types of occupations including: a household that is producing and selling, male collectors, male traders, female producers, male trade labourer and male raw material makers. Raw material makers are people who smooth the raw clay into the 'dough-like' clay ready to be shaped. The ready to shape clay is usually used by elderly pottery makers (Plate 5.5); most of them are women, who are too weak to prepare the clay themselves. To make 20 pieces of various types of pot, a woman had to pay Rp1,000.- (A\$ 0.70) for the clay. The traders and collectors do not depend solely on the pots produced in this village. Both traders and collectors at the end will sell their merchandise, but the collectors will sell a larger amount to retailers elsewhere while the traders will retail it directly to the consumers. They mainly collect their merchandise from Klopogodo village producers.

The other source of income is *pandanus* leaf weaving for women<sup>6</sup>. Although, only 8 women (5.7 percent) claimed it as their main occupation, many more, 28 women (20 percent), take it as a secondary occupation. Commonly, the women take up this occupation to kill time while rearing their young children (Plate 5.6.) or for those who do not have a job, it is better than just doing nothing. After the women finish their domestic work they will start weaving the prepared *pandanus* strips until their husbands or older children return from work or school and need her attention. Often, several women from nearby houses gather in one place and share gossip while their hands keep on weaving. The sheets of woven *pandanus* strips, in rectangular shape about 40 x 60 cm, will be sold for Rp550,- per sheet to collectors. The village collectors will turn these woven *pandanus* sheets to a middleperson who will send it to Tasikmalaya, West Java as raw material for *pandanus* handicrafts in the form of *pandanus* handbags, hats and wallets. The price of Rp550,- each sheet above has to be reduced by the cost of prepared *pandanus* strips, which costs Rp375,- a bundle or Rp1,200,- a kilo. Three to four bundles or a kilo of *pandanus* strips made four to five sheets and usually can be finished in a week. Therefore the return to labour of this activity is around  $\{(4 \times \text{Rp}550.-) - (3 \times \text{Rp}375)\} = \text{Rp}1,075.-$  to  $\{(5 \times \text{Rp}550.-) - (4 \times \text{Rp}375)\} = \text{Rp}1,250.-$

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<sup>6</sup>During the economic crisis, this occupation has become an alternative source of income, not only for women, but also for men. The men provide the raw materials. The *pandanus* leaves grow abundantly on the southern beaches where anyone can harvest it freely. They just need transportation, because the beaches can be as far as 10 to 40 km away from the village. The men can go individually on bike or motorbike, or in a group using a pick-up. They sell the leaves to the women for Rp20,000.- per *pikul* (that is two bundles of green leaves that can be carried by a man on his shoulders using a bamboo pole). Several women can buy it in a group. This amount of green leaves will make 35 tubes of 80 x 40 cm size (they make it in a tubular form with 40 cm height instead in a sheet form). The price of each tube was Rp1,500.-. One woman can make 3 to 4 tubes in a week. Although the tube price was almost triple the sheet price, but it was twice in size, therefore the return to labour has not changed. However, there were more women (and also men) getting involved this handicraft industry, including those who just returned from the city after being laid off from their jobs while they were waiting for another job. (This information collected on a village revisited, 29-30 January 1999.)

a week. Some women prepared the pandanus leave strips themselves from fresh leaves, which need three days of intensive labour to save about Rp1,250.- per week (Plate 5.7.).

Although, the return to labour of this work is very low, the women still do it to get some additional cash, which is very helpful when they have been invited to a party and need to provide the host with some form of contribution. She can ask for an advance from the village collectors for the gift to be paid back later with the sheets. The villagers mainly need cash in hand for those 'must' attended social activities. The party can be organised to celebrate a birth of a new baby, a wedding, a circumcision, and a funeral or even to set up a house. The women want to provide the money themselves without drawing on their household's already tight budget. The women are usually the main household representatives at the ceremony, although for bigger celebrations, such as a wedding, both men and their wives are expected to attend. The contribution was given not without hope for a return. Each contribution meant saving up money to finance their future party. The amount you have given to someone will be returned, to the same value, once you give a party. Families who hold celebrations a little too often, though, will become gossip material around the neighbourhood.

### **5.5.3. Multiple Sources of Income and Welfare Status**

The lower return to labour of non-agricultural employment in the villages and the limited access to *sawah* or *tegalan* has forced households to have several sources of income. As explained by an elderly farmer who is also a village official:

'We cannot live a decent living only from *sawah*; we need other sources of income to support our family. Besides operating *sawah*, I help my wife wrapping soybean cake (*Ind.tempe*) she made to be sold to the market the next day. So too, my three sons, although they earn enough from their jobs in the city, they must operate

*sawah* to produce rice for their families in the village (Field Survey, 1996)'

Table 5.8. summaries the sources of livelihood of the sample households based on *sawah* accessibility and main occupation of household heads and their spouses. There are 18 combinations of household income sources that can be created based on those three variables. Two combinations, No. 11 and No. 17, were not found among the sample households. The majority of households (33 per cent) based their income solely on household head's non-agricultural work without *sawah* accessibility (No. 7), while 15.6 per cent have *sawah* accessibility (No. 16). The second largest combinations is when both heads and spouses work in non-agricultural sector, without *sawah* accessibility (No. 9) comprising of 14.1 per cent and combination No. 18 both heads and spouses engaged in non-agricultural work with access to *sawah* for 8.1. The majority of those who have access to *sawah*, 75 out of 105 or 70.5 per cent, do not state agricultural work as their main occupation and only 29.5 per cent (31 out of 105) state agriculture work as their main occupation, while only 3.3 per cent of households (N=9) source of income depend solely on *sawah* (No 9). This means that the importance of *sawah* and agricultural work is lower than non-agricultural work as the source of income. However, the role of *sawah* cannot be abandoned since it produces rice to meet household's need. Although, there were people who sold their *sawah* permanently, there were always people who wanted to buy it. The *sawah* area has not changed, but the pattern of ownership may be changed.

Another important combination is No. 1 that is households without income from work and *sawah* sources, which comprise of 7.4 per cent (N=9). These households have another source of income from outside of the village in terms of remittances. Besides access to *sawah*, access to *tegalan* is also important in Wonosigro economy as the majority of people in the north have access to *tegalan*

Table 5.8. Distribution of Household by Combination Sources of Income From Agriculture and Primary Householder Employments, Wonosigro (N=270)

No	Access to Sawah		Agricultural Work		Non-agricultural Work		Total	
	No	Yes	Head	Spouse	Head	Spouse	N	%
1	X	-	-	-	-	-	20	7.4
2	X	-	-	X	-	-	1	0.4
3	X	-	-	-	-	X	2	0.8
4	X	-	X	-	-	-	5	1.9
5	X	-	X	X	-	-	3	1.1
6	X	-	X	-	-	X	3	1.1
7	X	-	-	-	X	-	89	33.0
8	X	-	-	X	X	-	4	1.5
9	X	-	-	-	X	X	38	14.1
<b>Sub-total Household With No-Access to Sawah (a)</b>							<b>165</b>	<b>61.1</b>
10	-	X	-	-	-	-	9	3.3
11	-	X	-	X	-	-	-	-
12	-	X	-	-	-	X	1	0.4
13	-	X	X	-	-	-	16	5.9
14	-	X	X	X	-	-	10	3.7
15	-	X	X	-	-	X	5	1.9
16	-	X	-	-	X	-	42	15.6
17	-	X	-	X	X	-	-	-
18	-	X	-	-	X	X	22	8.1
<b>Sub-total Household With Access to Sawah (b)</b>							<b>105</b>	<b>38.9</b>
<b>Total All Household a+b</b>							<b>270</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Source: Field Survey 1995/1996								

to produce food crops, such as cassava, *padi gogo*, soybean or peanuts. Table 5.9. shows the other sources of income, access to *tegalan* and remittance, have been added to the combinations. About 65 per cent (N=13) of household without source of income receive remittances sent by their family members who have migrated elsewhere, while only 15 per cent (N=3) have access to *tegalan*. About 35 percent of all households have access to dry-land and 55 per cent receive remittances from families living outside the village.



Table 5.9. also presents the distribution of households according to its housing quality and facilities to gauge its level of welfare. Housing quality is measured by the combination of building materials used for each house, plus the

Table 5.9. Quality of Housing and Additional Income from Dry-land and Remittance by Combination of Sources of Income, Wonosigro (N=270)

Combination of Sources of Income (Refer to: Table 5.7.)	Access to Dry-land (%) <sup>1)</sup>		Remittance (%) <sup>1)</sup>		Housing Quality (%)		Household Facility (%)		Total	
	No	Yes	No	Yes	Low	High	Low	High	N	%
1	85	15	35	65	55	45	60	40	20	7.4
2	100	-	-	100	-	100	100	-	1	0.4
3	-	100	-	100	100	-	100	-	2	0.8
4	20	80	20	80	60	40	100	-	5	1.9
5	33	67	33	67	33	67	67	33	3	1.1
6	-	100	33	67	67	33	100	-	3	1.1
<b>7</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>33.0</b>
8	100	-	75	25	100	-	75	25	4	1.5
9	82	18	32	68	50	50	45	55	38	14.1
<b>Sub-total a)</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>61.1</b>
10	56	44	56	44	44	56	55	44	9	3.3
11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	-	100	-	100	100	-	-	100	1	0.4
13	25	75	38	62	38	72	63	37	16	5.9
14	40	60	30	70	40	60	60	40	10	3.7
15	40	60	20	80	60	40	60	40	5	1.9
<b>16</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>15.6</b>
17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	50	50	50	50	50	50	45	55	22	8.1
<b>Sub-total b)</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>38.9</b>
<b>Total a+b</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>270</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Notes: 1) Percentage to Total Number of Each Combination  
Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

availability of electricity. It seems that the inclusion of electricity to the measurement is not fair to people in the north because it has yet to be connected to that area. Some households in the north get electricity connected to their house by 'buying' it from people from the southern-side. They put an electricity cable across

the river on top of bamboo poles positioned on either side. They pay Rp4,000.- a month for households without television and Rp5,000.- for one with television. These prices are similar to the price for households in the south, which are not formally connected to PLN (*Perusahaan Listrik Negara* or State-own Electricity Company). It means that some households in the north can afford the electricity, once it becomes available, while particular households in the south cannot afford it despite its availability. On average, the southern-side houses are much better than those in the north. The buildings range from those built from finely plastered brick walls, ceramic flooring, plasterboard ceilings, fine tile roofing and ray-ban glass for the windows and complete with private well, bathroom and WC - to those built with battered bamboo walls, coarse plastered flooring, leaking tile roofing with small windows and no bathroom or toilet facilities. It is common for the good quality houses to be equipped with better furniture and electrical appliances, such as a colour television set complete with parabolic antenna, radio cassette player and finely carved teakwood furniture (Plate 5.8.). While the simplest houses only contain a bamboo divan, without mattress and a simple long chair made from bamboo or simple wood or simply a long bench and maybe a transistor radio. On average, the houses are made of brick, plaited bamboo or wood walls with tile roofing and cement flooring, some with bathroom and toilet (Plate 5.9.) The standard contents of the houses are one or more sets of simple guest chairs or bench, sometimes a multi-use table and a cupboard to store spare kitchen utensils or a tea set and some better-off families equip it with a TV set. Households that have children living in the cities usually have a well, bathroom and toilet providing them with city facilities at home. The outmigrant children themselves usually finance the installation of those facilities. Remittances are important in improving the quality of

living conditions. The migrants sent remittances to renovate family houses, improve sanitation facilities and provide better household equipment. Many elderly couples or singles live in brick houses built by their migrated children. Older parents are more likely to have successful migrant children who could afford to renovate their parents' houses. Therefore, good quality houses with better facilities are numerous among households who do not have income, except from remittance such as group No 1 in Table 5.8. which consists of elderly widows whose children have migrated elsewhere. Among those who depend on non-agricultural income from household heads only, with and without access to *sawah* can have good or bad quality housing. The kind of non-agricultural work they have determines their capability to provide their families with better housing.

To have a brick wall house is almost everyone's want in the village, especially young people as it is a symbol of modern welfare status. Recent research revealed that modernisation has changed the symbol of welfare orientation among Javanese villagers, which has become more material than spiritual (Sumarti 1999). Accordingly, to have a permanent house as a modern symbol of welfare status is a reasonable need. However, to build a brick walled house is expensive, so many of them start by building a traditional house with bamboo walling to be renovated into a permanent house later. However, the mother of Family No. 23 deliberately did not change her house to brick walls despite the remittances she received from her migrant son. A brick wall house is a permanent one and is not transferable. The traditional houses in rural Java were designed and used materials which 'allow for easy interchange ability of parts and for quick construction' (Jay 1969, p.223) and so too with traditional houses in Wonosigro (See Plate 5.10.) including the house of Family No.23. She will give some parts of the house to her married children who

are ready to live in their own house. The parts of the house would be taken off to be reconstructed elsewhere. As she still has unmarried children, her obligation to provide houses for them has not finished yet, therefore she always rebuilds the part of the house which had been removed with brand new plaited bamboo walls. Her husband plait the walls himself from bamboo tree that grow abundantly within her house-compound. However, in general, villagers prefer to have permanent houses and some of them had started to save up building materials, such as wood and brick, to renovate their bamboo houses in the future. Several of them have started to plant the foundation of the houses. The process of renovating a house is often considered as a never-ending business, because most of the house owners do not have an alternative place to live while they renovate the house. Moreover, they do not have enough resources to build a complete house at one time. They keep renovating the house while they live in it. Family No.2 is saving up to make windows for their brick wall house and in the mean time; the windows were covered by pieces of plywood and plastic. The role of remittances is very important in accelerating the process of housing renovation.

## **5.6. Conclusion**

The objective of this chapter is to provide a description of the study village and the characteristics of the population of the sample households. Migration has influenced the sample population structure, which is indicated by the small percentage of working age people. Besides sending migrants out from the village, there were also inmigrants and return migrants among the population. The main reason for inmigration was marriage, although there was also some inmigration due to work and retirement purposes. Retirement and caring for children was the main reason migrants returned to the village. The economy of the sample households

were based more on rural non-agricultural sectors than the agricultural sector, although, agriculture is very important for the majority of village households to provide rice for consumption. Therefore, the villager generally have multiple sources of income, including agriculture and non-agriculture incomes and involving both husband and wife as income earners. Another source of income for many sample households is remittances sent by their migrant members. The role of remittances is very important in supporting the village families' economy and needed to support the everyday cost of living. The families that depend on remittances for everyday cost of living and other necessary requirements were those with migrant household heads. Now informed with the importance of income to support the family economy, the following chapter will be devoted to examine the magnitude and process of outmigration from sample households.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Outmigrants From Origin Village

This chapter attempts to analyse the dynamic processes of migration of household members including selection of migration destination areas, the reasons for migration, the changes of migrants' characteristics, the decision making process, contact with village of origin, remittances and the impact on household structure. The analysis will be focused on how family and individual factors work in influencing the decision to migrate by which changes at the macro level may occur. The chapter will start with a discussion of the distribution of migrants according to destination areas.

#### 6.1. Destination Areas of Outmigrants

Table 6.1. shows the current places of residence of outmigrants which has been grouped into similar administrative boundaries, except for Jabotabek and Bandung. Jakarta and Bandung are the most frequently stated places by the family at home as the current residence of outmigrants. Outmigrants, who had been said to live in Jakarta, might actually live in regencies surrounding Jakarta, such as Bogor, Tangerang or Bekasi. Therefore, outmigrants living in those areas are grouped into one place, that is Jabotabek (abbreviation for Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi), while Bandung is not grouped into West Java, because it is by far the largest destination within the province. East Java and Yogyakarta Special Region are categorised as Other Java Provinces. Villagers who commute to nearby villages or towns for work or schooling were not included as outmigrants. On the other hand no outmigrants on a permanent basis lived in other countries,

Table 6.1. Distribution of Outmigrants By Current Residence and Migration Status, Wonosigro (N=610)

Current Residence	N	Percent	Migration District	Boundaries Regency	Province
<b><i>All Outmigrants:</i></b>					
Within District	56	9.2			
Within Regency	24	3.9	4.3		
Central Java	53	8.7	9.6	10.0	
Jabotabek	271	44.5	49.1	51.3	56.8
Bandung	124	20.4	22.4	23.4	26.0
Other West Java	25	4.1	4.5	4.7	5.2
Other Java Provinces	23	3.8	4.2	4.3	4.8
Outer Java	30	4.9	5.4	5.7	6.3
Abroad	3	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6
Total (%)	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.8
N	609	609	554	530	477
Row % to Total		100.0	90.8	86.9	78.2
<b><i>Non-Permanent Outmigrants:</i></b>					
Within District	0	0.0			
Within Regency	0	0.0	0.0		
Central Java	15	6.4	6.4	6.4	
Jabotabek	124	53.2	53.2	53.2	56.9
Bandung	62	26.6	26.6	26.6	28.4
Other West Java	9	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.1
Other Java Provinces	12	5.2	5.2	5.2	5.5
Outer Java	8	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.7
Abroad	3	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.4
Total (%)		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	233	233	233	233	218
Row % to Total		100.0	100	100	93.6
<b><i>Permanent Outmigrants:</i></b>					
Within District	56	14.9			
Within Regency	24	6.4	7.5		
Central Java	38	10.1	11.8	12.8	
Jabotabek	147	39.2	45.8	49.5	56.8
Bandung	62	16.5	19.3	20.9	23.9
Other West Java	16	4.2	5.0	5.4	6.2
Other Java Provinces	11	2.9	3.4	3.7	4.2

while in fact, the number of non-permanent migration to other countries is very small. Both non-permanent and permanent outmigrants preferred to move to places where the opportunity to find a job is greater such as Jabotabek or Bandung. Based on the province as a boundary, 57 per cent of outmigrants moved to Jabotabek and 26 per cent went to Bandung, while some 8.5 per cent of permanent migrants and 3.7 per cent of non-permanent migrants went to outer Java provinces.

The current residence of outmigrants is not always similar to their first time migration destination area. Migrants tend to move to places where the greatest opportunities to get work can be obtained and those places, in many cases, are not the first time destination areas. Table 6.2. shows the distribution of current residence according to first time destination areas. Migrants in Jabotabek and Bandung are more likely to have experienced living in places other than their village of origin. Some 26 per cent of migrants whose current residence is Jabotabek did not choose that area as the first destination area and approximately 23.4 percent went to different places before going to Bandung. In some cases, though, migrants had chosen Jabotabek or Bandung as the first areas of destination but eventually left it to go to other places. Almost 20 per cent of migrants who left for Bandung for the first time are living in Jabotabek now, while those who had chosen the reverse route is about 5.4 per cent. The relatively higher importance of Jabotabek as a destination area of migration had been proven also by a larger proportion of those whose current residence is similar to the first time destination area, which is 81 per cent. A larger proportion of migrants had left their first time destination areas to move to other places, such as Jabotabek and Bandung.



Table 6.2. Distribution (%) of Current Residence According to First-time Destinations of Outmigrants of Sample Households, Wonosigro (N=609)

Initial Destinations	Current Residence Within:									Total	
	District	Regency	C.Java	Jabotabek	Bandung	Other W.Java	Other Java	Outer Java	Abroad	%	N
Within Village <sup>1)</sup>	15.8	5.3	10.5	<b>31.6</b>	26.3	5.3	0	5.3	0	100.0	19
Within District	<b>69.0</b>	3.6	1.8	<b>16.4</b>	3.6	1.8	1.8	1.8	0.0	100.0	55
Within Regency	9.4	<b>40.6</b>	9.4	<b>15.6</b>	15.6	3.1	0.0	6.3	0.0	100.0	32
Central Java	2.3	2.3	<b>50.0</b>	<b>25.0</b>	6.8	6.8	2.3	4.5	0.0	100.0	44
Jabotabek	2.1	1.2	4.5	<b>81.0</b>	5.4	1.7	0.8	2.5	0.8	100.0	242
Bandung	2.7	0.7	6.8	<b>19.9</b>	<b>61.6</b>	4.1	2.7	0.7	0.7	100.0	146
Other West Java	0.0	0.0	0.0	<b>45.5</b>	0.0	<b>45.5</b>	9.1	0.0	0.0	100.0	11
Other Central Java	0.0	0.0	0.0	<b>13.6</b>	9.1	4.5	<b>63.6</b>	9.1	0.0	100.0	22
Outer Java	8.0	8.0	8.0	<b>16.0</b>	4.0	4.0	0.0	<b>52.0</b>	0.0	100.0	25
Abroad	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	<b>0.0</b>	100.0	2
Unknown	0.0	8.3	8.3	<b>33.3</b>	25.0	8.3	0.0	16.7	0.0	100.0	11
<b>Total (per cent)</b>	9.2	3.9	8.7	<b>44.6</b>	20.3	4.1	3.8	4.9	0.5	100.0	609
<b>N</b>	56	24	53	<b>271</b>	124	25	23	30	3		609

Notes: 1) The current residence is the initial destination areas of migration outside village boundary.

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

The destination areas of migration usually have been decided even before the decision of whether to migrate was finalised. This is because people in a migrant village have been socialised with the particular destination areas of already migrated family members. The migrants families or friends commonly maintain contact with their families back home and spread their knowledge about the city in which they are now living to their families and neighbours in the village. This makes the latter more familiar with particular cities and confident that with the help of prior migrants they will succeed if they migrate there. Prior migrants will usually provide assistances to their families and friends on their arrival in the city. Hugo stated that movement generally occurs through established contact networks (1978, p. 201), either a formal contact, such as higher education institution, government, the army or other modern organisation, or familial or friendship networks. The latter contact network, known as chain migration (Caldwell 1969), is very important in Third World countries (Hugo 1978). The regular contact between migrants with their origin village and the willingness of migrants to help new migrants in the city has established a migration networking among families and friends. This type of network is largely used by migrants from Wonosigro, especially those who migrated to Bandung and Jabotabek. Many people from Wonosigro migrated to these places, therefore making them the dominant destination areas for migration. Some migrants may also use formal channels, such as when they go to university, join the army or civil service. Some migrants left the initial destination areas as the work prospects were not as good as expected, while other places have better conditions.

## **6.2. Reasons for Migration**

Table 6.3. shows the distribution of initial objectives for migration by current migration status and sex. The most common objective for initial migration

is to look for work (43.8 per cent), followed by marriage (19.7 per cent) and work (16.7 per cent). Other initial objectives of migration are going to school (8.2 per cent), live with relatives (4.8 per cent) and move house (2.1 per cent). The difference between 'look for work' and 'work' is that migrants who moved out for work are already employed, while those who migrated to look for work do not know yet what awaits them in the destination areas. Migrants whose initial objective is to work usually included household heads who would not leave their family without assurance of work or several women who had been collected by their employees to work as live-in maids. The proportion of marriage migration is larger among permanent migrants (25.9 per cent) and female migrants (27.4 per cent) than among non-permanent migrants (9.8 per cent) or male migrants (13.9 per cent). As

Table 6.3. Distribution of Initial Reasons for Migration by Sex and Migration Status,

Wonosigro (N=609)

Reason for Migration	Male		Female		Temporary Migration		Permanent Migration		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Marriage	48	13.9	72	27.4	23	9.8	97	25.9	120	19.7
Working	57	16.5	45	17.1	57	24.4	45	12.0	102	16.7
Looking for Work	170	49.1	97	36.9	109	46.6	158	42.1	267	43.8
To School	29	8.4	21	8.0	23	9.8	27	7.2	50	8.2
To Live With Relatives	17	4.9	12	4.6	4	1.7	25	6.7	29	4.8
Others	15	7.2	16	6.1	18	7.7	23	6.2	41	6.7
Total	346	100.0	263	100.0	234	100.0	375	100.0	609	100.0

Sources: Field Data 1995/1996

has been explained elsewhere, according to the Javanese kinship system the residential rule following marriage is neolocal (Geertz 1961; Koentjaraningrat 1967; Jay 1969) which means that a married couple can live nearby either the wife or husband's family or live elsewhere. Therefore, if the marriage involves persons from different villages, it will be followed by migration of one party, the husband or the wife only, or both, as the newlyweds set up a home in a village other than the

wife's origin or the husband's origin. Marriage migration is also associated more with permanent migration rather than non-permanent migration. Marriage is meant to be forever, therefore when a boy or a girl left their parents home to live with their wives or husbands it is always on a permanent basis. Marriage migration on a non-permanent basis usually happens when the permanent residence of the newlyweds has not been decided.

If we look at the initial destination areas, we see that marriage migration usually involves moves to nearby destinations, mostly within district boundaries. About 30 per cent of marriage migrants went to other villages within *kecamatan* Gombong (Table 6.4.). Among those who migrate for work or look for work, most went to Jabotabek (54.3 per cent) and Bandung (30.5 per cent). On the other hand, the destination areas of migration for continuing education are dictated by where the universities are located. As many universities are located in Central Java and Yogyakarta, many university students went to Yogyakarta (15.7 per cent) and Central Java (25.5 per cent). Migrants who moved elsewhere 'to live with relatives' mostly went to Jabotabek (51.7 per cent). These migrants are usually looking for work, only they have someone to look after them in the destination areas. In the past, village parents commonly sent their children to live with their better-off relatives in the city to do chores in return for meals and accommodation. This practice which is locally called *ngenger* (Koentjaraningrat 1960, p.260) has become unpopular, as the villagers can provide for their children with more effective channels for acquiring work in the city without compromising their dignity. Migrants who live with relatives at their initial migration usually stay with their close family like sisters or brothers. Even if they stay with other relatives the relationship is not similar to *ngenger*, because the new arrival usually earn money to

support themselves. Some parents, though, still state that their children went 'ngenger' with their uncles in the city.

Table 6.4. Distribution of Reasons for Migration (%) By Initial Destination Areas, Wonosigro (N=609).

Initial Destination	Marriage	Work	Look for Work	School	To live with relative	Move to own-houses.	Others
Within Village	6.8	1.0	-	-	6.9	66.7	-
Within District	29.9	1.9	0.4	9.8	6.9	16.7	28.6
Within Regency	17.9	1.9	0.7	3.9	10.3	16.7	-
Other Central Java	7.7	3.8	4.1	25.5	6.9	-	17.9
Jabotabek	13.7	54.3	53.9	19.6	51.7	-	-
Bandung	8.5	30.5	33.3	15.7	13.8	-	3.6
Other West Java	1.7	1.9	2.2	2.0	-	-	-
East Java	0.9	-	2.2	7.8	3.4	-	-
Yogyakarta	1.7	-	-	15.7	-	-	-
Outer Java	11.1	2.9	2.6	-	-	-	7.1
Abroad	-	1.0	0.4	-	-	-	-
Unknown	-	1.0	-	-	-	-	42.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	117	105	267	51	29	12	28
Source: Field Survey 1995/1996							

It has been mentioned above that many migrants had left their initial destination areas to go to other places. The reasons for later movements may be different to the initial reasons. The family in the village were often not informed of the where and why of later movements. Therefore the changes of jobs and destination areas between initial movements with current positions were mostly not known by the family in the village. Table 6.5. shows the distribution of current activity according to initial reasons of movement. About 62.5 per cent of migrants who left the village for marriage reasons are working in various jobs in their current

destination areas while the remainder stay at home as homemakers. All homemakers are women. About 3.5 per cent (2 persons) who left for work are in school now and 10.8 percent became homemakers. Two migrants had been fortunate enough to get an opportunity to pursue a college education after spending some time working.

Table 6.5. Distribution of Initial Reasons for Migration by Current Activity, Wonosigro (N=609)

Current Activities Reasons for Initial Migration	Working		Looking for Work		Home Maker		To School		N.A		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Marriage	75	<u>62.5</u>	-	-	45	37.5	-	-	-	-	120	100
Working	88	<u>86.3</u>	-	-	11	10.8	2	2.0	1	1.0	102	100
Looking for Work	237	<u>88.8</u>	7	2.6	22	8.2	-	-	1	0.4	267	100
To School	23	<u>46.0</u>	3	6.0	3	6.0	20	<u>40.0</u>	1	2.0	50	100
To Live With Relatives	13	<u>44.8</u>	-	-	8	<u>27.6</u>	6	<u>20.7</u>	2	6.9	29	100
Others	32	78.0	1	2.4	6	14.6	-	-	2	4.9	41	100
<b>Total</b>	<b>468</b>	<b>76.8</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1.8</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>15.6</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1.1</b>	<b>609</b>	<b>100</b>

Sources: Field Data 1995/1996

Some 11 women withdrew from the job market to raise their young family. Almost 9 out of 10 migrants who moved to look for work are working now, while three per cent are still looking for work and 8.2 per cent became homemakers. Those who are still looking for work are new arrivals. Forty per cent of those who went to pursue better education are still studying, while 46 per cent had already begun work. More than 44 per cent of outmigrants who initially wanted to live with their relatives are working and 78 per cent of those quoting other reasons are working. This means that the changes of migrants' activities within the migration period are as follows:

marriage -----> working (12.3 per cent)

working -----> marriage (1.8 per cent)

looking for work -----> working (38.9 per cent)

studying -----> working (3.8 per cent)

living with relatives -----> working (2.1 per cent)

The most common change is looking for work to working (38.9 per cent) and working to marriage (12.3 per cent). The withdrawal of women from the job market following marriage commonly happens within one year of marriage because of the birth of the first child.

### 6.3. Characteristics of Outmigrants

This description of outmigrants' characteristics is based on two situations, their current characteristics and their characteristics at the time of initial migration. Around seven per cent (44 cases) of their initial characteristics were missing, because the respondents could not recall the full history of each outmigrant. The older respondents usually did not remember when their children migrated for the first time, because it was not uncommon for outmigrants to return home several times before establishing themselves in one place. The majority of wives of household head migrants do not know the history of their husbands' migration prior to the time of their first meeting. The most common missing information is when the outmigrants left their parents' home for the first time so that we don't know their age at the time of initial migration. Other characteristics such as education and marital status are easier to remember. To differentiate the outmigrants' characteristics analysis will be controlled by sex, migration types and the time of initial migration. The outmigrant characteristics to be examined are age, education and marital status.

Figure 6.1a, 6.1b. and 6.1c depict the structure of outmigration by sex, age group and current migration status. Male outmigrants outnumber females, although

both sexes are distributed in a similar way between each age group. The youngest outmigrants are mostly children following their parents. The female outmigrants aged between 15 and 19 years slightly outnumbered the males meaning that women migrated at a younger age than men, an almost universal finding. Figure 6.2. shows the age of first movement by sex. It can be seen that slightly more female migrants are aged less than 14 years. They started to migrate as young as 13 years, immediately after finishing primary school, although, the majority migrated for the first time at age 15 to 19 years. The average age of outmigrants at the initial migration has increased in latter years. The difference of average age between male and female migrants has reduced in recent years. Figure 6.3. depicts the average age of initial migration according to the year of leaving and the sex of migrants. The average age of migrants who left before 1970 was 14.7, between 1970-79 was 17.5, within 1980-89 was 19.5 and in 1990 and later was 20.2 years. The male average age before 1970 was 17.1 years while for females it was 11.4 years making a 5.5 years difference, while the age difference of those who left in 1990 and later has decreased by 0.5 years.

The difference in the number of male and female outmigrants is influenced by the type of migration. More males migrate on a temporary basis than females. The number of male outmigrants is almost double the number of female. Within the age group of 15 to 19 years the females still outnumbered the males, but the male domination became more apparent around age 25 years and above. In these ages



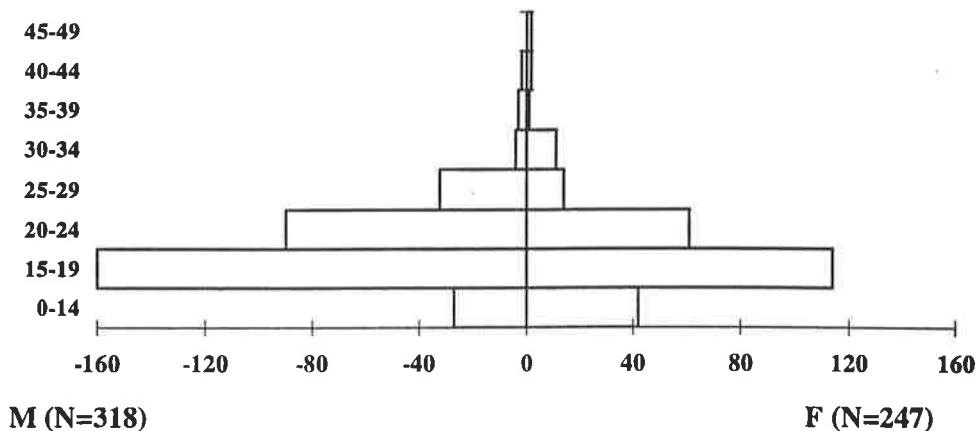


people start their stage of procreation which has a differential effect upon men and women. At this age women are busy with their young children which often forces them out of the workforce, while men are being expected to be the main provider in the households and are forced to stay in the workforce. This sometimes involves them leaving their home for most of the year to work elsewhere. Some women may have returned to the city to resume their work and left their children in the village under the care of their parents. Although, it might not be for very long as in the case of Juti previously presented (Chapter Five). If these young families eventually want to establish their home in the destination area they would become permanent migrants. The composition of permanent migration is more balanced between males and females and is more proportionally distributed between age groups than temporary migration.

The number of permanent migrants is larger than those moving on temporary basis; that is 375 persons consisting of 195 (52 per cent) males and 180 (48 per cent) females. This is because many permanent outmigrations involve marriage migration, including those who change their migration status from temporary to permanent following marriage. Marriage migration is usually in the form of family migration which involves more than one person making the permanent migration number larger than the temporary migration. There is a pattern whereby migrants initially move on a temporary basis and then become permanent after adjusting to the destination situation. Hence many permanent migrants began moving a long time ago whereas the temporary ones are more recent moves. However, the current permanent migrants might decide to return home some day. Figure 6.4. depicts the percentage distribution of migration types according to the year of initial migration. It shows that the latest migration was

mostly on a temporary basis (67.6 per cent), while the majority of the earliest are on a permanent basis (89.3 per cent). The current migration status of the migrants is not a definite status but something subject to change in the future.

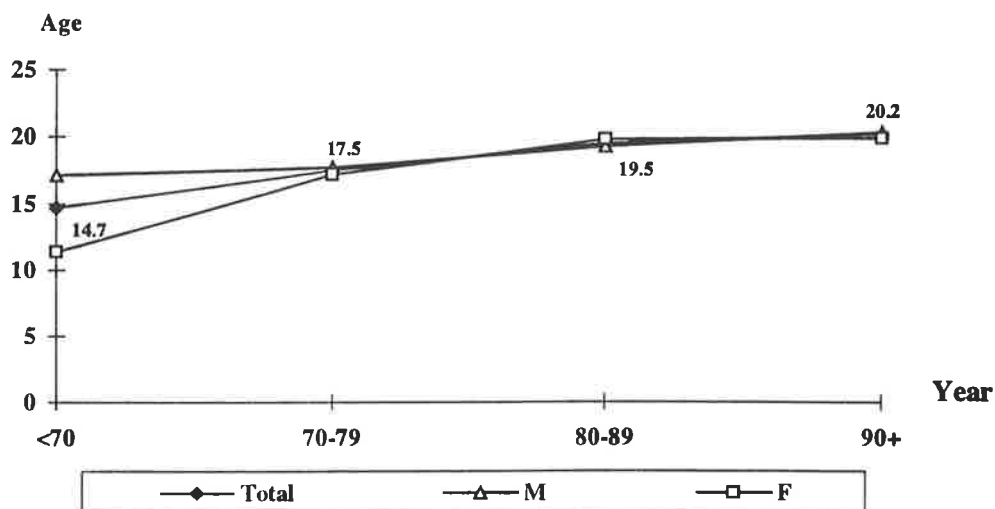
Figure 6.2. Age At Initial Migration of Sample Household Outmigrants, Wonosigro



Notes: 44 observations are missing for this variable as respondents do not remember when their particular family members left home for the first time.

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

Figure 6.3. Average Age of Initial Migration By Sex and Year, Wonosigro (N=565)

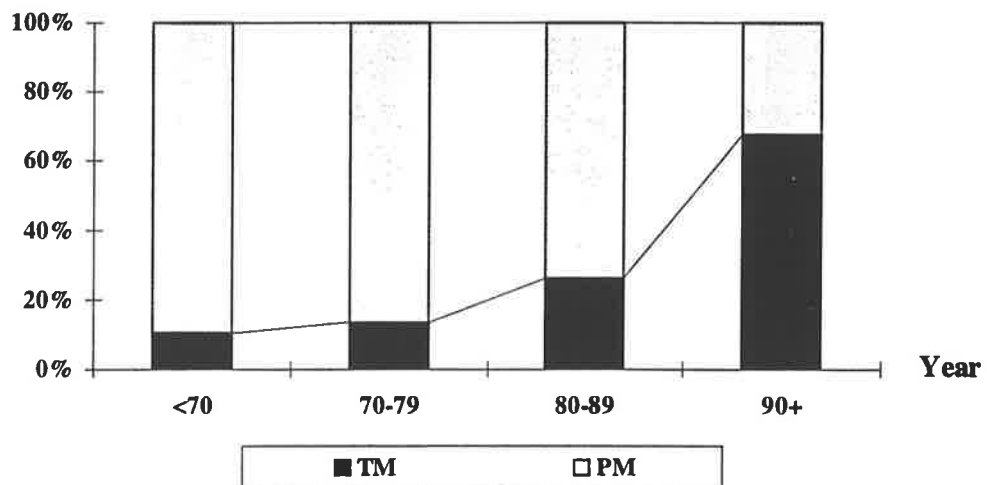


Notes: see Figure 6.2.

Source: Field Survey, 1995/1996

Another important characteristic of outmigrants is the level of education. The majority of outmigrants were able to finish their primary school education before they left the village, but no one held a degree. Some improvement has been experienced by outmigrants, though, as the current education level showed a higher level of education attainment. There is a reduction in the percentage of outmigrants with primary school or less and an addition of high school and college graduates as shown in Table 6.6. The improvement of education has been experienced by both male and female migrants, although female migrants' education is still lower than the male education level. The improvement of education is probably affected in two

Figure 6.4. Distribution (%) of Outmigrants By Migration Type and Year of Initial Move, Wonosigro (N=578)



Notes : TM=Temporary Migrant, PM=Permanent Migrant  
Source: Field Survey, 1995/1996

ways. The first one is that outmigrants left the village to pursue higher education and the other is that more migrants recently left the village with a relatively higher education level. In the first situation, the better education is the direct result of

migration. Figure 6.5. presents the distribution of migrants' education level according to the year they left the village for the first time. Those who left before 1970 are less educated than those who migrated after 1990. More than 29 per cent of the latest migrants attained high school diploma and only 7.1 per cent for those who left before 1970.

The increase of the education levels of the latest outmigrants may have been supported by the earlier migrants. As it has been mentioned in a previous section, one of the important uses of remittance is to pay for younger family members' education. This has resulted in a greater opportunity for younger family members to go to Junior or Senior High Schools and even university which has led to the

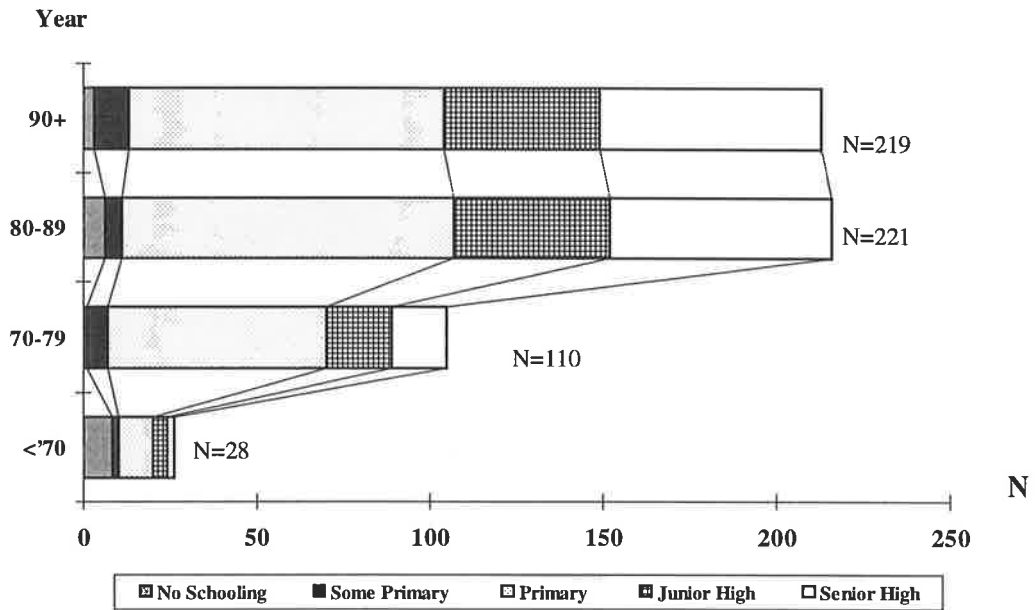
Table 6.6. Distribution (%) of Current Education Level and At Initial Migration by Sex and Migration Status, Wonosigro (N=578)

Reason of Migration	Male		Female		Temporary Migration		Permanent Migration		Total	
	Initial	Now	Initial	Now	Initial	Now	Initial	Now	Initial	Now
No Schooling	2.5	0.7	4.2	2.7	0.9	0.4	4.6	2.4	3.1	1.6
Some Primary	4.9	2.6	5.3	4.2	3.0	0.4	6.4	2.4	5.1	3.3
Primary School	43.4	39.3	54.0	52.1	45.7	40.6	49.3	47.5	48.9	44.8
Junior High	20.5	20.8	18.3	16.0	23.5	23.5	17.1	15.7	18.6	18.7
Senior High	28.9	<b>33.2</b>	18.3	<b>24.0</b>	26.9	<b>33.5</b>	22.7	<b>26.7</b>	24.3	<b>29.2</b>
University	-	<b>3.2</b>	-	<b>1.1</b>	-	<b>1.7</b>	-	<b>2.7</b>	-	<b>2.3</b>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Field Data 1995/1996

better education level of prospective outmigrants of the future. However, the better education among the latest migrants was not always achieved with direct help from earlier migrants, but it could be a direct impact of older siblings' migration. They got a better chance to prolong their time at school with the support of their parents. When the older children, one by one, became economically independent, the parents could use their resources to educate the smaller number of the younger children left behind.

Figure 6.5. Distribution of Education of Outmigrant At Initial Migration (N=578\*)



Notes: \*) Some information are missing  
 Source: Field Survey, 1995/1996

There are several variations of how migrants from one family help the education of other younger family members. If there are several outmigrants from one family usually the obligation to help with the education of their younger sibling is relayed from the oldest child to the youngest. This means that the obligation of the older siblings is finished after they helped their next younger siblings and the next younger sibling will be obliged to help their next younger sibling and so forth until the last child. However, in some circumstances there may be only one outmigrant from one family who could be relied upon to offer support as the other outmigrant members do not have the resources. The following cases will explain two of those variations:

Case 1 (Family No. 30):

The youngest son of this family is about to finish Junior High School with support from the third son who lives and works in Bandung. The third son

has supported the education of his three younger brothers until they finished Junior High School which is the highest school level that he could afford for his brothers. Two other brothers have finished school and migrated to Bandung immediately, but the youngest brother wants to go to Technical High School instead. The mother, a factory worker widow, could not decide whether he will continue to go to school or not, its depended on who will offer to pay the cost. She said, that this is the duty of the fifth son who lives and works in Jakarta. The other sons are still struggling to survive while the third son has to look after his own children and family and his duty to support his siblings schooling has finished.

Case 2 (Family No. 12):

This is an ABRI (a military) pensioner family who can afford university education for their two older children but need support to pay for the youngest daughter's university education. Their two university educated sons are keen to offer support, but the mother counts on her eldest son, because he has a better economic condition than her second son. The son pays the tuition fees, books and transportation cost, while the parents provide an allowance for the living cost.

The differentials in education attainment between temporary and permanent migration, however, is that temporary migrants have a higher level of education than the permanent migrants. The percentage of migrants with primary school or less education is larger among permanent migrants, who are relatively older, whether it is the education at the initial move or current status. However, the percentage of migrants with a university degree is larger among those moving on a permanent basis. This indicates that migrants with a university degree are more likely to migrate permanently, because of the lack of employment in the village or nearby areas for university graduates. Temporary migrants who have graduated from university are usually still looking for work and receiving an allowance from their parents.

There is a difficulty in determining the trend of changes in migrants' marital status at the initial moving and the current status. Do we expect a marital status to

be changed or not? Never married migrants will be expected to get married someday, while married migrants will be expected to stay married, except if one partner had died, although divorce is not unlikely. The majority of migrants' marital status at the initial migration is never married (75.9 per cent), while current marital status is mostly married (63.1 per cent) as shown in Table 6.7. While the percentage of never married migrants in the current situation is much smaller than for the initial migration. This means that most never married migrants got married

Table 6.7. Distribution (%) of Current Marital Status and At Initial Migration by Sex and Migration Status, Wonosigro (N=578)

Reason of Migration	Male		Female		Temporary Migration		Permanent Migration		Total	
	Initial	Now	Initial	Now	Initial	Now	Initial	Now	Initial	Now
Never Married	82.9	37.3	66.5	33.1	88.5	71.1	67.4	13.1	75.9	35.5
Married	11.9	<b>61.6</b>	30.0	<b>65.0</b>	5.5	<b>25.5</b>	28.9	<b>86.6</b>	19.9	<b>63.1</b>
Widow	-	0.9	-	1.1	-	2.1	-	0.3	-	1.0
Divorce	-	0.3	1.1	0.8	1.3	1.3	-	-	0.5	0.5
Unknown	5.2	-	1.9	-	4.7	-	3.7	-	3.7	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Sources: Field Data 1995/1996

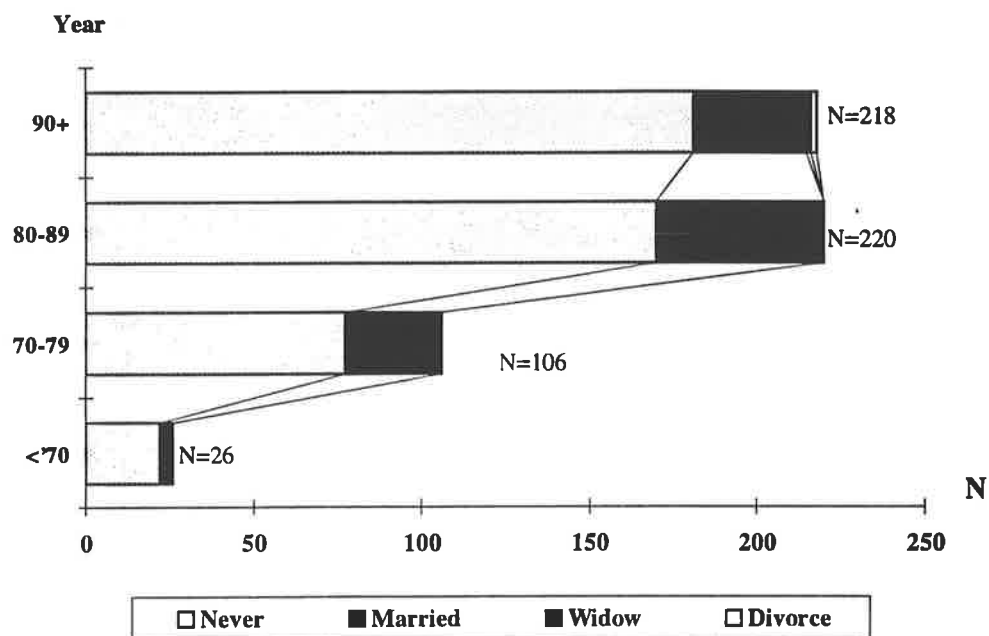
within their migration period. The majority of currently never married migrants are usually the latest arrivals and mostly move on a temporary basis. Female migrants tend to be married at their initial migration as a consequence of marriage migration. As marriage migration usually is on a permanent basis it has made for a larger percentage of married persons among permanent migrants than is the case for temporary migrants.

Figure 6.6. shows the distribution of migrants by their marital status. Marital status other than never married and married are very rare. Five migrants have been through a marriage dissolution within their migration period. Three women and one man have become widowed, while one woman is divorced. The



small amount of marriage dissolution among sample migrants may be caused by two reasons. The first one is because they are still at a relatively young age - under 50 years - and unlikely to have experienced the demise of one partner. The second reason is that the small number of widows or divorcees among migrants does not

Figure 6.6. Distribution of Marital Status At The Year Of Initial Migration (N=570\*)



Notes: \*) Some information are missing  
Source: Field Survey, 1995/1996

mean there is no marriage dissolution, but they may have remarried not long after the end of previous marriages. The changes of marital status that occur within period of migration, unfortunately, were not detected in the survey which only recorded migrants' personal characteristics in two positions, at the initial move and the current status.

The change of married status within the migration period was also collected from the migrants themselves in the destination areas, out of 19 outmigrants

interviewed in the city only one migrant has experienced a divorce and remarriage. Although, the figure could not represent the general trend about the outmigrants' divorce rate, but based on information shared by the outmigrants there are two reasons for a relatively low divorce rate among migrant couples despite the fact they were living in separate houses for years. Firstly, there is limited parental involvement in the decision to marry including the choosing of a partner and the timing of marriages. Most migrants have been living away from their parents for some time and financially they were already independent which consequently has reduced the parents' control over their children, including marriage than was previously the case. Secondly, the marriages have been decided with more mature consideration of the nature of responsibilities of married couples than previously. Even for couples who had to live in separate places due to temporary migration of the husbands, the marriages are strong enough. The women at home believe that their husbands would not do bad things. On the other hand, the men trust their wives' and believe that their wives have also given up their personal wishes by staying at home and taking care of their children by themselves. In only one case, so far, has it been reported that a wife deserted her husband and four of her five children to go to Jakarta after she had been caught red-handed by neighbours being unfaithful to her migrant husband. Another case involved a prominent villager who cheated on his wife and which resulted in his being sacked from his job. This man migrated to Jakarta in the wake of his disgraceful sacking.

However, this does not mean that every villager, included the temporary migrants, is free from sexual misconduct even under the guardianship of the whole village. A few cases of young migrant women and a village schoolgirl becoming pregnant before marriage occurred in the village during my research period.

Sometimes the parents did not allow their daughters to migrate alone to the city to protect them from sexual misconduct which will damage their reputation. The function of friends or relatives in destination areas includes becoming the girls' guardians to protect them from unacceptable relationships that may damage their sexual reputation (Wolf, 1992).

#### **6.4. Migration Decision Making**

There are two major reasons for migration in the village, they are economic and social. The social reasons are for marriage or schooling. Given the situation of the village economy, which is not too promising for most villagers, they chose to migrate to the city where employment opportunities are easier to find. One of the temporary migrants (Pak D, 45 years, male) pointed out that 'The only option for young people to get a job is migrating to Jakarta. You can do nothing in the village'. Another villager (Pak R, 64 years, male), pensioner, said 'I want all of my children to come back and live in the village, but what can they do here?' A woman (Bu S, 38 years) whose husband works in Jakarta admitted that 'I urge my husband to keep working in the city, for the time being, because we need more money for the children's education. If he returns to the village, how can our family survive?' According to a mother, her daughter (Dik K, 21 years) has challenged her by saying 'Okay I will not return to Tangerang, but can you give me Rp200,000 per month to replace my wage?' when she was asked to stay in the village. This means that economic factors are the most important reasons for village people to migrate to the city. Those people want to have a better life than the village can offer.

Although, the majority of people migrate as individual migrants, the decision to migrate by each individual often includes family involvement. According to Hugo (1993, 1994), in more traditional societies in LDCs, the family plays an

important role in the migration decision-making process. In peasant society, the household performs both activities of direct production and reproduction of family labour and other means of production (Deere and De Janvry, 1979). To maximise household income, family labour is distributed between home production and wage labour allocation processes. Sending family labour to work in the city is one strategy to maintain household welfare (Deere and De Janvry 1979; Woods 1981). The adoption of migration as a strategy in the household can be seen as a response of the household to the structural changes that occur beyond the household units (Woods, 1981) as well as to minimise risks due to unpredictable natural disasters (Stark 1984; Hugo 1978, 1982, 1994; Guest 1989; Massey 1990). The rural households will send their family members to pursue employment opportunities in different sectors in both rural and urban areas. This strategy has been undertaken on the basis of an assumption that such a strategy will diversify production risks (Stark, 1984).

When Pak D was offered a job by his brother to become a seamstress in his shop in Jakarta he has accepted without any hesitation. He was unemployed at that time, around 1990, after the tailor shop where he worked as a tailor in Gombong was closed down and he took up contract jobs making school uniforms which usually only lasted for four months of the year. His growing family needed a lot of money as his children had started high school. Although his wife tried to help him by working as a labourer at a tile factory, her income was very low and it did not help much. Therefore, he decided to work in Jakarta where job orders were more steady and the wage was triple that in the village. The family owned 420 m<sup>2</sup> *sawah* and 420 m<sup>2</sup> *tegalan*, both were inherited from the wife's family. The *sawah* produces only enough rice for household consumption and from *tegalan* the family

could harvest cassava or soybean for additional household consumption. Nevertheless, the family still needed cash to buy other things that cannot be grown on the land, such as salt and dry fish to make everyday meals for the family. More money was needed to buy clothes, medicine and to pay for the education of their children. The Rp200,000 remittance he sent home every one or two months is to pay for these expenses. Pak D's reasoning's about migration is shared by other married migrants who left their families in the village, except for one case of a man who left the village after being sacked from his job as it has been explained previously. The decision of young unmarried people to migrate, on the other hand, has been made long before they finished their school.

Edi, a fifteen-year-old boy wanted to go to Bandung to work with his uncle since he finished primary school. He has been to Bandung several times and enjoyed living there with his cousins. His parents wanted him to finish his Junior High School first. Finally, after finishing Junior High School, he was escorted by his mother to Bandung. He helped out by preparing meat for satay at his uncle's house in the morning and helped his aunt prepare satay for the consumers in the stall in the evening. At the moment he stays with his uncle C6 in Bandung City. The decision has been made by the boy himself with support from his parents. He obeyed his parents to finish his school and waited until his father was able to collect the necessary amount of money to pay the travelling cost. His parents let him go to Bandung because his uncle and cousins live there so he would find it easier to find a job there. Other parents said that '... once they finished school they go....' or '.... the children were so determined to go....' when commenting on how their children made the decision to migrate. About 63 per cent of outmigrants made the decision to migrate by themselves, while for 12.8 per cent the decision was made together

with their spouses and 9.5 per cent were decided by the migrants with their parents and 3.3 per cent the decision was made by parents alone as presented in Table 6.8.

More female migrants made the decision together with either their husbands or parents than male migrants. Decisions involving spouses are related to married migration, while parents' involvement is usually related to migration cost and protection of their daughters' safety. Parents influenced their daughter's decision to migrate more than their son's. The parents usually had more concern with the ability of their daughters to protect themselves. Therefore, parents prefer their girls to go to places where they have close relatives or someone else who can be trusted to guard and protect them from situations that may damage their reputation. As in the case of Cici, 20 years, the only daughter of Family No. 82 left her job in Bandung and moved to Jakarta to follow her brothers because her parents worried about her safety living without the protection of family. She is now living with her brother in Jakarta and looking for another job. However, if girls had to leave the village to go to university, the parents will allow them to go by themselves. The involvement of parents on outmigrants' decision to pursue higher degree education is very important, because it implies out remittances to pay the education and living costs of the outmigrants elsewhere. While the parents will also help their children, financially, when they want to establish their own home or to look for work. They believe that if their children are successful they will improve family welfare in the future. In accruing a certain amount of money, parents usually use their savings, sell or rent out *sawah*, sell jewellerys or borrow money, either from relatives, neighbours or sometimes moneylenders. Generally, the parents provide children with some money on their initial migration to pay the travelling cost and their meals

Table 6.8. Distribution (%) of Decision Maker At Initial Migration By Sex, Age, Marital Status and Migration Status, Wonosigro

Decision Maker	Sex		Age Groups				Marital Status <sup>1)</sup>		Migration Status <sup>2)</sup>	
	M	F	<14	15-19	20-24	>=25	S	M	TM	PM
Migrant	74.2	58.9	56.9	72.8	69.8	48.5	76.4	30.8	82.3	58.1
Parent	4.1	2.8	20.0	2.2	-	1.5	7.0	1.7	1.8	4.6
Spouse	8.8	19.8	9.2	7.0	16.8	36.8	3.5	53.0	4.1	19.6
Relative	0.6	0.4	3.1	-	-	1.5	0.7	-	0.9	0.3
Migrant/Relative	5.7	3.5	3.1	6.6	2.7	4.4	5.9	-	5.9	4.0
Migrant/Parent	6.6	14.6	7.7	11.4	10.7	7.4	9.0	14.5	5.0	13.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	318	253	65	272	149	68	454	117	220	351

Notes: 1) S=Single includes three divorcees and M=Married.

2) TM=Temporary Migrants and PM=Permanent Migrants.

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

during the trip. Once they arrive in the destination areas, relatives and friends will assist them with accommodation and meals until they find employment and are able to support themselves. Many parents lost contact with their children for some time and hoped to receive news about their children's well being from other migrants who come home to visit. Again, new outmigrants from better-off families often still get full financial support from their parents, while they are staying in the city looking for work. Also they are able to maintain direct communication with parents via letters, visits or telephones.

The approval of family members left behind regarding the decision to migrate is mainly based on the economic benefit they may get in the future. Some parents gave direct answers about the benefits of migration, such as 'There were better jobs available' (28.1 per cent) or 'It is better than not working in the village' (12.2 per cent), which implies the economic benefit of migration. Another answer such as 'To increase personal experience' (15.9 per cent)' usually applied to those

who migrated to get higher education. Answers such as 'They were already married' (14.6 per cent) which meant parents could not control their children's life anymore as they were married did not clearly state the benefit of migration. Other answers such as 'The children were so determined to leave' (12.2 per cent) implies that some parents could not prevent their children from migrating elsewhere and 'There are relatives in the city to assist them' (9.2 per cent) reflects that parents had given approval on their children migration because they were assured that there is someone in the destination area to look after their children.

However, not all children had been given approval to migrate by parents no matter how determined she or he was. Usually parents want, at least, one of their children to live near them and commonly they choose one of their daughters to remain in the village. Even, when she has married, parents will persuade them to stay with them or in close proximity. The parents want their children to take care of them when they are old and they feel more comfortable living with their daughters than with their daughters-in-law. The parents usually will compensate them by giving them the family house and, sometimes, include *sawah* as well. Commonly there are no objections from outmigrant children on parent's decisions on the distribution of their wealth. They also accept that their non-migrant siblings may get a larger share because they may have had to give up an opportunity to get a better life elsewhere to look after their elderly parents. Although, the main reason for these children to stay in the village may not necessarily be to accompany their parents it was often decided by the children themselves as the better choice for them to live in the village rather than in the city. Some of them were return migrants and often, their husbands have continued to work in the city as temporary migrants.



It has been suggested that migration of one household member depended on the availability of labour to do farm work at home (Guest, 1993). The responses given by parents on the question 'What was his or her main task at home before they migrated?' were 'Nothing' (24.6 per cent), 'Helps on the farm' (23 per cent), 'Helps with domestic work' (30.7 per cent), 'Helps parents' work' (6.2 per cent) and 'Grass-cutting' (4.9 per cent). These answers reflect that the fact that there was not much they can do by staying in the village and those who used to help out in the farm can be easily replaced by their younger siblings as the area of *sawah* their parents owned was small. Those who were said to help out around the house, usually females, also can be considered to be not too important since these girls usually waited until they were old enough to migrate. However, more than 87 per cent of parents said that the migration of their children did not have a negative effect on their household's economic condition. On the contrary, the migration has made a significant contribution to the families which is mainly expressed in responses given by the wives whose husbands are temporary migrants such as 'Decreased the parents burden' (58.6 per cent) or 'The children have grown up and are able to support themselves' (12 per cent) or 'The family income has increased' (10.5 per cent). However there were also some disappointed feelings expressed by some families left behind, despite the economic advantages, such as 'We can not live together as a family' (1.3 per cent), that was mostly shared by the wives of temporary migrants and 'They are living too far away from us' (1.7 per cent) which was given by parents whose migrant children have never visited them since departing. Those children who went to the outer islands for transmigration or to do other jobs and decided to become permanent migrants usually cannot afford to travel to Java. Practically, they have lost contact with their parents ever since. One

old mother was very upset when asked about her son who had migrated to Kalimantan decades ago, she answered all the questions with 'I don't know, he has been gone for a very long time and never come back.' How do these outmigrants maintain contact with the family in the village?

### **6.5. Contact With the Family Left-behind**

The outmigrants mainly made contact by visiting the village, either on a regular basis or when there was an opportunity, or the families in the village took an opportunity to visit them in the city. Around 3.8 per cent said that they communicate with outmigrants via letters and about 2.3 per cent had lost contact with them. The frequency of visits range from more than twelve times a year to not every year. Around 5.1 per cent have never visited and 3.9 per cent are uncertain. Those who manage to visit on a regular basis are the heads of households who migrate to the city on a temporary basis. The single migrants return home at least once a year, during *Hari Raya*, and for those who are not yet in permanent employment they return home more frequently, usually between jobs. On the other hand, outmigrants who are already married and live elsewhere permanently, visit the family less frequently. This is because the visit with parents during *Hari Raya* should be made with the whole family, which is too expensive for some families. Moreover, couples should also give the same attention to parents of both sides and may have to alternate visits each year. Some outmigrants, though, can afford the travelling cost to pay a visit to both parents every year. Usually they were outmigrants who live in nearby villages that do not need to stay overnight in their parent's house during the visit. Out of 609 outmigrants, 11.8 per cent did not pay a visit during *Hari Raya* this year, while 80.8 per cent paid a visit and 7.4 per cent gave an unclear answer. The arrangement of visiting their parents during *Hari*

*Raya* was decided between siblings to assure that at least one of them would be able to come home on that particular day. For parents the visit of their migrant children during *Hari Raya* is always special and could not be compared with visits made on different days.

The migrant children come home at various times for different reasons. They return to the village to look after their sick parents, to attend a funeral of relatives or to attend a wedding festivity of their siblings or other close family members. The visits on other occasions can be made by the children without their families, but in *Hari Raya* they should bring their families. The parents, who usually know the economic conditions of each of their children, will prefer their children to come home in *Hari Raya* rather than on other days if they can afford only one trip or cannot easily take frequent leave from their workplaces. An elderly mother who fell seriously ill deliberately did not tell her children about her situation because it was close to *Hari Raya* and she knew that her children would not be able to come home again during the *Hari Raya* if they had come home beforehand. So far in this sample population, the contact between migrants and their village is still well maintained, except with those who migrated to the outer islands.

Another way of maintaining contact with outmigrant members is by visiting them in the destination areas. More than 90 per cent of the families left-behind know where the outmigrants lives or how to find them if necessary, although only 69.1 per cent had ever paid a visit to the outmigrants' place of residence. The parents or wives at least had noticed what kind of living arrangement they have. Only 7.4 per cent of them did not know where their migrant family members lived, while two per cent gave an unclear answer. Almost 34 per cent of outmigrants live in a rented house, either alone or sharing with their relatives or friends, 26 per cent

live in their own houses, and the remainder live with relatives or parents-in-law, in factories' *bedeng*, with an employer or in *pesantren* (boarding school of Islamic studies). They often visited outmigrant's homes just to see with their own eyes the condition of their children or husbands' place in the city (57.1 per cent). Other reasons were to visit newborn grandchildren, to ask for financial help, to attend festivities, for a holiday, to bring money, to accompany them in their initial move and to look after them while they were ill. Mothers more often pay the visits than the fathers, because the mother's time is more flexible than the fathers who had to work everyday. When I asked about the conditions of their children's homes in the city, some mothers whose children were working as factory workers in Bandung and Bogor said that their houses are very small and without a private toilet and bathroom. The parents usually do not like to stay long because they felt uncomfortable living in such a small house compared with their spacious houses in the village. The visit was meant also to assure themselves that their children are fine. Although, they might have other reasons that are more substantial such as to seek financial help, they did not openly declare their main objective. Less than three per cent openly mentioned that their primary intention to visit was to seek financial help. The villagers have a negative opinion about parents that always seek financial help from their children in the city. A village woman commented about an elderly man who always goes to Jakarta to his children for financial help as 'He should have more pity for the poor children'. Parents sometimes prefer to visit their outmigrant children bringing them money to cover living and education expenses while checking on their well being. To enable children to spend more time with their migrant fathers, they often visit them in the city during school holidays, with or without their mothers. However, only a few migrants can afford this kind of visit

for their families and it did not happen every year. The children of Family No.33 had visited their father in Bandung in 1995, but this year they will spend their holiday at home. The only son of Family No.42 goes to Bandung almost every year to be with his father without his mother as she has to work in the village.

A *Hari Raya* is also commonly used by temporary migrants to hold a festival, either for celebrating their son's circumcision or their daughter's wedding. The time was chosen because it is the only opportunity for their relatives and friends who are also their co-workers in the city to attend their party. Although, these migrants owned a house and *sawah* in the village and were formally registered as village residents, they spent most of their life in the city. Therefore, their circle of closest friends and relatives are among the migrants in the city. When they are having a party they will invite those particular friends and relatives and expect them to come which is only possible during *Hari Raya*. It has been widely known that migrants tend to associate only with migrants from the same village (Abu-Lughod 1961; Hugo 1978; Chaves 1985; Abustam, 1991; Glick *et al.* 1997) and this also happened to migrants from this village and therefore during *Hari Raya* almost all of their closest friends and relatives in the city will be from the same and nearby villages. Family No. 33 held a circumcision festivity for their oldest son in the 1996 *Hari Raya*, while Family No.157 held a wedding party for her granddaughter in the 1997 *Hari Raya*. Although, the granddaughter and her parents are temporary migrants, it would be very difficult for them to hold such a wedding party in Bandung as they do not own a house to where the guests could be invited. Although, reverse visits also occurred, when another daughter of Family No.157, who had already migrated bought a house in Bandung and held a circumcision party for her eldest son in that house. She invited her mother and other relatives in the

village as well as her friends, relatives and new neighbours in Bandung to the party. Visits made by outmigrants are also important in terms of remittances, because generally migrants bring home money, food and other goods for each visit. How much is the remittance that families in the village receive from their migrant members?

### 6.6. Remittances

The term remittance includes anything the migrants send or bring home, either money or goods (Connell *et al.* 1976, p. 90). The incidence of remittances in the survey village is not different to what Hugo (1978) reported more than 20 years ago in West Java. It includes money and gifts brought by migrants when they are visiting the village, but the common meaning is 'money transmitted to villages by migrants while they are away' (Connell *et al.* 1976, p.90) to support their families in the villages. Remittances in terms of money are more likely sent on a regular basis by household head migrants. They send money through other migrants who themselves visit their family or bring the money when they themselves visit their

Table 6.9. Frequencies of Remittances Received By Family Back-home Last Year, Wonosigro (N=587).

Frequencies of Remittances	Percentage		
	Male (N=334)	Female (N=253)	Total (N=587)
Never	34.1	41.1	37.1
Once	10.2	10.7	10.4
Twice or more	25.7	20.2	23.3
Yes, sometimes.	15.9	12.3	14.3
Yes, if there is someone return home.	0.9	2.0	1.4
Yes, every time they return home.	9.3	9.9	9.5
Yes, for special need.	2.4	2.0	2.2
Others (only foods and cigarettes)	1.5	2.0	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

family. Remittances in terms of gifts were sent or brought to the village once a year at *Hari Raya* or upon requests for special purposes (Connell *et al.* 1976). The frequency of the family back home receiving remittances in the last year is depicted in Table 6.9. while the use of the remittances is show in Table 6.10. Out of 609 outmigrants, 587 have sent remittances to the village, 334 (56.9 per cent) were males and 253 (43.1 per cent) were females. There were 218 out of 587 outmigrants (37.1 per cent) who reported 'never' sending any form of remittances last year, 52.3 per cent of them were males. They were commonly the most recent outmigrants, migrants in outer Java or migrants who go to school. Outmigrants who have been away for less than one year are usually still struggling to survive in the city and therefore were not able to send any remittance home as yet. The migrant students, on the contrary, received out remittances from their parents in the village instead of sending home in remittances. Among those who sent remittances, around 10.4 per cent (N=61) sent it only once, 23.3 per cent (N=137) sent it more than once. Actually, outmigrants who sent it more than once is larger than 23.3 per cent, but often it was articulated as 'Yes, sometimes' (14.3 per cent), 'Yes, if there is someone returning home' (1.4 per cent) or 'Yes, every time they return home' (9.5 per cent). These answers were given because it was irregular in frequency, 25.2 per cent in total, more than 10 per cent of outmigrants would send remittances when someone or themselves visited the village. Overall less than 70 per cent of outmigrants have sent home remittances in the form of money and goods at least once a year.

The use of remittances is various, but the majority is to meet household needs as it shows in Table 6.10. Remittances sent by 66 per cent (N=243) of outmigrants were used to meet the household's ends, while about 17.1 per cent

Table 6.10. Various Using of Remittances Received By Family Back-home Last Year, Wonosigro (N=365).

Frequencies of Remittances	Percentage		
	Male (N=216)	Female (N=149)	Total (N=365)
To meet everyday needs.	71.3	59.7	66.6
To pay for school expenses.	14.4	21.5	17.3
To build or renovate the house.	2.8	5.4	3.8
For saving.	1.8	4.0	2.7
To pay for grandchildren expenses.	1.8	3.4	2.5
Others ( <i>to pay for medical treatment, to buy sawah, to increase work capital</i> )	7.9	6.0	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

were for school expenses and the remainder was for various needs. This means that the remittances sent by outmigrants in the sample households are very important for the majority of village households' survival, especially for male migrants' families. About 71.3 remittances sent by outmigrants in the sample households is very important for the majority of village households' survival, especially for male migrants' family. About 71.3 per cent of male migrants' remittances were used to meet the family needs, while it was only 59.7 per cent among female migrants. This is because many male outmigrants (N=25) were the main provider for their family back home. On the other hand, the use of remittances from female migrants for education expenses was higher (21.5 per cent) than that from male migrants (14.4 per cent). Outmigrants who did not send remittances last year may have sent them in prior years. Often the remittances were sent only once or upon request, but it has a permanent effect, such as the money already used for rebuilding or renovating houses and to buy household goods and furniture's, to pay for their siblings' education which allowed them to have a better education or to buy *sawah*. Except



for breadwinner migrants, the incidence of remittance sent home by outmigrants is irregular and dynamic incidence in nature.

Remittances are a function of not only three factors proposed by Hugo (1978, p. 265):

- ( i) The amount of money available to the migrant.
- ( ii) The commitment felt by the migrant to those left behind in the village or alternatively the amount of control which non-migrants exert over migrants.
- (iii) The level of need of the migrant's village kinsmen;

but there is a fourth factor that is the changing needs of migrants themselves in accordance with their life-cycle dynamics. This means that single outmigrants may have different needs to those of married outmigrants. While those who are already married may also have different needs whether they already have children or not. The first factor, that is the level of migrant welfare could be the most important factor and override the fourth factor. This means that because of their higher income, migrants still can be counted on to help their family in the village in any situation.

Changes in the personal life cycle of migrants, will influence the relationship between migrants and their family left behind, both economically in term of remittances and socially in the form of the frequency of visiting parents at the village. As has been explained earlier, there were different expectation of parents from single and married migrant children, in terms of remittances and visits. Usually, parents feel more comfortable asking for financial help from children who are single rather than from their married children because their married children have responsibilities. On the other hand, the children will provide help, financially,

as much as they can before they get married. However, there are cases where parents only ask for financial help from a particular child who had the most stable income compared to other children, before and after marriage. The following case may explain the situation:

Case of Family No.40:

The family have five children living outside the village, the eldest daughter is married and lives in a neighbouring village. Four sons live in Botabek. Three of them work as '*martabak*' sellers and the other one works as a school watchman (*Ind. 'penjaga sekolah'*). Two of the eldest sons have been married. The eldest son left his wife and child with his parents-in-law in a neighbouring village and the other married son brought along his wife with him to Bekasi. The father, who is himself a circular migrant, explained that his eldest son has helped him educate his younger children and renovating the house before he got married. Now, he could not expect him to give financial help as much as before, because he has a responsibility to his own family. As he left his family with his parents-in-law it is very natural that he spends more money on his in-laws now. The eldest son himself said that when he was still single and while he did not have so many demands on him he could save more and was able to renovate his parents house from bamboo to a brick wall house. Now, he only brings '*oleh-oleh*' (gifts) in the form of food or cigarettes when paying a visit to his parents. The two other single brothers are now taking on the responsibility of helping their parents.

How big was the amount of remittances received by the family last year in the village survey? Around 28.4 per cent (N=59) of households with outmigrants did not receive remittances from their migrated family members last year. It did not mean that these migrant families never receive any remittances, but the timing of the survey was when there were no remittances. This is because remittances sent by migrants are irregular in nature, except remittances from migrant household heads. If outmigrants are children of the family, there was no obligation for the migrants to send remittances to the family, but the strong family bonding between outmigrants and their family has made them committed to support the family back home.

Migrants in the city who live among 'strangers' on other peoples land have to familiarise themselves with the local conditions that are almost totally different to

their village's. This makes them often feel socially insecure in destination areas and to reduce the feeling of being socially alienated, migrants commonly join community groups based on similar origins in order to release the emotional tension a little bit. The only opportunity to regain emotional security is when there is a chance to return to the village to be with their family. For single migrants, their family of orientation at home are often the only trusted people who will accept them whatever they are. Migrant children are very aware that to obtain the family's protection and security, in social and emotional terms, they must behave themselves. They are also very aware that their family is proud about them working in the city. The proof of their success as migrants is reflected in the village when remittances are used to renovate the house, buy luxury items such as furniture from the shops and other household items, tv, radio or cassette player and pay for their younger siblings education costs. However, the insecure feelings that come from living in a strange place will decrease when they adjust to the new situation and the bonds with the family back home become less tight with the length of time they live away from them. When the migrants eventually decide to form a family, their emotional feelings shift to their family of procreation. As a logical consequence their commitment to support their family of orientation becomes secondary.

There are four categories of migrant households that are less likely to receive remittances. The first one is families with relatively better resources, thus being able to support themselves without any financial help from their migrant children, they may in fact support their migrant children. Some of these families were sending out remittances for their children instead of receiving remittances. The second group is poor families with poor migrant children. Their situation means the poor migrant children cannot make a contribution to their parent's economy,

especially after they were married. The third one is families with recent outmigrants who are still struggling to survive in the city, and hence they could not send any remittances as yet. The fourth category is the migrant households in which the outmigrants were not nuclear family members, such as sons-in-law who left their wives and children with their parents-in-law. The remittances sent to his wife instead of to their parents was not included in the parents' household income. The first category of migrant family may receive remittances from the children they support now when these children later become successful. As has been explained previously, Family No.12 have been supported by their migrant children to pay for their youngest daughter university's education, although the family was able to support the university education of their elder sons previously. The third category of family may enjoy the fruits of their children's hard work in the city later on, but often will end up as the second category. The importance of migration of the children for the poor family is by migrating the children have released the parent's burden in supporting the family.

Among those who received remittances last year it is estimated that 41.3 per cent of households had received up to 25 per cent of annual family income, 12.5 per cent got up to 50 per cent, 6.3 per cent accepted up to 75 per cent and around 7.2 per cent received an amount comprising to more than 75 percent family income. The families who received remittances of more than 75 per cent of their annual income were those with their household heads working in the city.

It has been said previously that except for families whose heads worked in the city, remittances are irregular. Around 25.2 percent of outmigrants sent remittance on a 'non routine basis'. Beside its irregularity, the amount of remittance sent also varied every year, depending on the availability of the migrant's resources

as well as the needs of the family back home. The families may have received a significant amount of money last year from migrant sons to renovate houses, but it may not be the case for the previous year or for the following years. Family No. 23 received RM 900 (Malaysian ringgit) or 1.2 million rupiah (A\$ 700) from their son who worked in Malaysia to renovate their house, while Family No. 17 received 1.1 million rupiah from their son who worked as a construction worker in Palu, Sulawesi for similar purposes. The migrant son of Family No. 12 sent at least one million rupiah to pay the youngest daughter's university tuition fee. The mother of Family No. 23 added that her son has sent money up to four million rupiah during his three years work in Malaysia. She said that he sent the money upon request to finance major spending such as renovating the house and purchasing land. It seems that the cost of sending him to Malaysia had been paid back very well. The family sold the family *sawah* for Rp700,000 (A\$ 400) to pay the administration costs to the agency that recruits labour for international markets. Family No.17 had rented-out the family *sawah* for ten years to help their son apply for a job in Bandung, but it was unsuccessful. Then the son took up construction work in Palu, South-east Sulawesi offered by his neighbour. It seems that he has a good job for the time being and is able to send home a significant sum of money. However, because both migrants work under short-term contracts which will be finished soon, it is possible that in the coming years the families will not receive remittances from them anymore. Even, the international migrant had returned home at the end of the year to get married after *Hari Raya*. At that time, he did not plan to return to Malaysia. When he returns to work in Malaysia his family may not be given priority to receive remittances as he would now be married. The priority of his responsibilities will shift to his family of procreation from his family of orientation.

In the case of households whose economy depends mostly on their heads earning in the city, the regularity of remittances is very important. While some women said that their husbands send home an amount of Rp200,000 (A\$ 115), Rp450,000 (A\$ 257) and even 1.5 million rupiah (A\$ 857) a month, many more receive less than Rp200,000 per month. The wife in Family No. 101 said that her husband sends her Rp70,000 per month which is sent in instalments, such as Rp20,000, Rp30,000 or Rp40,000 depending on the availability of money in his pocket when a fellow migrant from the same village wants to visit home. She is always in trouble financially, when the next instalment does not arrive yet while other urgent needs cannot wait. According to her, she needs the cash when the school fees are due or when the neighbour has invited her to a party and she needed to make some contribution. She is not too worried about how to feed herself and her children because she can borrow ingredients from the *warung* first and pay later when the money from Bandung arrives. She advised her husband to send the money by post, so he does not depend on other people, but her husband refused as it is too costly to send money via post. Irregularity of remittances is common if the husband works in the informal sector or construction. The husband in Family No. 101 works in a textile factory as a production labourer. Another factory worker, Family No.33, is able to send about Rp450,000 per month in two instalments. He brings the money himself to the village. He can send that amount of money, because he holds a better position in the factory compared to the head of Family 101, while he has a second job as a watchman of one of his bosses' houses at night. Moreover, due to his job in the factory he is entitled to reside in one of the factory *bedeng* which meant a saving of Rp45,000 per month, the cost of rented rooms in the area. Another woman from Family 92, whose husband works as a construction

worker in Jakarta, said that she received Rp60,000 to Rp100,000 per month from her husband. The amount depends on whether her husband is working or not, as he is a casual worker. Because of the irregularity of the amount of money she receives she is often rejected by *warung* owner to take food on credit, because the *warung* owner does not trust her family. The money is not sufficient to meet her needs so she sometimes borrows money from a moneylender who charges her 30 per cent interest rate per month.

Another regular type of remittance is sent by migrants who have children under the care of their grandparents in the village. Family No.15 is caring for two grandchildren from their daughter and one from their son. The daughter is a divorcee and works in Palembang, South Sumatra in a catering service, while their son works as a driver in another town in Central Java. The daughter sends Rp50,000 per month and other goods several times a year using the postal service, while the son sends money occasionally when he visits his child. The Family No.217 also receives Rp50,000 per month from their daughter who works in Bandung to pay for her son's education costs in the village. Family No. 11 received Rp40,000 for two months only, because their daughter left her son under their care for two months and the remittances was stopped when she took the child with her.

Another way to get remittances was by visiting the outmigrants in the city. *Ibu* Harimas of Family No. 85 visits her children in Jakarta, 3-4 times a year at which time all three migrant children will supply her with some pocket money, which is sometimes up to Rp200,000. She uses the money to support herself and her grandchildren who currently are under her care while their mother is working in Jakarta and she saves the remainder in gold. She then sold the gold to buy building

materials in 1992 to renovate her house from bamboo to brick. At the time of the survey she was making a private bathroom and toilet to complete the house.

The recent outmigrants, especially those who had left the village for less than a year, have not yet sent remittances to the village, while some of them may have sent money once and some goods to their families. They gave the money to their mothers and goods, usually clothing, footwear, toy and stationary for their younger siblings. The mother of Family No. 83 recalled that her eldest son who migrated to Jakarta 7 months ago has sent Rp50,000 to her and a toy car and stationary for his younger siblings. His father told him to save up his money for his own future needs, such as to pay for his own marriage or to buy a house. Generally, the parents of outmigrants in this village will not ask for financial help from their children, except if they believe that their children have more than enough to support themselves and their families. They realise that if their children are still struggling to support themselves and their families they are unlikely to help their parent's economy. The direct help given by the outmigrants to their parents was that they are able to support themselves and lessen the parent's burden. The parents believe that they are still able to support themselves, especially those who earn a steady income, such as pensioners or civil servants, while others keep working either on their land or on other non-farm works (see Table 5.8). The father of Family No. 11, an elderly *becak* driver did not allow his wife to ask for money from their children to meet their needs because it is embarrassing. Although, he may be covering for the fact that their children in the city are poor too. The outmigrant children, sometimes, will be called upon for help when parents want to renovate their house or to pay for their younger siblings' education costs or any other big expenses. Often, the children will bring cigarettes, food and money



Rp5,000 or Rp10,000 when they visit their parents during *Hari Raya*. Parents will often keep the remittances in the form of gold. Two parents bought *sawah* last year using remittances. A migrant gave each sibling a goat to rear and sell should any emergency education expenses arise.

The amount of remittances may be underreported, because many respondents did not include the remittances sent by their sons or sons-in-law directly to their wives who still live with them. The respondents said that the remittances belong to their children to support their grandchildren. However, the use of remittance is for the whole family regardless who sent it. In the situation of an extended down family, when a daughter's or son's family of procreation join their parent's family, the income earned by each nuclear family breadwinner is not automatically pooled into one purse, but it is more likely that the money was kept in different purses. The food in the kitchen cabinet can be provided using the money from any purse, but for personal goods, such as cigarettes, school expenses or entertainment, it should be upon approval of each purse owner. The son or daughter's purses mainly are used to support the grandchildren's needs, such as clothing, footwear or school expenses and also to treat them with snack, sweets or toys.

## **6.7. Impact On Household Structure**

### **6.7.1. Introduction**

Changes in household structure occur because of changes in the presence or absence of its members other than the head over a period of time (Glick 1956, p.21). This means that the household size is the direct effect of the increasing or decreasing number of household members which may result in a change of household structure. Demographic processes, such as fertility and mortality will

affect the size and composition of the household, while migration, marriage and divorce, will have a wider effect upon family size and composition. The latter factors will affect at least two families, of which one will receive additional family members while the other will experience a loss of family members. Many possibilities can occur as an effect of migration, marriage or divorce. In the case of marriage, for example, both families may lose one of their members, but the community will have a new head of family or household meaning an addition to the numbers of families and households. Among these factors, the impact of migration is the least easy to predict. The effect of migration upon the family size and composition may be difficult to separate from the influence of marriage and divorce, as marriage or divorce may be followed by migration. The relationship between migration and family can be analysed in two ways (Hugo 1994). In one way, migration may influence the changes in family structure and functioning, while the structure of the family can also become a factor in initiating migration.

When the family member leaves the house to work in another city or to live with their husbands or wives, besides affecting the household size it may change the household structure. There are similar consequences when new members arrive in the household due to immigration or marriage. In these cases outmigration or immigration has changed household size and maybe its structure as well. On the other hand, a large size household may be a reason for its members leaving in order to improve its welfare. The macro study in the destination area, as has been explained in Chapter IV, showed that the increasing number of immigrants in West Java has influenced household structures. The number of single person households, non-familial households and extended horizontal households have increased, while the other types decreased. The macro study, unfortunately, cannot explain whether

a certain type of household structure may cause migration as the census data only relate to immigration and there is no information about the reason for migration. Therefore, to obtain an answer to this question an analysis using data from the origin area is needed.

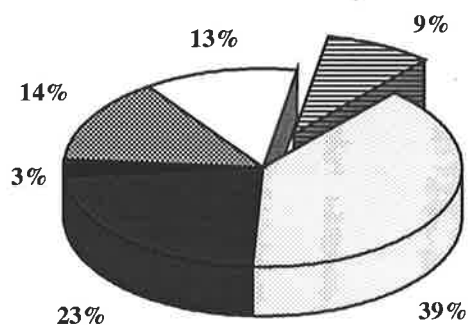
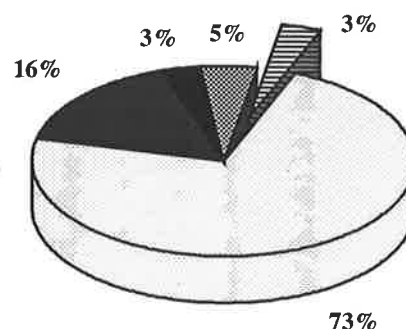
In the following sections, the distribution of household structure and household size of an origin area, based on the micro study (N=270), will be examined. A total of 26 different household structures were evident in the study area which have been segregated into seven categories by uniting similar compositions. The family or household structures are similar to those that are used in the macro study except for one additional category, which is called Temporary Eroded Family (TErF). This category refers to a family or household without the presence of household heads most of the year as they work in the city as temporary migrants. This category cannot be identified in the census data. In the census, the similar household situation may have been classified as nuclear, extended vertical or extended horizontal types of household, because the household heads despite their long absence from home were usually positioned as the formal household heads. The analysis will compare the households with outmigrants (M) and the households without outmigrants (NM) to identify the differences of household characteristics of the two categories. The household characteristics include its structure's and its members' characteristics as well. The household's characteristics consist of a household head's age and sex and the average number of household members under 15 years of age. The greater the number of members under 15 years old as a cut-off point of economically dependent people was based on the age of the majority of first migrations of the village people (see Chapter 6.3.). This means that at the age of 15 years, most parents will let their children migrate if they wish. In other words,

a family with a large number of members under 15 years of age tends to be classified as a non-migrant household. In this cross-sectional analysis it is hoped to explain that both family groups are related in a way that generally a migrant household was a non-migrant household before, while a non-migrant household will become a migrant household in the future. To support this idea case studies using historical demographic events will be presented.

### **6.7.2. Household Structure and Household Size**

The survey comprised of 270 sample households, where 208 (77 per cent) households have been categorised as M, while the remainder, 62 households (23 per cent) had been classified as NM. The sample households have various internal structures, and the distribution is shown in detail in Figure 6.7. and Table 6.11. Figure 6.7. shows that the nuclear family type is dominant in the structure of households in both categories, although the NM households percentage is almost double that of M households, those are 72.6 per cent and 39.4 per cent respectively. The percentage of nuclear family type for the total sample households is 47 per cent (N=103). The single person, extended vertical and single parent (eroded) types of household are greater among M households, while no temporary eroded household structure occur within the NM household group. Some 26 M households (12.5 per cent) have their household heads (N=25) and wife (one person) working in the city as temporary migrants. This is nine per cent of total households. The second largest percentage of household structure is extended family vertical which comprises 21 per cent (N=57) of total households.

Figure 6.7. Distribution of Household Structure by Migration Status, Wonosigro

Migrant Households (N=208)Non-migrant Households (N=62)Legend:

SPH	NF	EV
EH	ErF	TErF

Notes : SPH=Single Person Household, NF=Nuclear Family, EV=Extended Vertical  
 EH=Extended Horizontal, ErF=Eroded Family, TErF=Temporary Eroded Family  
 Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

If we take a look in more detail at household composition as presented in Table 6.11, more variations can be found between the structure of M and NM households. Almost all nuclear families in NM households (97.8 per cent of total nuclear family) consist of head, wife and children and only 2.2 per cent consists of head and wife. On the other hand, more than 28 per cent of nuclear family among M households consists of head and wife and about 71.8 per cent consists of head, wife and children. This means that a household consisting of a father, a mother and children is the most common household structure in the village and comprises 81.3 per cent of total nuclear families. On the other hand, the extended family vertical among M households is dominated by extended family down, while the NM households consist mostly of extended family up. Extended family down is nuclear family structure plus their children's family and extended family up is nuclear family

Table 6.11. Distribution (%) and Average Member of Household by Household Structure and Migration Status, Wonosigro (N=270)

Household Structures	Distribution (%)			Household Size		
	M	NM	Total	M	NM	Total
<b>1 Single Person Household</b>	<b>8.7</b>	<b>3.2</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>1.0</b>
<i>Head</i>	100.0	100.0	100.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
<b>2 Non-familial</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>3 Nuclear Family</b>	<b>39.4</b>	<b>72.6</b>	<b>47.0</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>4.0</b>
<i>Head + Wife</i>	28.2	2.2	18.7	2.0	2.0	2.0
<i>Head + Wife + Children</i>	71.8	97.8	81.3	4.2	4.8	4.4
<b>4 Extended Family Vertical</b>	<b>22.6</b>	<b>16.1</b>	<b>21.1</b>	<b>5.3</b>	<b>5.3</b>	<b>5.3</b>
<i>Head + Wife + Children + Children-in-Law</i>	2.2	10.0	3.3	4.0	6.0	5.0
<i>Head + Wife + Children + Children-in-Law + Grandchildren</i>	29.6	10.0	26.5	6.5	5.0	6.0
<i>Head + Wife + Children + Grandchildren</i>	29.6	10.0	26.5	5.2	6.0	5.3
<i>Head + Wife + Children + Parents</i>	15.0	60.2	22.7	5.9	5.2	5.5
<i>Head + Wife + Children + Grandparents</i>	2.2	10.0	3.3	5.0	5.0	5.0
<i>Head + Wife + Grandchildren</i>	16.8	-	14.2	3.0	-	3.6
<i>Head + Wife + Parents</i>	4.4	-	3.3	3.0	-	3.0
<b>5 Extended Family Horizontal</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>3.2</b>	<b>3.0</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>4.9</b>
<i>Head + Wife + Children + Parents + Siblings</i>	48.3	50.0	50.0	5.5	-	5.5
<i>Head + Wife + Children + Siblings</i>	34.5	-	23.3	4.7	7.0	5.3
<i>Head + Wife + Grandchildren + Siblings</i>	-	50.0	13.3	-	4.0	4.0
<i>Head + Wife + Siblings</i>	17.2	-	13.3	-	-	3.0
<b>6 Single Parent Family</b>	<b>13.9</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>11.9</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>4.0</b>
<i>Head + Children</i>	27.3	66.7	31.1	2.8	3.0	2.8
<i>Head + Children + Children-in-Law</i>	3.6	-	3.4	4.0	-	4.0
<i>Head + Children + Children-in-Law + Grandchildren</i>	17.3	33.3	18.5	6.2	4.0	5.8
<i>Head + Children + Grandchildren</i>	24.5	-	21.8	4.0	-	4.0
<i>Head + Children + Parents</i>	7.2	-	5.9	4.0	-	4.0
<i>Head + Children + Siblings</i>	10.1	-	9.2	5.7	-	5.7
<i>Head + Children-in-Law + Grandchildren</i>	3.6	-	3.4	3.0	-	3.0
<i>Head + Grandchildren</i>	7.2	-	5.9	2.0	-	2.0
<b>7 Temporary Eroded Family</b>	<b>12.5</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>9.6</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>3.9</b>
<i>Only Head</i>	3.8	-	3.8	1.0	-	1.0
<i>Only Wife</i>	3.8	-	3.8	1.0	-	1.0
<i>Wife + Children</i>	84.6	-	84.6	4.0	-	4.0
<i>Wife + Children + Parents</i>	7.8	-	7.8	5.5	-	5.5
<b>All Household (%)</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>4.1</b>
<b>All Household (N)</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>270</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>270</b>

Notes: M = Households with Outmigrants  
 NM = Households without Outmigrants

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

structure plus one or both parents or parents-in-law. About 30 per cent of extended family vertically down within M household contain the temporary eroded family of the children's family. These households consist of head, wife, children or children-in-law and grandchildren. The children's nuclear family heads, either their children or children-in-law, work in the city on a temporary basis. In fact, 29.6 per cent of extended family vertical group contain children-in-law who were temporary migrants in the city. Son-in-laws sometimes were not recorded as migrants from the village, because they are not village-born people. More than 90 per cent of the single parent households were classified as M households. These households usually consist of elderly female headed households plus her children's family of procreation. While in the destination areas, the extended family horizontal commonly has a relatively large percentage in the household structure distribution (Chapter IV, Chaves 1985, Glick *et al.* 1997), in the origin village, on the other hand, it has a small share of three per cent (N=8) of total sample households. Usually this kind of living arrangement occurs in special situations, such as the early demise of the father while the children are still very small and therefore the eldest siblings took over the role of the father to raise their younger siblings by inviting younger brothers or sisters to live in their households. After their siblings left home these households may become an extended vertical or nuclear family. When all the children had moved out from home and a spouse had died, the house may be left with only one elderly person and that type made up 7.4 per cent (N=20) of all sample households as single person household category. The percentage of single person households is higher among M than NM households. Two single person households in NM household are headed by never married women who used to work in the city but eventually returned to the village for retirement.

Table 6.11. also presents the average household size of each structure. The average household size for the total sample households is 4.1 persons. The average size of M households is smaller than of NM households, those sizes respectively are 3.9 and 4.6. The larger size is the extended family vertical because of the addition of the children or parents' family of procreation. Usually elderly parents urge one of their children to remain at home taking care of them and in the future to take care of the house when both parents have died. The married children, on the other hand, usually live with their parents on a temporary basis, especially in the early stage of their marriage before they can afford their own houses. Therefore, a household which contains subfamilies of the married children, that made extended vertical family type of household, is usually temporary in nature. The average size of extended vertical (EV) household is 5.3 for all categories, while the largest size is 6.5 persons.

### **6.7.3. Characteristics of Household Head**

The demographic characteristics of household heads examined here are sex, marital status and age. This analysis aimed to see whether there are substantial differences between M and NM household head characteristics. It seems that on the average the NM households are younger than the M households and this is probably the cause of a household to become NM or M household. The older the household heads were, the more likely they are to have adult children who had left their parents' home to marry or work elsewhere. Based on the definition used in this study one household which has members who migrated, temporary or permanently, to other villages was classified as an M household. Therefore, M households tend to have older heads. However, some NM households were headed by older heads, but they were not classified as migrant households as their adult



children live in different houses around the village. The sample households in this study showed that the average age of NM household heads is lower than M households, respectively 41.2 years and 55.1 years. The NM households also have less woman heads and smaller percentage headed by single people. Some 32.2 per cent (N=67) of M households were headed by women, while among NM households the percentage was 6.5 (N=4). Although, it includes the *de-facto*<sup>1</sup> women heads whose husbands work in the city as temporary migrants. The number of *de-facto* woman-headed households is around 12 per cent (N=25). The larger percentage of woman-headed-households among migrant households is caused by a larger percentage of non-married household heads than non-migrant households. Around 91.9 per cent of NM households are headed by married men, while the percentage for M households is 77.4 per cent including temporary migrant household heads. The younger age of NM household heads is caused by the fact that most of them are still married and it is less likely that an NM household is headed by a woman. The differences in household heads characteristics can be related to the difference in household structure of each category.

When the analysis of household head characteristics is differentiated by structures, two characteristics, sex and marital status are associated very closely with each structure. Household members designate one of them as head of household based on superiority in terms of having the largest income or being the oldest member (Shryock and Siegel 1973, p. 171), although a household which contains a married couple will automatically designate the husband as the *de-jure*

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<sup>1</sup>The *de-facto* head is one household member who takes over the role of household head when the *de-jure* head is away as a migrant in the city (Hetler 1986 p. 53). In this village, the *de-facto* heads usually are the wives whose husbands are living in the city as non permanent migrants.

household head in the enumeration. In special circumstances the position of household head can be held by other members, usually the wives, when the husband has died, or any never married male or female when there is no other person fit for the position or the household is a single person type. Therefore, a household that comprises a married couple with or without other members will be headed by the husband, while in an eroded family, the household will be headed by a widowed or divorced person, commonly a female. As the life expectancy of the male generally is lower than the female (Iskandar 1997), in addition to the fact that husbands are generally older than their wives, more husbands die before their wives and this leads to more eroded and single person households being headed by women. Among sample households only one single person and five eroded households were headed by men.

Another characteristic which is also closely associated with household structure is marital status. All nuclear and extended families are headed by married people, while single person households and eroded families are headed by a single person, either never married, widowed or divorced. The temporary eroded households, as an exception, are headed by married women. As has been mentioned, the majority of households are headed by married people while there is only one household head who was never married and just less than three per cent (N=7) are headed by divorcees. Therefore, the sex and marital status of household heads of both categories are similar, even for temporary eroded families which are formally headed by males. The relatively greater percentage of woman-headed households within M households was caused by the larger number of widows among them as a consequence of relatively older age. The distributions of sex and marital status of household heads by migration status and household structure are

depicted in Figure 6.8a. and 6.8b, while Table 6.12. shows the average age of household heads and members differentiated by household structure and migration status.

As a consequence of the younger age of their heads, the average age of NM household members is also lower than that of M households, those are 17.3 years and 24.8 years respectively. The relatively younger age of household heads of nuclear and temporary eroded family types contributed to the younger age of NM household heads. If we take a look in more detail at household structures that contributed to each major classification of household structures, we see that each major household category in NM and M households have different contributors. Although the nuclear family type is the majority household structure of both M and NM households, the composition of the nuclear family between the two categories is somewhat different. Almost all nuclear family types within NM households are a combination of husband, wife and children (97.8 per cent), while among M households it is 71.8 per cent. This type of nuclear family is usually younger than those of husband and wife only. The combination of 'husband and wife only' commonly occur in the early and latter end of the family life cycle<sup>2</sup>.

The age of household heads and their wives is generally younger at the beginning of the life cycle as they were just married. However, the combination of 'husband and wife only' in this sample is more likely to occur at the end of the family life cycle. This is because the average age of household heads of this type of nuclear family is higher than that of a combination of 'husband, wife and children',

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<sup>2</sup>The family life cycle is a consequence of characteristic stages in size and structure between formation and dissolution of families (UN 1973). These stages are 'marriage, establishment of a household, bearing and rearing of children, marriage of children and their departure from the family at the later years before the is finally dissolved' (UN 1973, p.361).

Figure 6.8a. Distribution of Household Structures by Sex of Household Head and Migration Status, Wonosigro

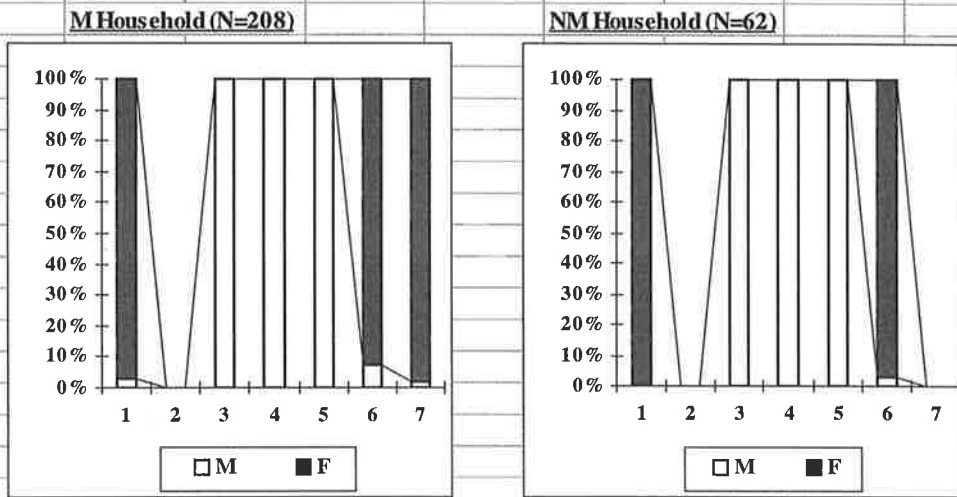
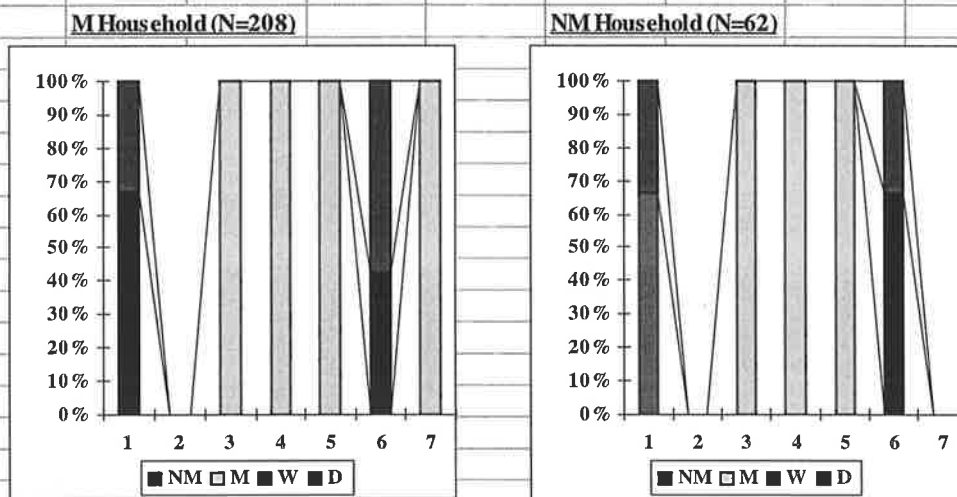


Figure 6.8b. Distribution of Household Structures by Marital Status of Household Head and Migration Status, Wonosigro



Notes: Sex: M=Male and F=Female

Marital Status: NM=Never Married, M=Married, W=Widowed and D=Divorcee

Household Structures: 1=Single Person, 2=Non-familial, 3=Nuclear Family, 4=Extended Family Vertical, 5=Extended Family Horizontal, 6=Eroded Family and 7=Temporary Eroded Family

Migration Status: M Household=Household with Outmigrants and NM Household=Household without Outmigrants

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

62.6 years and 47.4 years. The other reason is that in this village newlyweds usually live with one set of parents for sometime and they very seldom live in separate households immediately after the marriage. In this study there are no newlyweds among husband and wife households. This is reflected in the relatively high average age of household members among husbands and wives composition, while the average age of household members among husband, wife and children composition is relatively higher among M than NM households.

Another difference in the composition of household members between M and NM households can be found within the extended family vertical type. Most of the extended family vertical type among M households are on extended family vertical down type, while among NM households the majority are extended family vertical up type. Extended family vertical down type is a nuclear family extended by a younger generation, such as married children and their families or grandchildren only, while extended family vertical up is a nuclear family extended by an older generation, such as parents, parents-in-laws or grandparents families. However, the average age of the extended family vertical type members between M and NM households is similar, 26.5 years and 24.9 years. This is because the composition of household members of both types of household structures is similar in terms of age composition, the difference is in who is the household head. In the extended family up, a relatively younger household head has older members, while in an extended family down, an older household head has relatively younger members.

The larger percentage of nuclear families, especially those consisting of head, wife and children, among NM than M households may be influenced by the family cohort. The family cohort was defined by three criteria that are the age of

Table 6.12. Average Age of Household Heads and Members (excluding Heads) by Household Structure and Migration Status, Wonosigro (N=270)

Household Structures	Household Head			Household Member		
	M	NM	Total	M	NM	Total
<b>1 Single Person Household</b>	<b>62.4</b>	<b>60.5</b>	<b>62.3</b>	-	-	-
<i>Head</i>	62.4	60.5	62.3	-	-	-
<b>2 Non-familial</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>3 Nuclear Family</b>	<b>56.3</b>	<b>39.4</b>	<b>50.3</b>	<b>27.4</b>	<b>15.2</b>	<b>22.1</b>
<i>Head + Wife</i>	63.0	55.0	62.6	56.0	55.0	55.9
<i>Head + Wife + Children</i>	53.7	39.0	47.4	24.0	14.9	19.8
<b>4 Extended Family Vertical</b>	<b>58.8</b>	<b>40.3</b>	<b>55.5</b>	<b>26.5</b>	<b>24.9</b>	<b>26.2</b>
<i>Head + Wife + Children + Children-in-Law</i>	79.0	53.0	66.0	55.0	20.0	39.7
<i>Head + Wife + Children + Children-in-Law + Grandchildren</i>	61.5	56.0	61.1	24.2	26.0	30.0
<i>Head + Wife + Children + Grandchildren</i>	60.4	51.0	59.8	23.3	18.2	30.1
<i>Head + Wife + Children + Parents</i>	41.7	35.3	38.8	27.7	26.3	29.3
<i>Head + Wife + Children + Grandparents</i>	44.0	35.3	37.5	35.5	29.5	33.5
<i>Head + Wife + Grandchildren</i>	65.9	-	65.9	29.4	-	39.8
<i>Head + Wife + Parents</i>	56.5	-	56.5	65.0	-	62.2
<b>5 Extended Family Horizontal</b>	<b>48.5</b>	<b>57.5</b>	<b>50.8</b>	<b>31.4</b>	<b>24.2</b>	<b>29.5</b>
<i>Head + Wife + Children + Parents + Siblings</i>	40.5	-	45.5	33.3	-	33.3
<i>Head + Wife + Children + Siblings</i>	47.7	39.0	40.5	24.4	14.3	20.8
<i>Head + Wife + Grandchildren + Siblings</i>	-	76.0	76.0	-	44.0	44.0
<i>Head + Wife + Siblings</i>	67.0	-	67.0	60.0	-	60.0
<b>6 Single Parent Family</b>	<b>56.9</b>	<b>47.3</b>	<b>56.0</b>	<b>20.8</b>	<b>14.4</b>	<b>20.3</b>
<i>Head + Children</i>	55.1	33.5	50.8	19.5	9.0	17.2
<i>Head + Children + Children-in-Law</i>	60.0	-	60.0	31.7	-	31.7
<i>Head + Children + Children-in-Law + Grandchildren</i>	64.8	75.0	66.5	21.4	21.7	21.4
<i>Head + Children + Grandchildren</i>	56.1	-	56.1	16.3	-	16.3
<i>Head + Children + Parents</i>	45.0	-	45.0	39.2	-	39.2
<i>Head + Children + Siblings</i>	49.3	-	49.3	19.5	-	19.5
<i>Head + Children-in-Law + Grandchildren</i>	75.0	-	75.0	26.0	-	26.0
<i>Head + Grandchildren</i>	60.0	-	60.0	11.5	-	11.5
<b>7 Temporary Eroded Family</b>	<b>35.5</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>35.5</b>	<b>17.4</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>17.4</b>
<i>Only Head</i>	54.0	-	54.0	-	-	-
<i>Only Wife</i>	31.0	-	31.0	31.0	-	31.0
<i>Wife + Children</i>	35.0	-	35.0	16.3	-	16.3
<i>Wife + Children + Parents</i>	35.0	-	35.0	25.2	-	25.2
<b>All Household (%)</b>	<b>54.7</b>	<b>41.2</b>	<b>51.6</b>	<b>24.8</b>	<b>17.3</b>	<b>22.8</b>
<b>All Household (N)</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>270</b>	<b>815</b>	<b>287</b>	<b>1,102</b>

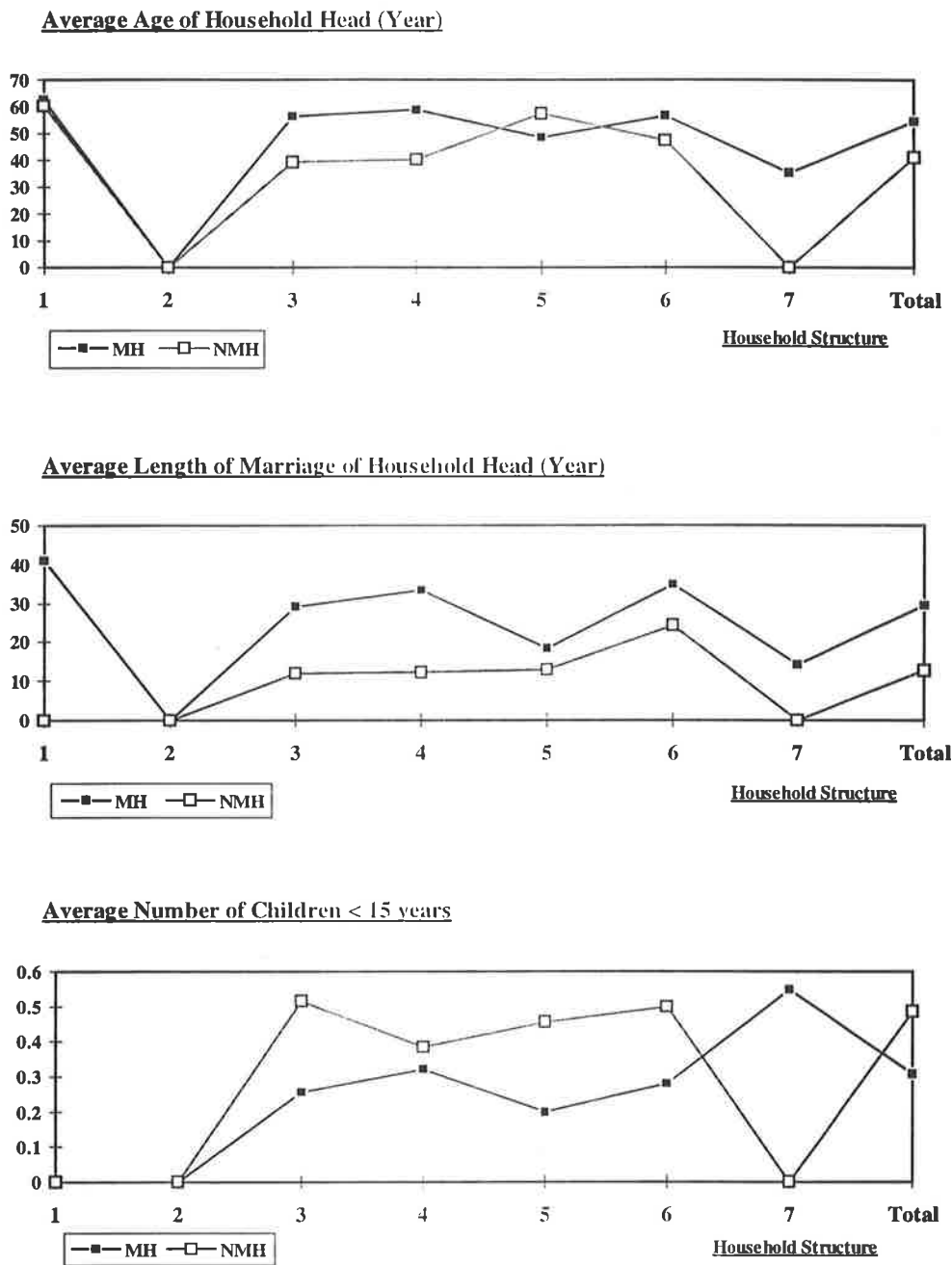
Notes: M = Households with Outmigrants  
 NM = Households without Outmigrants

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

household head, the length of marriage and the number of children under 15 years. Figure 6.9. shows that based on these criteria, NM households were consistently younger than M households. The meaning of 'younger family' here is that the age of household heads as well as its members and the length of marriage of household head of NM households are relatively lower than M households, while NM households have more children under 15 years than M households. The figure shows that there was an inconsistent result, that the average number of children under 15 years among temporary eroded family (No.7) of M households is higher than of NM households. This is because the temporary eroded M households were similar to the nuclear family type of NM households, when the fathers were at home, therefore it is very natural that they still have more children under 15 year old. The NM households were at the beginning of the family life cycle, while M households were almost at the end of the cycle. The life cycle of the family was affected by demographic changes, such as birth and death and social changes, including marriage, divorce, increase of woman's workforce participation and geographical mobility (Young 1977, p.24).

It can be concluded that nuclear family type of households are the majority among NM households, while M households were more varied. The difference between M and NM households are that NM households were in a younger cohort compared to M households. The adult children of M households may have decided to leave the village to seek their fortune elsewhere as there was a lack of economic opportunities in the village. However, some households may go through its life cycle without changing its status from NM to M household, because they do not

Figure 6.9. Average Age and Length of Marriage of Household Heads and Number of Children <15 years By Migration Status



Notes: MH=Migrant Households NMH=Non-migrant Households  
 1=Single Person Household 2=Non-familial Households  
 3=Nuclear Family 4=Extended Family Vertical  
 5=Extended Family Horizontal 6=Eroded (Single Parent) Family  
 7=Temporary Eroded (Single Parent) Family

Source: Field Survey, 1995/1996



have children or other former members who live outside the village. These households, though, would still have to experience structural change as a result of changes of birth, death, marriage or divorce which all occurred in the village.

Table 6.13. shows as an example of demographic and social changes of Family No.39 within 25 years period. It started from 1969, after the family had lived as an independent household for 15 years with five children alive and one daughter who had died before reaching one year of age in the early 1960s. In 1969, the family lived in a nuclear family household type with father, mother and five children. In the following year the two eldest sons migrated elsewhere and the seventh child was born. Thus two demographic changes had occurred in 1970 and the household size decreased from seven in 1969 to six; the household became migrant household (M) but it did not affect the household structure, it is still nuclear family type (NF) of household. From 1970 to 1975, there were two births, the eighth and ninth children, a marriage of the eldest daughter and immigration of a son-in-law. The two births affected the household size from six in 1970 to eight in 1974, but it did not change the household structure or the migration status of the household. In 1975, however, there have been two changes in the household, its size has increased to nine and the structure has become extended vertical down (EV). In 1977, with the birth of the 10th child the size of the household increased to 10 while the structure did not change nor did the migration status. A big change occurred in 1978. In that year, a granddaughter was born, the third son migrated, but in the same year their married daughter with her husband and her newborn baby moved to a separate house built on the front yard of the main house. This means that this new household added to the number of households in the village. In that year, the household size decreased to seven, the family structure became a nuclear

Table 6.13. The Changes of Household Members Within 25 Years Period of A Migrant Family (No. 39).

Family Structure	Year of Birth	1969	1970	1972	1974	1975	1977	1978	1980	1987	1988	1991	1995
<b>Head</b>	1926	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<b>Wife</b>	1935	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<b>Son 1</b>	1953	X	<b>OM</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Son 2</b>	1955	X	<b>OM</b>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Daughter 1</b>	1957	X	X	X	X	<b>M</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>GB/MH</b>	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Son 3</b>	1963	X	X	X	X	X	X	<b>OM</b>	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Son 4</b>	1965	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	<b>OM</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>Son 5</b>	1970	o	<b>NB</b>	X	X	X	X	X	X	<b>OM</b>	-	-	-
<b>Daughter 2</b>	1972	o	o	<b>NB</b>	X	X	X	X	X	X	<b>OM</b>	-	-
<b>Son 6</b>	1974	o	o	o	<b>NB</b>	X	X	X	X	X	X	<b>OM</b>	-
<b>Son-in-law</b>	1951	o	o	o	o	<b>IM</b>	<b>IM</b>	<b>MH</b>	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Son 7</b>	1977	o	o	o	o	o	<b>NB</b>	X	X	X	X	X	X
<b>Granddaughter</b>	1978	o	o	o	o	o	o	<b>NB/MH</b>	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Migration Status</b>	-	NM	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
<b>Size</b>	-	7	6	7	8	9	10	10/7	6	5	4	3	3
<b>Category</b>	-	NF	NF	NF	NF	EV	EV	EV/NF	NF	NF	NF	NF	NF

Notes: OM= Left home to migrate; IM= Joined the household for marriage reason; M= Married; NB= New Born; GB= Gave Birth; MH= Moved Out to new house; Size= Household Size; Category= Household Structure's Category.

Source: Field Survey 1995/1996

family again but it was still a migrant household. From 1987 to 1995, the structure of the household did not change from nuclear family type and the migration status also did not change, but the household size declined significantly to three people in 1995 caused by the outmigration of son4 in 1980, son5 in 1987, daughter2 in 1988 and son6 in 1991. This example shows that demographic changes within the household will directly affect the household size, with the immigration or outmigration at the household. On the other hand the household structure did not change much within 25 years as well as with its status as a migrant household. The basic type of household structure is a nuclear family which only changed to an extended vertical household for three years with the joining of their son-in-law and the birth of their granddaughter. However, the EV type may be extended to a longer time if there were other married children in the village. In fact, almost all the migrated children of Family No.39 had got married to people from other villages, including daughter2 who returned to Bogor immediately after her wedding ceremony in the village to start her family there. The extension of households of non nuclear family members were temporary in nature, while it may occur in a longer time. The temporary nature of the extension of the nuclear family was shown by the separation of the children's nuclear family from the parent's households once they were ready to build a house of their own, while parents who joined their children's family were already old.

The personal changes of family members will affect the structure of the household which in turn will also affect the household structure in aggregate numbers. Social and economic factors that work from outside of households, such as the increasing of women's participation in the workforce, industrialisation, the scarcity of agricultural land or the shortage of housing facilities, will affect many

households and eventually result in aggregate changes in household structure too. The outmigration of the children of Family No.39 mostly occurred at a very young age, around 15 years, after they finished primary school and no one ever returned to the house. This was caused by the lack of resources owned by the household to provide the children with an education or provision of agricultural land in addition to employment scarcity in the village. This situation has been experienced by many other households in the village that sent their young children to work in the city as has been explained in previous sections. By migrating to the city the children have a greater opportunity to meet their future spouses from other villages and probably will prevent further land fragmentation in the village. If all of Family No. 39 children had lived in the village, the 10 families, the parents and nine children, would live in a very dense area of 560 sq. meters. That is unlikely to happen, as seven out of nine children now live in different places.

### **6.8. Conclusion**

For the villager, migration is not a new phenomenon; they were familiar with terms like *merantau* for temporary migration and *pindah* for permanently migrated. There were 609 (out of 1,711) village-born people in this sample who had migrated to other villages in the two types of migration, 38 per cent as temporary and 62 per cent as permanent migrants. The majority of migrant went to Jabotabek and Bandung to work because of the greater employment opportunities. In addition to the desire to gain work, marriage was also a main reason of migration. The process of chain migration (Caldwell 1969) has affected in selecting the destination areas of migration. The majority of outmigrants went to areas where they have relatives or friends to help them in the process of adjustment to the city. The decision to migrate mostly was decided by the migrants themselves and to send remittances

back home was not obligatory, except for those who were household heads, although remittances were also sent to the family back home to support their siblings' education or other family expenses. The remittances, however, were important to improve family welfare in the village. The remittances commonly reduced when the children were married. Besides sending remittances, outmigrants still maintained contact with the family back home by visiting them at least once a year on *Hari Raya*. The visits became less frequent when they were married. With they married the priority to provide support was shifted from family of orientation to family of procreation. This behaviour is in accordance with the nuclear family characteristic of the Javanese kinship system (Geertz 1961) where the nuclear family is an autonomous unit that is separated from the extended family. The other Javanese kinship characteristic that is bilateral (Geertz 1961) was expressed, among other things, in the way married couples have paid significant attention to both their family of orientations by sending them remittances and visiting them in *Hari Raya*.

The migrant household (M) was defined as a household which contains outmigrants, while one without outmigrants was classified as a non-migrant household (NM). The relationship between migration and household has been analysed using two measurements, the size and the structure of the household. The NM household size is larger than the M household, because of the greater contribution of the nuclear family that contains a husband, wife and children in NM households on the one hand and the other caused by the larger number of single person households (size=1) and nuclear family consisting of husband and wife only (size=2) within the M households. If we take a look at the structure of sample households, it can be concluded that the majority of the household were of the nuclear family (NF) type of household, although percentage of NF type of

households is higher among NM households (72.6 per cent) than M households (39.4 per cent). The M households live in a greater variation of structures than the NM households. More M households were in structures of the single person type (SPF), extended vertical (EV), single parent (ErF) and temporary eroded family (TErF) than those for NM households. The differences between M and NM households, in term of their sizes and structures occur as a natural consequence of family life cycle. In fact, most M households consisted of families at the later stages of the family life cycle, while NM households were mostly in the early stage. That can be seen from the older of average age M household heads, the longer of average length of marriage of M household heads and the smaller average number of children under 15 years in M households. This means that M households were more likely to have independent children who live elsewhere to work or to set up their own households than NM households. In the future the NM households can become M households eventually when their adult children migrate to the city. Migration specifically has created temporary eroded family (TErF) type of households in the village. The heads of these families are not living with the rest of family members in the village for most of the year, because they have to work in the city. Although, these household heads have been working in the city for years, they regarded themselves as temporary migrants because they do not intend to migrate permanently to the city.

This chapter aimed to establish the magnitude, types and directions of outmigration from sample households based on the information given by the family left behind. The next chapter will provide an explanation of the migration process based on information from destination and from migrants themselves.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Migrants in the Destination Area

As indicated in Chapter Two, this study used the 'tracing' method to collect information directly from migrants in their destination areas. The destination area concentrated on here is Bandung, West Java based on considerations of the availability of addresses of migrants in Bandung and its relatively smaller area compared to Jakarta or Botabek, which made it possible to visit more migrants who live around Bandung. Bandung, including both *Kotamadya* and *Kabupaten* areas, is the second largest destination area of migrants from Wonosigro village after Jabotabek. This chapter describes the outmigrants in Bandung area, especially regarding the process of job seeking and living arrangements based on case studies. The cases here were 16 outmigrants in Bandung who were interviewed and visited several times. These cases were chosen because they have family relationships with each other. The number of outmigrants from household samples in the village of origin who currently reside in Bandung were 124 people or 20.4 per cent of the total outmigrants from the origin village. This chapter begins with an overview of the Bandung area and other social and economic conditions that have attracted people to migrate there. Following this a description of the destination area village will be presented to examine problems on land utilisation, population registration, employment opportunities and living conditions.

#### 7.1. Overview of Destination Area

##### 7.1.1. Bandung

Bandung is the Capital of West Java Province (see Figure 2.3.) and the centre of Sundanese culture (Ekadjati, 1995). Bandung lies in the centre of the

Priangan Highlands with only a small lowland area in the northwestern section with climate favourable to agriculture.<sup>1</sup> The Bandung Region consists of *Kabupaten* Bandung and the *Kotamadya* of Bandung over 3,122 sq. km. area. The population has grown rapidly since the turn of the 20th century as well as in its population density. Table 7.1. shows the number of population, yearly growth rate and population density from 1980 to 1995. Based on SUPAS 1995, the population of Bandung Region was 5,739,353 and 41 per cent (2,356,120) lived in *Kotamadya* area which only had 5.4 per cent (168 sq. km.) of the total area making this a densely settled with 14,020 persons per sq. km. The population in the *Kotamadya*

Table 7.1. Bandung: Number of Population, Population Growth Rate and Population Density, 1980-1995.

	SP 1980 (N)	Growth Rate <sup>a)</sup> (per cent p.a.)	SP 1990 (N)	Growth Rate <sup>b)</sup> (per cent p.a.)	SUPAS 1995 (N)
<b>Bandung Kabupaten:</b>					
No. of Population	2,669,200		3,201,332		3,383,233
Growth Rate		1.99		1.14	
Density per sq. km.	904		1,084		1,145
<b>Bandung Kotamadya:</b>					
No. of Population	1,461,407		2,058,122		2,356,120
Growth Rate		4.08		2.90	
Density per sq. km.	8,696		12,246		14,020
<b>Bandung Region:</b>					
No. of Population	4,130,607		5,259,454		5,739,353
Growth Rate		2.73		1.82	
Density per sq. km.	1,323		1,684		1,838
Notes: a) Growth Rate 1980-1990 b) Growth Rate 1995-1995					
Source: Indonesian Population Censuses (SP) 1980 and 1990 Indonesian Intercensal Survey (SUPAS) 1995					

<sup>1</sup> For a more comprehensive description of West Java and the Bandung Region see Hugo (1978), Hardjono (1988) and Chapter Four.



of Bandung grew by 4.1 per cent per annum in the 1980-1990 period and 2.9 per cent per annum in the period 1990-1995. The population growth in the Bandung area in 1980-1990 was mostly influenced by reclassification (43.2 per cent), natural increase (46.8 per cent) and only 10 per cent by net migration (Gardiner, 1997).

Table 7.2 shows that in 1995, the inter-provincial migrant population in Bandung area was 8.1 per cent of the total population (N=463,157) meaning that 8.1 per cent of Bandung population were not West Java-born. Some 77.8 per cent (N=360,180) of those migrants live in the *kotamadya* area and the remainder live in the *kabupaten*. Some 94.6 per cent (N=438,209) live in urban areas, while 48 per cent (N=222,462) were females. The growth rate of inter-provincial migrants into Bandung has decreased from 5.8 per cent per annum in 1980-1990 to 2.5 per cent per annum in 1990-1995 period. The largest decrease in the rate of inter-provincial migration occurred in the *kabupaten* area which reduced to - 0.9 per cent per annum in 1990-1995 from 7.3 per cent per annum in 1980-1990. While in the *kotamadya* area the migrants growth rate has reduced from 5.2 per cent per annum in 1980-1990 to 4.1 per cent per annum 1990-1995. Hence the migration to the *kotamadya* area did not change much between the two periods. As has been mentioned before, the expansion of the *kotamadya* area into the *kabupaten* has not only influenced the population growth rates between two periods, but it has also affected migrant growth rates.

Table 7.2. present data on the intra-provincial migration in West Java, based on SUPAS 1995, especially those who moved from other *DATI II* areas to Bandung. If the inter-provincial and intra-provincial types of migrant are combined the total non-Bandung-born people is 1,085,822 or 18.9 per cent of the total Bandung population. This means that intra-provincial migration is higher than

inter-provincial migration. The intra-provincial migration did not separate *Kotamadya*-born who are living in *Kabupaten* area and *vice versa*. When we separate the area, the *Kotamadya* of Bandung has 35.45 per cent (N=835,360) of the population born outside the *kotamadya* area, while within *Kabupaten* of Bandung there are 433,552 persons (12.8 per cent) who were born outside the *kabupaten* area. If we separate intra-provincial migration, 10 per cent of *Kabupaten*

Table 7.2. Bandung: Number of Intra and Inter Provincial Immigrants 1995.

Type of Migration	<i>Kotamadya</i> Area	<i>Kabupaten</i> Area	Bandung
<b>1. Inter-provincial</b>	<b>360,180</b>	<b>102, 977</b>	<b>463,157</b>
<i>Urban</i>	-	-	438,209 (94.6 %)
<i>Rural</i>	-	-	24,948 ( 5.4 %)
<i>Male</i>	-	-	240,695 (52.0 %)
<i>Female</i>	-	-	222,462 (48,0 %)
2. Intra-provincial <sup>a)</sup>	475,180	330, 575	-
<b>3. Intra-provincial<sup>b)</sup></b>	<b>410,320</b>	<b>212, 345</b>	<b>622,665</b>
<i>Male</i>	-	-	300,619 (48,3 %)
<i>Female</i>	-	-	322,045 (51.7 %)
<b>Total</b>	<b>835,360<sup>c)</sup></b>	<b>433,552<sup>e)</sup></b>	<b>1,085,822<sup>d)</sup></b>
Total Population	2,356,120	3, 383, 233	5,739,353
% Migrants <sup>e)</sup>	35.5	12.8	18.9
% Inter-provincial <sup>f)</sup>	15.3	3.0	8.1
% Intra-provincial <sup>g)</sup>	17.4	9.8	10.9
Inter-provincial Migrants Growth Rate (% per annum):			
1980-1990	5.2	7.3	5.8
1990-1995	4.1	- 0.9	2.5
Notes: a) Including <i>Kabupaten</i> -born people for migrant in <i>Kotamadya</i> area <i>vice versa</i> b) <i>Kabupaten</i> -born people are excluding from number of migrants in <i>Kotamadya</i> area and <i>vice versa</i> c) Total 1 + 2 d) Total 1 + 3 e) c or d per Total Population f) Inter-provincial migrants per Total Population g) Intra-provincial migrants per Total Population			
Source: 1995 Indonesian Intercensal Population Survey Data 1980 and 1990 Indonesian Population Censuses Data			

of Bandung population were born in other regencies in West Java, while 23.8 per cent of *Kotamadya* of Bandung population were born outside *kotamadya*. The smaller percentage of migrants in Kabupaten of Bandung is caused by the tendency for the development of industrial areas in the urban periphery which attracts migrants that eventually will lead to a reclassification of the rural areas to become urban areas (Firman and Dharmapatni 1995, Gardiner 1997). In the *kabupaten* area the number of intra-provincial migrants is triple the number of inter-provincial migrants, while in the *kotamadya* the difference is 30 per cent only. The large intra-provincial migration in the *Kabupaten* area may be caused by the fact that geographically the *Kabupaten* area shares borders with other regencies that make it easier for people from adjacent regencies to move to Kabupaten of Bandung. This movement may be more traditional in nature rather than influenced by economic reasoning, such as in the case with most inter-provincial migrants.

In 1995, the majority of inter-provincial migrants were Central Java-born which comprised up to 38.8 per cent of total migrants, while the second largest group were from East Java province (16.2 per cent). The largest contributor from outside Java was North Sumatra (10.5 per cent). As has been explained in Chapter Four, the closeness of Central Java to Bandung has made travel between the two areas easy. The origin provinces of migrants for Bandung area are depicted in Table 7.3.

Table 7.4. presented the intra-provincial immigration and outmigration data for the Bandung area. Intra-provincial immigrants in Bandung was 11.8 per cent (N=622,664), while the outmigrants from Bandung to other *DATI II* areas was 300,040, making net intra-provincial migration 322,624 persons, some 55.65 per cent were females. The major contributors to intra-provincial immigration in

Bandung were from adjacent areas (See Figure 2.3.), such as Garut *kabupaten* with 30.3 per cent, Tasikmalaya (14.4 per cent) and Sumedang (11.9 per cent). On the other hand, the major destination areas of outmigrants from Bandung were the

Table 7.3. Bandung: Inter-provincial Immigration By Place of Birth 1995.

Place of Birth	Number			Percentage		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
DI Aceh	1,380	-	1,380	0.57	-	0.30
North Sumatra	30,062	18,562	48,624	<b>12.49</b>	<b>8.34</b>	<b>10.50</b>
West Sumatra	8,459	10,478	18,937	3.51	4.71	4.09
Riau	2,939	2,760	5,699	1.22	1.24	1.23
Jambi	2,760	460	3,220	1.15	0.21	0.70
South Sumatra	5,699	8,817	14,516	2.37	3.96	3.13
Bengkulu	460	920	1,380	0.19	0.41	0.30
Lampung	5,831	6,992	12,823	2.42	3.14	2.77
DKI Jakarta	25,181	12,731	37,912	<b>10.46</b>	<b>5.72</b>	<b>8.19</b>
Central Java	85,508	94,201	179,709	<b>35.53</b>	<b>42.34</b>	<b>38.80</b>
DI Yogyakarta	6,440	12,599	19,039	2.68	5.66	4.11
East Java	36,944	37,944	74,888	<b>15.35</b>	<b>17.06</b>	<b>16.17</b>
Bali and Nusa Tenggara	7,437	920	8,357	3.09	0.41	1.80
Kalimantan Island	1,840	3,680	5,520	0.76	1.65	1.19
Sulawesi Island	12,395	5,418	17,813	5.15	2.44	3.85
Maluku and Irian Jaya	2,300	2,300	4,600	0.96	1.03	0.99
NA	5,060	3,680	8,740	2.10	1.65	1.89
Total Inter-provincial	240,695	222,462	463,157	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: 1995 Indonesian Intercensal Population Survey

adjacent regencies, such as Cianjur (12.2 per cent), Garut (7.2 per cent), Tasikmalaya (6.1 per cent) and Sumedang (7.3 per cent), and Botabek areas, that is Bogor (10.8 per cent), Tangerang (13.2 per cent) and Bekasi (9.1 per cent). The immigrants from adjacent regencies outnumbered the outmigrants therefore the net intra-provincial migration from these regencies was positive. In contrast, the

Table 7.4. Bandung: Intra-provincial Migration, 1995

DATI II	In from:			Out To:			Net Migration:		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Pandeglang	0.46	0.71	0.59	1.51	1.24	1.38	(996)	536	(460)
Lebak	0.96	0.90	0.93	0.62	0.66	0.64	1,914	1,949	3,863
Bogor	1.27	1.29	1.28	10.58	8.38	9.54	(12,858)	(7,803)	(20,661)
Sukabumi	2.41	2.43	2.42	4.69	4.83	4.76	(136)	956	820
Cianjur	7.48	6.37	6.90	11.64	12.88	12.23	4,128	2,153	6,281
Garut	29.99	30.62	30.31	9.33	4.81	7.18	75,456	91,756	167,212
Tasikmalya	15.48	13.39	14.40	5.43	6.79	6.07	37,970	33,456	71,426
Ciamis	6.96	7.94	7.47	5.57	5.53	5.55	12,144	17,702	29,846
Kuningan	2.30	3.17	2.75	0.57	0.40	0.49	6,019	9,625	15,644
Cirebon	4.54	3.34	3.92	1.80	0.26	1.07	10,802	10,381	21,183
Majalengka	2.34	4.65	3.54	1.90	1.60	1.76	4,040	12,700	16,740
Sumedang	10.40	13.28	11.89	7.46	7.12	7.30	19,497	32,629	52,126
Indramayu	1.17	1.71	1.45	1.41	3.01	2.17	1,295	1,229	2,524
Subang	2.28	2.91	2.61	3.06	2.17	2.63	2,052	6,294	8,346
Purwakarta	1.90	0.66	1.26	2.86	4.37	3.58	1,187	(4,090)	(2,903)
Karawang	2.26	1.52	1.88	3.59	2.66	3.14	1,149	1,127	2,276
Bekasi	0.40	0.81	0.61	6.19	12.33	9.11	(8,534)	(14,975)	(23,509)
Tangerang	0.31	0.14	0.22	8.76	8.37	8.57	(12,880)	(11,468)	(24,348)
Serang	3.03	0.71	1.83	5.31	2.38	3.92	731	(1,087)	(356)
Kod Bogor	0.92	1.29	1.11	1.37	1.04	1.22	594	2,658	3,252
Kod Sukbumi	0.61	1.00	0.81	1.29	1.43	1.36	(200)	1,180	980
Kod Cirebon	2.30	1.14	1.70	1.53	1.99	1.75	4,486	846	5,332
Kod Tangerang	0.25	-	0.12	3.52	5.76	4.58	(4,788)	(8,202)	(12,990)
Total Migrants	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	143,072	179,552	322,624
Total Migrants (N)	300,619	322,045	622,664	157,547	142,493	300,040	-	-	-
% By Sex	48.28	51.72	100.00	52.51	47.49	100.00	44.35	55.65	100.00

Source: 1995 Indonesian Intercensal Population Survey

number of outmigrants to Botabek areas was greater than the immigrants from the areas, making negative net intra-provincial migration from Botabek. Industrialisation in the Botabek area has attracted migrants from Bandung in larger numbers than Bandung's industrialisation has attracted migrants from Botabek.

Within an industrial development context, the Bandung area is very important as one of the centres of textile industries in Indonesia, which produces about 25 per cent of the total national output (Hill 1992, p.27). As shown in Table 7.5. in 1994, within *Kotamadya* Bandung area, 56.7 per cent (N=353) of large and medium industries are classified in industrial code ISIC 32 which includes textiles, garments, leather and footwear (BPS 1994). While in Bandung *Kabupaten* around 52 per cent (N=441) of total large and medium industries are classified in ISIC 32 (BPS 1993). These industries are generally characterised by labour intensiveness. In *Kotamadya* Bandung, industries classified as ISIC 32 absorbed 64.9 per cent

Table 7.5. Number of Establishments and Workers of Large and Medium Industries in *Kotamadya* Bandung (1994) and *Kabupaten* Bandung (1993)

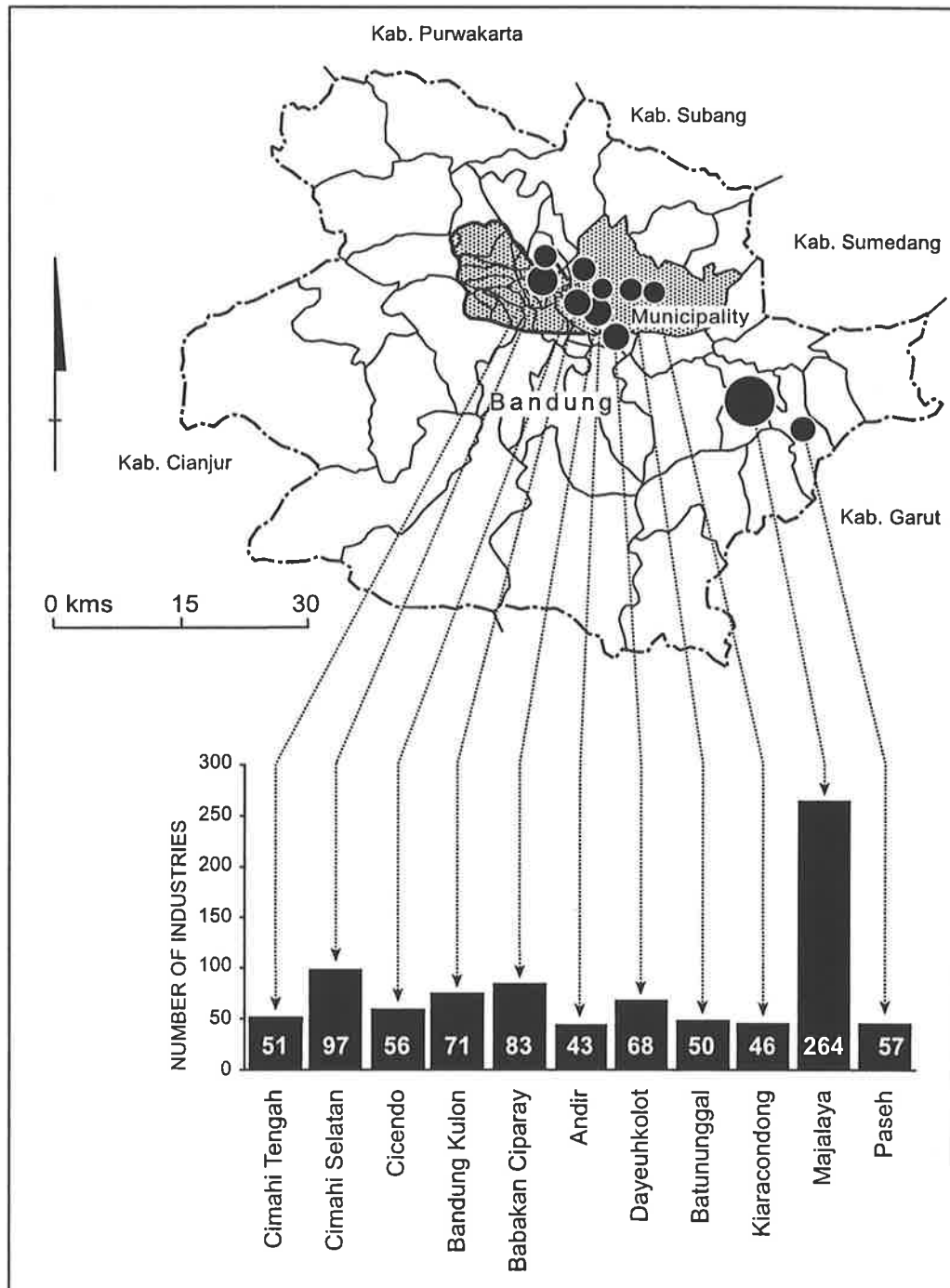
	Bandung <i>Kotamadya</i> <sup>a)</sup>		Bandung <i>Kabupaten</i> <sup>b)</sup>	
	Establishment	Worker	Establishment	Worker
All Industries	623	135,764	848	
Only ISIC 32 <sup>c)</sup>	353	88,051	441	113,383
per cent ISIC 32	56.7	64.9	52.0	
Notes: a) Source: Kodya Bandung Dalam Angka 1994, BPS, Bandung 1994 b) Source: Kabupaten Bandung Dalam Angka 1993, BPS, Bandung 1993 c) ISIC 32 including textiles, garments, leather and footwear industries.				

(N=88,051) of the total workers in all types of industries or on average each industry employed 258 workers, whereas in Bandung *Kabupaten* all ISIC 32 industries employed 113,383 workers or 257 on average. Bandung area has relatively greater employment opportunities than other regions in West Java, except Botabek area, and hence attracts migrants from all over Indonesia.

Migrants who are employed in those industries live nearby for easier transportation to and from their work places. Based on 1994 Bandung *Kotamadya* Statistics (BPS 1994), almost all districts, except Cidadap, have large and medium<sup>2</sup> industries within their areas, although the number of establishments is not evenly distributed (See Figure 7.1.). Several *kecamatan*s have more than 40 establishments, such as Bandung Kulon (71), Babakan Ciparay (83), Cicendo (56), Batununggal (50), Kiaracandong (46) and Andir (43), while several others have less than 10 establishments. On the other hand, in *Kabupaten* Bandung industry is are Paseh (57), Majalaya (264), Dayeuh Kolot (68), Cimahi Selatan (97) and Cimahi Tengah (51), while several *kecamatan*s have less than 10 establishments.

<sup>2</sup>Large industries are all industries that employed 100 workers and more, while medium industries are those that employed 20 to 99 workers (BPS, 1986)

Figure 7.1. Bandung, West Java: Distribution of Industry Establishments, 1994



Accordingly, it is more likely to find migrants in those *kecamatan*, such as in *Kecamatan Dayeuh Kolot* where most of the listed-outmigrants<sup>3</sup> from Wonosigro

<sup>3</sup>Listed-outmigrants are those outmigrants recorded from sample households in the primary research in Wonosigro village

village who work in the formal sector<sup>4</sup> live. Many of them live in the same neighbourhood in Pasawahan village because they were working in the same textile factory nearby and come from the same village, they have familial relationships with each other. *Kelurahan* Pasawahan in *Kecamatan* Dayeuh Kolot has been selected to study the destination area of migration to make possible a comparison with the village of origin. However, data collection on individual migrants was not limited only to those who live in *Kelurahan* Pasawahan but has been extended to Bandung City to find migrants who work in the informal sector.

### 7.1.2. Dayeuh Kolot District

Dayeuh Kolot was one of 41 *kecamatan*s in *Kabupaten* Bandung in 1993. The *Kecamatan* is located in the southern part of Bandung and it shares borders with *Kotamadya* Bandung in the north, Bojongsoang district in the east, Margahayu district in the west and Baleendah district in the south. The *kecamatan* consists of six villages, one of them is *Kelurahan* Pasawahan. In 1995, the district covered an area of 10,79 km<sup>2</sup> or 0.41 per cent of the total *Kabupaten* Bandung area, with a total population of 77,103 people or 2.28 per cent of the total *Kabupaten* Bandung population making the population density 7,146 persons per km<sup>2</sup>. The *kecamatan* area has decreased considerably due to integration of some parts with the *Kotamadya* and division into two *kecamatan*s in 1989<sup>5</sup>. This was caused by the rapid industrial development within the area that was followed by rapid growth of population.

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<sup>4</sup>According to Hart (1983), formal employment opportunities include public and private sectors and transfer payments, such as pensions and unemployment benefits, while all kinds of own-account employment, either legal or illegal activities, are classified as informal employment opportunities. Wage employment is relatively secure in terms of being fixed, regular and relatively permanent compared to non-wage opportunities.

<sup>5</sup>In 1988 (BPS, 1988) *Kecamatan* Dayeuh Kolot covered an area of 25,32 km<sup>2</sup> and consisted of 15 villages with a population of 168,584 people.



The rapid industrial development in the area has subsequently reduced the agricultural land to only 153.37 hectare of wetland and 14.43 hectare of dry land. However, more than half of the employed population were engaged in agricultural employment while only 2,299 persons worked as an industrial labourer. The number of industrial workers is highly underestimated because there are 81 large and medium industries which employed 21,617 workers, 27 small-scale industries with 617 workers and 313 petty industries with 664 workers as reported by the *Kecamatan* Dayeuh Kolot office in 1995. This situation indicated that the majority of migrant workers in this area did not report themselves to the village to be recorded as village residents. It means that the actual number of population as well as the population density in this *kecamatan* are both much higher than the numbers mentioned above.

Although there are many industrial companies operating in the area, the living condition of the people has not improved as expected<sup>6</sup>, the living condition of the people and the area is still low, despite its closeness to the *Kotamadya* area. Two reasons may have caused this situation. Firstly although there are many industries operating in the area, only their low-paid workers live in the area, consequently their buying capacity was also very low. Secondly, as the majority of factory workers are migrants who send the biggest part of their income to their family in the village this has meant a smaller disposable income to spend here. Based on the Strategic Area Development Planning (*Ind. Rencana Pengembangan Kawasan Strategis*) from Regional Planning Body of the *Kabupaten* Bandung, *Kecamatan* Dayeuh Kolot was designated to become an Industrial and Residential Area. According to the Secretary of *Kecamatan*, there was only one factory in

Dayeuh Kolot run by a Chinese businessperson, but it has been mushrooming very rapidly, especially within the last two decades. Investors are attracted to put their capital in this area because of the closeness to the *Kotamadya* area and the easiness of transportation. An overview of Kelurahan Pasawahan where the majority of outmigrants from Wonosigro village work and live will be presented in the following sub-section. The locations of Dayeuh Kolot district and *Kelurahan* Pasawahan are depicted in Figure 2.4.

### **7.1.3. Kelurahan Pasawahan**

#### **a. Location and Land Utilisation**

*Kelurahan* Pasawahan is an urbanised village or '*desa-kota*' (McGee 1971) and formally called as '*Kelurahan*' instead of a '*Desa*' based on Law No 5/1979 on Village Administration. The village chairman is a Civil Servant from the Department of Internal Affairs who was appointed by the Government. In return for his service, the person receives a monthly salary, instead of '*bengkok*'. However, the term village will be used throughout this chapter. The village lies in the middle of the *kecamatan* area and shared borders with four villages Cangkuang Wetan, Sukapura, Citeureup and Dayeuh Kolot, while on the northern side it is off the Padaleunyi (Padalarang-Cileunyi) Toll Road. The total area of the village is 192.16 hectare, since 1989 when some 62.23 hectare on the northern side of the toll road was integrated into the *Kotamadya* Bandung area. The land use of the village is showed in Table 7.6. The rice-field as well as dry land have diminished very quickly from about 160.50 hectare in December 1981 to zero hectare in December 1995. Within 15 years the land use has been transformed from agricultural usage to an industrial area. This is driven by the development of textile and garment industries in the area

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<sup>6</sup>According to the Secretary of *Kecamatan* Dayeuh Kolot in an interview on the 27 March 1996.

in the 1980s. One of the textile industries, ITEX, has been relocated from Majalaya. According to one of the employees who have been working there since it was located in Majalaya and also knew the process of development of the new factory in Pasawahan, ITEX factory is using modern production systems to produce an export-oriented product. The residential areas mainly lay in the northern side of the village, nearby the Toll Road and along side of Citepus road and along the Citarum riverbank. The majority of migrants from Wonosigro live in RW 06, near ITEX industry where the majority of them are working.

Table 7.6. Land Use of Pasawahan Village per December 1981 and 1995

Land Use	1981		1995	
	Hectare	Percentage	Hectare	Percentage
1. Industry	-	0.0	106.26	55.3
2. Shops/Tradings	-	0.0	3.48	1.8
3. Agricultural Land	160.50	58.7	0	0
4. Housing Compound	92.22	33.8	82.39	42.9
5. Fish Pond	19.00	6.9	0	0
6. Other Lands (graveyard, market, <i>wakaf</i> etc.)	1.52	0.6	0.03	0.0
Total	273.23	100.0	192.16	100.0
In 1989 some part has been integrated with Bandung <i>Kotamadya</i> and became part of Padaleunyi Toll Road.			81.07 (29.67 per cent of 1981 area)	
Source: Pasawahan Village Monograph, 1981 and 1995				

#### b. Main Source of Living: Textile Factory Employment

As a logical consequence of the total land use transformation in the village, the main occupation of the villagers had been shifted from agriculture to industry and services. In 1981, there were about 600 persons working as farmers, while in 1995 the number has declined to 27 people. The main occupations recorded are 'private sector' (3,512 people) and 'business persons or traders' (1,988 persons),

services (1,080 people) and 'civil servants' (70 people). 'Private', in fact, means working in factories which are owned by the private sector, while business persons or traders are small 'own-account' businesses that provide most of the everyday households needs, such as stall and kiosk owners selling foodstuffs or cooked food for factory workers. The village statistics only record local and permanent residents, hence the number reported working in the 'private sector' may be low as most migrant workers are not registered in the village office.

Table 7.7. presents the distribution of household heads' main occupation in RW 06 is differentiated by migration status. The data were compiled from Family Cards and Temporary Resident Cards as well as the RT's population notes where information on temporary migrants who had reported themselves were recorded. As not all temporary migrants reported themselves to the village officials, there is a possibility of under-enumeration of the migrant population in the village. The majority of household heads in migration status are working as private labour, which comprise 57.1 per cent, 91.9 per cent and 98.6 per cent respectively for local, permanent and temporary residents. This shows that migrants came to this village

Table 7.7. Distribution of Occupation of Household Heads By Migration Status in RW 06, Pasawahan Village 1996

Occupation	Local	Permanent	Temporary	Total
1. Private Labour	89 ( 57.1)	192 ( 91.9)	356 ( 98.6)	637 ( 87.7)
2. Trader	10 ( 6.4)	3 ( 1.4)	2 ( 0.6)	15 ( 2.1)
3. Business	24 ( 15.4)	6 ( 2.9)	2 ( 0.6)	32 ( 4.4)
4. Civil Servant	5 ( 3.2)	-	-	5 ( 0.7)
5. Other <sup>a)</sup>	6 ( 3.8)	5 ( 2.4)	1 ( 0.3)	12 ( 1.7)
6. Not Working <sup>b)</sup>	2 ( 1.3)	1 ( 0.5)	-	3 ( 0.4)
7. NA	20 ( 12.8)	2 ( 1.0)	-	22 ( 3.0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>156 (100.0)</b>	<b>209 (100.0)</b>	<b>361 (100.0)</b>	<b>726 (100.0)</b>
Notes: a) Includes general labourer, farmer, construction worker and pensioner.				
b) Includes housewife and looking for work				
Source: Family Cards and Temporary Resident Cards of RT 01 to 04, RW 06, Kelurahan Pasawahan, Bandung 1996.				

because they were attracted to factory employment opportunities. Other occupations, such as trading are dominated by local people. They open stalls or kiosks to provide food, groceries or cooked food, to meet the migrant workers' needs. They also provide credit, especially for food, to migrant workers. They allow migrants to take any food they want, to be paid for on payday either weekly, fortnightly or monthly.

Some local residents also are circular migrants or commuters as well as sent permanent migrants to other villages and many had sold their land to industrialists. They work as civil servants or labourer in many factories in Bandung city or Jabotabek. According to one of RW headman, a Bandung-born who has retired from a textile industry job after 27 years, the local people tend not to take up jobs in the textile industries in the village because the salary is less than they require. Furthermore one RW headman, based on his own experience, explained that it was actually factory policy to hire migrants, especially ethnic Javanese people, as opposed to local people. This is because the factories believe the migrants are more loyal workers than is the case for local people and the latter are more likely to protest about inferior conditions. On the other hand another informant suggested that in recent years there was increased demand to employ more local people in factories and activities to recruit workers directly from Javanese villages had been reduced<sup>7</sup>. The recruitment strategy applied by the factories since then was open competition meaning that everyone is allowed to apply for the vacancies and the factories will select the most suitable applicants for each position. As the quality of labour force has improved in terms of a higher proportion being made up of high

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<sup>7</sup>This information was given by SI (M, 45 years) a migrant worker from Wonosigro village who used to recruit workers from villages in Kebumen. This activity had stopped since 1981.

school educated applicants, the factories had used the situation to select the best applicants. For example, the lowest position in the textile production lines, the weaving section is now being offered to senior high school graduates. This type of position two decade ago used to be given to uneducated persons as is illustrated below:

‘C12 (F, 25 years) wanted to re-enter Mtex industry, her former employer, after she had left it for sometimes. She is a high school graduate. Although, she used to work there she was not given special treatment in her application, she has been treated as a new applicant. Unfortunately she was offered a job in the weaving section. This job is similar to what her uneducated mother did 20 years ago. She refused the job for health reasons.’

Despite, making formal application to the factory management, a personal connection with someone already employed is usually needed to be successful in getting a job. This inside person is needed to guarantee the new worker will abide by factory rules. The guarantor has responsibility for any wrongdoings of the workers they had given recommendation to. Therefore, the workers will try to avoid mistakes because they do not wish to get their guarantors into trouble. The majority of the guarantors either have some familial relationship with the recruits or are very close friends. Hence, a problem created in the working place might be escalated to a broader family or kinship group and include the family back home. While migrants in the city have become more independent in that they do not depend too much upon their family or relatives for their survival, their family in the village may still consider it important to maintain a good relationship among family members. The important role of guarantors in the recruitment process has meant that the open competition approach introduced by the factories is not working very well, except for jobs at managerial levels. Although the factory managements will announce vacancies publicly, the factory workers usually know about the vacancies

first and they will tell their relatives or friends who need jobs, before they are publicly advertised. They will help them to complete the required application documents and even lend some test materials to their friends or relatives. However, not everyone can become a guarantor, rather only dependable workers who had been working in the company for a long time and have performed well. Therefore, the prospective recruits will usually be introduced to the prospective guarantors to help them get a position through their already employed friends or relatives once they became aware of vacancies. It means that new recruits will not only be morally responsible to their guarantors but also to their friends or relatives who act as mediators. Two examples are as follows:

1. C8 (M, 24 years) knew about vacancies in the Itex factory from his friend from the same hamlet in Wonosigro village C7 (M, 26 years) who was already employed in the factory. C7 introduced C8 to Suk (M, 43 years) who also came from the same hamlet and who works as a security guard in the factory to be his guarantor which proved to be successful.
2. C12 (F, 25 years) has been guaranteed by her friend, C16 (F, 26 years), to fill one of the vacancies in the factory. To deal with the tighter competition in 1996, C16 has supplied C12 with information about the new recruitment strategy, including test materials. Unfortunately, C16 was only able to offer C12 a vacancy in the weaving section which was refused by C12 to avoid any health risk she may have in the future.

### c. Population and Population Registration

In 1995, there were 12,469 people (6,231 males and 6,248 females) who live in 3,563 households in the study village or 3.5 people, on the average, in each household. This number may be lower than the actual number of people who live in the village as most migrants did not register themselves to the village office<sup>8</sup>. If the new migrants brought along a Change of Residence Letter (*Ind. Surat Pindah*) from

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<sup>8</sup>The population registration in *Kalurahan* Pasawahan refers to Regional Regulation of The Bandung *Kabupaten* Number 12, 1993 on Population Registration Implementation in Bandung *Kabupaten* (*Ind. Peraturan Daerah Kabupaten Daerah Tingkat II Bandung Nomor 12 Tahun 1993*)

their village of origin and intended to change their residence permanently, they will be provided with a new KTP and a new Family Card and they will be counted as being in the village population. When they do not have a Change of Residency Letter from their village of origin and do not intend to change their residence, they will receive only a Temporary Residence Letter as their legal identification card. These identity cards are needed if the bearers need a Certificate of Good Behaviour (*Ind. Surat Keterangan Kelakuan Baik or SKKB*) from the police to complete a job application document. However, not all migrants want to change their residency or need an SKKB and therefore they did not report themselves to the village. Some of them however, had reported to the RT Headmen on their arrival, either through the rooming house owners or voluntarily by migrants themselves. It is not, however, an obligatory to report on their departure. Often it is not very long after their arrival has been notified to an RT Headmen, that they moved to another rented room which is located in a different RT or village and they do not bother to report to both RT Headmen about their move. As the flow of migrants in and out of one RT to another, or between villages is very high, the documentation of the number of migrants who live in administrative areas has been neglected. The village officials, including the RT and RW Headmen, cannot control the movement of people in Pasawahan. Moreover, this village is located off the Toll Road and one of the main roads in Bandung with very good transportation facilities which make access to the village easy. According to the village Headman, this place is even an ideal hiding place for criminals. Therefore he appeals to all new migrants to report to the RT Headmen on their arrival or when they leave the area to guarantee their safety and



to make it easier to find them. For example, there will be delays in delivery of incoming letters and telegrams or they may be returned to the senders if a migrant's presence is not known to village officials. When they are involved in an accident or with the police they will not be able to get a quick response from the village officials or from other relatives, especially those in their village of origin.

The response of migrants to this request, however, has been less than enthusiastic. The choice of not reporting themselves to the village immediately on their arrival might have been made on the basis that migrants feel secure around their friends and relatives from the same village. As their entry to the village has been through their already settled friends or relatives and they commonly do not intend to be permanent resident, they do not see it as important to formally report their presence in the village. Often, during a social or family-motivated visit new migrants are offered a vacancy in a factory and accept it and they forget to report themselves to the village. Moreover, already settled friends or relatives often do not urge their newly arrived friends to report their arrival to the village office. As long as they follow the rules applied to neighbourhood, they are safe to live in the village. They will report to the village office when they need a proper address to do business with formal offices. For example, when they were offered a vacancy in the factory they need to complete job application documents. All job application documents need a SKKB issued by the Police Office and to get it a proper address certificate, either a KTP or temporary resident letter, issued by the village is needed. The SKKB is locally issued by the *Kabupaten* level administration which includes the *Kabupaten's* KTP as a requirement. Usually, new migrants have brought a SKKB and other legal documents from their village of origin to use when they apply for a job in Bandung. Generally migrants need to apply for a KTP or a Temporary

Resident Card to renew their SKKB when it has expired (usually as SKKB valid for three months), while they have not got a job as yet. They prefer to extend their SKKB in destination areas to save time and money than to extend it in the origin village.

Another reason for not making a formal report was to avoid the cost of the process. When a new migrant visits the RT Headman to report their arrival, they will be asked to fill-in a Report Card or a 'pink card' that will cost them Rp. 5,000. Based on the Report Card, a new migrant will receive a Temporary Resident Card that will be valid for six months. Another reason for them not to report is, in fact, that the majority of migrants live a monotonous life, their mobility is limited to that from their houses to the factories where they are working, the variation is the time they make their moves depends on their work shift. They rarely left the neighbourhood as all their needs are available there. This reduces their need to have an identity card. The ignorance of migrants of the need to report their presence in the village was also influenced by their intention of getting a better job. Therefore they are always ready to move to another place that offers better jobs and they will only come to the village official when they need to renew their expired documents. Nevertheless, many migrants will need a KTP and Family Card once they have families to support, because they have to settle down in one place.

An indication of possible under-documentation of migrants in the system of population registration in a particular area can be gained from the RW 06 population registration records. RW 06 was chosen as the research location because the majority of migrants from Wonosigro village live in this area. The population in RW 06 were divided into three categories, that is local residents, permanent residents and temporary residents. The first two categories already have

a KTP as well as a Family Card issued by the *Kelurahan* Pasawahan office, while the third category, either holds Temporary Resident Card or nothing. Fortunately, the research in the destination area was held at the same time as preparation for the 1997 General Election, which included a comprehensive population registration to estimate the number of prospective voters. The compilation was done by an RT headmen in early 1996. They registered all people who live within RW 06 area on two different household forms, one is for local and permanent residents and the other for temporary residents and undocumented migrants. To fill in the first type of form the Family Card was used as reference, while the undocumented migrants were registered through rooming house owners. While the people in the first form have their own home addresses, the addresses of people on the second form were the names of the owners of the rooming houses where they live. For example, the RT headman will record that Haji X owned two rooming houses consisting of five and seven rooms and the RT headman will fill in the names of the tenants in each room. Therefore Haji X will be recorded as for example living in '*Gang II, No12, RT 01/RW 06*', and all tenants will be given a similar address such as 'Haji X House I' or 'Haji X House II'. Migrants who live in factory *bedengs* will be given an address like '*Itex bedeng*'. Based on the information from those two forms, the total number of people and households as represented by the number of household heads, in RW 06 were counted and are presented in Table 7.8. However, there was no detailed information on individual characteristics for temporary migrants. The figures presented in Table 7.8. may change within a very short time because of the relatively high level of population mobility in RW 06.

The percentage of temporary household heads and residents are relatively high, 49.7 per cent and 40.9 per cent respectively, whereas the number of all

Table 7.8. Number of Population and Household Heads By Residency Status in  
RW 06, Pasawahan Village 1996.

Residency Status	Household Head			Population Total
	Male	Female	Total	
1. Local	145 ( 26.3)	11 ( 6.3)	156 ( 21.5)	639 ( 30.1)
2. Permanent	181 ( 32.8)	28 ( 16.1)	209 ( 28.8)	615 ( 29.0)
3. Temporary	226 ( 40.9)	135 ( 77.6)	361 ( 49.7)	867 ( 40.9)
Total	552 (100.0)	174 (100.0)	726 (100.0)	2,121 (100.0)
Notes: Numbers in the bracket are percentages. Source: Compilation of Population Registration from all Rts in RW 06, Kelurahan Pasawahan 1996.				

migrants or non-local people are almost 70 per cent of the total population and almost 80 per cent of households. This means that the population of RW 06 has almost been replaced by migrants from other villages, although, most housing compounds are still owned by local people who often live elsewhere. The percentage of households is larger among temporary migrants caused by their relatively smaller household size. The number of female household heads is much higher among temporary migrants than other categories. This was caused by the large number of single female migrants employed in the garment and textile industries located in the village. A detailed explanation regarding single female migrants living arrangements is presented in section 7.3.3. The following section will provide information on the general structure of households in RW 06 and how much it differs from the structure in the village of origin.

#### d. Household Structure: A Comparison With Origin Village

The information on household structure in the destination area will be based on data compiled from four RTs in RW 06 comprising of 726 households. As the information on temporary migrants was very limited, only involving names and

sometimes sex, place of work or place of origin; the analysis on household head characteristics will only be based on sex and age. The classification of household structure used here is similar to that been used in previous chapters. The classification based on temporary migrants' records was based on two assumptions. Firstly, every rented room was considered as independent household and the first name on the list of the occupants was considered as the household head. Secondly, when there was only one name listed on the form it is classified as SPF or NonF households if there is no further information on the relationship of the second and other occupants to the first name on the list. When the list contains information on the relationship of other members to household head, it will be classified according to the composition of the relationships. The data on household structure are differentiated by household head's migration status, that is local people (Local), permanent migrants (PM) and temporary migrants (TM) and are compared with similar data from the village of origin.

Distribution of household structure by migration status and location are displayed in Figure 7.2. In both locations, the nuclear family type dominates the household structure, that is 47 per cent (N=127) and 41.7 per cent (N=303) respectively in origin and destination areas. However, when we differentiate by the migration status of household heads, there are meaningful differences in household structure distributions between migrant and non-migrant households in both of the villages. In the origin village, the non-migrant households (NM) are more likely to live in a nuclear family type than other types, while in the destination village nuclear family is the most common type of structure among local people and permanent migrant households. On the other hand, the migrant household (M) structure in origin village was more evenly distributed, whereas in the destination area the

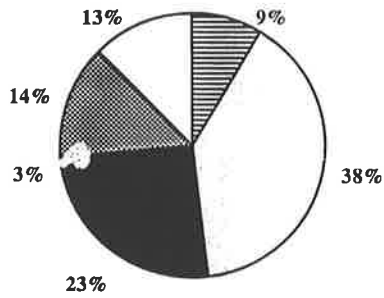
structure of household among temporary migrants was dominated by non-familial types of household for 60.9 per cent (N=220). Another difference in household structure in origin and destination areas is the smaller number of extended family type of household in the destination area than in the origin village. Moreover, in the destination area EH type is larger than EV type, even for M households there is no EV type. The extension of a household in the destination area is more likely caused by the arrival of relatives or friends from the similar origin villages. On the other hand, in the origin village the EV type was higher than the EH type which was caused by the children's families joining their parents' home or elderly parents moving into their children's households.

From data given in Figure 7.2. we can see that the distribution of permanent migrant households was similar to that of local people and quite different from temporary migrants' distribution. Among permanent migrant households can be found a relatively large percentage of Single Person (12.9 per cent) and Non-Familial (12.9 per cent) household types, while 59.8 per cent (N=125) live in the Nuclear Family type. On the other hand, 60.9 per cent (N=220) of temporary migrant households were in a Non-Familial type. The PM households in the destination area had already settled in their new home and have probably planned to stay there for a long time, while the TM migrants prefer to live alone in SPF households or in non-familial households with their friends. These living arrangements are temporary in nature and are suitable for the needs of TM migrants as they have not yet decided where to settle down. Household structure is a relative concept. It is relative to the changes of the personal characteristics or status of each household member (Young 1974). Therefore, an individual can live in

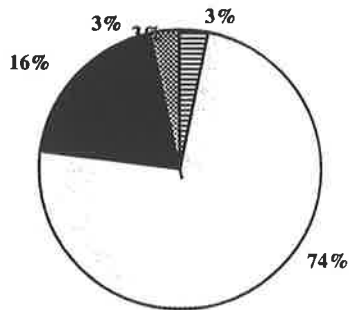
Figure 7.2. Distribution of Household Structures in Origin and Destination Areas.

**Origin Area:**

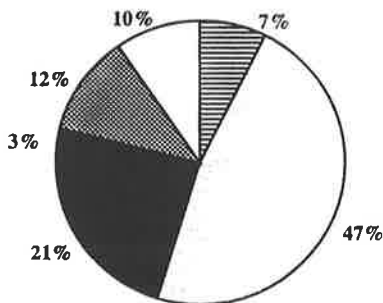
Migrant Households (N=208)



Non-migrant Households (N=62)

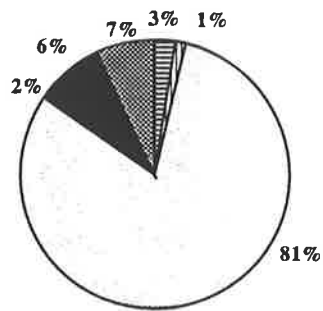


Total Households (N=270)

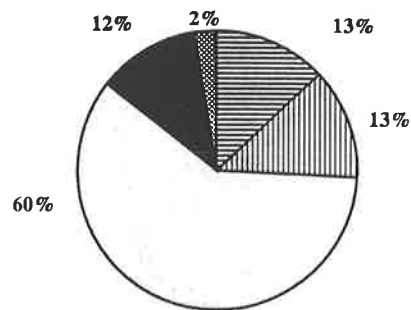


**Destination Area:**

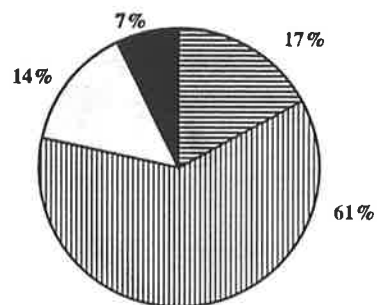
Local People Households (N=156)



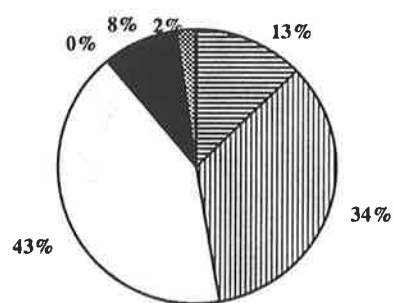
Permanent Migrant Households (N=209)



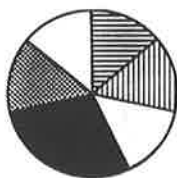
Temporary Migrant Households (N=361)



Total Households (N=726)



**Legend:**



SPF	NonF	NF
EV	EH	ErF
TErF		

**Notes:**

- SPF=Single Person Family
- NonF=Non Familial
- NF=Nuclear Family
- EV=Extended Vertical
- EH=Extended Horizontal
- ErF=Eroded Family
- TErF=Temporary Eroded Family

Source:Field Survey 1995/1996

different household structures throughout their life cycle as they themselves or other household members experience changes in their personal affairs, such as getting married, having children, having grandchildren or loss of their spouses.

The distribution of household structure within a particular group of households will affect the average size of households. The household sizes in the destination area were smaller than those in the origin area (Table 7.9.). The average total household sizes were 3.0 and 4.1 respectively for destination and origin areas. The origin area size was similar to local people's household size in the destination area. The largest size was among non-migrant households in the origin

Table 7.9. Average of Household Size By Household Structure and Migration Status in Origin and Destination Villages, 1995/1996.

Household Structure	Origin Village			Destination Village			
	M	NM	Total	Local	PM	TM	Total
1. SPF	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
2. NonF	-	-	-	2.0	2.6	2.6	2.6
3. NF	3.6	4.7	4.0	4.2	3.4	2.5	3.7
4. EV	5.3	5.3	5.3	5.0	-	-	5.0
5. EH	4.7	5.5	4.9	5.6	4.4	3.7	4.3
6. ErF	4.0	4.0	4.0	3.2	3.0	3.0	3.1
7. TErF	3.9	-	3.9	-	-	-	-
Total	3.9	4.6	4.1	4.1	3.1	2.4	3.0
Notes: M= Migrant Households; NM=Non-migrant Households PM=Permanent Migrants; TM=Temporary Migrants Numbers in brackets are total sample (N) Source: Field Data 1995/1996							

area (4.6), while the smallest size was among temporary migrant households in the destination area (2.4). The relatively larger percentage of SPF type among temporary migrant households contributed to their smaller household size, while the



bigger share of NF type among local people has increased their average household size. In both areas, the biggest household sizes were extended family types, that is around 5 people per household, except for the EH type in the destination area which had only 4.3. The smaller size of the NF type among PM households may, in fact, be due to the tendencies of married workers to send one or more children to be raised and educated in their origin villages, and only look after one or two children in the city.

The characteristics of household heads may also differ between origin and destination area households. The data in Table 7.10. show that the percentage of female-headed households is larger in the destination area (24 per cent) than in the origin area (17 per cent), while the highest percentage of households to be headed by a female among household groups is among temporary migrant households (37.4 per cent). The highest percentage of female-headed households is among SPF and ErF types of households, which is related to the marriage dissolution of the women. However, it is not always that SPF households were in the latter stages of the family life cycle before it is dissolved following the death of one partner and the leaving of the children, but it involves the start of an independent household. The SPF type, as has been explained in Chapter Four, has become an alternative living arrangement among migrants, from both sexes, in destination areas. Therefore, the female-headed households among migrants in the destination area mostly do not involve the latter stages of the family life cycle. This is supported by the fact that a bigger percentage of SPF households are headed by males, which is less likely to happen in the latter stages of the family life cycle. In destination areas, the female-headed households are also more likely to be found among migrants in the NonF type of households, the most common living arrangement pattern among never

Table 7.10. Some Characteristics of Household Head By Household Structure and Migration Status in Origin and Destination Villages, 1995/1996

Household Structure	Origin Village			Destination Village			Total
	M	NM	Total	Local	PM	TM	
<b>Percentage of Female Household Heads:</b>							
1. SPF	94.4 ( 17)	100.0 ( 2)	95.0 ( 19)	75.0 ( 3)	33.3 ( 9)	41.6 ( 26)	40.4 ( 38)
2. NonF	-	-	-	-	55.6 ( 15)	49.1 (108)	49.4 (123)
3. NF	-	-	-	0.8 ( 1)	-	1.3 ( 1)	0.6 ( 2)
4. EV	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. EH	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. ErF	86.2 ( 25)	66.7 ( 2)	84.4 ( 27)	63.6 ( 7)	80.0 ( 4)	-	64.7 ( 11)
7. TErF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>20.2 ( 42)</b>	<b>6.5 ( 4)</b>	<b>17.0 ( 46)</b>	<b>7.1 ( 11)</b>	<b>13.4 ( 28)</b>	<b>37.4 (135)</b>	<b>24.0 (174)</b>
<b>Average Age of Household Heads:</b>							
1. SPF	62.4	60.0	62.3	64.5	28.0	20.7	24.7
2. NonF	-	-	-	36.5	25.9	22.9	23.3
3. NF	56.3	39.4	50.3	40.2	32.2	24.0	34.1
4. EV	58.8	40.3	55.5	57.7	-	-	57.7
5. EH	48.5	57.5	50.8	40.8	31.6	27.0	31.2
6. ErF	56.9	47.3	56.0	43.4	45.0	48.0	44.1
7. TErF	39.4	-	39.4	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>55.1</b>	<b>41.2</b>	<b>51.9</b>	<b>41.4</b>	<b>31.1</b>	<b>23.0</b>	<b>29.3</b>
<b>Percentage of Never Married Household Heads:</b>							
1. SPF	-	50.0 ( 1)	5.0 ( 1)	-	66.7 ( 18)	73.0 ( 46)	68.1 ( 64)
2. NonF	-	-	-	50.0 ( 1)	74.1 ( 20)	81.8 (180)	80.7 (201)
3. NF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4. EV	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5. EH	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. ErF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. TErF	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>1.6 ( 1)</b>	<b>0.4 ( 1)</b>	<b>0.6 ( 1)</b>	<b>18.2 ( 38)</b>	<b>62.6 (226)</b>	<b>35.6 (265)</b>
Notes: M= Migrant Households; NM=Non-migrant Households PM=Permanent Migrants; TM=Temporary Migrants Numbers in brackets are total sample (N) Source: Field Data 1995/1996							

married migrants in the city. As the number of never married female migrant is similar to male migrants, this makes half of the NonF type of households headed by

a woman. However, one should remember that the designation of a woman to become a household head among NonF households did not have a social consideration, such as the case with married woman in other types of household, it is more likely to be a practical decision made among roommates.

The reasoning above is supported by the fact that the average age of household heads in the destination area is lower than in the origin area, while the lowest average age is among temporary migrants in the destination area. The lower average age of household heads in the destination area is influenced by the relatively younger age of migrants, especially those who live in SPF or NonF types of households. The much younger age of SPF household heads in the destination area compared to those in the origin area supports the fact that in the origin area the SPF households are more likely to be at the latter stages of the family life cycle than merely an alternative living arrangements. On the other hand, in the destination area, SPF and NonF family types are often the only choice of living arrangements for young migrants, especially temporary migrants. The majority of permanent migrants who are commonly older than temporary migrant had been living in a NF type, because more permanent migrants are already married.

The proportion of never married household heads is higher in the destination area (35.6 per cent) than in the origin area (0.4 per cent). The only never married household heads in the origin area lived in an SPF household, although they comprised 50 per cent of total SPF households in the area. On the other hand, in the destination area, unmarried people headed 68.1 per cent (N=64) of SPF households and 80.7 per cent (N=201) of NonF households. The unmarried household heads were dominated by migrants as only one local person household was headed by a never married person. While among migrants, the contribution of

never married heads among temporary migrant households (62.6 per cent) is higher than permanent migrants (18.2 per cent), because more permanent migrants are married and living in a nuclear family type of household.

e. RW 06: The Residential Area

The residential areas, especially in RW 06, are very densely settled and sometimes are hit by floods in the rainy season when the Citarum River overflows. According to some migrants, employed by ITEX industry, their *bedeng* has been moved further away from the river to avoid another flood. The houses were built very close to each other without much open space between them. Many of the houses are rooming houses, that is a building, single or multistorey, consisting of several dwelling units. These rooming houses are rented to migrant workers. The rent cost is between Rp. 30,000 and Rp. 45,000 (A\$ 15- 25) per month. The new brick rooms were more expensive than the old bamboo walling rooms. Despite the already crowded area and the lack of open space, new houses were being built and the rooms are already on the market. Some migrants like to move around in order to get better living conditions or to avoid disputes with former roommates or because of the arrival of relatives or marriage of one roommate. In the case of marriage of one of the roommates, it could be that the newly wed couple takes over the room and the former roommates should find new accommodation, or the couple will move out to another room. However, there are cases where the arrival of new members, either their siblings or their spouses, were not followed by the break up of former occupants, the arrival of new members only enlarge the number of people who live in a rented room.

Each rooming house consists of five to six rooms, had one bathroom, a toilet and a well or a hand-pump. Each house can accommodate 10 to 15 tenants, depending on the number of tenants in each room. Every tenant is responsible for fetching water for their own needs. Although there is always a water tank (used for splash baths) in the bathroom, the tank is always left empty as tenants prefer to fetch enough water for one bath or toilet use using a small bucket. The problem with the water tank, which is sometimes quite voluminous, is who will voluntarily fill it with water? Each room was divided into two or three parts, for a bedroom in the middle, a living room in the front and a kitchen in the rear. If the rooms are only divided into two parts, the tenants can cook in the front or back of each room depending on the house. In two part rooms, each tenant will place a stove in the available space to prepare their meals, near the front or rear windows (Plate 7.1). As each room is managed separately, it can be considered an independent household.

Former landowners or other local people mostly own the rooming houses. When their rice-field was sold to industrialists most farmers bought rice fields in other villages, which was cheaper than the price of their former land and built rooming houses on their former village house compound, which was not sold. While they continue to farm in the new area, their children usually work in the new factories and stay in the village in the old family house which has been expanded with some rented rooms. These children usually have been given responsibility to manage the boarding house businesses. When there are no children to stay in the area and they cannot manage the houses by themselves, they ask one of their reliable tenants to take care of the houses. However, there are many owners who still live in the village and make a living out of rented rooms. Several former house

owners had sold their houses to the factories together with their rice field, and the factories use the houses as *bedeng* for their workers, such as Itex. The company only added facilities such as clean water (Plate 7.2), toilets and wastage channels. The *bedengs* are free from rent. Unfortunately, the *bedengs* are limited in number and only workers who had been working long enough and have a relatively high position in the company production line, such as machine operators or head of subdivisions can enjoy the facilities. The *bedengs* used to be inside the company site, but since the area was needed for the company's expansion, the *bedeng* has been moved to the village and left several rooms inside for the security guards and their families' accommodations. So far only male workers were able to enjoy these free accommodations, because only male workers were allowed to operate the machines. While there are female workers living in *bedengs*, they are either the wives or daughters or other family or friends upon an approval of the formal occupant. According to RW 06 record there are 23 houses and rooms which belong to Itex, although there is no exact number of the occupants. There were quite high turnovers of the dormitories additional occupants, except the appointed workers. C1 (M, 40 years) lives in his three-room dormitory with eight people who still have some familial connection with him. He opens up the house for temporary accommodation for new migrants as long as he knows whose relative they were.

## **7.2. The Migrants**

### **7.2.1. Introduction**

As has been explained in the beginning of this chapter, the number of migrants from the sample households in Wonosigro village who migrated to Bandung was 124 persons or 20.4 per cent of the total migrants. The actual number is very likely higher than that, as those from non-sample households and

those who left the sample households before their current heads headed them were not enumerated. The migrants are classified into two groups, temporary and permanent migrants. This classification was based on the information given by their parents or other family members in the origin village as to whether they were *pindah* or just *merantau*. Table 7.11. presents some characteristics of the migrants in Bandung. Some 54 migrants live in Pasawahan village, again this number was probably less than the actual number as a consequence of the survey methodology and no one can control the mobility of migrants.

It was coincidental that both categories of migrants are represented by the same number of people, that is 62 each. Some 45.2 per cent of migrants came from Southern Side<sup>9</sup> households and the percentage in the temporary migrant group is slightly higher than that of permanent migrants. The current average age of permanent migrants is higher than temporary migrants, although the average age on the initial migration is similar, that is 17 years. This number is higher than the average age on initial migration for total migrants, that is 14 years (N=609). The percentage of permanent female migrants is a little higher than that for temporary migrants. The significant difference between temporary and permanent migrants is concerning marital status. More than 75 per cent of temporary migrants are never married, while for permanent migrants it is 12.9 per cent. This is because permanent migrants are older than temporary migrants and had been migrated longer than had temporary migrants. The majority of temporary migrants left the village of origin in 1990 or after, while many permanent migrants had migrated before 1990. Temporary migrants have a slightly better education than permanent migrants as 53.2 per cent had finished at least Junior High School, while the

Table 7.11. Some Characteristics of Migrants From Wonosigro in Bandung By Migration Status 1995.

	Temporary Migrants	Permanent Migrants	Total Migrants
1.N	50.0 (62)	50.0 (62)	100.0 (124)
2.% from SS <sup>a)</sup>	46.8 (29)	43.5 (27)	45.2 ( 56)
3.Average Age:			
a. Survey Time	23.5	30.2	26.9
b. Initial Migration	17.3	17.4	17.3
4. % Left in 1990+ <sup>b)</sup>	63.8 (37)	28.3 (17)	45.8 ( 54)
5. % Female	45.2 (28)	48.4 (30)	46.8 ( 58)
6. % Never Married	75.8 (47)	12.9 ( 8)	44.4 ( 55)
7. % SLTP + <sup>c)</sup>	53.2 (33)	40.3 (25)	46.8 ( 58)
8. % Working	96.8 (60)	80.6 (50)	88.7 (110)
% Manufacturing Sector <sup>e)</sup>	66.7 (40)	60.0 (30)	63.6 ( 70)
Notes: a) SS is Southern Side of river b) Leaving the village of origin at 1990 or after. c) SLTP+ is graduate from, at least, Junior High, either General or Vocational School. d) Relationship to household heads in origin village. e) Percentage of total employed migrants.			
Source: Field Survey 1995/1996			

percentage for permanent migrants is 40.3 per cent.

More than 95 per cent of temporary, and 80.6 per cent of permanent, migrants were working. The smaller percentage of working permanent migrants was affected by a relatively higher percentage of women who withdrew from their jobs after marriage and became housewives (14.5 per cent). Some 66.7 per cent of employed temporary, and 60 per cent permanent, migrants were working in manufacturing such as in the textile or garment industries. The second largest occupation among migrants was informal prepared food traders. As has been reported extensively (Hugo 1978, Hetler 1986, Abustam 1991), there is a tendency for migrants who came from the same origin villages to concentrate in particular occupations. This is also the case with migrants from Wonosigro village. Many of them work in the same factory, such as Itex, or selling a similar type of food, such

<sup>9</sup>See Chapter Five



as *martabak*. In fact, migrants who work in similar occupations mostly have some familial relationships with each other. The process of recruitment, as it has been explained previously, has influenced the occupational grouping.

In this section we will examine two main occupations of the migrants, that is textile workers and *martabak* sellers, based on the 16 migrants who were interviewed in the destination area. Besides, studying the migrants as workers in various occupations, it will also analyse them as a member of a family and how far their migration has affected their family structure and functioning. Table 7.12. presents the list of cases, including their personal characteristics and the relationship to head of sample households in the origin village. Some of those migrants who did not come from the same household in the origin village, actually have a familial relationship with each other. For example, migrants from family numbers 33, 157 and 217 are cousins. The head of family number 56 is the mother of head number 55, therefore migrants C4 and C5 are niece and nephew of C6. Many northern hamlets migrants work in the informal sector, while the southern hamlets mostly work in a textile factory. This is because the occupational networking among migrants was developed through familial relationships. As pioneer migrants from southern areas, such as C9 worked in a textile factory, they started textile factory networking among southern people, who have some familial relationship with him. On the other hand, the pioneer migrants from northern side, such as C6 engaged in informal sector. However, recently more migrants from the north are working in a textile factory or other manufacturing industries, such as C7 and C8.

Besides factory worker and food seller, there are various other occupations held by migrants, such as civil servant, maid, waitress, shop assistant, driver or construction worker, but they only comprised 16 per cent (N=20) of total recorded

Table 7.12. List of Case-study Migrants in Bandung, 1996.

Family No <sup>a)</sup>	Migrant Code	Sex	Age	Marriage Status	Migrant Status	Occupation <sup>b)</sup>	Migration History <sup>c)</sup>	Living Arrangement <sup>d)</sup>	Address <sup>e)</sup>	Family Relationship <sup>f)</sup>
33	C1	M	40	M	TM	FW	Majalaya-Pasawahan	NonF - Dormitory	Pasawahan	Family Head
39	C2	M	31	M	PM	FS	Around Bandung	EH - Own House	Bandung City	4th Child
	C3	M	26	M	TM	FS	Around Bandung	EH-Brother's House	Bandung City	5th Child
55	C4	F	31	M	PM	FS	Around Bandung	EH - Own House	Ujung Berung	1st Child
	C5	M	29	M	PM	FS	Around Bandung	EH-Sister's House	Ujung Berung	2nd Child
56	C6	M	50	M	PM	FS	Around Bandung	EH - Rented House	Bandung City	5th Child
68	C7	M	26	NM	TM	FW	Around Bandung	NonF-Rented Room	Pasawahan	3rd Child
117	C8	M	26	NM	TM	FW	Around Bandung	NonF-Rented Room	Pasawahan	5th Child
157	C9	M	45	M	PM	FW	Majalaya - Bandung City	NF - Other <sup>1)</sup>	Bandung City	1st Child
	C10	F	43	M	TM	FW <sup>2)</sup>	Jakarta-Majalaya-Pasawahan	NF - Dormitory	Pasawahan	2nd Child
	C11	M	38	M	TM	FW	Pasawahan	NF - Dormitory	Pasawahan	Son-in-law
	C12	F	24	NM <sup>3)</sup>	TM	FW	Pasawahan	NF - Dormitory	Pasawahan	Grandchild
	C13	F	31	M	PM	FW	Majalaya-Pasawahan-Banjaran	NF - Own House	Banjaran	3rd Child
217	C14	F	33	M	PM	FW	Majalaya-Pasawahan	NF-Rented Room <sup>4)</sup>	Pasawahan	3rd Child
	C15	F	27	M	PM	FW	Pasawahan-Banjaran	NF-Rented Room	Banjaran	5th Child
262	C16	F	26	NM	TM	FW	Jakarta-Pasawahan	NF-Rented Room	Cangkuang Wetan	4th Child

Notes: a) Sample Households Number in Origin Village; b) FW=Factory Workers and FS=Food Sellers; c) Order of destination areas from the initial migration up to survey time; d) The residential address (not necessarily working place address); e) Relationship to head of sample households.

1) He lives in his boss's house for free in return for guarding it; 2) She has resigned from her job in early 1999 following the economy crisis which also affecting Btex. She took the company offer to retired earlier with reasonable compensation; 3) She married in early 1997 and withdrew from the labour force to give birth to her first daughter and had living in the village ever since with her baby. She is planning to return to her job in March 1999 after weaning her child who will stay in the village with her already retired mother. 4) She had moved to her own house in on eof new residential complex in Bandung.

outmigrants in Bandung. Their number is relatively small and their locations in Bandung were unknown by other migrants. The location of factory workers was easier to find as most of them live in the same area, although some who work in other industrial sites in Bandung, such as Cimahi or Kiara Condong were unknown. Food sellers were difficult to locate without the help of C8 who works as a factory worker but knows some food sellers' home addresses or working locations. Most of these addresses were temporary in nature because the job mobility of a food seller usually is quite high as they were engaged in the informal sector, which does not have fixed regulations or working hours. In addition, many of them were labourers and there was no fixed agreement between the business owners and the labourers. When business is good they could hire many labourers and they would also lay them off without any compensation when business is down. However, the workers do not find it too difficult to get another place to work. This makes them very mobile and they very rarely have a fixed address. It is not uncommon that following the loss of one job, the migrant returns to the village until another job is offered. Often, C8 had to reply with a tentative answer when I asked about the whereabouts of a particular migrant, such as 'I am not sure whether he is still working in a stall in Jalan X'. Fortunately, he gave positive answers about the addresses of several migrants who mostly had established businesses. Therefore the tracing of food seller migrants was focused on those who had fixed home and working addresses.

## 7.2.2. Occupation Networking

### a. Factory Worker

The following story is about C9's experiences in recruiting factory workers from villages in Central Java for ITEX industry:

'C9 was the first person from the village who worked in a textile factory in Bandung. After the death of his father, as the oldest and the only son in the family, he had to help his mother, a vegetable vendor, and took over the responsibility of the family. He was not the first migrant from the house, as his sister, C10, had left home to work in Jakarta beforehand. When his sister returned home to get married, he decided to join his second cousin from his father's side who lived in a different district to work in the ITEX factory in Majalaya, Bandung, West Java. It was August 1970. After working for two years, his boss trusted him to recruit more workers from Java. Therefore in 1972-1973 he used to collect his young relatives from his mother's and his father's villages. (It meant he not only brought people from Wonosigro village, his mother's place of origin, but also his relatives from other villages). He never failed to get positive responses from young villagers when he offered vacancies in the factory. Furthermore, the factory paid all the expenses from Gombong to Bandung, including travel cost and meals. At that time Rp. 1,000, the minimum cost to go to Bandung from Gombong,<sup>10</sup> was difficult for most villagers to raise.

In Bandung, the new recruits were given free accommodation in the factory's bedeng built inside the factory compound. Among the first recruits he brought from Central Java some still work there, such as C1 and C10, even when the factory moved from Majalaya to Dayeuh Kolot and Banjaran districts. In 1980, the factory ceased the policy of financing direct labour recruitment from Javanese villages. This was caused by the existence of two alternatives to recruit new workers, as more local people became interested to work in the factory and an increasing number of direct applications were sent to factory management. However, to be able to get a job in the factory one needed a 'family connection', even if you had sent a formal application document you should have a family member who was already employed in the factory to become your guarantor'.

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<sup>10</sup>In the 1970ies, the travel cost to Bandung from Gombong by train was Rp.360.-, while in the 1995 the cost had increased to Rp. 5,500.- and one needs to bring at least Rp. 15,000.- to go to Bandung.

The important role of family connections in labour force recruitment has created a wide familial networking among factory labourers, which made them rarely known to each other. For example, C1, one of C9's early recruits does not know about C8 who was guaranteed by Suk, another C9 early recruit, while C8 knows C1 through his schoolmate, C12, who is also C1's niece. On the other hand, C1 became C11's relative by marriage, although C11 came from another *kabupaten* (Banyumas) because C11 is married to C10, C1's second cousin. With the new familial relationship, C1 has become the guarantor of many of C11's relatives from villages in Banyumas. C1 has also guaranteed labourers from *Kecamatan* Kutowinangun in *Kabupaten* Kebumen from where his wife came. Therefore, in his three-bedroom *bedeng* he lives with three relatives, these are his younger brother, his second cousin, his younger brother-in-law and two close friends from another *kabupaten*. This family network among textile industry workers can be extended with the addition of close friends. A guarantor can acknowledge friends as their relatives to help them get a job in factory. Once, these friends successfully join the workforce in the company, they will become potential guarantors for their own relatives and eventually create another familial network.

The method of labour recruitment in the early development of the factory in this case is different to that which Mather (1982) found in Tangerang, West Java and Wolf (1986) in Central Java. The labour recruitment in Tangerang and Central Java has made use of village headmen to collect labourers and uses the patron-client bond between village headmen and labour to make the labourers loyal to the factory. The ITEX factory has applied two methods of labour recruitment. Firstly, at the beginning of its operation in Majalaya and Pasawahan, it needed a large number of labourers to start the production process, therefore it sent several middlemen to

recruit labourers directly from villages in Central Java until 1980 when the production had been well established. Secondly, after the direct recruitment ceased, the factory recruited local people through the village headmen and announced open vacancies publicly. Labour recruitment after the factory had been well established was to replace the labourers who voluntarily resigned or had been fired by the management. All labour recruitment methods have similar purpose; to get labourers who are loyal, obedient, industrious and never do damage to the factory. This is because, the patron-client kind of bond would be expected to make the labourers respect their village headmen or guarantors and subsequently perform well in the factory. The use of a family guarantor as an 'unwritten requirement' in labour recruitment is more effective than using the village headmen as an influence upon labour performance. However, the factory itself had made regulation to encourage their workers perform well, that is giving them a 'presence bonus' (*Ind. premi hadir*)<sup>11</sup> when they work for a whole month. When they are absent, without any reason, for one day, the bonus will be deducted by the amount of one daily wage, an absence for two days the bonus will not be given and three days absence will lead them to be fired.

It seems that the 'presence bonus' for those who are absent without notice has been functioning well. Almost all workers who had been interviewed mentioned that this forced them to work everyday. Even when there is boredom from doing the same thing for seven hours in the closed room, especially during the night

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<sup>11</sup>This information was given by C16 who showed her salary receipt for January 1996, which contained a detailed calculation. She works in Mtex factory. The amount of 'presence bonus' was Rp.15,000.-, but she received only Rp. 11,750.-, because she was absent with notification for one day in that month. This policy was also applied by Itex, Mstex and Atex, according to their workers.

shift<sup>12</sup> when normal people were sleeping, they had to go to work, because they did not want to lose their job. C5, C12 and C16 became factory workers because it was their last chance to be employed after failing to become an office employee. These three workers were senior high school graduates who were disappointed with their relatives who failed to keep their promise to get them office jobs. C8 had to work in the factory as a survival strategy while he was waiting for a job as a civil servant in one of the *Kabupaten* Bandung Government Offices promised by his aunt. C12 lost almost three million rupiah paying her neighbour in the village who guaranteed her a job in *Kabupaten* Kebumen Government Office. She was told that she will take a vacancy left by a retired official but it never happened and C15 has lost her chance to become an airliner employee, because her guarantor uncle chose his wife's niece to fill the vacancy over C15. They admitted that to get a job, even as a factory worker, it is very difficult now. C12 experienced difficulty in getting factory employment back after she left it to pursue office employment. In the meantime, they could not give up their jobs, as no one could guarantee that they will get a replacement in a short time. The girls were bored with their routine jobs and stifled by the small room and the crowdedness of the neighbourhood. They said that living in the village is better than in the city, because the house is larger and it is not too noisy. However, to live in the village without a job would soon be boring too. The girls said that they might resign from their jobs once they got married and return to their villages.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>The textile factories commonly run for 24 hours, usually divide their workers into three shifts, that are morning 07.00-15.00, afternoon 15.00 - 11.00 and night 11.00-07.00. Each production workers have the similar chances to work in all shifts which was altered every week.

<sup>13</sup>C12 got married in early 1997 and kept working until the birth of her first child and she returned to the village with her baby. However, after living in the village for one year with only her husband's factory worker's salary, which she admitted was a very difficult year, she decided to

### b. Food Seller

There is little difference between factory workers and prepared food sellers in the method of recruitment. A guarantor is needed for new workers to get into the business. The guarantor will introduce new recruits to someone who has access to the job. C2 went to Bandung to join his elder brother to work as a labourer in a *pempek Palembang* stall in Bandung. C3 followed his elder brother, C2, shortly after and joined them in the same workplace. C4 went to Bandung to become a housemaid with her aunt's help. C5 joined his elder sister, C4, after she married a food seller to help them run the business. C6 was introduced to a *martabak* seller by her elder sister who worked as a housemaid. C6 is the uncle of C4 and C5, and therefore C4 and C6 had been helped by the same person. It is different from what happened in the textile factory, the bond between guarantors and guarantees in prepared food business were less tight. This means, the new recruits do not have to remain in the job given by the guarantor when they have an opportunity to get a better job or they wanted to open their own businesses. When a business closed down, they were free to find another job with different guarantors. Often the guarantors were the business owners themselves. Migrants who worked in the informal sector usually have relatively high occupational mobility, although usually with in a similar occupation being held each time. This is the case with the interviewed migrants and the example of C2's occupation history illustrated this:

'In 1982 C2 left Wonosigro and joined his brother to work as a labourer in a small street food court (*Ind. Pusat Jajan*) in Bandung<sup>14</sup>.

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leave her already weaned child with her mother and resume her work in a textile factory in Bandung.

<sup>14</sup>Bandung is famous for its street food courts that sell various tasty foods for middle market customers. Often, the food court's overall management is separated from that of each prepared food enterprise in the food court. The owner of the food court provides space, complete with chairs and tables, in a strategic location and invites individual food sellers to open their stall there for a 10 per cent commission of every night's sales. Sometimes, the food court owners also rent



He had to drop out from school, because his parents could not afford the cost. He was a first year Technical Senior High School Student (*Ind. STM*) then. When the two brothers had enough money to start their own business, they resigned from their former employer. They were selling *pempek Palembang* in their own pushcart parked on the sidewalk in Sukajadi Street in Bandung. After working together for five years, they closed it down and the two brothers worked separately. There was no information about his brother, but C2 worked as a labourer in a street food court in the *martabak* section with the help of B his village neighbour. *Martabak* from this food court was very popular in Bandung. While he worked there he learned how to cook the famous food, because he wanted to have his own business later on. An independent *martabak* stall run by former employee of the food court usually will attract customers easily, because they can buy a cheaper *martabak* with similar taste and quality to the famous food court product<sup>15</sup>. He guaranteed his elder brother to get a job in the Chinese food section when he was working there. After working for two years he had become a good *martabak* cook, he accepted an offer from a Chinese businessman to run a *martabak* stall as a hired cook<sup>16</sup>. Besides, owning a *martabak* stall, the businessman was also a used car salesman<sup>17</sup>. As C2 lived in his house he also helped him in the used car business in the morning and he took the opportunity to learn how to drive. As the used car business was flourishing, the businessman decided to concentrate in the car business and sold his *martabak* business to his neighbour. Fortunately, the new owner still hired C2 to run it and he moved to his new boss' house across the street. However, he did not work with him for long. When he was refused to have the *Hari Raya* holiday he quit the job. For him, as a bachelor then, to go home for *Hari Raya*

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pushcarts to less well-off food sellers, who do not have their own pushcarts. In 1995, the rental cost of each cart was Rp 7,000 per night. The cost of a pushcart complete with cooking utensils is at least one million rupiah. In this business, the individual food sellers were the risk taker, when the selling is down. When less people are interested in their food, it will directly influence their selling and accordingly will force them to close down, while the food court owner will find a replacement for them. However, the food court owners were also very selective in choosing the food sellers, because the business depends absolutely on the taste of food being sold. The food court will only be deserted by food sellers when its location is not good for business. Individual food sellers, can also open a stall on the sidewalk independently. To get a location they have to pay taxes to the authorities, both formal and informal. These sidewalk stalls, which open in the evening, usually serve the middle market buyer too, sometimes at a cheaper cost than that sold in the food court. Those which open in the day-time were mostly selling lower quality products for lower market segments.

<sup>15</sup>To inform the prospective customers, the independent *martabak* seller will put a banner around his pushcart that says, for example, '*Original Bandung Martabak*' (See Photo No. 7.3.).

<sup>16</sup>A hired cook is a skilled *martabak* cook who was trusted to run another person's business on a commission basis. He was given the right to plan the production process including recruiting additional labourers to assist him under the owner's approval. It is different from an ordinary labourer who only gets a daily wage.

<sup>17</sup>*Martabak* is a special evening snack and therefore it's usually sold at night. When a food court opens at day time, its only opens the Chinese food stall, not the *martabak* and *sate* stalls.

was a must, so his boss' business consideration<sup>18</sup> did not accord with his belief.

On his return to Bandung after *Hari Raya* he worked in another famous restaurant in Bandung as *martabak* cook for short time. Following a dispute with the owner (because he was not allowed to take sunset prayers) he left the job. Shortly after, another Chinese businessman hired him as a cook in his *martabak* stall in a street food court, where he is working now. Later on the businessman wanted to concentrate on an electronics business only and asked C2 to take over his *martabak* business for one million rupiah to pay for the pushcart complete with cooking equipment. The food court owner agreed with the take over because it would not affect the quality of *martabak* as the cook was not changed. Nowadays, C2 runs his own *martabak* business and hired his younger brother to assist him (Plate 7.4.). He is married to a Sundanese woman and has a daughter. He bought a piece of land on Bandung's outskirts and built a small house on it. He lives in the house with his family plus his younger brother. However, lately, he could not depend solely on the stall income to support his family, because often he could not sell 20 pans of *martabak* per night to get his minimum profit<sup>19</sup>. Therefore, in the morning he takes various secondary jobs, such as *angkot* driver's assistant or driver for school children. He said that working as driver in the morning and opening a stall in the evening were very tiring and he planned to become a milled rice trader with the help of his wife's family'

Hence in summary, within the period of 14 years since his arrival in Bandung for the first time (1982), he has changed his work places eight times, changed food specialty twice and once experienced bankruptcy as is summarised at Table 7.13. It seems that working with larger businesses, such as No. 3 and No.6 in Table 7.13. provides a more stable job than working in small or own-account businesses. Business No.3 was an established business in Bandung, while business No. 6 was a branded chain restaurant which has branches in most malls in Java.

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<sup>18</sup>During the *Hari Raya* holiday, almost all housemaids go home to celebrate the holy day with their families. This situation forced city dwellers, who use maid services, to eat out or buy cooked food for the family meals and accordingly this would be a good chance for food sellers to get more profit if they remain open during *Hari Raya* holiday. While many workers refused to work during the holiday, many others were happy to, because they will receive more income from bonuses as well as from sales.

<sup>19</sup>He explained that he needs at least Rp. 100,000 gross income in one night. From that selling amount he would get a net profit at about Rp. 30,000 to Rp. 40,000, which is enough to support his family. He complained that the selling was down lately. For several nights he was only able to sell less than 10 pans of medium quality *martabak*.

According to C2, in No. 3, each worker was only doing one kind of job, such as chopping spring onion, making dough, frying, slicing or wrapping. The purpose of this job specialisation was to prevent the workers from learning how to cook the food. However, C2 had managed to move around jobs to learn the whole process of *martabak* cooking. He left the job because he wanted to learn how to manage an independent stall, although, at the start, with other people's money. On the other hand, the chain restaurant was already an established business and very concerned with its product quality. A complaint was sent by a customer to the restaurant about being sold an imperfect *martabak* prepared by C2's assistant. C2, the *martabak* cook, was the person who was responsible for the incident and he was reprimanded by the manager and left the restaurant. Other reasons for changing jobs were the ups and downs of business, such as bankruptcy or takeovers. These

Table 7.13. Summary of C2's Working Experiences in Bandung 1982-1996.

No	Place of work	Status	Guarantor	Reason for quitting
1	<i>pempek</i> stall	Labour	elder brother	Start own business
2	sidewalk <i>pempek</i> stall	Family labour	elder brother	bankrupt
3	<i>martabak</i> stall	Labour	B, fellow villager	have a new boss
4	<i>martabak</i> stall	hired cook	the new boss	the business was sold
5	<i>martabak</i> stall	hired cook	former boss	dispute with boss
6	a restaurant	Labour	apply	dispute with boss
7	<i>martabak</i> stall	hired cook	no one	the business was sold
8	<i>martabak</i> stall	owner	former boss	-

Source: Field Survey 1996.

problems were common in prepared food small businesses. According to C2, the life of this business absolutely depends upon the demand in the market. One prepared food seller who could attract many customers, who liked your cooking

and identified the food with you and believed there was no other cook who could cook the food as good as you, is the guarantee for a successful business.

In their occupational histories, both C2 and C6 included B as their guarantor in entering *martabak* business in food court No.3 (Table 7.13.). B was also a co-worker of C4's husband when they both were working in food court No.3. Later B, C2 and C4's husband left the food court to open their own businesses and create jobs for their relatives. The C6 case was different, because his ability to cook *martabak* made the food become a trademark of No.3 food court and his boss did not let him go. Up to now, C6 was still working in the food court, as a supervisor, although the food court's location as well as the owner had changed. C6 has guaranteed his nieces and nephews work in the food court. His wife was also allowed to open a *saté* stall in the food court. C4's husband has left the *martabak* business and become a producer of various traditional cakes for the lower middle class market. He has recruited his relatives as well as his wife's relatives as workers. He provides simple accommodation for them. One of his wife's brothers, C5, was his delivery person and soon will be given a pushcart complete with cooking utensils to open a *martabak* stall. The brand new cart was already in C4's house; they were just waiting for enough working capital to start the business.

### c. Summary

The experiences of migrants in both the formal and informal sectors in entering the labour market indicates the important role of family relationships. It means that people in both origin and destination areas still believe in the strength of the familial bond outside of their communities. The mutual respect between family members, as the foundation of the familial bond, has become an effective tool to control their behaviour in destination areas. The migrant workers try not to create

trouble in their work places as this could put their relatives, especially their guarantors who work in the same place, in a difficult position. This would not only affect the migrants but the problems could escalate to their families in the village who might be subject to sanctions by their relatives in the village. As most migrants still maintain strong relationships with their families in the origin village (See Chapter 6.5.), they would not deliberately damage it. The fear of damaging familial relationships plus the lack of employment opportunity has created industrious and non-rebellious workers among migrant populations in Bandung and many feel insecure because they live uprooted from their families and communities. This has been used by the factory management to obtain a stable workforce to secure the production processes. As was suggested by one RT Headman in *Kelurahan Pasawahan*, the industrialists prefer to employ migrants because 'They could be exploited....', while C9 a migrant and former middleman, said 'They were loyal people.'

On the other hand, migrant workers in the informal sector tend to be more independent and the bond between the guarantors and their guarantees was less tight compared to factory workers. In fact, the guarantor, usually the owner of the business, and the majority of the recruits were related, such as brothers or sisters and they had a strong family bond already. There is even a tendency for guarantors to encourage their recruits to be independent, including leaving them to work with other people. This, actually, will reduce the burden of the guarantors to support their workers, especially when the business is slow. When they need additional workers, they could invite them back or look for new recruits from the village. However, the familial network among migrants in destination areas was important to secure jobs for newcomers and for employers to expand their workforce. The

employers will select new recruits from among their immediate family first, before they ask other relatives or other people, while new migrants will go to their immediate families to seek jobs before asking for help from their relatives or other people. This network usually can be expanded to friends from the same hamlet or sub-village (*Ind. kampung*) who might still have familial relationships because the residents of one *kampung* usually have some common descent.

The coverage of familial networks, both in formal or informal sectors, could be extended beyond familial boundaries through marriage between members of different family networks from similar or different origin villages. The expansion of familial networking through marriage dilutes the familial bond, especially among less immediate family members in the network, but it creates new familial networks based on marriage relationships. Marriage of two members from different families would unite the two families and their relatives which then will include 'my wife's nephew' or 'my husband's niece' as important relatives to be prioritised in vacancies allocation to replace other relatives such as 'my cousin from my mother's side'. The maintaining of a familial bond among working class migrants was important as an insurance against crisis and hardship (Anderson 1971). A marriage to a member of a different family group could be used as an opportunity to enter a different job network. For example, the elder brother of C2 married a woman from the same village whose brother-in-law is an herbal drink seller in Jakarta and following the marriage, C2's brother has moved to Jakarta to become an herbal drink seller. The marriage of C4, who used to be a household maid, with her food seller's husband has opened a prepared food industry for her younger brothers and sisters. The marriage of C10 to C11, who used to be a construction worker, has opened factory employment for C11 and later to C11's relatives.

### 7.2.3. Migrants' Living Arrangements

#### a. Types of Migrants' Living Arrangements

The increasing number of inmigrants in Pasawahan village has encouraged the development of rooming houses to accommodate them. Two people, on the average, share a room and manage it together as an independent household. The occupants will pool money to pay for rent, electricity, security, garbage collection contribution and meals. Except for meals, they pay a fix amount every month. The house owners or managers usually collect the rent money and the electricity contribution at the same time while the security and garbage collection costs were collected by village officials. For daily meals they usually cook the meals together and evenly share the cost of foodstuffs they buy from a neighbour's stall. Everyone who stays at home during the daytime prepares the food. Everyday whoever is responsible to prepare the meals buys the necessary foodstuffs from stalls on credit. The stall owners provide a book where the name of each of their debtors are written complete with day to day records on any food they have taken. On payday, the stall's owner totals the amount of credit of each debtor to be paid. The factory workers prefer to buy their food or prepared meals on a credit basis to force them to make an allocation for their meals before using their salary for other needs. Migrants who have a family to support in the village will allocate their 'net salary' for remittances before spending it on other needs. The additional expenditures after house-rent, meals and remittances are cosmetics and entertainment for female workers and cigarettes and entertainment for male workers. Buying things on a credit basis is popular among factory workers, especially the women. Besides food or prepared meals, they buy kitchen utensils, clothing or Lebaran gifts, on credit, either directly to the retailers or using *arisan* groups.

C16 who shared a room with a fellow worker originally from Lampung, every month spend Rp. 25,000 (half rent, electricity, security and garbage contribution) plus Rp. 30,000 to Rp. 40,000 (half meals) plus Rp. 10,000 for personal toiletries and detergent a total of Rp. 65,000 to Rp. 75,000, about 35 per cent of her monthly salary. Compared to other rooms being rented by the majority of Wonosigro migrants, C16's room was of good quality and expensive. The average cost of a room was Rp. 35,000 per month, while hers was Rp. 47,500 per month. C16 likes to move around to new rooming houses to get a better room. The amount of food they cook is only enough for one or two simple meals per day as they receive one meal in the factory<sup>20</sup>. In addition to the fixed expenditures, C16 spends on additional meals, entertainment and pays instalments for Lebaran gifts<sup>21</sup>. Unlike other migrant workers, she was fond of taking pleasure trips to visit famous places around Bandung which are considered to be an extravagance. Every month she receives around Rp. 200,000<sup>22</sup> and after spending she manages to save about Rp. 50,000. Fortunately, she does not have an obligation to send a regular amount of money to the village every month to support her family in the village. She came from a middle class family in the village. Her late father was a carpenter who was

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<sup>20</sup>Each meal costs Rp. 500. C16 said it was a very simple meal. Yesterday's meal, she continued, consisted of rice, a piece of dried fish and vegetables. Other factories like Itex, Mtex and Atex do not give meals in the factory but compensation worth Rp. 500 per day is added to their salary.

<sup>21</sup>Every year she goes home to celebrate Lebaran day in the village. At that time her migrant brothers and sisters also come with their families. It is common to bring gifts with them. She prepares the gifts for next year's *Hari Raya* shortly after she returns from this year's. Several migrant women from the same family group (including C10-15 and others) ordered typical *Hari Raya* gifts including cigarettes and beef. The beef, of course, would not be brought home, but would be consumed during fasting month prior to *Hari Raya*. One grocery store owner would take the order at current prices and deliver the goods two to four weeks early. The migrants would pay for the goods in 11 monthly instalments. C16 ordered four tins of biscuits, five kg of sugar, one box of instant noodles and one box of cigarettes worth a total of Rp. 150,000 costing her Rp. 14,000 per month. C16 said that the system of payment was suitable to her financial condition and it would help to get the goods at normal prices. Usually food prices surge approaching *Hari Raya*.

<sup>22</sup>The amount of salary she receives is not the same every month. It depends on the amount of hours of overtime she has put in and the number of absences. The range of her salary is between Rp. 180,000 and Rp. 220,000 per month.



able to send his four children to senior high school. The elder children were working as Civil Servant and Policemen, but C16 who had failed to get a 'white-collar' job had to work as a factory worker. However, it does not mean that she is free from family obligations at all. Some of her savings (she refused to disclose the exact amount) had been used by her younger brother to enter the police force. Her brother needed to take the entry test four times which cost the family a fortune in travel costs and registration fees. She could not refuse this because at that time she was the only one who could help him. She said in her family each member should help each other.

As they are working in the same factory, C16 and her roommate were able to arrange to always be on different shifts. Therefore, both of them were rarely together at home. Almost every night, each of them sleeps alone because the roommate is doing her night shift. This means that even though the room is small it is spacious enough for two or four people as they were very rarely at home at the same time. Even when they were all together at home it was usually only for a short time, such as when one of them has a day-off.<sup>23</sup> C16 and her roommate's household is typical of the non-familial type of household in the area. Another strategy of householding is that roommates only share the house rent and other contributions while each of them prepares or buys their own meals. C7 and C8 practiced this strategy before the arrival of C7's younger sister and her girl friend. C7 and C8 share one room and the two girls rent another room, but four of them prepared meals together.

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<sup>23</sup>Every workers entitles to one day-off prior to shift time alteration. One worker would work in the same shift time for one week and then would be given a day-off before working a different shift time. One factory, where C12 and C13 are working, has been experimenting to alter the shift time every three days.

These examples show that there were variations in housekeeping among non-familial households which do not necessarily fit with the household definition proposed by the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics (1992, p.xxxiv) that is '...an individual or a group of people living in a physical/census building unit or part thereof who make common provision for food and other essentials of living', because not all of households make 'common provision for food and other essentials'. Even the management of C16's household only includes house-rent and facilities cost and 'part of meals' into a sharing account, and other expenses were the responsibility of each member. The former C7 and C8 household management did not include meals, while the current management included another 'household' to prepare meals. C7 sister's household is a separate household as the girls pay the rent and other facilities costs by themselves without the involvement of C7. Therefore in these situation the household is reduced to a separate dwelling unit occupied by one or more persons to enable one to manage one's own personal needs with or without support from one's roommates. This is similar to the US definition of a household that is '... all persons who occupy a housing unit such as a house, apartment, single room, or other space intended to be living quarters. A household may consist of one person who lives alone or several people who share a dwelling' (Ahlburg and De Vita 1992). For many migrants a household is sharing a dwelling without necessarily 'making common provision for food and other essentials for living'. They share a dwelling to save on house rent and facilities costs. When they prepare meals together it is more economical than buying prepared food, they will spare their time to cook to save on meals costs. The housekeeping will be rather different when a group of people who have familial relationships occupy a dwelling unit.

Migrants who have family in the destination area, either temporary or permanent, also live in the rooming houses, either in rented rooms or in a *bedeng*. Some permanent migrants live in their own house in Bandung, such as C2, C6, C9, C13 and C14 (Plate 7.5). C10 has been living in the *bedeng* for 20 years. She met her second husband, who also is a migrant worker originally from *Kabupaten Banyumas*, and got married and continues to live there. As they do not intend to live forever in Bandung, they have invested their savings into a house and agricultural land in both the wife and husband's villages. Consequently, they have to put up with an unpleasant living environment in Bandung until they are ready to return home. C10 has a daughter, C12, from her former marriage, but she left her in the village under the care of her mother and younger sisters. Her daughter joined her about four years ago after finishing school and started to work in the factory. With her daughter joining them in Bandung, C10 has to deal with a living arrangement problem. As the family live in only one room which is used for many purposes all members had to sleep in the same room. The mother could not leave her husband and her daughter at home together at night while she was on night shift. Therefore, she arranged that she had to work a similar shift to her daughter, so that both mother and daughter would always be at home at the same time.<sup>24</sup> Her daughter, actually, wanted to live separately from her parents by sharing a room with another girl, but C10 did not allow her to do so. C10 believes that as long as the parents live in the same area, never married daughters should not live in another house. She argued that her daughter had to live with her until she got married.

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<sup>24</sup>The real problem was that the mother had been offended by an unkind comment had been said by one of her relatives about a would be a family scandal when a step father slept in the same room with his adult daughter while the mother was working in night shift. Therefore, she tried everything to defend her daughter's reputation.

When she is married, then she could move out to live with her husband. So far, C10, C11 and C12 have managed their nuclear family household in one room without receiving any negative comments from their relatives. In the room they put a bunk bed, two closets, a dressing table and a TV set. They sleep as well as entertain their guests there. Once in a while they even have a guest stay overnight, such as close friends of C12 or C10's mother. Luckily, their room is at the end of the house so they built a small kitchen outside but attached to the room. Other families who live in the middle rooms have to cook in the same room too.

The C10's household arrangement fits with the Indonesia Central Bureau of Statistics definition, because it includes meals and other essentials for living. C10 and C11 pool their salary into one purse, that is the wife's (C10) purse. She allocates the money to support their household in Bandung, their house in the village including C10's mother and C11's mother in Banyumas<sup>25</sup>. Although C12 already has her own salary, it was not obligatory for her to pool money into her mother's purse, she kept and spent her salary independent from her parents' household. C12 explained that she put her salary in a bank after deducting for her travel costs, some pocket money, and toiletries. To provide toiletries and detergent for all household members was her contribution to the household and once in a while she sent money to the village to pay for the electricity bill of her parent's house and pocket money for her grandmother. She also makes contributions when the family needs extra money in crisis situations, such as when both of her grandmothers got sick at almost the same time which forced the family to spend their savings on medication. However, C12's contributions to her parent's

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<sup>25</sup>A detailed explanation on economic arrangement of migrant familial-households will be presented in Chapter Eight.

household, except for the toiletries and detergent costs, were not regular in nature. C12's wellbeing was her parent's responsibility.

The two examples of living arrangements of migrants above represent the majority of household structures among the migrant population, non-familial and nuclear family types of households. The extension of the nuclear family due to an addition of relatives or friends from the village did not happen in this migrant settlement. Members of a family who migrate here tend to separate themselves into different households. On their arrival in Bandung they may be provided with accommodation by their relatives or friends for one or two nights, afterward they have to live in separate houses. The extension of a nuclear household with relatives is common in a private house, which is more spacious than a rooming house. Almost all migrants who had moved out from rooming houses included non nuclear family members. For example, C2's family has been enlarged by C3, several other relatives live with C4 and C6 has a nephew in his family while C13 accommodated her husband's nephew in her new house. The availability of extra space in one home was the main reason for taking in families or relatives in one household. In the informal sector households the additional members were also their workers and sometimes did chores for their employer's households.

Prepared food sellers usually provide accommodation for their workers because they are needed in food preparation. A small scale *martabak* seller needs labour to prepare the ingredients, such as chopping spring onions, cooking chicken and meat or making the pastry dough, while for *sate* sellers they had to clean the meat or chicken, cut it into small cubes and skewer the meat. Whereas single factory workers live in non-familial households, the single prepared food workers stay with their employers. The employer can make use of their workers to do other

things in the households, such as C2 who used to help wash his boss' cars. However, many non-permanent migrants who are self-employed in the prepared food industry live in rooming houses too, together with their workers or co-workers, and leave their families in the village. These migrants do not intend to live permanently in the city but establish houses in the village. It was experienced by C3, before he joined his brother. C3 left his wife and his son in his wife's village where he was given a piece of *sawah* by his parents-in-law. He regularly returns home to cultivate the land and harvest it.

Migrants from the same kinfolk usually live close to each other, creating clusters of familial settlements in urban areas. These have also been reported by many researchers on migrant settlement in the city (Abu-Lughod 1961, Anderson 1971, Hugo 1978, Chaves 1985 and Glick *et al.* 1997). The Wonosigro migrant cluster in *Kelurahan Pasawahan* has been established for years, while the prepared food sellers in the outskirts of Bandung have just started to create a new cluster. For example, C4's husband bought land and built a house on the outskirts of Bandung while C6, C4's uncle, was his next-door neighbour. As has been mentioned above these living arrangements have been taken to ensure their security as well to have access to help when they were facing hardship or crisis in the city (Anderson 1971).

#### b. Changes of Migrants' Living Arrangements

The distribution of household structure in the destination area by migrant status indicated that migrants have changed their living arrangements within their period of migration. The changes of living arrangements were in accordance with changes in the family life cycle (Young 1977), especially marriages and the birth of children. Figure 7.3. depicts the changes of living arrangements of temporary and

permanent migrants. These living arrangements changes were common for migrants from Wonosigro who work as factory workers. One should remember, however, that the current living arrangements were not permanent in nature and can change into a different type of household in the future as a consequence of changes in the family life cycle. Each diagram is divided into two people's life history, one side depicts the experiences of Wonosigro migrants while the opposite draws the experiences of spouses'. Commonly, new migrants arrive in the city as temporary migrants without an intention to leave their origin villages permanently. As is the case with migrants from Wonosigro village, they prefer to live in non-familial households with their friends or live in a *bedeng*. They could not join their families' or friends' households, because there was no spare room available for them. They might stay for a few days with their family or friends upon their arrival, but then live in separate rooms after they have gained employment. Some of them meet their future spouses in the city and they are not necessarily from the same village of origin and they set up their new families in the city and become permanent migrants. As a result of their changing status, from single to married people, they also changed their living arrangement as depicted in Figure 7.3.

Following marriage, the newlyweds will live in a separate room as a family in a form of Nuclear Family (NF) type of household. Later on, towards the birth of the first child they may send the wife to her origin village to give birth. The wives will join their parents' family and live in an extended vertical type of household, while the husbands will stay in the city and return to live in SPF or NonF households. These living arrangements can last forever, or only for a few months, until the babies are old enough to travel to the city with their mothers, or until the babies have been weaned so they can be left with their grandparents while the

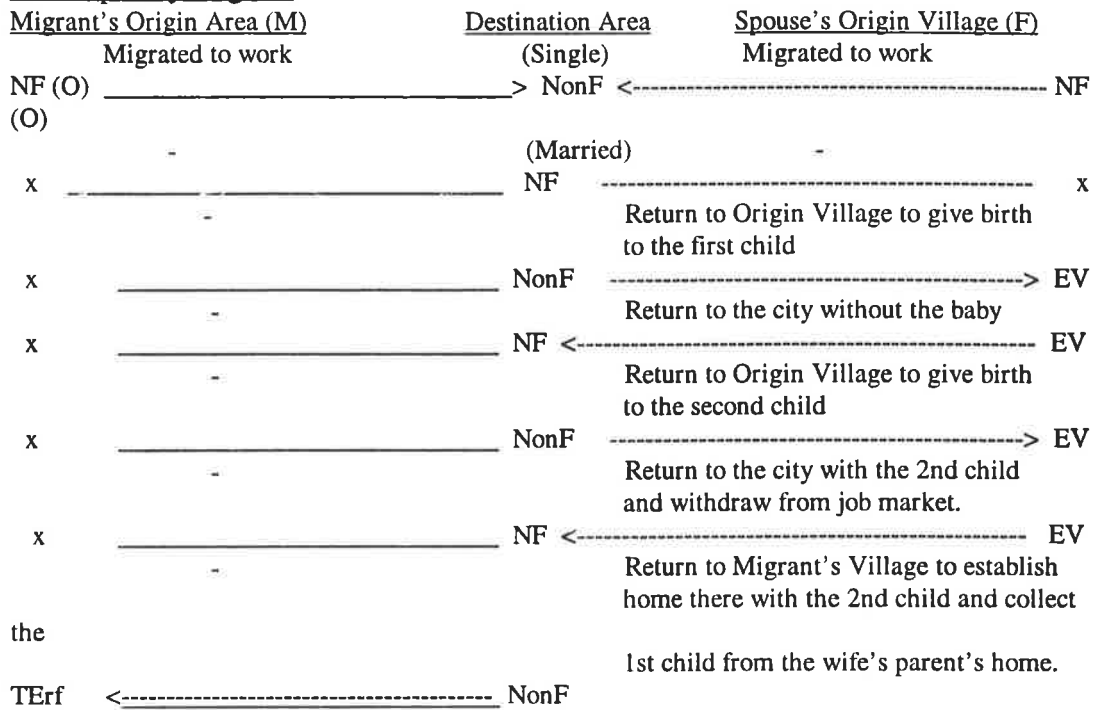
mother returns to the city. The wives who choose to stay in the village continue to stay with their parents. The wives, with or without their babies, who return to the city would join their husbands and reform nuclear family households. If the wife brings along their baby, she would not resume her job and care for the baby. They would not resume their jobs until the baby is old enough to be sent back to the village. The wives would completely withdraw from the workforce when the couples have saved enough to buy a house and agricultural land in the case of most of the temporary migrants, while among permanent migrants, the wives would continue to work in the factory.

The above living arrangements' changes represent the most common processes among migrants. For Javanese people the birth of a child is always welcomed and they care for them in extremely careful way in an attempt to avoid upsetting them (Geertz 1961, Koentjaraningrat 1967). Women who had just given birth need assistance to do this, especially those who were first time mothers. When they have enough resources they would invite their mothers to their home with the approach of labour instead of returning to their parents' home to give birth. In the village the traditional midwives help in the labour and care for, especially the health, of the babies and the mothers in the first 35 days after the birth, while other family members will provide help in other areas, such as washing soiled clothes, cooking proper meals for the mothers, and bathing the babies. At this stage the mothers make a quick recovery and nurse the babies. The family also prepares ritual meals to celebrate the babies reaching their first 35 days of life. Many women



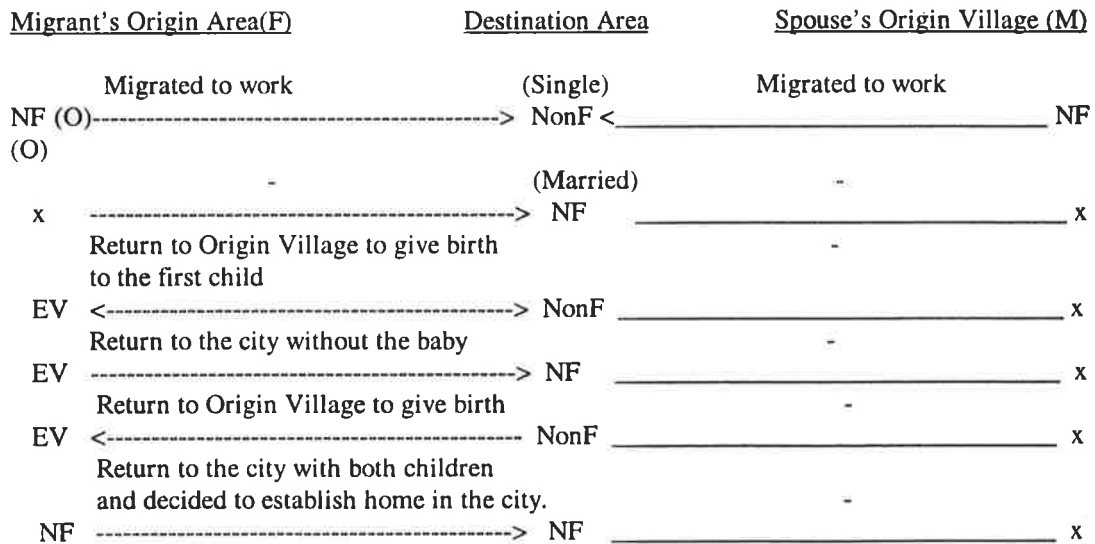
Figure 7.3. Changes of Living Arrangements of Migrants.

**a. Temporary Migrant**



(The current living arrangement is the husband live in NonF household in the city while the wife and children live in the migrant's village in TErf household.)

**b. Permanent Migrant**



(The current living arrangement of above migrant is in nuclear family with three children. Following the birth of her third child, she withdrew from the job market to become housewife. The family also moved to another village where they have a house in a housing complex surrounding Bandung *Kotamadya*.)

Notes: NF(O) is nuclear family of family of orientation.  
 < or > are directions of migration.

did not feel confident enough to do all these processes by themselves in the city. In addition, the living conditions surrounding their homes in the city were not favourable to the newborns' wellbeing<sup>26</sup>. This mode of childcare was also common among migrant women in Thailand (Richter 1992). The migrants' parents sent their young children to live with relatives elsewhere as the best choice for their children's wellbeing, because no one is available to care for the children in the city while their mothers are working (Richter 1992). Similar reasons have been given by the migrant women in this study.

### c. Summary

The living arrangements chosen by migrants reflected their efforts to adjust to the needs of industrialisation. The 'single' factory migrants, including those who were married but left their family behind, prefer to live in non-familial households with one or more friends to minimise the costs of living in the city, while those who work in the prepared food business live in their employers houses. This often involves the separation of infants from their mothers and the involvement of extended families in the children's upbringing. Migrants have to save to support their families in the village. Even the majority of the factory workers who live near Bandung very rarely go there despite the cheap and easy transportation to the city. Some of them may travel to Bandung to buy new clothing for themselves and gifts

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<sup>26</sup>Based on other sources, such as from observation at my workplace in the university and neighbourhood, the higher income and more educated migrant women give birth in hospitals or clinics in the city with the help of gynaecologists and modern midwives; use professional baby-sitters or maids to help them care for the babies; use professional catering service to prepare the ritual meals; and invite a group of Qur'an reading in their neighbourhood (*Ind. Kelompok Pengajian*) to say a prayer for the baby. However, the presence of the grandmothers on the mother's side is highly needed.

for families back home approaching *Hari Raya*, especially the women<sup>27</sup>. On the other hand the prepared food sellers rarely travelled, other than for business purposes, such as to go to the market to buy ingredients. When they open their stall at night they have to prepare the food in the morning, and on the other hand they have to prepare at night when they open their stall in the morning. The labourers who live in their employer's house often do chores or some errands for their employers, besides preparing the food. As their employer provides them with free meals and accommodation, the workers can save all their wages. Similar to factory workers, they will go shopping for new clothes approaching *Lebaran*. They rarely visited their factory worker friends.

The factory workers have a routine of activity that is to work a particular shift for eight to 10 hours and then return home to rest, sleep or chat with neighbours or do some chores. They eat a very simple meal, which is not too different to that in the origin village, such as rice, vegetable and a piece of soybean cake/dried fish/eggs and sometimes with chicken or fresh fish. Beef is considered a luxury food. C10 explained that she could not afford beef but her sister, C13, could as she is better off. The women, especially the young girls, often treat themselves to meatball soup worth Rp. 500 to Rp.800 as a variation to their everyday meals. Workers who do not receive meals from the factory have to bring their lunch,

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<sup>27</sup>The women said that Bandung City is too far away and they do not feel confident to travel there alone (*Ind. Tidak berani.*) or without accompanying friends or husbands who have experiences. C7, C8, and C16 often travel to Bandung for entertainment. C7 likes to see a movie in a theatre located in a shopping mall in southern Bandung City. C8 likes to pay visits to his friends who work as food sellers (as explained previously) and his relatives in northern Bandung City. C16 likes window shopping or visiting tourist areas. C12 often travels to Bandung after her uncle (C9) moved to his boss' house in Bandung City centre, but her mother C10 would not travel alone to Bandung. C1 and C9 regularly travel to Bandung because C1 has a secondary job as security guard of his boss' house and C9 lives in Bandung City while working in Pasawahan. However, the majority of migrants take travel to Bandung as a special occasion which needs some preparation.

dinner or late dinner to be eaten during their shift. Some of them were able to postpone their meals until they get home. Some have to buy instant noodles which are easy to prepare,<sup>28</sup> they just put the noodles in a cup and pour in boiling water which is provided by the factory. One informant said that he was able to cook rice using the boiling water system where he was posted. These variations of migrant strategies to meet their basic needs were a reflection of their effort to make use of their wages to support two households, in the city and in the village. Even never married migrants, for whom sending remittances was not obligatory, had to save up to please their parents and to show their parents that they were a success in the city.

### 7.3. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the experiences of migrants in the city based on case studies, especially in relation to occupations, networking and living arrangements. This chapter also described the destination area of Bandung as a centre of the textile and garment industries in Indonesia, which attracts migrants from other regencies in West Java as well as from other part of Indonesia. One of the main locations of textile and garment industries is *Kelurahan Pasawahan*, Dayeuh Kolot district where migrants from Wonosigro village reside. The development of many large and medium industries in the village has changed the village's pattern of land use with a diminution of agricultural land. Despite the diminishing level of agricultural employment, other non-agricultural employments have been flourishing, such as factory employment, rooming house rental, prepared

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<sup>28</sup>However, in this situation some workers with business talent were able to sell instant noodles and instant coffee inside the factory which is considered illegal by the factory's management. According to one informant these activities were profitable and one of them was able to buy a house in the village. As it is impossible to bring in the 'merchandise' in large quantities, they ask several other workers to carry them in smaller batches as if it is for personal consumption. Commonly, these businessmen ask their relatives or close friends to help them. These business activities were a success because there was high demand for the merchandise.

food sellers and various kiosks and stalls to cater for the factory workers. Another impact of the development of industries in Pasawahan village is that it has increased the number of inmigrants from other places resulting in an increase of population density and crowding. Migrants from Wonosigro mainly take jobs as factory workers or prepared food sellers. Most of the factory workers live in Pasawahan village, while the food sellers live around Bandung City. Migrants who work in the textile factories have familial relationships with each other, and this is also the case with food sellers. This was caused by the fact that both occupations use familial, close friend or neighbour relationships to recruit new workers on the one hand, while on the other hand new migrants use these relationships to enter the labour market. By using the familial relationships among workers, the factory management could expect a loyal and industrious workforce to guarantee their production. The migrants live in rented rooming houses or factory's *bedeng*, especially the Itex workers. The married men prefer to migrate alone and leave their families in the village. Migrant women left their infants with their mothers while they resume their work in the city with their husbands until they have saved enough to buy a house in the village. The impact of migration on family structure is the splitting of nuclear family members into two households or more. The nuclear family has been extended to include maternal families of orientation to help in the upbringing of children. The next chapter will explore family functioning as a consequence of the splitting of its members to live in several households.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Migration and Family Functioning

#### 8.1. Introduction

In the last chapter, the impact of migration on household or family structures has been examined. The direct impact was the splitting of a family into several types of households and geographically dispersed between origin village and destination areas. Children at a very young age have left their parent' households to live in different households, either alone or with friends or relatives, in the city. Most of the year, many husbands live in separate households miles away from their wives and children. Parents left their young children with grandparents in the village while they were living in the city to work. There was an increase in the number of non-familial households in the destination areas and in the number of extended vertical, and eroded family types in the village of origin. As a direct consequence of the separation of family members from their main households in the village to live elsewhere there will be an adjustment in family functioning.

The family provides several functions in society (Murdock 1949, Burgess, Locke, and Thomes 1963, Goode 1982, Parsons 1983). In a tribal society, where social structures are mostly developed within kinship relationships, the family provided virtually all functions. On the other hand, in modern society, most of them were lost to other institutions (Parsons 1983, p. 185), modified greatly (Burgess, Locke, and Thomes 1963, p. 4), or separated from the family (Goode 1982, p. 8). There are many suggestions on what kinds of functions a family should be performing. Murdock (1949, p. 10) stated that the nuclear family should perform four functions, those are 'the sexual, the economic, the reproductive and the

educational' necessary to preserve the human being from extinction and culture from an end. He explained that the provision of the first and third would ensure the continuity of human beings, while the second would secure life and the fourth would preserve culture. Some external agencies may share in carrying out those functions, but Murdock stressed that those would never become a substitute for the family. Although, some societies permit an extra marital sexual relationship and maybe the birth of children out of marriage, it never replaces a married couple as the main context to have children. The expansion of economic activity beyond the household unit, such as in modern industrial economy, may have changed the division of labour between husband and wife, but it would not make it disappear. Several other people, such as nurses, servants, relatives or grandparents, may assist in childcare, but the family remains the main responsibility for rearing children. The family also plays a role as the primary agent of socialisation, although some institutions, such as schools, may provide major assistance to educate and discipline children. Based on this reasoning, Murdock concludes that it was very doubtful that there was any society which has been able to find a replacement for the nuclear family in performing these functions.

Goode (1982, p. 6) argued that the family functions are "reproduction of the young, physical maintenance of family members, social placement of the child, socialisation and social control". According to Burgess, Locke, and Thomes (1963, p. 4), the primary historic functions of the family are economic, educational, health, protective and religious. Based on these references a question can be addressed as to what are the most important family functions. Parsons (1983, p. 184) argued that procreation, childcare and sexual functions are always mentioned, while the other functions appear infrequently. It seems that there are 'root functions' which

always exist in the family or kinship system, namely reproduction and socialisation, whereas other functions can be provided by other social institutions or are transferable to other social structures (Parsons 1983, p. 185).

These functions specifically refer to the nuclear family type which is believed to be the most common family type in Western countries, and therefore these may not fit other types of family structures. Bender (1967) argued that these functions do not necessarily have to be performed by the nuclear family. He agreed that the sexual relationship and reproduction do take place within the family, but it is not always in the nuclear family. In polyandrous families, when a man and several brothers were married to a woman, the children's biological paternity is difficult to be determined. The children only have social fathers. This means that sexual relationships and reproduction can occur in a non nuclear family unit. On the other hand, a nuclear family still exists without conducting the reproduction task because the children were adopted. Bender also disagrees with Murdock's analysis that the nuclear family always carries out economic functions based on division of labour by age and sex. Bender (1967, p.501) argued that the division of labour occurs in the society as a whole as well as in other groups which consist of 'persons of both sexes and of different ages, including *all* types of families'. It does not exclusively exist in the nuclear family. In the Israeli *kibbutz*, economic functions were performed outside the nuclear family and, therefore, the division of labour by sex takes place in the whole society. Another function, which is considered as most important, that is socialisation, is not always the primary responsibility of the nuclear family. Children who are allowed to live in households other than those of their parents will rather have a greater possibility to learn from their kinsmen or peers about their society and culture than from their parents. Bender said that there were many problems in



defining a family functionally, but it was easier to define a family structurally. The four functions introduced by Murdock can be performed in non nuclear family types, such as polygyny, polyandrous or extended families.

As has been explained previously, in modern societies, the family functions can be separated, but they should always be available in any social system (Goode 1982). This means the nuclear families were not the sole agents to perform all the family functions. Some mothers may send their children to the restaurants to get meals, which means they share the physical maintenance of family members with another institution. Another function which can be shared with other institutions is the socialisation and education of young family members. Parents send their children to schools to be educated. The position of the family as the smallest part in the social structure will be preserved, otherwise the society will disintegrate or even collapse. Thus, if, both family and society are willing to survive, they should be interrelated in many ways to fulfil each other's requirements (Goode 1982). This means that societies should take over some family functions to support the family, in return of more contribution of family members to the society, such as the joining of women and mothers in the workforce. However, as Murdock (1949) argued it is doubtful that there was any society which was able to find a replacement for the nuclear family in performing these functions. Models of communal families, such as *kibbutzim* in Israel and *kolkhoz* in Russia did not survive (Goode 1982).

## **8.2. The Functioning of Javanese Families**

Previous chapters explained that the majority family type in Java is the nuclear family, although in migration destination areas there is a tendency for an increasing proportion of other forms of family and non-family types of households. Migration has made a significant contribution to this process. The direct result of

migration is the split of the nuclear family into several households and this will inevitably affect family functioning. The analysis below uses the nuclear family as the basic unit to identify the family functions and to explain the process of the inclusion of extended families roles in nuclear family functioning. The basic unit of Javanese society is the *somah* or household (Koentjaraningrat 1967, p.260), which does not always mean a separate dwelling but it is characterised by a separate kitchen to be used by the Javanese family to cook their meals. To specify the meaning of *somah*, Jay called it hearth hold (1969, p.53). He states that the hearth hold is 'identified with the conception of the nuclear family as an independent economic unit' (Jay 1969, p.54). The newlyweds can be considered as mature nuclear families when they can support themselves economically by providing their own food, although they may live in the same house with their parents or other people. In Javanese society, the nuclear family (*Jv. keluarga batih*), which is sometimes augmented with elderly parents, widowed sisters or daughters, grandchildren or maids, is an independent economic group which manage their economies through cooperation of husbands and wives (Geertz 1961, Koentjaraningrat 1967, Jay 1969). According to Geertz (1961), the Javanese kinship system, which is "bilateral and nucleating", has reduced the contribution of the family in the functioning of the society. Since the nuclear family is the only important kinship unit and it does not considered other kinsmen in family decision making processes, it does not play a central role in structuring the economic, political and religious behaviour of the Javanese society. However, these few contributions are very important in preserving the stability and continuity of Javanese society in this present form (Geertz 1961, p. 2). Among these few contributions are the place where the society members' personal, economic, social

and psychological needs are met and the process of socialisation is performed. New family members within the Javanese society have been taught to become 'fully Javanese' by socialising them with Javanese values since they were just an infant (Geertz 1961). Geertz explained, that young children have to learn the "fundamental rules and attitudes for proper adult relationships with their neighbours, superior and inferior". The first lesson about how to use the proper expressions concerning differential status was learnt from parents and older siblings and then other kinsmen. In this way, Geertz concluded, the family cultivated and preserved the Javanese primary ethical norms within its individual members, and this is the major contribution of the family to the functioning of the Javanese society.

A family in Javanese society is a place of economic cooperation between husband and wife. In this cooperation the family has become the basic consumption and production group (Geertz 1961; Koentjaraningrat 1967; Jay 1969). It means, all of the family members pool their earnings into one household account and they will receive a share according to their needs. To concretise this economic cooperation within a nuclear family, they had to practice the division of labour between husband and wife. In these relationships, both husband and wife have equal status, although the husband is the head of the household. Koentjaraningrat articulated this sort of cooperation in agricultural activities as follows:

"Preparation of the soil for tillage, ploughing, harrowing, and the repair of irrigation works fall primarily within the masculine sphere of activities, whereas women do most of the planting, weeding, harvesting, and threshing, as well as the further processing, preservation, and preparing of food. Both sexes transport crops from the field to the home, and products from home to the market, but in many market centres one notices a predominance of female buyers and sellers. "(Koentjaraningrat 1967 p. 260).

However, women do not play an important role in public and political affairs and because of this, therefore, the statement about the strong position of Javanese women (Geertz 1961) has been rejected by feminist scholars (Berninghausen and Kerstan 1992; Wolf 1992). Geertz's statement was based on the fact that there is no limitation on occupations for Javanese women and they have the right to own a farm and supervise its cultivation, therefore, they have no difficulty in supporting themselves. However, observations of feminist scholars suggest that the women's activities in managing the household are no less than an execution of men's will. They argue that the less important role of women in the public sphere means that they are powerless. Considering the above arguments on family function and the incompleteness of the primary data on family functioning, the following analysis will only emphasise two functions, economic and reproduction, especially in childcare and the socialisation of young children. Socialisation of young children including physical care and education is a consequence of the reproduction function of nuclear family, which has to be performed mainly within the nuclear family.

### **8.3. The Economic Function**

Economic cooperation within nuclear family means the pooling of income earned by individuals or from family businesses into one purse and then distributing it among the household members according to individual needs. Economic cooperation is also characterised by a division of labour between husband and wife. Previously, Koentjaraningrat (1967, p. 260) has articulated economic cooperation in agricultural activities, while Jay has quoted the explanation of one of his informants about the independence of the nuclear family economy as follows:

“Any money coming in that I earned went to my wife. She kept it and used it for our own household expenses; it was not given to her parents. Also the rice stores were kept separate, and the rice

was cooked separately ..... If the rice was all gone, she might borrow from her parents and repay from the next harvest, or she might sell things later to repay or buy more rice" (Jay 1969, p. 54)

This quotation is from the 1950s, when the economy of Indonesia was less industrial. In this study which was conducted in the mid of 1990s when industrialisation had become more important in the Indonesian economy and many Indonesians engage in economic activities outside the household, the concept of nuclear family as an independent economic unit is still maintained, especially between married couples.

The lack of control over economic resources among villagers in the origin village (see Chapter Five) has forced less well-off families to allow their young children to search for work in the city. Based on their information on remittances their children's earnings were not pooled into a single household purse, but the migrants' children keep and manage their own income for their own needs. Although it was not an obligation for the children to send regular remittances to support their families in the village, the children were not expected to refuse any request for money from the families in the village for certain purposes, such as to pay for their younger siblings' school expenses, medical treatments, or house renovation. The parents very rarely ask for financial assistance to pay for their everyday meals. The main intention of the families to let their young children migrate is to relieve some economic burdens of the poor parents. The parents will always be grateful when their children are able to support themselves and they will be more grateful if their children are willing to pay for their younger siblings' school expenses. The migrant children freely manage their own earnings to meet their own needs without their parents' approval, although they realise that they have an

obligation to help their parents in the village. Accordingly, the migrant children were obliged to allocate some portion of what they earned for their families' needs in the village, such as C16 who gave up her savings to help her younger brother get a job as a policeman. Although some female factory workers might have put their savings into goats to be reared in the village, they were spending their earnings freely on themselves (Wolf 1986, 1992). The female workers liked to buy luxury items such as cosmetics, soap bars or long pants to show off their success to the villagers (Wolf 1986).

The involvement of migrant family members in the household economy, however, is different when the migrants were the head of the household. In this case, they were the main provider in the households, although they did not live in the same home. The main objective of their migration is to seek better job opportunities in the city at the cost of separation from their families for most of the year. This situation was taken as a family strategy. Most of these migrant husbands were not only away for a certain length of time, but it could go on for tens of years. C1 from Family No.33 has been living separately from his family for about 13 years and at the moment there is no indication of him giving up his job in Bandung and joining his family in the village. Although the family owns a piece of agricultural land, it is only enough to meet the household's consumption, while they need more than that. He explained about his intention to stay in Bandung longer as follows:

“My children are growing up and we need more money to send them to high school. I may not be able to send them to college, but they have to finish at least high school so they will be able to find a job in the future. Nowadays, no factory will accept workers with low education.”

In this case his wife does not have any option other than to agree. She used to work in Bandung too but she had to give it up because the children needed someone to care for them. When they worked together in Bandung they pooled their income and saved to buy land and build a permanent house in the village. On her return to the village she was strictly a housewife and did not take up a paid job because there was no job suitable for her. Her main job is taking care of the children and managing the family economy while learning to become a farmer from her father-in-law.

A similar reason was given by the wife of Family No. 5, whose husband works in Jakarta as a factory-made traditional herbal medicine seller<sup>1</sup> (*Ind. jual jamu*). He works for his brother-in-law (his sister's husband) who is one of the Jakarta representatives of the *jamu* factory. The family has three sources of income, besides remittances. The wife has her own secure, although small, income as a primary school teacher and at home she sells cold drinks and ice cubes. She admits that she was the one who urged her husband to keep working in the city because they need funds to send their two children to high school and, if possible, to college. Although her husband wants to return home and work in the village, she persuaded him to keep working in Jakarta. She argued that there is no suitable job for him that can give him a salary higher than Rp. 5,000 per day. In the mean time, she uses the remittances primarily to finish renovating their house. In this case, she manages the allocation of income being pooled in her purse but does not include her husband's income. This means she can only use the remittances sent by her husband

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<sup>1</sup>This is different from women *jamu* sellers, who mostly sold homemade *jamu* by carrying it on her back and vending around neighbourhood or special locations (See Hetler 1986). He sold factory-made *jamu* (The wife refused to disclose the brand of *jamu* her husband sold.) in a stall and the customers come to visit them. They sold *jamu* in packages to be consumed elsewhere and also prepare the *jamu* in the stall ready to be consumed by buyers.

but could not dictate to her husband about the use of income for his private needs in the city.

Family No. 5 and No. 33, as well as 24 other households, run two separate households which are geographically dispersed. The wives at home only manage their husband's income after it has been reduced by their husband's living costs in the city, which is out of their control. Problems will be faced by a wife, who does not have a personal income, when remittances are too small or arrive very late (See the problems of Family No. 101 in Chapter Five). This forces her to borrow food or money from the *warung* owner, sometimes, with high interest rates. Some of the circular migrant families also owned agricultural land to produce staple food for household consumption and use their remittances for other expenses.

The pooling of income was also common among migrants in the city. Both daughters of Family No.157 (referred to as C10 and C13 in Chapter Seven), who work as factory labourers, live with their husbands and children in Bandung. The elder daughter (C10) lives in a *bedeng* with her husband and only daughter, while the younger daughter (C13) lives in her own house with her husband, children and her husband's nephew. The elder daughter wants to return home after retirement, while the younger daughter decided to migrate permanently to Bandung. The elder daughter said that her husband trusted his income in her hands. Therefore, every month he always gives his full income to her and she gives him some pocket money to buy cigarettes. She explained that she has to make sure that her husband has some money in his pocket because it would be very embarrassing for him to ask her for money when he wanted to treat his friends to a cigarette. The wife allocates the money to buy *sawah* in her village and rent-in *sawah* in her husband's origin villages, 50 *ubin* (700 sq.m.) each, to support her elderly mother and mother-in-law.



The *sawah* provides enough food for their mothers and therefore they do not have to send money regularly to the village. Moreover, C10 and C11 do not have to worry about their mothers' wellbeing because C10's sister lives in a nearby village and supplies their mother with daily meals and C11's brother and sister still live in the village and take care of his mother. She only sends a small amount of money, Rp. 15,000 per month to pay for the electricity bill for her house in the village. C10 and her husband want to live in the wife's village after retirement. C10 has been paying off her siblings' rights over the house compound inherited from their parents. In this case C10 runs not only two but three separate households in three different villages - the couple's household in Bandung, their private house in Kebumen occupied by her mother (Family No.157) and the husband's mother in Banyumas<sup>2</sup>.

However, not all husbands trusted their income to their wives, even if they lived in the same household. The daughter of Family No. 217 (C14 in Chapter Seven), a factory worker married with three children, lived with her husband and two of her three children in Bandung. Her eldest son lives with her parents in the village because he does not like living in a crowded area in Bandung. She said that her husband only gives her a portion of his salary while spending the rest for his own needs<sup>3</sup>. She receives Rp. 100,000 fortnightly or Rp. 200,000 per month from

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<sup>2</sup>Following the economic crisis, the wife has taken early retirement offered by the factory management with ten times her monthly salary compensation worth two million rupiah. Now, she lives in the village to take care of her baby granddaughter and left her husband alone in his *bedeng* in Bandung. She plans to return to Bandung to accompany her husband later on, when her daughter has got a job in Bandung. The daughter will bring her daughter (the granddaughter) to Bandung too to be taken care of by her mother. In this case the mother has retired from her formal job to support her husband and her daughter.

<sup>3</sup>This might not be really true since she admitted that her husband had to make a down payment for their new house worth three and a half million rupiah.

her husband. She uses the first instalment to pay the rent for Rp. 45,000<sup>4</sup> and the rest to pay school fees and transport costs for her second child who goes to school in Bandung. Half of the second instalment, Rp. 50,000 was sent to the village to pay for her eldest son's school fees and meals. She uses her own salary to pay for meals and other household needs. Therefore, although she has been working for more than 15 years, she was only able to buy a piece of dry land but does not have a house or *sawah* in her village or her husband's. She explained that her husband has made a down payment on a house in one of the new housing complexes in Bandung's outskirts<sup>5</sup> and she was not involved in the process of searching for the funds. Her husband told her that he had borrowed the money from the factory and will pay it back in monthly instalments deducted from his salary.

The economic cooperation among family members is represented in the family function of providing basic needs for the family. When the family still owned enough resources or when other economic opportunities were still available in the village, the family were able to produce goods and services to meet the family's needs. However, the processes of development have changed the needs of the community at large and so the economic opportunities available in the village cannot meet the needs of the villagers and this made them seek employment in other places. According to Deere and de Janvry (1979) and Wood (1981), families in the village have released their family members to seek wage jobs in the city to maximise the utilisation of the labour power owned by the family. The family adopted this

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<sup>4</sup>One informant told me that C14's husband, considering his position in the factory, was entitled to have free accommodation in the factory's *bedeng*, but he was too proud to take it. The main reason for him not living in Ite's *bedeng*, the informant continued, was to avoid living in the same neighbourhood with his wife's relatives because once he did have an affair with another woman for which he has been admonished by his wife's relatives.

strategy as a response to structural change that occurred beyond the household unit (Wood 1981). Who would be sent to the job market depends on the composition of members of the family by age and sex as well as the family life cycle. Migration for production purposes, such as to work or to get education, commonly involves the working age population. Migration has been used by the villagers to materialise the economic function of the families. At the later stage of the life cycle, families which have working age children would be more likely to send their children to seek job opportunities in other places while families at an early stage of the life cycle would be likely to have only the family heads and their spouses as potential migrants.

#### **8.4. The Socialisation Function**

A second important family function is socialisation of new members to prevent the culture becoming extinct (Murdock 1949). Although, institutions such as schools play an important role in educating children, families are the primary agent for transferring the values and culture of the society, to future generations. The birth of children is an expected consequence of a marriage. To survive, newborn babies need full-time care from older people 'to nurse, tend and rear them physically and socially' (Murdock 1949). These tasks take place primarily in nuclear families and demand the cooperation of all family members and, in fact, the burden of physical and social care of children needs to be distributed among extended family members and evenly among the society in which the family resides. When the newborn arrives there is no other human being was highly expected to provide care for the baby as the

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<sup>5</sup>In early January 1999 the family had moved to their new house, including their eldest son who used to live with their grandparent in the village. She has also resigned from her factory job to become a housewife and rear her baby daughter and other children.

mother. However, as the mother is often also engaged in income-generating activities, there is a need for a substitute childcare provider, especially for pre-school children. It has been argued that women's employment is incompatible with child rearing activity and consequently the increasing rate of female employment will result in a lower fertility rate (Blake 1965). This argument might be true for women who work in industrialised countries in which women's work dictates they leave the house for a certain amount of time but it might not be the case with women in less developed countries who mostly engage in agriculture or self-employment at home (Ware 1981, Richter *et al.* 1992).

In industrialised countries support for labour force participation of women with young children is provided by childcare facilities. In developed countries discussion and research on how to solve the problems of women in employment with young children are largely concerned with the availability, costs and quality of day care as well as government policy to help such families (Richter *et al.* 1992). Alhburg and de Vita (1992) argued that young children in the United States have become used to receiving socialisation and early childhood education from outside the parents' and the family home, and this was not only for the children of working mothers. In 1988, about 13.3 million children aged 5 or younger were under non-maternal childcare arrangements, either in a day care centre or family day care, in the United States and 83 per cent of the mothers were employed outside of home. Furthermore, Alhburg and De Vita (1992) reported that full-time employed mothers prefer to put their children in a day care centre (more than a third) than in family day care (24 per cent), while part-timer mothers prefer to juggle their work schedule and child care than to use a day care service. They stated that 44 per cent of part-timer mothers work different shifts to be able to take care of their young

children and 20 per cent use day care services. The involvement of family members, such as siblings or grandparents, in child caring were largely important in supervising children in the age of five to 12 years.

On the contrary, in developing countries, women's employment is not necessarily incompatible with childcare (Richter *et al.* 1992). Many women in developing countries engaged in non-formal income-generating activities, such as self-employment at home, which is not incompatible with child rearing and there are extended families and inexpensive domestic labour often available as childcare alternative. However, it may not really be true that all working women in developing countries can combine work with child care, because many 'traditional' works had to be carried out away from home, such as agriculture labour or vending various goods. Even, for non-working women in many developing countries, childcare has been neglected because of the burden of domestic work. Desai and Jain (1994) reported that both working and non-working women in rural India spend fewer hours caring for their children in favour of domestic work. Women in rural India spend 6 to 7 hours doing domestic work such as cleaning, cooking, fetching water, wood collecting, and laundering which often has to be done away from home. Therefore, mothers rely substantially on older children, other older women in the family or neighbours to care for their young children (Desai and Jain 1994, p.125). The amount of time spent in alternate care was not too different for working women and non-working women's children. Desai and Jain (1994) calculated that children of non-working mothers spent 4.4 hours per day with substitute care, while those with working mothers spent 3.8 hours.

The incompatibility between working mothers and childcare in developing countries was believed to begin when industrialisation created more wage jobs for

women (Ware 1981, Standing 1978). According to Standing (1978), industrialisation has shifted women from agricultural and other informal jobs to formal jobs. It has also promoted migration to urban areas, where the industrialisation has been largely located, resulting in less availability of extended families to care for children. The increase in education levels has also changed aspirations for employment, such as a preference for wage labour to domestic labour, which results in a decrease in the availability of cheap domestic servants to provide help in childcare.

In Thailand research conducted by Richter *et al.* (1992) reported that 32 per cent of children aged two were cared for by mothers who combine work and child care, 27 per cent were cared for by relatives at home, 11 per cent cared for by non-relatives at home and 15 per cent were living apart from their mothers. This research in urban Thailand also reported that private and government employees working outside the home were rarely able to combine work and childcare so their children were cared for by someone else. About 18 to 29 per cent of 'white collar' women workers trusted the care of their young children to servants at home and about 7 per cent sent them to a nursery, while 22 to 31 per cent of 'blue collar' workers' young children were living apart from their mothers (Richter *et al.* 1992). Furthermore, Richter *et al.* (1992) explained that among relatives, maternal grandmothers are the best choice to care for young children. Alternative care by relatives becomes more difficult if there are no relatives living close by and this forces mothers entrust the care of their babies to non-relatives. Higher income women took live-in servants or babysitters while the 'blue collar' women workers asked their neighbours to care for their babies.

The research in urban Thailand also revealed that some young children have to live apart from their mothers, which is uncommon for Thais (Richter *et al.* 1992). They argued that this is one of the options taken by migrant women in urban Thailand, especially the new arrivals and it is most likely to happen among women who work in the formal sector. The mothers sent their children elsewhere to live with relatives as the best choice for the children's wellbeing, although they felt this was a difficult decision. The main reasons for living separately from their child were: there is no one to care for the child while the mothers are working, the cost of a child care minder is too expensive, they do not want their child to be cared for by non-relatives in Bangkok, or they have too many children. Some mothers have sent their children to relatives, usually maternal grandparents, in the mother's rural hometown. A small percentage live with their fathers because of a divorce or for another reason. The children who were living in Bangkok were visited by their mothers more frequently than those who live outside Bangkok. A considerable proportion of children living apart from their mothers for a short time were not supported by their mothers (25 per cent), but the majority have sent a small amount of money or other things to the children. This indicated that the children were predominantly supported by the family they were living with.

A rather different pattern of childcare arrangement has been found among circular migrant mothers in Central Java, Indonesia (Hetler 1986). She reported that to leave the children at home in the villages to go to school was the most common solution for childcare problems, although, there were various options available. If the mothers migrate alone, that means leaving their husbands and children at home, the fathers will take care of the household and child minding with the help of their older children and elderly mother. Circulating mothers were

considered 'improper' by upper class women (Hetler 1986, p. 253) because they abandoned their husbands and children. However, these women were able to circulate without neglecting their young children. Often these women took along their pre-school children with them to the city, especially when they were still breastfeeding them, but they prefer to leave school age children at home. This means that it was unlikely for children to be left at a very young age. Hetler (1986) reported that 54 per cent of women who migrate with their husbands and 20 per cent of women who migrate alone take their young children to the city. The latter decision has been taken because she does not have any other option. She found that around 42 per cent of ever-married women migrants (N=199) had to take along their young children with them to the city at one time. In the city, the migrant mothers have several child care arrangements, such as having teenage or pre-adolescent girls mind the children while they are working (42 per cent), making arrangement with either their husband, older children or other kin to distribute the child care responsibilities around the mothers' working hours (33 per cent), taking the children to work (5 per cent) and leaving the children to play alone (15 per cent).

In this study, childcare as a part of the socialisation process has been examined through migrant women in the city and return migrant women in the village of origin using a qualitative approach. The number of children currently being taken care of by their grandparents in the village of origin was calculated from the list of current household members in the village survey. There were 25 children 5 to 18 years old of age who were living under the care of their grandparents in the sample households in the village of origin, while their parents were living elsewhere. Some 23 children were under 15 years (5.9 per cent of total children under 15 in



sample households), and there were no pre-school children at the time of survey. The separation of children from their parents, especially at a very young age, is not consistent with Javanese tradition. Koentjaraningrat (1960, 1967) and Geertz (1961) have reported that Javanese babies were breast fed up to 18 months old, and for some, even until they are two years old. This means that mothers would not live apart from their babies at least until they were weaned, as has been reported by Hetler (1986). However, in particular circumstances, such as the parents having to work in the city and there were no substitute child care providers available in the city, the children will be left in the village with grandparents. Usually single parents were in need of substitute childcare providers. The 25 children live in 18 households in the village of origin. Seven out of 18 sample households include grandchildren of divorced children who live and work elsewhere. Usually they entrusted only one child, but one divorcee left his three children with his elderly parents and three others entrusted two children. One parent has three grandchildren to be taken care of from their two divorced children. As has been explained previously, all married migrant women in the city who have been interviewed in detail experienced living apart from their young children for a certain period of time.

In practice, the treatment of children from infancy is similar to what has been extensively explained by Hildred Geertz in 1961. The difference is that the lack of parents' involvement in this process, especially after the children have been weaned. There were five child-rearing strategies adopted by temporary migrant couples in the sample. One should remember that the current permanent migrants were once temporary migrants who also experienced making the decision to leave their young child or to quit their job. Firstly, if both couples were temporary migrants, the wives left their weaned children with their maternal grandmothers and

unmarried aunties in the village, while they returned to the city to join their husbands. In this arrangement, grandmothers and aunties played an important role in socialising the children with Javanese values, without both parents being present most of the time. Secondly, the mothers stay in the village and quit their job to care for the babies while the fathers return to the city which means the children rarely have contact with their fathers. Thirdly, the infants were taken to the city with their mothers who withdraw from their jobs to take care of them. Fourthly, the infants were taken to the city to be cared for by their mothers and other childcare providers, while the mothers keep working. Fifth, school age children were sent to the village to go to school there, either accompanied by their mothers who quit their jobs or to be cared for and supervised by grandparents. There is no unique child care arrangement for a particular group of women, but one woman might have used all types of child care arrangement suitable to the children's age as well as the economic condition of the migrant families. The following case studies describe the childcare arrangements for migrant woman (C14), who work in textile factory.

'C14, a 33 years old mother of three, has two boys and a girl. She has worked as a textile factory worker since 1979, when she was just 16 years old with the help of her cousin S (or C9 in Table 7.13.). Three years later, in 1982, she married a fellow textile worker from Purwakarta, West Java. One year later, in 1983 she got maternity leave for three months to give birth to her son in her village in Central Java. She returned to Bandung at the end of her maternity leave and left her son in the village with her mother and younger sisters. This means that she breastfed her baby for a very short time which is unusual for Javanese mothers. When her son was 1.5 years old, she took him with her to Bandung accompanied by her younger sister STR who began to work in a textile factory in Bandung. STR helped her elder sister in caring for the boy. Both sisters alternate their work shifts to enable one of them to always be available for the boy. When the child was five years old and eligible to join a kindergarten, C14 sent him to her parents in the village to go to school there. At a similar time C14 planned to have her second child, in 1989 she bore her second son in the village. However, after her maternity leave was over she returned to Bandung with her second child. She, with STR's

help, cared for the baby until he was eight months old at which time he was placed with family care providers until he was five. She paid Rp. 5,000 per week without food (this means she had to provide the food for her boy everyday). She put her baby in family care when he was eight months, because the cost for younger baby, less than 8 months was higher, that was Rp. 7.500 per week without food. At the same time, STR got married and had her own baby, but another younger sister, SYN, arrived to start her job in a textile factory in Bandung. She helps her elder sisters to care for her niece and nephew. The three sisters alternate their work shifts to be able to combine work and childcare. C14 has bore her third child, a girl, and she decided to quit her job to care for her children. The family moved to a new house, which is more spacious than her former rented-room, so she took her son from the village to live with the family. (Field Notes, 10 April 1996)

It seems that C14 has experienced all types of childcare arrangements, including the use of family care that was run by a housewife in the village. In C14's case, the childcare has been carried out with co-operation from C14's extended family, i.e. her parents and two sisters, and without much involvement of her husband or his extended family. C14 explained that her husband couldn't alter his work hours because he was a non-shift worker. He works regular office hours from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. and sometimes longer if he works overtime. Although it was possible for him to care for the children at night while his wife was on night shift, he refused to do so. Therefore, C14 depended on her sisters and parents to help her with childcare. According to C14, her husband wants her to quit her job to become a housewife, which occurred with the birth of her third child. The involvement of husbands in child caring is not uncommon. Another factory worker from Wonosigro village Mi has three children, one of them lives in the village with her parents, and she cares for the other two children who live with them in Bandung together with her husband and her sister. The sister is also married with a daughter and works as a factory worker. Mi and her husband arrange their working hours to be able to combine it with childcare. In a situation where they cannot arrange for

one of them to be available for the children they would ask Sul's help to care for the children. However, as they were living in a very densely settled area with many people living alone and people free at all times (because they were working in shifts), it was not a problem to get someone to look after the children while the parents were busy.

C14's childcare arrangements might be suitable to her needs but other women may have different arrangements like Str, C14's younger sister. When she gave birth to her daughter she quit her job to rear her child until she was five and ready to go to kindergarten. At the time of the survey she was employed and her younger sister, Syt, helped her by picking her child up from school and sending her home. Syt and Str live in different *Kecamatan*, but she can manage to accompany her niece until someone else is available to tend her. Str lives close to C13 who has two adolescent sons who could accompany her daughter after school. Str did not send her daughter to the village because she, and especially her husband, cannot live apart from their child.

The childcare was not only a problem for migrant women in the city, but this is also a problem for non-migrant working women in the village. If there are no substitute care providers for young children it is difficult for mothers to work outside home. This situation became more difficult if the women's husbands are working elsewhere on a circular basis. The head of Family No. 32 is working as a tailor in Jakarta, while the wife is also working as a seamstress in a shop in a neighbouring village. The family has four children aged two to 10 years which need to be cared for. Although, the family live near the paternal grandparent's home, they preferred to go to the maternal grandparent's home in another hamlet for childcare. Therefore, the oldest girl will take her younger sisters to her maternal

grandparent's home after school. The mother, on the other hand, has to wait until the eldest daughter returns from school, at about 10 o'clock in the morning, before she goes to work. This arrangement was made for two reasons. Firstly, the children were closer to their maternal grandparents than to their paternal grandparents because they were born in their maternal grandparent's house and got their early care from them. The family lived with the maternal grandparents before they were able to build their own house about two years ago. Secondly, the paternal grandmother was working in a cigarette factory in town three days a week, therefore she was not always available to care for them. When the paternal grandmother was not working the mother could ask her to look after the two youngest children until for the elder sisters return from school so the mother can go to work earlier.

Family No.52 is also a migrant household as its head works in the city. The family have three children aged two to eleven years and the wife is vending herbal drinks around the village. When she works, she entrusts her youngest child to her mother who lives across the courtyard. However, if her mother, an agricultural labourer, has to work in the field she could not work because no one was available to take care of her baby. If the children were considered 'old' enough to be able to care for themselves, the mothers would feel confident leaving them at home while they go for work. The mother would prepare food for the children before she left for work so they would not be neglected. Although the children were left alone, there were always adults around, such as neighbours, grandparents or other relatives, to assist the children in a critical situation, such as minor accidents or illness or to comfort distressed babies or toddlers when they got out of control of their guardian older siblings. Where major accidents or serious illness have

occurred the mother or father would be called at their work place to return home quickly to care for their children. In her research in Wonogiri on circular migrant women, Hetler (1986) found that even children under 14 years old have been left at home in the village to care for themselves, including cooking, cleaning, and going to school, while both parents were away working in the city.

The conflict of working and rearing children is not a 'modern invention' (Ware 1981). It is becoming difficult for women to handle when they have to migrate to places where there are no relatives available to help with childcare and they cannot afford maids or babysitters. An earlier study on Javanese family by Geertz (1961) reported that women in a small town in Java who work as traders in the market left their babies at home with guardians and they will be brought to the market at noon to be nursed. In the situation where there is no guardian available for the babies, the mother would bring the babies to the market. This means that working mothers are not a new phenomenon among Javanese women who have long made use of other people to assist them in child caring. In this study, several women in their sixties have been working outside the home for more than four decades, as cigarette factory labourers, agricultural labourers, vegetable vendors, or pottery makers. These women took only a short break from their jobs when they were giving birth to their babies and resumed their jobs as soon as they recovered. The babies were left at home with their grandmothers or older siblings, which is not too different from the current practices. The wife of Family No. 36, the eldest daughter of Family No. 23, complained that she never finished school because she had to mind her younger siblings while her mother was working in town. A similar situation occurred in pre-industrial Europe. At that time, Scott and Tilly (1978) explain that the family economy was the responsibility of both husband and wife.

Women had to perform several functions in the family, both production and reproduction. Women were the principal food providers for the whole family and they were expected to nurture the young children and carry out domestic activities. As their work and domestic activities were too time consuming they often have no spare time to nurture a baby (Scott and Tilly 1978). Silk spinner mothers, as well as the wives of butchers and bakers of Lyons in France, preferred sending their babies to wet nurses to interrupting their work. However, different to the situation in the developing world, there is no indication of the involvement of extended family members, such as grandparents, as a child minding substitute in England or France, except wet nurses. In the early industrialisation period when the economy of the family was more dependent on wages than home production, married women were likely to withdraw from employment to support their husband and children working because the children's wage was important to the families. However, after World War II, the aspiration on value of children changed. The family in Europe became less and less dependent on children's wages to support the household economy and the need to educate children became more important (Scott and Tilly 1987). This pushed mothers to re-enter the workforce in search of additional income to pay for education costs and this eventually led to families having fewer children.

For some young migrant families in this study, children's education has become an important priority which made them use contraceptives to reduce their fertility. The 26 migrant families whose heads are working in other places had one or two children. On average they were very concerned about their children's education and the need to educate their children has made the household head migrants keep working in the city. The higher aspiration to educate children was based on their understanding about the importance of education to get employment

in the future. This means that families need the support of other institutions to prepare their members to adjust to the social life of the broader society rather than their village or local community.

However, school education does not undermine the family role as the primary agent to socialise their young members with the attitudes, values, and beliefs of Javanese society. Geertz (1961) noted that the basic principles in Javanese values are *hormat* and *rukun*. The first concept is a guideline for Javanese to appropriately behave in different social situations, such as with governmental officials, among neighbours, among families, at school, at the working place and so forth. The second is a concept to maintain a social harmony by minimising, as much as possible, social and private conflict openly in public. These concepts have been socialised to young Javanese by their parents or other extended family members and the local community, which made them behave like a Javanese should. The consistency of this socialisation process is shown by the migrant factory workers loyalty to their guarantors to avoid possible family conflict if they were not. These values and beliefs have been used by the factory management to maintain the loyalty of their workers for the continuity of the production process. There are many other examples of how the migrants from Wonosigro village exert Javanese values and beliefs in this study. C12 preferred not to report her neighbour to the police or village headman for cheating her when she paid him three million rupiah for a position in a government office which was not available. The neighbour was brought to her by her uncle who did not want her to make the report. She and her parents respected her uncle's wish to avoid the embarrassment he and the neighbour would suffer if the problem became public. On the other hand, according to C12, her uncle feels guilty and very ashamed about what he did to his sister-in-law's



family so he tried to get the money back from the neighbour. This shows how the Javanese values have been used to cover up a criminal action.

In summary, as a consequence of splitting the nuclear family due to migration, young members of families were experiencing various childcare and education situations. They were transferred from one guardian to another in order to suit their parents' mobility, especially their mother's. The nuclear family among migrants was not able to become the primary agent of socialisation, the role of extended family members, especially maternal grandmothers and younger sisters of the wife, were the most important substitute child minders while their parents migrated elsewhere. Especially for factory workers, childcare was the main problem, as the nature of the job needs their workers to work in the factory for at least eight hours or one shift period, which cannot be combined with child caring activities.

### **8.5. Conclusion**

This chapter has explored the consequences of migration for family functioning, especially in the economic and socialisation functions. Migration to the city has been undertaken to solve economic problems of the village families. The adult children support their parent's economy, while young husbands left their children and wives in the village to make ends meet. The economic cooperation between husband and wife is carried out in two different places, in the village and in the city. In the village, the wives work on their agricultural land to produce food for family consumption while the husbands work in the city to get cash to pay for other goods and services from other sources. The splitting of nuclear families into two co-residential units was meant to make the family function economically. Migration, especially of mothers, has direct consequences for childcare

arrangements. The migrant women have to involve the extended family to help with childcare. As their extended families live in the village, the mothers have to endure living separate from their children for a long time. When the migrants' wages or earnings in the city were less than enough to enable their whole family to live in the city they preferred to live separate from them but once they can afford it they will take their whole family to the city.

## CHAPTER NINE

### Conclusions

#### 9.1. Introduction

This study integrated macro and micro approaches to investigate some effects of the development and industrialisation processes in Indonesia on migration and the family. The Population Censuses of 1980 and 1990, as well as the Intercensal Population Survey 1995 were utilised to analyse some macro changes in migration and family structure in a case study of migration from Central to West Java. The micro approach involved study of a village in the province of Central Java as the origin and in the city of Bandung in the province of West Java as the destination area. This chapter summarises the findings of the study and assesses the extent to which the objectives of the study have been met. The theoretical and policy implications of this study of migration on family structure and functioning and family welfare in the Java context will be explored and its possible generalisation to Central Java as a whole are discussed. The chapter will also suggest future directions for research and data collection and analysis which are indicated by the present study.

#### 9.2. Study Objectives and Findings

The main objective of the present study is to clarify the nature and strength of the relationship between migration and changes in family structure and functioning and their implications for family welfare in Java. This broad objective was approached via several detailed objectives. The first was to establish the trends, spatial patterns and composition of migration out of Central Java and that of immigration to West Java. The results of the analysis based on Population Census

and Intercensal Population Survey data indicated that Central Java province is the largest sender of migrants to other provinces in Indonesia, while West Java province has changed its position from being a net sender of migrants province to the major receiving migrant province. This was primarily caused by the advance of industrial development in Jakarta and West Java, which has attracted migrants from all over Indonesia. On the other hand, industrial development in Central Java was not as fast as in Jakarta or West Java. The Central Java economy has remained primarily supported by agriculture and small-scale industries, which were not attractive to migrants. Moreover, the unfavourable condition of much of the province's agricultural land and the high population density of the province, especially in the south, have underpinned the high incidence of outmigration from the province. Modern industries in the province are restricted to oil refining in Cilacap and textiles in Semarang, Surakarta and Sukoharjo and these have attracted immigrants from other regions in Central Java and from other provinces to some extent. Intra-provincial migration came from less developed regencies, such as Wonogiri, Kebumen or Purworejo, while inter-provincial immigrants came from all over Indonesia. However, inter-provincial immigration to Central Java was mostly traditional in nature, such as for marriage, while outmigration from the province was mostly for economic and educational purposes.

Analysis of secondary-macro-sources was also used to ascertain the impact of migration on household structure in a destination province, that is West Java, with special attention on Central Java origin immigrant households. The number of Central Java immigrant households in West Java has increased rapidly. The increase in household numbers has been accompanied by a decrease in average household size, and the largest decline was among immigrant households. There was not much

difference in household structure distribution between 1980 and 1990. The majority of people live in nuclear family types of households with an increase in single person and non-familial living arrangements among migrant households between 1980 and 1990. Another household type, which is important for migrants, was the extended horizontal type as a consequence of chain migration among migrants in which the already settled migrants in the city provide accommodation for new arrivals from the same origin or who are related by family. However, between 1980 and 1990 non-familial living arrangements grew faster than any other type, especially among new arrivals. It was affected, partly, by the relatively small size of houses in the urban areas which cannot accommodate many people and it is also influenced by greater economic independence among migrants. The non-familial household is often headed by younger people and women, as the majority of migrants were young and many were single women. The number of households headed by women has increased considerably between 1980 and 1990 as a consequence of the increasing number of single woman migrants. Women seldom head households which contain married couples, such as nuclear or extended families. Women mostly headed single person; non-familial and single parent household types. The large number of migrants not accompanied by their families increases the proportion of single person or non-familial households, while the increasing number of single female migrants increased the proportion of female-headed households. However, the household structure among permanent and longer time migrants was similar to that of native local households as the permanent and longer time migrants had established their families of procreation in destination areas.

The third objective of this study was to establish the role of household socio-economic status in determining outmigration from villages in Central Java and

to examine the extent to which migration is a household strategy. Although agriculture is very important for the majority of the village households to provide rice for consumption, the economy of the sample households was heavily reliant upon non-agricultural sectors. It is not uncommon for villagers to have multiple sources of income including both agricultural and non-agricultural incomes, and involve husband and wife and other household members as income earners. Besides depending on the rural-based economy, many village households depend upon remittances to support their everyday cost of living and other necessary requirements, especially those families with heads who are circular migrants. Migration is not a new phenomenon to the villager and terms like *merantau* for temporary migration and *pindah* for permanent migration were in common usage. The majority of outmigrants went to Jabotabek and Bandung to work, while those who went to nearby villages were largely moving for marriage. The process of chain migration (Caldwell 1969) has affected selection of destination areas of migration as well as providing assistance in getting employment. This has created residential and employment clustering among migrants from similar villages of origin. Among outmigrants from Wonosigro village in Bandung the clustering of dwelling places and employment is different for migrants from hamlets from the southern and northern sides of the river in the origin village. The strength of the familial bond among migrants in destination villages and the fear of damaging that bond have created industrious and non-rebellious workers in modern industries in Bandung which guarantees a stable production process. Although, remittances are important sources in providing cash income for most households in the sample, there was no indication that the household dominates the decision of its members to migrate or to stay home. Because of the lack economic opportunity in the village,

households allowed their members to earn a living outside the village. The common case was that the household will allow any of its member to migrate elsewhere provided they were old enough to be able to care for themselves and there was a guarantee of their safety in the city either from relatives or neighbours. Parents generally had more concern about their daughters safety than that of their sons. Girls will be given permission to migrate if there were sisters or brothers who already lived in the city to protect them. Some parents reported, however, that their children had migrated without their permission.

The phenomenon of chain migration was very significant for the sample households, even for educated migrants. The rapid increase of new labour force entrants in Indonesia without a similar number of new employment opportunities being created has resulted in a strict selection process for new recruits in textile factories. Even high school graduates have to compete to get a low skill job and a strong guarantor is necessary to get the job. Despite the fact that the majority of migration occurred through chain migration, the decision to migrate mostly was made by the migrants themselves and to send remittances back home was not obligatory, except for those who were household heads. Remittances sent by children were important to improve family welfare, in terms of better housing and providing for younger sibling's education. Besides sending remittances, almost all outmigrants keep regular contact with their family in the village, and they return home at least once a year at *Hari Raya*. Both remittances and regular visits decrease in frequency once the migrant children are married. This behaviour is in accordance with the nuclear family characteristics of the Javanese kinship system (Geertz 1961, Koentjaraningrat 1967) where the nuclear family is an autonomous unit that is separated from the extended family. There is small difference in the way

remittances are sent by daughters and sons. Remittances from sons may be large in amount but it may only occur in the few years of the beginning of migration, once they get married the remittances may cease as the financial responsibility of the males has shifted to his family of procreation. On the other hand, daughters may rarely send large sums but parents can count on their daughters for financial as well as emotional help over a longer period.

The fourth objective of the study was to examine the impacts of migration on family structure and functioning, both in origin and destination areas. As is the case in the destination area, the majority of households in the origin area live in a nuclear family situation but the migrant households tend to live in a greater variety of structures than non-migrant households. More migrant households were in the single person, extended vertical, single parent and temporary eroded structures than were those among non-migrant households. The difference to the household structure distribution in the destination area is that in the origin village more migrant households live in extended vertical households due to the augmentation of the nuclear family with parents' or children's households, than in extended horizontal households which commonly occur in the destination area with the enlargement of the nuclear family with relatives or friends from the origin village. Single person households in the village were likely to be headed by older women in the later stages of the family life cycle, while in the destination area single person households are mostly headed by younger migrants in the early stages of the independent household life cycle. The temporary eroded households were often those with heads living in the city as circular migrants. On the occasions there are husbands at home, the temporary eroded households were, in fact, nuclear families in the early family life cycle. Migrant households were smaller in size than non-migrant households, as



there were fewer children living in the house.

The difference between migrant and non-migrant households, in terms of their sizes and structures occur as a natural consequence of the family life cycle. Most non-migrant households were in the early stages of the family life cycle, while migrant households were more often in later stages of the life cycle. The difference can be seen from the fact that migrant household heads were older and married longer than non-migrant households, while non-migrant households have more children under 15 years of age than migrant households. Non-migrant households can become migrant households once their children are old enough to migrate to the city. The phenomenon of the increasing number of single person and non-familial household types in destination areas on the one hand and the smaller migrant household sizes in the origin village on the other hand indicated the splitting of family members into several households which are geographically dispersed (Findley 1982, p. 348). In this case the household heads are living in the city while the family are left in the villages. When migration involves household heads or their spouses an adjustment in the cooperation between family members is necessary to allow the families to continue to function.

Migration to the city has been adopted as a strategy by village families to solve economic problems or in an attempt to make the families function better economically. The adult children support their parents' economy while young husbands left their wives and children in the village to make ends meet. In many cases mothers and fathers even left their children in the village under the care of extended families in order to reduce the burden of socialisation and physical maintenance of the children in the city. Economic cooperation between husband and wife is carried out in two different places. In the village, the wives work on

their agricultural land or in non-agricultural work to produce food for family consumption, while the husband works in the city to get cash to pay for other goods and services. The migration of mothers has consequences for child-care arrangements. The migrant women have to involve the extended family to help with child-care. As their extended families live in the village, the mothers have to endure a life separated from their children, often for a long time. This has frequently led to children spending a considerable period of their childhood being brought up by their grand parents. This is an increasing phenomenon in Indonesia.

Although this study has only covered one village, similar findings on the impact of migration upon household structure and functioning can be found elsewhere in Central Java or other migrant origin villages in Java. Because of the developed communication and transportation system in Java, contact between migrants in the city and their family left behind are readily managed. Villagers prefer to migrate on a non-permanent basis by commuting or circulating before deciding to migrate permanently or to return to the village permanently. In many cases migrants decide that circulation between the city as a place of work and the village as the family home is the most acceptable option for family well-being. This is also the case with meat-ball soup or *jamu* sellers from Wonogiri (Hetler 1986) or circular migrants from Gunung Kidul in Yogyakarta (Mantra 1982).

This study also found that migrants in Bandung came from all over Java, although they were not all investigated fully in the research. Most of them, especially those who work in textile industries, adopt a similar living strategy to the migrants from Wonosigro. Migrants prefer to share a rented room with one or two friends to save on living costs. As the house size is smaller than in villages it is not likely that migration creates many horizontal extended families with the inclusion of

relatives or friends to already established migrants. More migrant households are headed by single-females as a consequence of the higher number of female migrants in the destination area. Migration also creates a split of nuclear families into two households: one in the origin area and one in the destination area. On the other hand, as a consequence of the migration of young people, in origin areas there is more single person households headed by elderly persons. As a consequence of splitting households, there is a substantial percentage of temporary female-headed households in the origin village.

### **9.3. Implications for Theory**

The definition of migration applied in this study was simple, following the villagers understanding of temporary migration as *merantau* and permanent migration as *pindah*. It was important not to impose an externally developed definition of population movement which adopted arbitrary time and space criteria. It is apparent that villagers adopted a variety of mobility strategies. The study has shown that individual migrants may change their migration status according to life-cycle stages such as following marriage or the birth of children. Most migrants start their migration on a temporary basis and following marriage many changed into permanent migrants. Therefore, in a cross sectional analysis of a group of migrants their migration type on initial migration could be different to the current type. Many migrants, however, adjusted to macro structural condition such as the excellent transportation and communication system to remain as non-permanent migrants following marriage or the birth of the children by living separately from their family in two households, one in the destination area and one in the origin area. Leaving the family in the village is motivated by an intention to increase family welfare, because they could not afford the cost of living in the city for the

whole family. However, the change of permanent address may not change the substantial relationship between migrants and the family left behind, as they still maintain close contact with each other.

Specific time and space thresholds used to differentiate migration type, permanent or non-permanent, do not equate with the concepts of migration held by migrants and their families. Migrants still can work and live in the city and leave their family in the village and return home occasionally over many years so distinguishing between permanent and temporary migration is difficult. Migrants may have to change their KTP (identification card) to where they live and work to secure their legal rights and obligations as a citizen in the destination but this doesn't necessarily mean that they sever all links with their origins. In Jakarta, the government sometimes conducts an unannounced examination of the KTP of people (*Operasi Yustisia*) to identify and deport migrants who are not legally in the city. However, this does not prevent people coming to Jakarta as temporary migrants without bothering to change their KTP. The improvement in transportation has made travelling between places in Indonesia, especially in Java, easier and reduces the importance of specific time and space references for migration. For the individual migrant, the migration type is more determined by life-cycle stages.

The individual's life cycle not only influences the migration type but also the decision making process of migration. Marriage changes the status of an individual from a household member to household head, and changes the decision making process of migration. The migration of individual household members was commonly decided upon by those individuals while household heads are more influenced by the household's welfare. To investigate the migration decision-making process, this study used the household as a unit of analysis. The household

or family approach was introduced as a bridge in migration study between the neoclassical economic approach on one side where the individual migrant decides whether and, if so, where to go and on the other side the structural approach where the macro structural conditions determine the migration flow. The household is considered to be a link between the individual and the macro structural conditions as it often influences the behaviour of its members, the individuals, to migrate in an attempt to generate cash income for household sustenance. The structural conditions influence the household decision making process as do factors applying at the micro individual level. The study findings indicated that households were largely not the key decision maker shaping individual migration in the study area. It only facilitates the movement of individual members by giving permission to migrate elsewhere provided the security of the migrant in the destination areas is assured. In some cases parents may send their children to live with relatives in the city to be educated or to be taken care of but it was not the general situation. Individuals learn about opportunities in the city from their relatives, friends or neighbours who had already migrated and became interested in migrating. These relatives include their close family members, such as father, mother, brother or sister. The household will release the individual to migrate once they finish school or are old enough to be able to take care of themselves. However, to migrate elsewhere is the only choice for many in the working age population because there is a lack employment opportunity in the village. This means that individuals can migrate even without household consent. A rather different situation applies if the peasant household possesses agricultural land which needs to be cultivated using family labour. The household may need to keep some members at home to work on the agricultural land (Guest 1993) while it releases others. In the Philippines, the households prefer

to send their daughters to the city to get cash income, while keeping the sons at home to cultivate the land (Trager 1984). In the study village, however, there is no gender preferences over who may and may not migrate, all household members are allowed to migrate. Since, the agricultural land owned is very small, the household depends more on additional income generated from outside than on the farm. This led to some migrants circulating between the city during the low agricultural season and returning to work on the farm in the peak labour seasons. This was not a new phenomenon; previous researchers had reported the situation in Java (Hugo 1978, Mantra 1982). The circular migrants in this study, however, circulate over longer time periods than those in the earlier studies and most of them who owned a piece of agricultural land are not involved in operating it. The family left behind, usually the wives, take over that work. Therefore, those migrants can make a visit to their family anytime they want and not necessarily during the peak season. The reasons for visiting the family were more socially concerned, such as to attend festivities or funerals, than for agricultural works.

The importance of migration as a household sustenance strategy is indicated in the pooling of remittances in the household purse to be used for improvement of household welfare. The study found this is to be the case in many cases. Although, migrants send remittances home, it is not obligatory, except for household heads. A single migrant will send remittances home, mostly for renovating their parent's home or to educate siblings, so as not to be branded as an ungrateful child, but once the migrant gets married the obligation to help the extended family financially is substantially reduced, because they shift to the nuclear family model. Among the Javanese, a household is an independent entity in terms of economic responsibility. The household member's primary loyalty is to nuclear family, therefore, the

priorities of which households should be considered to receive remittances at first will change according to the family life cycle. The use of the household as a unit of analysis revealed which family members were the most important outmigrants at each stage of the family life-cycle as the role of each family member at particular life-cycle stage is not the same. In the early stages of the family life cycle, remittances were expected to be sent by either husband or wife or both husband and wife; at the later stages the first child may help the family with some form of remittances and later on the largest share of household income may come from remittances from the children and this may be substantially reduced as children get married while the parents get older. On the other hand, from the individual member's point of view, particularly the children, the responsibility to help the family financially may begin when they are employed for the first time and this occurs in later stage of their family of orientation life cycle. The children's role as an income provider will increase as the parents grow old. The children's role in their family of orientation's income will be substantially reduced or ended once they get married and start their family of procreation within which the family income becomes their main responsibility before their children are old enough to take over the responsibility. This means that the role as remittances provider for the family left behind changes for individual migrants and all migrants in the family get involved in providing the remittances to the best of their ability.

The study found that the nuclear family type of household, that is a household unit consisting of husband, wife and children, is the major type of household structure both in the destination and the origin. However, the proportion of nuclear families is lower among migrant than non-migrant households because there is more variation in the types of migrant households. Other important

household types among migrant households are extended horizontal and non-familial types of household. A consequence of chain migration was the enlargement of the nuclear family with other relatives creating an extended horizontal type, although the proportion of extended horizontal type families has decreased over time. The other type of household popular among new arrivals is the non-familial type, within which several migrants manage one household to save on living costs. In contrast to extended horizontal type, non-familial type of households have increased rapidly. This was influenced by changes in employment opportunities available for migrants in the city with the increasing amount of industrial employment, especially for women. Previously, the majority of rural women in the city worked as household maids which would create an extended horizontal type of family with the inclusion of the maid in the nuclear family. In recent years, women migrants are more interested in working in industry and they prefer to live by their own. This creates non-familial living arrangements among new arrivals. Although the industrial worker migrants went to the city through their friends or relatives and received some assistance from them, it rarely creates extended horizontal types of households as the friends or relatives live in non-familial arrangements too. Many established migrants from the study village were circular migrants and therefore they do not live in a 'family type' of household as they left their family in the village. This means that the new arrivals receive assistance in non-familial types of households from the beginning. Some permanent migrants who were already established in the city own a house, live with their family and provide assistance for the new migrants in their home and thus create extended horizontal households. The living arrangement of migrants in the city changes over time in accordance with life cycle stages so that a migrant will experience several types of living



arrangements throughout life. However, the increasing number of single migrants in the city and the delaying of age at marriage is increasing the number of non-familial and single person type of households in the destination area. On the other hand, the increasing tendency toward temporary migration will also increase the number of non-familial and single person households in the destination area.

#### **9.4. Implications for Future Research and Data Collection**

This study used secondary sources, such as population censuses and the intercensal population survey, to provide macro information on family structure and how it is related to migration. The idea was to identify the living arrangements of migrants in the city and those who are left behind in the village. The results indicated an important role of migration in shaping the variation in living arrangements between local and immigrant populations including the occurrence of split households in the migrant population. Information based on the family or household unit should be added to the census and other survey data produced in Indonesia. This is not done at present. Comprehensive family data will be useful to analyse the changes of household structure and size patterns overtime, which is important for housing and other public facilities development program. In this case cooperation between BPS and BKKBN might be worth considering. BPS provides the macro information on the household structure including the location of poverty pockets while BKKBN can supply individual household information. BKKBN has established a routine family survey to identify poor families to ascertain the magnitude and the degree of severity of poverty to target poverty eradication programs. It is imperative, however, that Indonesia adopt a definition of family types and use that in all of its analysis of census and survey data.

Some studies had been conducted to investigate the role of women left

behind in Indonesian migration (Siegel 1969, Colfer 1984, Rodenburg 1991, Mujiyani Forthcoming). The results indicate that women took over the agricultural production when their husbands are away. This also occurred in the study village. Some women of circular migrant husbands have to learn how to cultivate the agricultural land which for many of them is a new activity as they were often previously migrant workers in the city too. However, many women left behind did not have any agricultural land and were unemployed in the village. To run the household these women depend on remittances. A further study needs to be conducted to investigate the adjustment process of former migrant workers who returned home following marriage and the birth of the first child. How these women manage to survive economically with limited remittances and without agricultural land needs to be investigated.

This study also documented the substantial number of 'permanent-temporary-migrants,' that is people who are included as temporary migrants because they do not intend to migrate permanently, although this person has been circulating to the city for decades. This type of migrant, commonly male, lives separated from his family in the village as he works in the city. The decision to choose to live separately is usually economic motivated, because it is too expensive to live in the city with the whole family, especially due to the cost of educating their children. Some families prefer to educate their children in the village with the consequence that they live separately from the children. While both parents were working in the city the children were entrusted to their grandparents in the village. In many cases, however, only the husband worked in the city and left the wife and children in the village and this has resulted in a situation where children are growing up without their fathers for most of the year. Is there any psychological impact

upon these children? Do their migrating fathers become an inspiration to a better living in the future or is there resentment about the unavailability of the fathers? Comprehensive and in-depth research on the impact of migration on the children left behind needs to be undertaken to collect information on the number, location and characteristics of children in this situation. This is important to avoid juvenile delinquency resulting from migrating fathers or parents and to learn of the effects upon children including their future.

Besides children, another vulnerable group of people left behind in the village due to migration is the elderly. The elderly have little chance to migrate elsewhere because they would not be able to compete to get a job in the city or they are too old to change their life-style. These people often need help physically as they are growing older. It is not uncommon that older people have been left by themselves in the villages as the children live elsewhere. However, we do not know much about the magnitude of their problem and the welfare condition of the elderly left behind. The result of this study indicated that about seven per cent of households in the origin village were single person households headed by elderly women. Some migrants in the city expressed their worry about their elderly parents left in the village, especially the fear that if they become ill while they will not have money for medication. Observation in the study village indicated that the village community provides assistance to these elderly people as long as it does not involve money. Close neighbours will voluntarily visit them, send food, give them massages when they feel unwell, etc. but the neighbours call the children once an illness becomes serious and needs to be examined by a doctor. A thorough study of this issue is needed to improve the welfare of the elderly in the village. As the overall living conditions are better and life expectancy has increased it is possible that the

number of solitary elderly in the village will increase in the future.

The study findings show that educated people in the village mostly left to look for work elsewhere as there was a lack of appropriate employment opportunities in the village. The remittances sent by migrants were largely used to educate younger people in the village who would become potential migrants in the future. The migration of productive age population has influenced the demographic structure of the village. The village population has a relatively large non-productive age group, that is the youngest, the oldest and women of childbearing age (See Chapter 5.2.). One consequence of this situation is that women are taking more responsibility for household survival, especially those with circular migrant husbands. The study revealed that the lack of employment opportunity has pushed the young people to migrate. It is possible to develop such villages with the help of the migrants? In the present study remittances had improved the welfare of individual families in the village mostly in terms of physical indicators, such as better housing conditions or greater ability to educate younger family members. Is it possible to use the remittances so that there are wider beneficiaries, such as for general village development? It may useful to undertake action research in migrant sender villages to find ways for villagers to use village resources and remittances as well as the migration network to improve the village economy. A group of *arisan* can pool money to be given and loaned to people to be used as a working capital for an economic activity that could be developed in the village. For example, study groups of women in the village can be given loans to produce *pandanus* mats in more economic ways so they will not depend on brokers to get working capital. Migrants can lend their remittances to the groups and help them in marketing the product. It is hoped that the development of the village economy will reduce the

incidence of migration or at least will reduce the economic burden of the wives of circular migrants.

On the contrary, a village like Pasawahan has experienced a very fast and dramatic change in their economy and social life as the result of a rapid industrialisation process. This has forced local people to migrate elsewhere and sell their agricultural land for industrial site development. The industrialisation in the village has created many employment opportunities, however, it was not too attractive to local people who prefer to migrate elsewhere and migrants from elsewhere have taken up the employment opportunities and almost replaced local inhabitants. A thorough investigation is needed to study how local people adjust to fast changes that occur in their villages and how far the process of replacement of local inhabitants with migrants has influenced the structure of local communities.

### **9.5. Policy Implications**

The study indicates that population mobility in Indonesia is becoming more complex in line with the of socio-economic and political change in the country. It includes international migration, legal and illegal, inter-provincial movement, transmigration, intra-provincial and rural-urban movement which involves long and short-term migration, seasonal movement and commuting. The macro economic policy implemented by the Government plays the major role in shaping the streams and volume of population mobility in the country. The development of large scale manufacturing and services sectors in Java, especially in Jakarta, West Java and some areas on the north coast have created wide regional disparities creating a large volume of migration from all over Indonesia to the areas. In addition, the failure of the agricultural sector to create employment in rural areas has pushed young and educated people to the cities resulting in a massive rural-urban migration.

According to Firman (*Kompas*, 6 January 2000), changes in migration patterns is dependent upon progress of development elsewhere, especially outside Java. The plan of the Government of Indonesia to implement Act No. 22 Year 1999 on Local Administration and Act No. 25 Year 1999 on Financial Equality between Central and Local Government is expected to support and accelerate the local development by making use of local resources in line with local needs and priorities. Firman states that the increasing independence of local government to use its resources for local community welfare, especially areas with abundant natural resources such as Riau, Kalimantan Timur and Irian Jaya, will attract migrants to these provinces and change national migration patterns (*Kompas* 6 January 2000). However, various problems, ranging from the lack of local human resource to scepticism regarding the integrity of local government in managing the resources, still need thorough study before the affects of the Acts can be assessed. The plan to give more autonomy to local government, achieve a more balanced economic development, especially between Java and Outer Java or between West and East Regions, needs to be implemented in Indonesia in order to create greater equity between provinces. This will reduce volume of young workers migrating to Jabotabek or Bandung, to encourage the young and educated to stay in their origin provinces.

The creation of new employment opportunities is crucial for Indonesian development and is the top priority of the development agenda. The increasing number of new labour force entrants is something that cannot be avoided as a consequence of the young population structure in Indonesia. This means that there is a pressing need for employment creation and also the international labour market needs to be considered as a partial solution to Indonesian's currently rapidly growing workforce. This needs the involvement of the Government in creating

regulation to guarantee the safety of Indonesian workers abroad.

The flight of young people from rural areas has been caused by the lack of employment opportunities in the village. The agricultural sector does not attract young people any more, especially those with secondary education, although it is still important in the Indonesian economy in terms of its ability to absorb labour and to produce food. In the past it was believed that focusing on rural development might slow down rural-urban migration. However, the hypothesis has been rejected by Rhoda (1982, p. 34) who argued that rural developments such as better transportation systems, commercialised agriculture, raising education and skill levels in fact had stimulated outmigration. This has been confirmed by the findings of the present study. Remittances used for raising the education of siblings in the village are like a ticket to go elsewhere. Most young people just simply are not interested in working and living in the village any more. The question is 'Is it necessary to keep them in the village' if better economic opportunities are available elsewhere why not let them commute or circulate between two places? Government can facilitate this with better transportation and communication systems, provide them with special identity to guarantee their rights and obligations as a citizen anywhere, and for international migrants Government can protect them with regulations to protect them from exploitation. In a world of 'globalisation' regulation to prevent people migrating to particular areas is not acceptable any more.

The development of industrial sites in destination areas has not been accompanied by over all planning on how the area will accommodate the industrial workers and their families, other supporting workers to industrial workers, housing and other facilities to maintain the worker's welfare. Moreover, the development of industrial sites was not concerned with the disposal of industrial wastage, the

factories dispose waste into rivers through ditches that have been built through residential areas. This has created a densely settled area with an unhealthy environment. The industrial site has been developed only to give advantage to the industrialists. For future industrial development the availability of wastage processing units is a must for any industry that produces hazardous wastage and ditches to dispose of the wastage should be big enough to avoid overspill in the rainy season. An estimation of the number of workers needed by each industry should be available to provide enough space to accommodate workers, their families, and other supporting workers and their families.

The findings of this study indicated that working mothers often have to leave their children with their parents in the village, because they cannot rear the children in the city. The working mothers cannot afford the maids to care for the children while they are working. Often mothers have to withdraw from work to care for their young children back in the village. This situation is not good for the welfare of working mothers. Therefore the government should make a strong requirement for any factory to provide of child-care facilities in the factory to support the working mothers with small children.

## **9.6. Conclusion**

This study concludes that the flow and volume of internal migration in Indonesia is influenced by the economic development policy of the government, although the decision to migrate was made by the individual migrants and their families and influenced by many micro considerations. Central Java has become the largest sender area of migration, while West Java has changed its status as a migrant sender area to become the largest migrant receiver area in the 1990s. Migration, inter or intra-provincial and international, has become a common solution for the



working age population in rural or less developed areas to obtain employment. The improved transportation and communication system between places in Indonesia has stimulated migration, while the relatively better education level of the working age population has accelerated migration. Migration will become more important in the future because not all areas in Indonesia are able to provide enough employment opportunities for their growing labour forces and it is unwise to prevent people migrating elsewhere.

The decision to migrate is usually made by the individual migrant while the family facilitate the migration process. Remittances are sent by migrants to their family of orientation occasionally but it is essential to the survival of their family of procreation. Remittances are important to the welfare of the family left-behind and are sent by both male and female migrants. Migration commonly starts as temporary migration before migrants established themselves in the city as more permanent migrants. Many migrants prefer to circulate between city and origin village than bring their family to the city. The individual life cycle is very important in determining their migration status.

In the destination area, migration has increased the number of non-familial households and single person households. Migration has created more female-headed households, both in destination and origin areas. Young never married females usually head single person and non-familial households in destination areas, while elderly widowed-female headed single person household and married-female headed circular migrant households in the origin. Migration also creates a split of the nuclear family into two or more households dispersed geographically between origin and destination areas when circular husbands leave their family at home and migrant mothers leave their children in the village.

Thorough investigation is needed to study the impact of migration on the welfare of the children and elderly left behind, the economic strategy of female-headed households of circular migrant in the village of origin and strategies to make better use of remittances to reduce the pace of migration. In the destination area, on the other hand, investigation of the adjustment process of local people to the fast changes of the economy and social life in the village and the arrival of many migrants from other places is needed. Government should treat migration as a way to balance the supply and demand for labour. The implementation of Act 2.22 and 25 on local autonomy would to change the pattern of migration which is currently biased to parts of Java. There is a need for regulations to protect Indonesian overseas workers there should be more family based tabulation and analysis of Indonesian census and survey data and there is a need for policy interventions to assist migrant mothers to be able to combine work in the destination with their family responsibilities through innovations such as providing child care facilities.

## GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATION

<i>angkot</i>	Angkutan Kota/Small Bus for City Transportation
<i>arisan</i>	saving groups
<b>BAPPENAS</b>	<i>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional/National Development Planning Board</i>
<b>BAPPEDA</b>	<i>Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah/Regional Development Planning Board</i>
<b>BKKBN</b>	<i>Badan Koordiansi Keluarga Berencana Nasional/National Family Planning Coordinating Board</i>
<b>BPS/CBS</b>	<i>Biro Pusat Statistik/Central Bureau of Statistics</i>
<b>BOTABEK</b>	Bogor, Tengerang and Bekasi
<i>bawon</i>	share in kind of the harvest
<i>becak</i>	pedicab
<i>bedeng</i>	shed or hut for workers temporary accommodation built by employers
<i>bengkok</i>	land for use by village employees in place of salary
<i>beras</i>	milled rice
<i>buruh pancakan/ srambatan</i>	general labourers
<i>desa</i>	village
<b>DATI II</b>	<i>Daerah Tingkat II/2nd Level Administrative Region</i>
<b>DR</b>	Development Region
<i>Dukuh</i>	hamlet
<b>EH</b>	Extended Horizontal
<b>ErF</b>	Eroded Family
<b>EV</b>	Extended Vertical
<i>gabah</i>	unmilled rice
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product
<b>GRDP</b>	Gross Regional Domestic Product
<i>Hari Raya</i>	Muslim Festival Day ( <i>Lebaran</i> )
<b>IDT</b>	<i>Inpres Desa Tertinggal</i>
<b>ISIC</b>	International Standard of Industrial code
<b>JABOTABEK</b>	Jakarta, Bogor, Tengerang and Bekasi
<i>jual tahunan</i>	renting-out (for rice-field)
<i>Kabupaten</i>	Regency (one of <i>DATI II</i> )
<i>kampung</i>	hamlet or residential area
<i>Karesidenan</i>	Regency in Colonial Period
<i>Kecamatan</i>	District
<i>Kelurahan</i>	Urban village
<i>ketiga</i>	dry-season
<i>Kotamadya</i>	Municipality (one of <i>DATI II</i> )
<b>KK</b>	Kartu Keluarga/Family Card
<b>KPS</b>	Kerangka Pembangunan Strategis/Strategic Development Frame
<b>KTP</b>	Kartu Tanda Penduduk/Identity Card
<b>LDC</b>	Less Developed Countries
<i>Lebaran</i>	Muslim Day Festival ( <i>Hari Raya</i> )

<i>Lurah</i>	Village leader
<i>martabak</i>	snack made of eggs, meat and spring onion
<i>merantau</i>	temporary migrating
<i>mondok</i>	boarded
<i>NF</i>	Nuclear Family
<i>nglaju</i>	commuting
<i>nginep</i>	stay overnight (circulation)
<i>NonF</i>	Non-familial Household
<i>padi gogo</i>	dry-land rice
<i>pempek</i>	snack made of fish and savoury sauce
<i>PELITA</i>	<i>Pembangunan Lima Tahun/Five Years Development</i>
<i>pindah</i>	migration
<i>PLN</i>	<i>Perusahaan Listrik Negara/Electrical State Owned Company</i>
<i>Priatim</i>	Priangan Timur (Tasikmalaya and Ciamis)
<i>Purwasuka</i>	Purwakarta, Subang and Karawang
<i>sawah</i>	rice-field
<i>SD</i>	<i>Sekolah Dasar/Primary School</i>
<i>SKKB</i>	<i>Surat Keterangan Kelakuan Baik/Good Behaviour Certificate</i>
<i>SMA</i>	<i>Sekolah Menengah Atas/Senior High School</i>
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Sekolah Menengah Ekonomi Atas/Economic Vocational School</i>
<i>SMP</i>	<i>Sekolah Menengah Pertama/Junior High School</i>
<i>SPH</i>	Single Person Household
<i>STM</i>	<i>Sekolah Teknik Menengah/Technical Vocational School</i>
<i>SUPAS</i>	<i>Survei Penduduk Antar Sensus/Intercensal Population Survey</i>
<i>Susenas</i>	<i>Survei Sosial Ekonomi Nasional/National Social Economic Survey</i>
<i>rendengan</i>	rainy-season
<i>rokok menyan</i>	cigarette with gum benzoin flavour
<i>tegalan</i>	dry-land
<i>ubin</i>	local metric measurement for 14 m <sup>2</sup>
<i>warung</i>	small stall provides groceries, food or services

## APPENDIX A : VILLAGE QUESTIONNAIRE

### I. Village Identification

- a. Village :
- b. District :
- c. Regency :
- d. Province :
- e. Boundaries :
  - Northern Side :
  - Southern Side :
  - Eastern Side :
  - Western Side :

### II. Village Characteristics

#### 1. Land Use

- a. Village area : ..... square km, or ..... hectare
- b. Land Use :

#### 2. Population

- a. Population at present : ..... males ..... females
- b. Number of Household : ..... HH
  - Heads of Household : ..... males ..... females
- c. Age structure of population (Take notes on population distribution by age)
- d. Fertility and Mortality (Take notes on number of births and deaths)
- e. Was there any particular circumstance which influenced the fertility and mortality rate in this village? What kind of circumstance was that? When was it? (such as : epidemic, natural disaster etc)
- f. Permanent Migration Rate (Takes note of number of out and immigrants.)
- g. 1. Where do those outmigrants mostly go to?
  - 2. Where do those immigrants mostly come from?
  - 3. Number of out-migrants who went abroad: ..... males ..... females
- h. 1. What are the three most important reasons for their outmigration?
  - 2. What are the three most important reasons for their immigration?
- i. Are there any return-migrants in this village?
  - If "Yes", where did they return from? and what was the reason?
- j. Is migration a common phenomenon in this village? Could you tell me, when did people from this village begin to move out (*pindah*) from the village to

other places? What was the initial reason for their movement? Do you think migration to the city is popular among village people nowadays? Could you tell me whether or not the reason for leaving has changed recently? How does it change?

- k. Do you think migration has a good impact in this village economy? In what way does migration influence the community, family or individuals life?
- l. Do you think most of the community agree with migration?
- m. Who is the major beneficiary of migration? The community? The family? The individuals?
- n. Do you know somebody who had eventually returned to the village after migrating elsewhere? Do you know the reason for this returns? Do you think a lot of migrants have returned lately?
- o. How about the people who moved into this village? Do you find it a great deal number of people migrated into this village? What are the reasons for their movement?
- p. Do they have an impact upon the community, the family and individuals life in this village? In what ways?
- q. Do you know if there is any regulation apply to somebody who want to move out to other places? Do you think it is good or not?

### **3. Education**

- a. Whose responsibility is the education of children? The community , the family or the state? How should they share the responsibility?
- b. If you find a child misbehaved, who should take on the responsibility?
- c. Do you reckon there were differences between your parents educated your and how you educated your children? What is the most important aspect of your parents education system?
- d. In the absence of the father, mother or both parents (due to migration) who should take on the responsibility in educating the children? other family members? the community? the state? the parents should not leave their children in that way?
- f. Do you think education has contributed to the acceleration of the migration rate? How does it work? Do you think this is a good phenomenon or not?

### **4. Occupations**

- a. Type of Main Occupations: (Take notes on number of people in each occupation)
- b. Do they usually have multiple occupations?

If "Yes", what combination of occupations are the people usually have? How they manage those jobs?

- c. Is there any person who lives in the village but works outside the village?

If "Yes", what kind of occupation is that? and where are they going?

- d. Is there any person who does not live in this village but works here regularly?

If "Yes", what kind of occupations is that? where do they come from?

- e. How many persons unemployed in this village?

Do you think agriculture is still important for the living of the population in this

village? Do you reckon any change has occurred? In what way?

Do you think these changes give a good impact upon village people's well-being? How does it work?

Do you think the recent well-being of the majority of village people is better (or worse) than the situation ten years ago?

Do you think people find it easier to find a job recently rather than ten years ago? Do you think migration is one of the solutions to the unemployment problem? Do you think working in the city is better than working in the village?

- f. Do you think working in agriculture is better than working in other sectors?  
 g. What kind of job do you want your children to have? What are the reasons for your choices? Do you think your children agree with you?  
 h. What is your opinion about improving the agricultural sectors? Is the application of modern technology appropriate?

##### 5. Housing conditions

- a. Type of wall :
- b. Type of floor :
- c. Type of fuel for illumination :
- d. Type of fuel for cooking:
- e. Do you think the housing condition in this village has improved? Do you have personal experience in renovating your house condition? Could you tell me how did you do that? Why do you want it to be renovated? How did you get the money to pay the cost for renovation? What is the role of your family members in this matter? Do you think present house condition is better than before?
- f. What do you think about the average housing condition in the village?
- g. Do you think there was any government intervention in improving the housing condition in this village? or maybe other agencies? How does it work? are people happy about that scheme?

- h. Do you think that outmigrants have contributed to improving housing conditions? How did they do that?



## APPENDIX B: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

### I. Household Identification

1. Name of Village :
2. Name of Hamlet :
3. Household File Number :
4. Name of Head : .....
5. Name of Second Head : .....
6. Address : .....
7. Head's Main Occupation : .....
8. Head is available in the interview ? : 1. Yes 2. No
9. If "No" what is the reason? : .....
10. Number of Current HH Member : .....
11. Number of Out-migrants : .....
12. Household Composition : .....
13. Respondent Status : 1. Head 2. Second Head 3. Other
14. Relation to Head : 1. Head 2. Spouse 3. Children 4. Other
15. Sex : 1. Male 2. Female
16. Age : ..... Years

### II. Characteristics of Household Members Who Reside in the House

Record the information in Table 1.

1. Name of each household member (number 1 always head)
2. Relation to Household Head (see note)
3. Age : ..... years
4. Sex : 1. Male 2. Female
5. Place of Birth : 1. Within the village
  2. Different village in the same district
  3. Different district
  4. Different regency
  5. Different province within Java
  6. Outer Island
  7. Abroad
6. a. If the birth place is not similar with the village study, when did (s)he move here?  
Answer : ..... years ..... months ago.
- b. Why did (s)he move here ? : 1. Marriage 2. Working 3. Other :
- c. If the birth place is in the same village, did (s)he ever migrating ?  
Answer : 1. Yes 2. No
- d. If "Yes", when did (s)he return to the village : ..... years ..... months ago.
7. Marital Status: 1. Never Married 2. Married 3. Divorced 4. Widow
8. a. Ever attending formal school : 1. Yes 2. No
- b. If "Yes", what was the highest level attained (*If "No", go to 9*):
  1. Some Primary School 2. Primary School 3. Junior High School
  4. Senior High School 5. Academy/Diploma 6. University
- c. If "University", did you finish it? 1. Yes 2. No
9. a. If "No", do you read and write Latins words? : 1. Yes 2. No
- b. Ever attending informal school : 1. Yes 2. No
10. a. Main actiivity : 1. Working 2. Looking for Job 3. Housewife
  4. Attending to school 5. Other

- b. If (s)he works or attends school, where is the location? (for the other answer go to 11)
1. In the same village
  2. In the same district
  3. In the city
- c. If (s)he works, what is her/his main occupation?
1. Farmer
  2. Agricultural labour
  3. Running small bussines
  4. Factory Labour
  5. Civil Servant
  6. Trader
  7. Other
11. a. Do you have additional occupation : 1. Yes 2. No
- b. If "Yes", what kind of additional occupation do you have? :

### III. Characteristics of Outmigrants From This Household

Fill in Table 2 with the characteristics of outmigrants from this household according to household head (respondent).

### IV. Division of Labor in the Family

Fill in Table 2. the answer of the respondent about the pattern of labor allocation within the household according to all activities, which are divided into three major groups, namely reproductive, productive and social activities. The answer is a choice between : major (MJ), minor (MN) or occasionally (OC). **Major** means that a certain activity is a major responsibility of certain family member, although (s)he can possibly get help from another family member or other person. **Minor** means that a certain activity is a minor responsibility of certain family and (s)he can give up the responsibility if (s)he has to do her/his major responsibility. **Occasionally** means that a certain family member can give help to carry out another family member's responsibility. The difference between minor and occasionally is that the minor is more routine activities than that of occasionally one.

### V. Marriage Formation and Dissolution

This section is only applicable for ever-married persons, either currently married, widowed or divorcee. There are ten questions for every married woman in one household and the answer should be filled into Table 3. These questions are :

1. Is it your first marriage (for married person) or the only married (for widow or divorcee)? 1. Yes 2. No
2. If it is not your first marriage, how many time have you been married ?  
Answer : 2/3/4/5 and more.
3. And this is your (second/third/fourth/fifth or more) married ? Answer : .....
4. How long have you been married to your current husband/wife ? Answer : ..... years.
5. What is the reason of the last married dissolution ?  
Answer : 1. My former husband/wife is dead. 2. We divorced.
6. What is your age at the first marriage ? Answer : ..... years.
7. What is your age at the last dissolution of your marriage ? Answer : ..... years.
8. What is your age at the last marriage? Answer : ..... years.
9. Do you have intention to get married again ? 1. Yes 2. No
10. If the answer is "No", what is the reason for not remarrying?  
Answer : 1. I'm too old to get married again. 2. I don't want to get into trouble again.  
3. I have to raise my children. 4. I can't find somebody like my former husband/wife.

### VI. Fertility and Mortality

This section is only applicable for ever married women, either married, widowed or divorcee. There are eight basic questions to be asked to every married women who currently reside in the households. Fill in the answers in Table 3.

1. How many children have your ever given birth ?  
Answer : a. Boys : ..... b. Girls : ..... c. None
2. a. How many of them still alive ?  
Answer : a. Boys : ..... b. Girls : ..... c. None  
b. How many of them still live with you?  
Answer : a. Boys: ..... c. Girls : ..... c. None
3. How many of them died in the age of less than one year?  
Answer : a. Boys: ..... b. Girls: ..... c. None
4. a. What is the sex of your eldest child ? Answer: 1. Male 2. Female  
b. How old is your eldest child ?  
Answer : ..... years .....months (for under 1 year old baby)
5. a. What is the sex of your youngest child ? Answer : 1. Male 2. Female  
b. How old is your youngest child ?  
Answer : ..... years ..... months (for under 1 year old baby)
6. Do you intent to have another child ? Answer: 1. Yes 2. No 3. I don't know.
7. a. If "Yes", a. When do you plan to have it ?  
b. What sex of this child do you expect ?  
Answer: 1. Boy 2. Girl 3. Boy or girl is fine  
c. What is the reason to expect a boy/a girl ?  
Answer : a. A boy, because : 1. We haven't got son yet.  
2. It is easier to raise a boy than a girl.  
3. We hope we protect us in the future.  
4. Other : .....  
b. A girls, because : 1. We haven't got daughter yet.  
2. It is easier to raise a girl tanh a boy.  
3. She will take care of us in the future.  
4. Other : .....
8. a. If "No", what is the reason for not to have another child ?  
Answer : 1. I'm too old to bear another child.  
2. I have enough number of children.  
3. Other ..  
b. Are you using any contraception for birth control purpose ?  
Answer : 1. Yes 2. No  
c. If "Yes", what kind of contraception are you using ?  
Answer : 1. Pil 2. IUD 3. Condom 4. Injection 5. Implant  
6. Vasectomi 7. Tubectomi 8. Other

## VII. Contact with Outmigrants

Fill in the answers for each outmigrant in Table 5.

1. How do you manage contact with your former family members who currently are living in other places?  
Answer: 1. They visit us regularly 2. They visit us occasionally  
3. One of us visit them regularly 4. One of us visit them occasionally  
5. We visit each other 6. We write each others  
7. We don't make any contact with them (s)he left the house.

2. How often do you make contact with them ?
  1. Less than a month
  2. Less than three months
  3. Between three and six months
  4. Between six months and one year
  5. Every year
  6. It's very rare (> 1 year)
  7. We never make any contact with them.
3. In what occasion do they always visit you and the family?
  1. Only on Lebaran day.
  2. Every fasting month to visit our ancestor's graves.
  3. Each time we held a ceremonial festivity.
  4. Each time one of our family got sick.
  5. Every peak season to help us in agricultural work.
  6. Every harvesting time to collect her/his share.
  7. Other .....
4. On the other hand, on what occasion do you make a visit to them?
  1. Every time they held a ceremonial festivity
  2. Every time they need money
  3. Every time they need our help
  4. Every time we need some money
  5. Every time one of their family member got sick.
  6. Other .....
5. a. Do they regularly send you and the family some money or things?
  1. Yes, they do.
  2. No. It's not very often.
  3. No. Only occasionally
  4. Not at all.

b. If "Yes", how often do they send you the money?

  1. Every month.
  2. Every three to four months.
  3. Every six to nine months.
  4. Every years.

c. If "It's not very often", how often is it ?

  1. Every month.
  2. Every three to four months.
  3. Every six to nine months.
  4. Every years.

d. If "It's only occasionally", in what occasion do they send the money?

  1. Only in Lebaran day.
  2. Each time we held a ceremonial fiesta.
  3. Each time one of our family got sick.
  4. Other .....

e. If "Not at all", do you have any suggestion of the reason why they do not send you some money?

  1. They are still in school, so instead of send us some money, they ask some to us every time they need it.
  2. They are not very fortunate enough.
  3. We never know where they are.
  4. Other

### VIII. Household Well-being

1. Amount of Land Ownership :
  - a. Wet agricultural land :
  - b. Dry agricultural land :
  - c. House compound :
  - d. Other land :
2. Other capital goods :
 

a. Rice mill	1. Yes	2. No
b. Kiosk/Stall	1. Yes	2. No
c. Motorcycle for "ojek"	1. Yes	2. No
d. Minibus	1. Yes	2. No
e. "Beca"	1. Yes	2. No
f. Other : .....	1. Yes	2. No
3. Housing Condition
  - a. The house wall made of :
  - b. The house floor made of :
  - c. The house roof made of :
  - d. Is it has separated bedrooms
  - e. Is it has separated kitchen
  - f. The electricity was installed
  - g. Is it has its own bath room

d. Is it has separated bedrooms	1. Yes	2. No
e. Is it has separated kitchen	1. Yes	2. No
f. The electricity was installed	1. Yes	2. No
g. Is it has its own bath room	1. Yes	2. No



**Table 1. List of family members who currently live in the household.**

No	Name	Relation to Heads	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Education Attainment	Migrant Status	Current Activity	Name of Activity	Place of Activity
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1.		Heads								
2.										
3.										
4.										
5.										
6.										
7.										
8.										
9.										
10.										

Note : (1) Always starts with Heads of Household or Heads of Household should be recorded firstly (no. 1)

(3) Relation to Heads : 1. Heads of Household 2. Spouses 3. Children 4. Children in law

5. Grandchildren 6. Parents/parents in-law 7. Other Relatives 8. Domestic Servant 9. Other People (boarder, friends etc)

(6) Education Attainment : 1. No schooling 2. Some Primary School 3. Primary School 4. Junior High School

5. Senior High School 6. Academy/Diploma 7. University

(7) Migration Status : 1. Never Migrate 2. Return Migrant

(8) Current Activity : 1. Working 2. Looking for work 3. Going to school 4. Mending the household 5. Retired

(9) Name of activity : if somebody works or goes to school please records what kind of job she/he has or what school they are in.

(10) Place of activity : where does he/she work or where does he/she go to school?

**Table 2. List of outmigrants from this household.**

No	Name	Relation to Heads	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Education Attainment	Time of Migration	Reason of Migration	Current Activity	Name of Activity	Current Address
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1.											
2.											
3.											
4.											
5.											
6.											
7.											
8.											
9.											
10.											

- Note : (3) Relation to Heads : 1. Heads of Household 2. Spouses 3. Children 4. Children in law 5. Grandchildren 6. Parents/parents in-law  
7. Other Relatives 8. Domestic Servant 9. Other People (boarder, friends etc)  
(6) Marital Status : 1. Single (Never Married) 2. Married 3. Widowed 4. Divorcee  
(7) Education Attainment : 1. No schooling 2. Some Primary School 3. Primary School 4. Junior High School 5. Senior High School  
6. Academy/Diploma; 7. University.  
(8) Time of Migration : write down the year and month of the last migration of one people  
(9) Reason of Migration : 1. Married 2. Working 3. Looking for Work 4. Going to School 5. Transmigration 6. Other Reasons  
(10) Current Activity : 1. Working 2. Looking for work 3. Going to school 4. Mending the household 5. Retired  
(11) Name of activity : if somebody works or goes to school please records what kind of job she/he has or what school they are in.  
(12) Current Address : write down where one people live.

**Table 3. Division of Labor in the Family**

No	Name	Relation to Head	Age	Sex	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	P1	P2	P3	P4	S1	S2
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
1.		Heads																
2.																		
3.																		
4.																		
5.																		
6.																		
7.																		
8.																		
9.																		
10.																		

Note: R1 = cooking; R2 = rearing a child; R3 = washing clothes; R4 = washing chores; R5 = fetching water; R6 = collecting wood; R7 = cleaning the house; R8 = shopping. (*Reproductive activities*) P1 = agriculture; P2 = industry; P3 = trading; P4 = service. (*Productive activities*) S1 = political affairs; S2 = Social affairs. (*Social activities*)



**Table 4. Marriage Formation and Dissolution**

No	Name	Relation to Head	Sex	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)

Note : (1) Place the same order number of Table 1. ; (2), (3) and (4) Fill in the same information of similar person from Table 1; (5) to (12) Fill in the answer of each question for related person.

**Table 5. Fertility and Mortality**

No	Name	Relation to Head	Age	Marital Status	Q. 1		Q. 2a		Q. 2b		Q. 3		Q4a	Q4b
					Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15

No	Name	Relation to Head	Age	Marital Status	Q5a	Q5b	Q6	Q7a	Q7b	Q. 7c		Q8a	Q8b	Q8c
										Boy	Girl			
1	2	3	4	5	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25

Note : (1) Place the same order number of Table 1. ; (2), (3) and (4) Fill in the same information of similar person from Table 1; (5) to (12) Fill in the answer of each question for related person.

**Table 6. Contact with Outmigrants**

No	Name	Relation to Head	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Current Residence	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5a	Q5b	Q5c	Q5d	Q5e
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
1.															
2.															
3.															
4.															
5.															
6.															
7.															
8.															
9.															
10.															

Note : Q1 to Q9 represent questions 1 to 5e above.

## APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW GUIDE IN 'TRACING SURVEY'.

The questions in this check list have been used as a guide to collect qualitative information on migrants' experiences in destination areas, especially on living arrangement strategies and their efforts to maintain a close relationships with their families in the origin areas. The reason for using this check list instead of a structured questionnaire was to provide flexibility in interviewing respondents which cannot always happen in formal conversations, but commonly occurred while we were doing different activities, such as having meals, watching TV, taking a short trip around Bandung or while attending stalls. The question arising in each conversation did not necessarily follow the list's sequencing, it could start with any topic. However, the main objective of the 'tracing survey' was to collect information on migration experiences from the migrants themselves and therefore the conversation could be started with this topic. The list of information which should be collected from migrants in the destination area is as follows:

**a. Personal identification** of the traced migrants is carefully recorded, especially their familial relationships with the sample households in the village of origin as well as with other migrants, including name, sex, age, place of birth, marital status, education attainment, primary activity, the name of household head in the village of origin on their initial migration and their relationships to the household heads at that time. Questions on marriage and working experiences should be related to migration.

### **b. Work History**

1. Describe their current jobs according to their own words and then probe the answers to get information on their employment status (self-employed, labor or family labor) and occupation (managerial, production or sales units).
2. How long have they been working in current jobs? Ask them to explain their work history and fill in the following table:

No	Type of Jobs	Times	Places of Work	Reasons for Change

3. How did they get their jobs including who helped them to get their initial jobs and also their subsequent jobs; how did they help them; how much do they earn from the current job and do they have additional jobs? If they have additional jobs, probe them to get similar detailed information as for their main jobs.

### **c. Migration History**

1. How long have they lived in their current place? Was that place their first destination area, if not, probe their migration history and fill in the following table:

No	City/town and Village	Times	Activities	Reasons for Moving

2. For each move probe with questions such as how did they get to each destination areas; did they know anyone in the destination areas; who helped them (describe friends, neighbours, brothers, sisters, cousins, uncle, aunts etc) and what kinds of help was that (accommodation, meals, job); do they still maintain contacts with them.

#### d. Living Arrangements

1. What kinds of residential arrangements do they have? Describe the physical condition of their houses (what kinds of materials are used for wall, roof, floor and how big is that, how many rooms they consist of, is there any separate kitchen, bedroom, living room, toilet and bath room), whom do they live with in that house (what kinds of social relationships - friends, brothers, sisters, husbands, wives, children - do they have with the household head as well as with other members) and fill in the following table:

No	Name <sup>a)</sup>	Relationship to Heads	Sex	Age	Place of Origin	Activity

Notes: a) Write the name of respondent with 'Respondent'

2. How did they obtain their current places of living (buy, rent, lent, *bedeng*, invited by friends, families or relatives, provided by bosses etc). Is that free accommodation or how much do they have to spend for housing per month.
3. How do they manage their everyday household maintenance? How do they divide the household tasks, such as cooking and cleaning? How much is the daily, weekly or monthly cost for living?
4. Have they ever lived in other houses? Do they plan to move out from this house? Explain why, when and where.

#### e. Marriage and Family Life (Only for married persons.)

1. Probe whether they were already married when they moved to their current residents or what was their marital status when they moved to their current

- residence. If they were married already and they don't have their families with them, ask them where their families are living and how many children they have. If they have their families with them probe whether they have other children who do not live with them at the moment. Explain where and with whom they are living?
2. How they maintain communication with their family members who are living in different places (including how many times they visited their family per month or whether their families visited them in destination areas). How much money they regularly send to their families? How they send it?
  3. Where did they meet their spouse? Do they plan to move permanently or want to return to the village sometime in the future? If they do not come from the same village, in whose (husband or wife) village will they establish their home? Why?
  4. If husbands or wives live separately from their families, how they conduct their roles in the family (economic, children's education) and are they still actively involved in decision making in the family?

**f. Contact With Family in the Origin Village (All Migrants)**

1. Do you still contact your family in the village? How do you make these contacts (paying visits, sending letters, telephones *etc.*) How many times in a year do you make such contacts? Who are the most important family members to be contacted? (children and wife, parents, brothers, sisters *etc.*). On what occasions do you often visit them?
2. Do their family members ever visit them in the city? Who are they? On what occasions do they visit? Who pays for the travelling cost as well as accomodation when a family member from the village wants to visit? How many times in a year do they visit?
3. Do they have responsibility to support their family in the village of origin financially? How do they manage that responsibility (including providing money or goods and sending it to the village) ? Probe with, how much money do they send home regularly? How regular is that? Were there any other family members who have similar responsibilities to them in terms of supporting the family back-home financially? What would happen if they unable to contribute the amount they have been asked for?
4. Do they contribute to decision making processes in the family? How do they get involved in the decision making processes? Who is the most important member (nuclear as well as extended) of the family in making decisions in the family? How important were they in this matter?

## APPENDIX D

### Migration in West Java Province Based on SUPAS 1995

The Intercensal Population Survey 1995 or SUPAS95 was taken between the 1990 and 2000 Population Censuses, to provide comparable demographic statistics to the Population Census (BPS 1997). A specific advantage of SUPAS95 in the present context is the availability of migration data to *DATI II* regions to enable us to analyse population mobility between *DATI II* regions and to identify the major destination areas as well as primary origin areas of migration within province boundaries. It should be pointed out however that substantial short-term distance migration occurs within *DATI II* areas. Another difference of SUPAS to the Population Census is the former only involve private households with a smaller sample which means there is no representation of migrants living in non-private households, such as dormitories, military barracks or other institutions, and the smaller scope of immigrants from particular origin areas which may be missed from the sample. The definitions of migration used in SUPAS95 were similar to those applied in the Population Censuses. There were three questions on province and regency/municipality (*DATI II*) of place of birth, place of previous residence, and place of residence five years ago which can be used to define migration. In addition to these questions, there was an additional question on the main reason for move from place of residence five years ago which is not included in the Population Census. This analysis was based on province or regency/municipality place of birth or life-time migration. Table D.1. shows the distribution of immigration and outmigration according to the province of birth and current place of residence by sex. The number of male and female migrants, either immigrants or outmigrants, was almost equal. The percentage of male

Table D.1. West Java: Inter-provincial Migration By Sex and Provinces of Birth and Current Residence 1995

Place of Birth and Present Residence	Male			Female			Total		
	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net
1. DI Aceh	13,217	8,843	4,374	10,946	7,173	3,773	24,163	16,016	8,147
2. North Sumatera	103,518	15,057	88,461	79,783	13,165	66,618	183,301	28,222	155,079
3. West Sumatera	77,507	7,792	69,715	68,716	7,348	61,368	146,223	15,140	131,083
4. Riau	11,048	19,641	(8,593)	9,139	21,428	(12,289)	20,187	41,069	(20,882)
5. Jambi	5,478	19,189	(13,711)	4,209	18,791	(14,582)	9,687	37,980	(28,293)
6. South Sumatera	55,765	68,379	(12,614)	40,061	60,358	(20,297)	95,826	128,737	(32,911)
7. Bengkulu	5,221	15,909	(10,688)	7,004	19,081	(12,077)	12,225	34,990	(22,765)
8. Lampung	34,472	138,628	(104,156)	42,121	117,753	(75,632)	76,593	256,381	(179,788)
9. DKI Jakarta	620,616	422,060	198,556	642,409	477,831	164,578	1,263,025	899,891	363,134
10. Central Java	570,158	74,996	495,162	518,865	63,598	455,267	1,089,023	138,594	950,429
11. DI Yogyakarta	79,587	12,810	66,777	75,848	12,817	63,031	155,435	25,627	129,808
12. East Java	178,159	41,918	136,241	167,584	40,279	127,305	345,743	82,197	263,546
13. Bali	9,565	3,920	5,645	5,929	4,461	1,468	15,494	8,381	7,113
14. West Nusra	5,418	2,306	3,112	5,081	2,148	2,933	10,499	4,454	6,045
15. East Nusra	4,579	672	3,907	460	1,154	(694)	5,039	1,826	3,213
16. East Timor	327	719	(392)	-	456	(456)	327	1,175	(848)
17. West Kalimantan	11,036	17,713	(6,677)	11,661	11,787	(126)	22,697	29,500	(6,803)
18. Central Kalimantan	2,346	7,224	(4,878)	1,088	5,408	(4,320)	3,434	12,632	(9,198)
19. South Kalimantan	6,161	10,880	(4,719)	2,699	8,439	(5,740)	8,860	19,319	(10,459)
20. East Kalimantan	3,846	16,637	(12,791)	2,633	18,004	(15,371)	6,479	34,641	(28,162)
21. North Sulawesi	19,118	2,223	16,895	20,239	2,567	17,672	39,357	4,790	34,567
22. Central Sulawesi	-	5,717	(5,717)	332	5,779	(5,447)	332	11,496	(11,164)
23. South Sulawesi	18,825	9,492	9,333	8,726	8,768	(42)	27,551	18,260	9,291
24. SE Sulawesi	1,327	12,579	(11,252)	2,768	12,636	(9,868)	4,095	25,215	(21,120)
25. Maluku	12,721	1,537	11,184	10,333	1,723	8,610	23,054	3,260	19,794
26. Irian Jaya	6,296	6,137	159	4,821	5,649	(828)	11,117	11,786	(669)
27. Abroad	6,712	-	6,712	8,621	-	8,621	15,333	-	15,333
Total	1,863,023	942,978	920,045	1,752,076	948,601	803,475	3,615,099	1,891,579	1,723,520

Source: Indonesia Intercensal Population Survey 1995

male immigrants was 51.5 per cent, while female immigrants 48.5 per cent. On the other hand, the percentage of male outmigrant was 49.9 per cent, while female outmigrant was 50.1 per cent. The major provinces of birth were Jakarta, Central and East Java, North and West Sumatra, while the major provinces of destination were Jakarta, Lampung and Central Java. People migrated to West Java to look for work, especially after it has become the centre of industrialisation development in Indonesia since the 1980s. Before that time, migrants from all over Indonesia, including from West Java, mostly attracted to Jakarta to look for work, while some of West Java migrants to Outer Java were for transmigration (Hugo 1978). Overall, the immigration to West Java has exceeded the outmigration making 1,723,520 net-migration in 1995. Before 1990, West Java sent more people to other provinces, especially to Jakarta and Outer Java provinces, rather than receive immigrants from those areas. The increasing number of immigrant to West Java has made a positive net-migration in 1990. In several provinces in Outer Java, West Java still has a negative net-migration figures meaning that it sent more outmigrants to that provinces than received immigrants from them. Table D.2. shows that West Java still had negative net-migration from several Outer Java provinces, although in 1995 provinces such as North and West Sumatra have sent more people to West Java (Table D.1.). On the other hand, in 1990 Jakarta has become a sender area of migration to West Java as an effect of the Jakarta residential overspill to adjoining regencies in West Java, Bogor, Tangerang and Bekasi (Hugo 1996, 1997).

The large number of immigrants to West Java was not evenly distributed across each *DATI II* area, but they were concentrated in Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi (Botabek) and Bandung areas as the main locations of industrialisation in West Java (Table D.3.). There were shifts in the distribution of the largest proportions of



immigration within *DATI II* regions. In 1980, the major recipient areas were Bogor, both Municipality and Regency areas, for 22.9 per cent, and Bandung, both Municipality and Regency, for 23.3 per cent. In 1990, while Bogor increased slightly to 24.3 per cent, Bandung area decreased to 15.4 per cent, while Bekasi increased to 19.4 per cent and Tangerang increased to 22.9 per cent. In 1995, immigrant to Bekasi increased to 27.1 per cent and Tangerang to 25 per cent for

Table D.2. Distribution of Net-migration in West Java By Provinces (in Java) and Islands, 1971 to 1990

	1971	1980	1985	1990	1995
Sumatra	-239,000	-279,837	-226,125	-182,768	9,670
DKI Jakarta	-712,213	-576,275	-592,193	-64,951	363,134
Central Java	125,239	329,587	397,847	723,365	950,429
DI Yogyakarta	4,272	7,483	72,499	64,645	129,808
East Java	1,342	30,910	65,584	146,121	263,546
Other Islands	31,317	-35,933	-19,777	-46,400	-8,400
Abroad	19,642	39,888	8,574	16,735	15,333
<b>Total</b>	<b>-769,401</b>	<b>-484,177</b>	<b>-293,591</b>	<b>656,747</b>	<b>1,723,520</b>

Sources: BPS, 1973, 1982, 1987, 1992, 1997

both regency and municipality, while Bogor and Bandung have declined slightly to 21.2 per cent and 12.8 per cent respectively. In those areas, the percentages of female migrants were slightly exceeded the male's as a consequence of the increasing opportunities for female workers to get employment in textiles, garments and footwear industries (Hill 1991; Grijns *et al.* 1992). The relatively advance development of industrial sectors in West Java, Botabek and Bandung areas also attracts migrants from other *DATI II* regions within West Java.

Table D.4. shows the distribution of intra-provincial migration by sex, while the map in Figure D.1. depicts the distribution of total net-intra-provincial migration

in West Java. From the map, it was clear that Botabek and Bandung areas received more immigrants from other *DATI II* areas than sent outmigrants to those areas which shows by the relatively large positive net-intra-provincial migration. According to one of Ravenstain's Laws of Migration (Lee 1966), there was a close relation between migration and distance. There were two conclusions on this law, that are (a) people will migrate to short distance and (b) people who migrate to longer distance usually go to trading and industrial centres (Lee 1966). This situation applied in West Java, where immigrants in particular in *DATI II* regions largely came from nearby areas. Bandung, for example, received migrants from surrounding regencies, such as Cianjur, Garut, Tasikmalaya, Sumedang, Ciamis, and other eastern areas such as Cirebon or Kuningan. Bandung has become the centre of industrial development, especially in traditional textile industry, since the 1960s (Hardjono 1990) and has attracted migrant workers from other areas. Although, there were less people from the western areas, such as Pandeglang, Lebak or Serang migrated to Bandung. People from these areas possibly chose to migrate to Jakarta or Lampung, before the development of industrial sectors in Botabek areas. The industrial development in Botabek has attracted people from other regions to migrate there. Based on SUPAS 1995, those areas have received migrants from long distances areas, such as Bandung, Garut, Tasimalaya, Ciamis, Kuningan, Majalengka, in addition to immigrants from Pandeglang, Sukabumi or Karawang. This means that people within West Java province migrated from less developed areas to more developed regions. Therefore, as long as, the industrial development still concentrated in Botabek and Bandung areas, more people from other areas will migrate there.

Table D.3. Inter-provincial Migration by Sex in West Java, 1980, 1990 and 1995

No.	Regency	1980		1990		1995	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
1	Pandeglang	11,749	1.2	19,753	0.8	27,198	0.8
2	Lebak	10,062	1.0	9,212	0.4	12,014	0.3
3	Bogor	196,728	19.6	544,001	22.6	718,525	19.9
4	Sukabumi	13,917	1.4	26,267	1.1	43,408	1.2
5	Cianjur	18,364	1.8	18,026	0.7	34,290	0.9
6	Bandung	65,841	6.6	114,630	4.8	102,977	2.8
7	Garut	8,392	0.8	13,690	0.6	6,001	0.2
8	Tasikmalaya	19,597	2.0	27,737	1.2	31,002	0.9
9	Ciamis	59,805	6.0	48,710	2.0	56,781	1.6
10	Kuningan	11,318	1.1	14,758	0.6	18,684	0.5
11	Cirebon	15,656	1.6	30,029	1.2	32,513	0.9
12	Majalengka	5,871	0.6	9,742	0.4	22,066	0.6
13	Sumedang	6,588	0.7	7,349	0.3	5,260	0.1
14	Indramayu	25,217	2.5	23,649	1.0	26,581	0.7
15	Subang	26,454	2.6	25,957	1.1	33,473	0.9
16	Purwakarta	12,416	1.2	13,237	0.5	17,887	0.5
17	Kerawang	21,326	2.1	42,520	1.8	44,468	1.2
18	Bekasi	74,302	7.4	467,317	19.4	978,063	27.1
19	Tangerang	138,153	13.8	551,116	22.9	486,008	13.4
20	Serang	30,604	3.0	64,048	2.7	51,888	1.4
71	Kod. Bogor	33,291	3.3	40,847	1.7	46,512	1.3
72	Kod. Sukabumi	9,439	0.9	9,382	0.4	7,191	0.2
73	Kod. Bandung	168,054	16.7	255,685	10.6	360,180	10.0
74	Kod. Cirebon	20,627	2.1	30,894	1.3	32,732	0.9
75	Kod. Tangerang	-	-	-	-	419,397	11.6
Total		1,003,771	100.0	2,408,556	100.0	3,615,099	100.0

Notes: in 1995, *Kabupaten* Tangerang has split into two *DATI II* regions, that are Municipality and Regency areas.

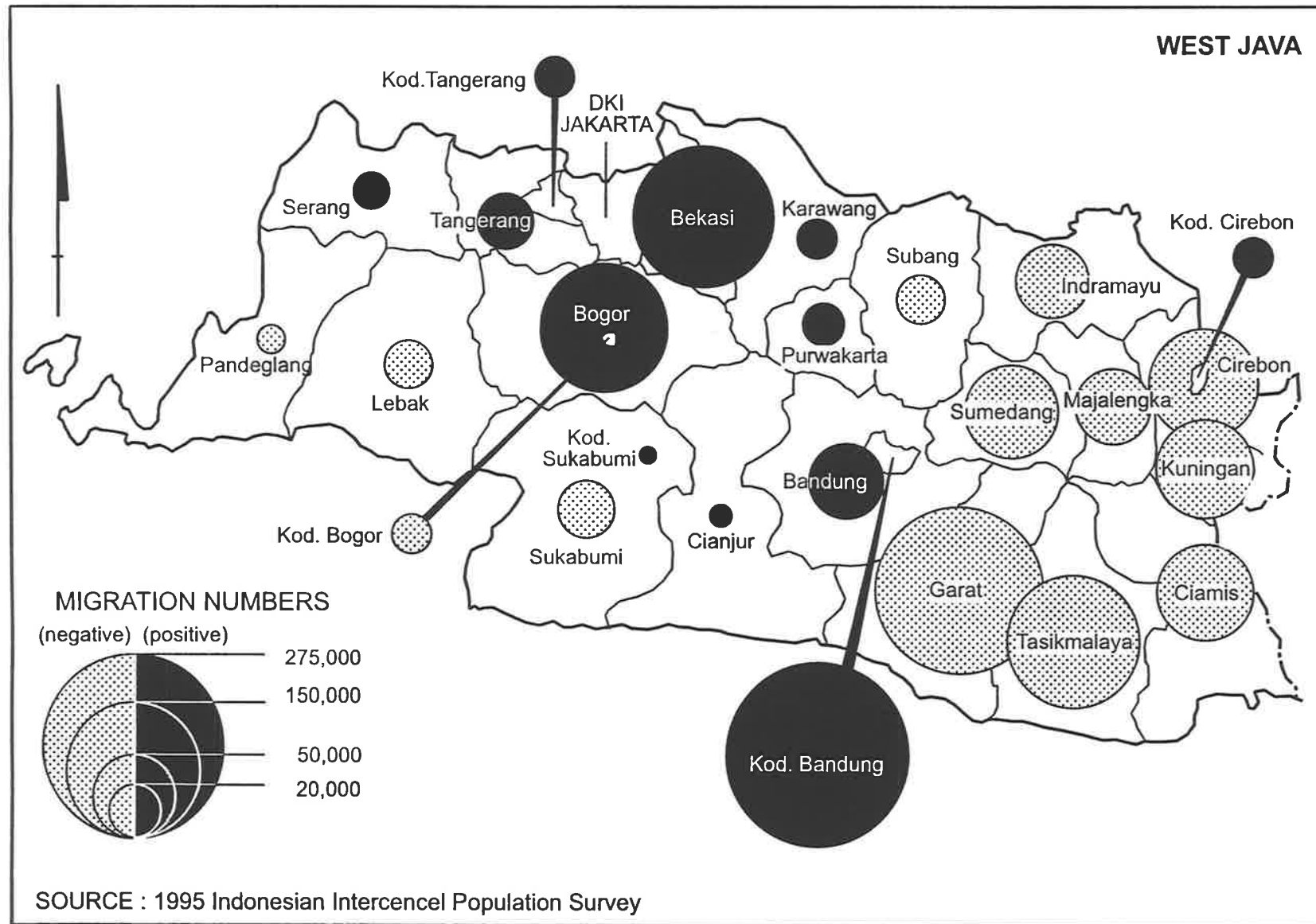
Source: Indonesia Population Censuses 1980 and 1990  
Indonesia Intercensal Survey 1995 or SUPAS95

Table D.4. West Java: Intra-provincial Migration By *DATI II* Areas and Sex in 1995

No.	Regency	Male			Female			Total		
		In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net
1	Pandeglang	29,430	32,345	(2,915)	20,340	23,010	(2,670)	49,770	55,355	(5,585)
2	Lebak	17,440	22,779	(5,339)	12,178	24,219	(12,041)	29,618	46,998	(17,380)
3	Bogor	136,337	61,291	75,046	133,525	61,204	72,321	269,862	122,495	147,367
4	Sukabumi	39,533	51,232	(11,699)	26,670	39,984	(13,314)	66,203	91,216	(25,013)
5	Cianjur	53,577	51,450	2,127	57,357	56,909	448	110,934	108,359	2,575
6	Bandung	176,624	147,380	29,244	153,951	137,384	16,567	330,575	284,764	45,811
7	Garut	23,439	134,331	(110,892)	13,730	145,204	(131,474)	37,169	279,535	(242,366)
8	Tasikmalaya	39,291	125,795	(86,504)	40,275	115,697	(75,422)	79,566	241,492	(161,926)
9	Ciamis	37,092	79,707	(42,615)	34,538	70,780	(36,242)	71,630	150,487	(78,857)
10	Kuningan	14,928	48,204	(33,276)	10,600	59,103	(48,503)	25,528	107,307	(81,779)
11	Cirebon	17,290	78,067	(60,777)	13,052	54,507	(41,455)	30,342	132,574	(102,232)
12	Majalengka	26,058	45,701	(19,643)	22,292	44,335	(22,043)	48,350	90,036	(41,686)
13	Sumedang	26,410	58,762	(32,352)	25,363	62,542	(37,179)	51,773	121,304	(69,531)
14	Indramayu	16,753	40,094	(23,341)	14,803	39,310	(24,507)	31,556	79,404	(47,848)
15	Subang	32,958	34,865	(1,907)	23,788	39,177	(15,389)	56,746	74,042	(17,296)
16	Purwakarta	22,626	17,125	5,501	25,695	16,922	8,773	48,321	34,047	14,274
17	Kerawang	48,745	40,369	8,376	41,578	38,643	2,935	90,323	79,012	11,311
18	Bekasi	100,303	14,274	86,029	97,731	18,850	78,881	198,034	33,124	164,910
19	Tangerang	82,784	64,154	18,630	61,880	53,566	8,314	144,664	117,720	26,944
20	Serang	35,196	31,596	3,600	22,218	16,166	6,052	57,414	47,762	9,652
71	Kod. Bogor	21,090	25,621	(4,531)	22,686	28,938	(6,252)	43,776	54,559	(10,783)
72	Kod. Sukabumi	9,792	13,695	(3,903)	11,730	6,905	4,825	21,522	20,600	922
73	Kod. Bandung	221,260	107,432	113,828	253,920	90,934	162,986	475,180	198,366	276,814
74	Kod. Cirebon	18,812	18,035	777	24,012	13,823	10,189	42,824	31,858	10,966
75	Kod. Tangerang	99,672	3,136	96,536	97,296	3,096	94,200	196,968	6,232	190,736
Total		1,347,440	1,347,440	-	1,261,208	1,261,208	-	2,608,648	2,608,648	-

Source: 1995 Indonesian Intercensal Population Survey (SUPAS 1995)

Figure D.1. West Java: Net-intra-provincial Migration 1995



**APPENDIX E: PLATEGRAPHS IN ORIGIN AND DESTINATION AREAS**

Plate 5. 1. The small river that divides the village into the north and south area in normal condition.



Plate 5. 2. A villager just collected a *pikul* of sand from the river after a flood.





Plate 5. 3. Local sand gatherers are loading sand into a truck owned by a building material shop in Gombong.



Plate 5. 4. Agricultural labourers are putting fertiliser on young paddy plant.



Plate 5. 5. An elderly pottery maker is giving a 'finishing-touch' to an almost ready terracotta pot.



Plate 5. 6. Two women are rearing their children while weaving pandanus mats.





Plate 5. 7. A woman is preparing raw pandanus leaves to make material ready to be woven.



Plate 5. 8. A new and modern house in the village.



Plate 5. 9. A traditional Javanese house made of plaited bamboo combined with wood walls.



Plate 7. 1. A row of stoves close to the rear doors of a rooming house owned by the tenants for cooking.





Plate 7. 2. A clean water facility for Itex's bedeng occupants, taken from C10's room.



Plate 7. 3. A martabak stall with few customers waiting to be served.



Plate 7. 4. Food seller migrants were preparing martabak.



Plate 7. 5. A successful migrant woman in the living room of her new house in Bandung.



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